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*Forty-fifth Annual Report*  
*of the*  
BUREAU OF AMERICAN  
ETHNOLOGY

1927-1928



SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION  
WASHINGTON  
D. C.



FORTY-FIFTH  
ANNUAL REPORT OF THE  
BUREAU OF  
AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY  
TO THE SECRETARY OF THE  
SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

1927-1928



UNITED STATES  
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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

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SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,  
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY,  
*Washington, D. C., June 30, 1928.*

SIR: I have the honor to submit herewith the Forty-fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1928.

With appreciation of your aid in the work under my charge, I am,

Very respectfully yours,

H. W. DORSEY,  
*Chief Clerk, Smithsonian Institution.*

Dr. C. G. ABBOT,  
*Acting Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.*



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REPORT OF THE CHIEF CLERK

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FORTY-FIFTH ANNUAL REPORT  
OF THE  
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

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H. W. DORSEY, Chief Clerk

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The operations of the Bureau of American Ethnology during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1928, were conducted in accordance with the act of Congress approved February 11, 1927, making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government, which act contains the following item:

American ethnology: For continuing ethnological researches among the American Indians and the natives of Hawaii, the excavation and preservation of archæologic remains under the direction of the Smithsonian Institution, including necessary employees, the preparation of manuscripts, drawings, illustrations, the purchase of necessary books and periodicals, and traveling expenses, \$58,720, of which amount not to exceed \$48,000 may be expended for personal services in the District of Columbia.

Dr. J. Walter Fewkes, chief of the bureau since March 1, 1918, continued to occupy that position until January 15, 1928, when he retired as chief but continued on the staff of the bureau as associate anthropologist.

The general program of the bureau for the entire year has been similar to that of the last fiscal year.

SYSTEMATIC RESEARCHES

Doctor Fewkes's scientific work has been mainly devoted to the preparation of a report on his excavations at Elden Pueblo, Arizona, made during the summer of 1926.

Dr. John R. Swanton, ethnologist, completed the proof reading of his papers on Social Organization and Social Usages of the Indians of the Creek Confederacy, Religious Beliefs and Medical Practices of the Creek Indians, Aboriginal

Culture of the Southeast, and a paper by the late William E. Myer on Indian Trails of the Southeast, all of which have appeared in the Forty-second Annual Report of the bureau, and of a short paper on the Social and Religious Usages of the Chickasaw Indians which is to appear in the Forty-fourth Annual Report. He spent some time in continuing the preparation of a tribal map of aboriginal North America north of Mexico and the accompanying text, and assisted in the preparation for publication of James Mooney's paper on The Aboriginal Population of America North of Mexico, which appeared as volume 80, No. 7, of the Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections.

Work in connection with the Timucua dictionary, with the help of Miss Tucker, was continued during most of the year. In 1926, Miss Irene Wright, in the employ of the Florida State Historical Society, discovered a letter in the archives of the Indies at Sevilla written in the Timucua language. Part of the work of preparing this material for publication by the society has been done by Doctor Swanton, and in the same volume an earlier letter, discovered and published by Buckingham Smith, is to be included. Although this publication is being done outside, it will furnish in more convenient and reliable form all of the known material which we have not yet drawn upon for the dictionary, some scattered words alone excepted. Doctor Swanton has been called upon for an unusual amount of advisory and other special work during the past year.

From July 1 to 22 Dr. Truman Michelson, ethnologist, continued ethnological and linguistic work among the Sauk and Fox of Iowa. From the latter part of July to the end of August he was engaged in work on the Northern Arapaho, devoting his time mainly to linguistics, and was able to unravel a number of complex phonetic shifts whereby a larger proportion of Algonquian elements in the language were made more certain than hitherto suspected. He also took physical measurements of a number of Arapaho and Shoshoni Indians. As far as the latter is concerned, the cephalic index of his series agrees closely with that obtained under the direction of Doctor Boas more than 20 years ago. After



his return to Washington, September 1, he corrected the proofs of his Notes on the Buffalo-head Dance of the Thunder Gens of the Fox Indians, which will appear as Bulletin 87 of the bureau.

Doctor Michelson submitted for publication a work entitled "Observations on the Thunder Dance of the Bear Gens of the Fox Indians," which is to be issued as Bulletin 89 of the bureau. He has also submitted a manuscript designated "Sketch of the Buffalo Dance of the Bear Gens of the Fox Indians." He worked out a complete translation of a syllabic text supplementary to his paper in the Fortieth Annual Report. A number of technical papers have been prepared by Doctor Michelson and published in various scientific journals. Doctor Michelson from time to time has furnished data to answer official correspondence.

Mr. J. P. Harrington, ethnologist, spent the year in a study of the Mission Indians of the Santa Barbara region of California and of the Taos tribe of north-central New Mexico.

Leaving for the field in the fall of 1927, Mr. Harrington resumed his field studies at Santa Barbara with great success, securing a mass of important linguistic information from the last few aged survivors of the proud and highly cultured people which only a few decades ago thickly populated the islands and mainland coasts of the Santa Barbara region. The material covered the entire range of knowledge of the informants and included difficult translations into the Chumashan. These translations now include an almost exhaustive study of the earlier period of Chumashan history. The grammatical material was all perfectly heard and reaches into every corner of phonetic phenomena and grammatical construction. The work contains a new and exhaustive study of the early voyages, proving, among other points that will have great popular interest, that Cabrillo was the discoverer of Monterey. It also contains translations made by Mr. Harrington of the diaries of the early land expeditions, throwing new light on hitherto dark chapters of the earliest history of Alta California, since this history is here for the first time dealt with from the Indian viewpoint. In this work, Mr. Harrington has cooperated with Fr. Zephyrin

Engelhardt, custodian of the Santa Barbara Mission archives, and with Dr. H. E. Bolton and other friends at the Bancroft Library of the University of California.

Returning to Washington in March, Mr. Harrington elaborated his recent notes and prepared his Taos material for publication. This consists of a thorough presentation of the documents of Taos Indian history, all of them worked through afresh and provided with new original translations by Mr. Harrington, a presentation of Taos ethnology, and a comprehensive vocabulary of the Taos language, which, as Mr. Harrington has recently pointed out, has close genetic relationship with the Kiowa language.

At the beginning of the fiscal year 1928 Mr. J. N. B. Hewitt, ethnologist, undertook a detailed study and interpretation of certain Onondaga Iroquoian texts recorded by him in former years relating to the wind or air gods, who are in fact disease gods of Iroquoian mythic thought. These texts are Delphic in their brevity, and so are most difficult to interpret and to correlate. They are only brief myths, most of the details of which have been forgotten, and so the mode of telling them has become oracular.

Mr. Hewitt read the galley proof of his paper in the Forty-third Annual Report of the bureau, *Iroquoian Cosmology*, Second Part. Severe illness during the early winter delayed this work, but upon partial recovery he completed this task and also the final reading in page proofs.

Mr. Hewitt also edited Mr. Edwin Thompson Denig's manuscript, *Report on the Indian Tribes of the Upper Missouri to the Hon. Isaac H. Stevens, Governor of Washington Territory*. He added an introduction to the report, with a brief biography of the author.

As the representative of the Smithsonian Institution on the United States Geographic Board, Mr. Hewitt attended the meetings of the board and of the executive committee of that board, of which he is also a member.

As custodian of the bureau manuscripts, Mr. Hewitt reports the continuation of the work of recataloguing the manuscript material and the phonograph music records belonging to the archives. Miss M. W. Tucker typed the cards and

stored the material, and also catalogued 250 cylinders of the Osage Indian songs and rituals. These were verified by Doctor La Flesche with the use of the phonograph, and are therefore authentic. Mr. Harrington has also turned over his collection of 100 cylinders. Miss Densmore has, to date, a total of 1,697 cylinders listed and filed.

There are now 3,079 manuscripts in the archives, and about 626 phonograph records, in addition to those of Miss Densmore.

On May 18, 1928, Mr. Hewitt left Washington to continue his studies among the Iroquoian and Chippewa tribes in Canada. He visited the Chippewa at Garden River to revise certain cosmic texts acquired in 1900 from Mr. John Miscogeon, of Bay View, Mich., and from Mr. George Gabaoosa, of Garden River, in 1921. He visited the Huron remnant at Loretteville, near the city of Quebec, Canada, to ascertain whether any knowledge of an institution resembling closely the League of the Five Iroquois Tribes formerly extant among the Hurons then dwelling about Lake Simcoe still existed among this remnant of the Hurons. But no remembrance of it was found.

Mr. Hewitt visited the Caughnawaga Mohawk living near Montreal, where information regarding the league and its institutions was sought, but he found only a jumble of ideas coming from the old religious thought of the natives, from the so-called Handsome Lake reformation, and from the hazy ideas instilled into them by the missionaries. Here he also sought information tending to identify the so-called Seven Nations of Canada, etc., who have recently become a problem for the Canadian Department of Justice and of the law department at Albany, N. Y.

Mr. Hewitt's most fruitful field of research was among the Six Nations of Iroquois living on the Grand River grant not far from Brantford, Canada. Here he undertook the free translation of the historical tradition of the founding of the League of the Five Iroquois Tribes in the closing decades of the sixteenth century, as related by the Mohawk and the Onondaga, which embodies the farewell address of Deganawide, the master mind in the work of establishing

that institution. He revised the seven myths in native Onondaga texts relating to the gods of the air and the wind who control diseases.

He was fortunate enough to secure the emblem of official authority of the fire keeper of the council of the league to open and close the sessions of the council.

Mr. Hewitt, as usual, has devoted much time to providing, through careful research, data for replies to the many correspondents of the bureau.

During the fiscal year ended June 30, 1928, Dr. Francis La Flesche, ethnologist, completed two manuscripts: *Washa-be A-thi<sup>n</sup>*, containing 270 pages, and *Wa-wa-tho<sup>n</sup>*, or Pipe Ceremony, containing 110 pages. Another manuscript is in the hands of the editor, entitled "The Child-naming Ritual."

He started a dictionary of the Omaha language, obtaining about 7,000 words with both the Indian and the English meaning and usage. In November he began the compilation of a dictionary of the Osage language. About 20,000 words with their full meanings and usage have been completed.

The month of July, 1927, and the first part of August were spent by Dr. F. H. H. Roberts, jr., archeologist, in the Chaco Canyon, New Mexico, completing the excavation of a late Basket Maker site. It was discovered that the latter had been a village consisting of 18 houses, a kiva or circular ceremonial structure, 48 storage bins, and a court. Definite knowledge of the house type was obtained during the progress of these excavations, as well as other information of value concerning one of the lesser known stages in the cultural development of the sedentary agricultural Indians of the prehistoric Southwest. The work in the Chaco added materially to the information on southwestern archeology.

Two weeks of August were spent in southeastern Utah in a reconnaissance along Montezuma Creek, one of the northern tributaries of the San Juan. The purpose of this reconnaissance was to locate additional late Basket Maker sites which might warrant intensive investigation. Despite heavy rains and flooded conditions of the streams, he was able to make his way up Montezuma Creek a distance of 40 miles. Several

late Basket Maker sites were observed, but in every case the remains were so eroded that it was not deemed advisable to do any excavating. Several ruins were visited which were of interest because they had been noted and described by W. H. Jackson in the Hayden survey report for Colorado and adjacent territory, 1876. Although unique from an architectural standpoint, the ruins belong to the late Mesa Verde era, the period when the pottery characteristic of the large Mesa Verde pueblos and cliff dwellings was in vogue.

At the end of August Doctor Roberts went to Pecos, N. Mex., where he attended the conference of southwestern archeologists and ethnologists held at the Pecos ruins, where the Andover Academy expedition under Dr. A. V. Kidder was completing its extensive investigations of that well-known pueblo. While at the conference he assisted in the drafting of a new outline of the sequence of cultural stages in southwestern prehistoric and early historic development of the sedentary Indian groups.

The first week in September found him at Folsom, N. Mex., where workmen of the Colorado Museum of Natural History, Denver, had uncovered several projectile points in direct association with the bones of an extinct species of bison, *Bison taylori*. Several days were spent in investigating the fossil bed and the surrounding territory. Doctor Roberts was so impressed with the find that he sent for Dr. A. V. Kidder, of the Andover Academy and the Carnegie Institution of Washington, and with him again went carefully over the problem presented. At the conclusion of the investigations Doctor Roberts and Doctor Kidder were convinced that the bones and the projectile points had been deposited in the stratum contemporaneously. He returned to Washington early in October.

The winter was spent in the preparation of a manuscript on the season's work, entitled "Shabik'eshchee Village, a Late Basket Maker Site in the Chaco Canyon, New Mexico." Another manuscript on Certain Cave Sites Near El Paso, Tex., was also completed.

In February Doctor Roberts went to Melbourne, Fla., to view, in situ, a projectile point which Dr. J. W. Gidley, of

the United States National Museum, had found in a stratum from which he was removing the bones of extinct Pleistocene animals. The projectile point and bones were from the same stratum which in previous work had yielded the crushed skull of a human being. It is around the latter that much anthropological and paleontological discussion has centered during the last two years. Doctor Roberts took advantage of the trip to Melbourne to visit a number of shell heaps and mounds left by some of the earlier Indian inhabitants of the region.

In May, 1928, Doctor Roberts made a reconnaissance along the San Juan River to a point about 10 miles south of Rosa, N. Mex. Returning to Arboles, Colo., a short survey and inspection was made of the ruins and ruin sites along the Piedra River, one of the larger tributaries of the San Juan. As a result of the latter it was determined to excavate a site located on a bluff 100 feet above the river on the east side of the Piedra 15 miles north of Arboles.

The month of June was spent in an intensive investigation of the above site, which proved to be a Pueblò I village. Of the 24 houses excavated, 21 were single-room structures. Of the remaining 3, 2 had been 2-room domiciles, while the third had contained 3 cell-like rooms. It was found that the structures varied considerably in size, some of them being but 5 to 6 feet square, while others were 25 to 30 feet in length by 6 to 9 feet in width, but all had been constructed in the same manner. In most cases there had been a slight excavation measuring from 6 inches to 1 foot in depth. This pit portion of the dwelling, if the slight excavation may be so called, was roughly rectangular in shape. At an average distance of 10 inches from each corner a large post had been set in the floor. These four posts appear to have carried at their tops a rectangular framework, which formed the support for the roof and walls. Both the roof and walls had had a framework of small poles, which was covered with adobe plaster averaging 6 inches in thickness. The roof proper seems to have been flat, while the walls had a slight slope due to the fact that the poles which formed them had had their lower ends embedded in the earth around the edges of the shallow pit, while their

upper ends leaned against the framework at the tops of the large support posts. In most cases the rooms were entered by means of a small doorway in the center of one of the side walls. One or two of the structures gave the suggestion of a roof entrance. In all cases the doorway seems to have had a large stone slab for a cover.

There seems to have been a definite method of grouping the houses, from four to eight or more of them being grouped in a semicircle around a circular depression. Two of these depressions were excavated and two more were trenched in the hope that they might be found to contain kivas or ceremonial rooms, but in all four cases they were found to be nothing more than pits. It is quite possible that the earth used in making the plaster to cover the wooden framework of the structures was taken out of these pits; possibly the plaster itself was mixed there, while the hole remained to serve as a reservoir for the storing of water. In each case the lower portions of the pits gave distinct evidence of having been filled with water.

Refuse mounds containing burials were found in most cases to lie some distance south or southeast of the house clusters. The burials were of the contracted form, the body being placed in the shallow grave with the knees drawn up to the breast and the lower limbs tightly flexed to the upper. Accompanying each burial were two or three pottery vessels as mortuary offerings.

A good collection of pottery and other specimens was secured from the houses and graves.

An interesting sidelight on the village is that it was destroyed by fire, presumably in the fall or early winter, as practically every vessel found in the structures contained corn, beans, wild cherries, or some other form of vegetal food. It appears that very little of the harvest had been used when through some mischance or other the village was devastated by flames. Two of the inhabitants were trapped in the houses, as the finding of the skeletons on the floor would indicate. In both instances the remaining fragments of bone showed clearly the marks of fire, and there was every

evidence to show that the bodies had been consumed in the flames.

#### SPECIAL RESEARCHES

Research in the music of the American Indians has been carried forward during the past year by Miss Frances Densmore, a collaborator of the bureau. In October, 1927, Miss Densmore visited the Winnebago in Wisconsin, recording songs and interviewing many Indians within a radius of about 20 miles around Black River Falls. Eighty-three songs were recorded, with data concerning their origin and use, and the singers and their environment were photographed. The winter feast (also known as the war-bundle feast) and the buffalo dance received special consideration, as these are distinctively Winnebago ceremonies. Twenty-five winter feast songs were recorded, including those of the night spirit, morning star, sun, bear, and thunderbird bundles. The songs were recorded and information given by men who habitually attend this feast, given annually in Wisconsin and Nebraska. The use of music in the treatment of the sick was found to be similar to that of the Chippewa and, in some respects, to that of other tribes. The principal informant on this subject was John Henry, living at Trempeleau, who recorded the songs used by his grandfather when treating the sick. Additional old healing songs included those formerly used by a Winnebago named Thunder and recorded by his sons. Herb remedies were administered and songs sung to make them effective.

Among the war songs is a group composed by members of the tribe when serving in France with the United States Army during the recent war. These express a high patriotism and are interesting examples of songs composed by several persons in collaboration. This is a phase of musical composition which has been observed among the Sioux and Makah, as well as among Indians of British Columbia. Other classes of recorded Winnebago songs are those of the Heroka (bow and arrow spirits), songs to calm the waves, songs received in dreams, and songs of the moccasin game.



One purpose of the work among the Winnebago was to ascertain whether their songs resembled those of the neighboring Chippewa or the related Sioux. The songs show a distinct resemblance to the Chippewa and to the Menominee. Each tribe has its own songs, and exceedingly old songs of each tribe have been obtained, but there is a general resemblance in the melodic trend.

The study of material obtained at Neah Bay, Wash., and in British Columbia in 1926, as well as Menominee material obtained in 1925, was continued, together with the work on Winnebago songs. Eight manuscripts were submitted with the following titles: "Dance and dream songs of the Makah and Clayoquot Indians"; "Miscellaneous Makah and Clayoquot songs and Makah customs"; "Nitinat war and dance songs and Menominee songs connected with stories of Manabus, with catalogue numbers of 184 songs"; "Songs of Nitinat medicine men and miscellaneous Nitinat songs, with catalogue numbers of Nitinat songs"; "Songs of Indians living on the Fraser and Thompson Rivers in British Columbia"; "Winnebago songs of the Winter Feast"; "Winnebago songs used in the treatment of the sick"; and "Winnebago war songs, with catalogue numbers of Winnebago songs."

The paper on Makah customs includes a consideration of such topics as the construction of houses and canoes, tools, rope, clothing, fishing, cooking, tattooing, and wedding customs, also methods of making observations of the sun, and beliefs concerning petitions for supernatural help.

In addition to the preparation of original manuscript, Miss Densmore provided data for the labels of 520 songs and read the galley and page proof of her book on "Uses of Plants by the Chippewa Indians" and the galley proof of her book on "Chippewa Customs." She also combined her several papers on Menominee music into the form necessary for their publication, the material comprising more than 190 pages, about two-thirds of which she retyped. The song records obtained from Miss Densmore by the bureau are now pro-

vided with catalogue numbers, except a small group of British Columbia songs, which are held with field numbers until the group is complete. The total number of records transcribed is 1,695.

Early in June, 1928, Mr. H. Hughes, of Ono, Russell County, Ky., advised the Smithsonian Institution of certain Indian objects recently exhumed from a cave in the bluffs bordering Wolf Creek, a branch of Cumberland River. To examine these objects and the scene of their discovery, Mr. Neil M. Judd, curator of American archeology, United States National Museum, was directed to proceed to Ono.

Accompanied by Mr. Hughes, Mr. Judd called upon the three gentlemen concerned with the discovery of the material in question, examined the specimens, and later visited the shallow cave from which they had been removed. The collection included parts of three skeletons—two adults and an adolescent—a fragment of a buckskin head band with fiber ropes attached, fragments of an olivella shell necklace, a covered basket, and portions of two others. The basket, certainly the most important of the several items, was woven of split reeds; it is about 20 inches long, 8 inches wide, and 8 inches deep, and was provided with a cover of approximately equal size that fitted completely over the container. The basket is doubtless of Cherokee origin; pottery fragments found in the cave tend to confirm this deduction.

Owing to the fact that the site of discovery is only a shallow shelter in a thick stratum of disintegrating shale, it is truly remarkable that these textile fragments should have been so well preserved. Layers of burned clay and ash indicated frequent though intermittent use of the shelter by Indian peoples. Fragments of corncobs, one small red bean, gourd rind, and squash seeds were observed among the shaly deposits covering the narrow floor space.

During the summer and early fall of 1927 archeological investigations for the Bureau of American Ethnology were continued by Mr. H. W. Kreiger, curator of ethnology, United States National Museum, in the arid section of the Columbia Basin and in the lower valley of Snake River. During the preceding year the region extending from the

mouth of the Yakima River to the Canadian border was explored. During the season of 1927 exploration of archeological sites was continued from the mouth of the Yakima River to Mosier, Oreg., in the vicinity of The Dalles. At this point an appreciable increase in rainfall and forest growth marks the dividing line between the humid northwest coast and the arid plateau of the interior.

In most essentials the early occupants of the upper plateau possessed a remarkably uniform culture. It was found that the subculture area of north-central Oregon appears to be distinguished by the excellent chipping of weapon points and tools from obsidian, jasper, agate, and chalcedony. The subarea of The Dalles and Miller Island, the so-called "Dalles culture," is characterized to a greater degree than is the subarea of north-central Oregon by realistically shaped animal and human figurines executed in stone and wood and appearing on wooden combs, stone pestle heads, stone bowls, and as stone plaques. The subarea of The Dalles is also unique in the possession of a lozenge or ovoid shape stone knife with beveled lateral surfaces shaped by rubbing. This type of knife was found in abundance at Lyle, Wash. In the Snake River Valley a form of bone or horn knife supplants the knife of chipped stone which prevails elsewhere in the Columbia Basin, except in the areas mentioned.

Materials used as tools or as media on which to execute art designs are characteristic of very restricted localities and vary in many instances from village to village. The distinctions are the more clear cut the more ancient the site and the more free the area from the influence of contiguous culture areas.

At Page, Wash., on the Snake River, about 20 miles from Pasco, were noted definite departures from the general type of archeological remains characteristic of the sites along the Columbia River. No copper ornaments or other objects of metal were found; nor were any objects uncovered, other than dentalium shell, that might indicate intercourse with British Columbia or with the tribes of the lower Columbia. Bone knives and scrapers here displaced those of chipped stone; weaving implements and perforators were of antler

or bone instead of rubbed stone as on the Columbia. Pairs of sandstone arrow-shaft rasps; fine-grained, grooved stone polishers; basketry fragments, showing types of false embroidery, lattice weave, and simple coiling and twining; ovoid stone culbs; and burials either with red paint or of the usual cremation group type—all these characteristics indicate a subculture area transitional between the Shoshoni on the east and south and the Shahaptian tribes of the middle Columbia Basin.

The type of early culture that existed within the arid sections of the Columbia Basin has become definitely established. Many of the connecting culture and trade relationships are now known. The relationship with the Shoshoni and with other cultures on the south, those of the Basket Maker and the Pueblo, is not yet clearly defined. Further research along the Snake River and its tributaries in southern Idaho, northern Utah, and Nevada will no doubt bring out additional evidence of relationships with the preagricultural peoples of the Southwest.

Mr. Henry B. Collins, jr., assistant curator of ethnology, and Mr. T. Dale Stewart, of the division of physical anthropology, United States National Museum, were detailed to conduct field work along the coast of western Alaska, including the island of Nunivak, for the purpose of observing these people, their manner of life, and their physical type, as well as to collect skeletal and cultural material from inhabited and abandoned villages. From the standpoint of the anthropologist, the section of Alaska from Bristol Bay northward along the coast to the mouth of the Yukon is one of much interest, for here dwell the most primitive group of Eskimo to be found in all of Alaska. The work was conducted under the auspices of the Bureau of American Ethnology, the United States National Museum, the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and the American Council of Learned Societies.

Transportation to Nunivak Island was obtained on the U. S. S. *Boxer*, through the courtesy of the Federal Bureau of Education, which operates this boat in the interest of the native schools it maintains throughout Alaska. The *Boxer*

stopped at Unalaska, Akutan, and Ugashik on the Aleutian Islands and the Alaska Peninsula, and later at Kanakanak on the upper part of Bristol Bay.

Leaving Bristol Bay, the journey was continued northward along the coast, stopping at Kukukak, Togiak, Muntrack, and Tanunuk. The Eskimo here live in small villages, usually along the coast near the mouth of a stream. They subsist principally on fish, seal, and birds, together with berries and a few other native plants. The most important item of their clothing is the parka, a long coatlike garment made of feathers or fur. Their dwellings are semi-subterranean, consisting of a square or octagonal excavation from 1 to 3 feet deep, with walls and roof built up of successive tiers of driftwood logs, for there is no timber anywhere along the coast north of Bristol Bay. The outside is completely covered with sod.

For winter travel the Eskimo use sleds and dog teams, while in summer most of their journeys are made in the kayak, the ingeniously made skin boat so typical of the Eskimo everywhere.

On June 21 Mr. Collins and Mr. Stewart landed at Nash Harbor on the northwestern end of Nunivak Island, 48 days after leaving Seattle. Here at the small native village of Kligachimiuny is located the school of the Bureau of Education. Nunivak Island is 70 miles long and about 45 miles wide, but there are no dependable charts of its shores except for two restricted localities.

While very little was definitely known of them, the Nunivak Eskimo have long been regarded as the most primitive in this remote region. This was found to be true. Women were found still wearing the lip, ear, and nose ornaments of beads and walrus ivory that were given up years ago by the other Eskimo of western Alaska. The elaborate observances and ceremonies relating to the hunting of the seal, and their social and religious life in general, furnish additional evidence of the extreme conservatism of these people.

The first work accomplished at Nash Harbor was the taking of measurements and physiological observations on the natives. Much of the western end of the island was explored

on foot, bones and ethnological material being collected from several deserted villages and finally from the village at Nash Harbor. After completion of the work on the western end of the island, camp was removed to Amolowikimiut, a native village at Camp Etolin, some 30 miles to the east.

In August the party left Nunivak Island, Mr. Stewart going to St. Michael with the trader from Tanunuk village, Nelson Island, while Mr. Collins stopped at Hooper Bay, an Eskimo village on the mainland between Nunivak and the Yukon, where additional collections were secured. From St. Michael the outward trip was made up the Yukon to Nenana, and thence to the coast to Seward, affording an opportunity to observe the Eskimo along the lower Yukon and later the Tinné Indians farther up the river.

#### EDITORIAL WORK AND PUBLICATIONS

The editing of the publications of the bureau was continued through the year by Mr. Stanley Searles, editor, assisted by Mrs. Frances S. Nichols, editorial assistant. The status of the publications is presented in the following summary:

##### PUBLICATIONS ISSUED

Forty-second Annual Report. Accompanying papers: Social Organization and Social Usages of the Indians of the Creek Confederacy (Swanton); Religious Beliefs and Medical Practices of the Creek Indians (Swanton); Aboriginal Culture of the Southeast (Swanton); Indian Trails of the Southeast (Myer). 900 pp. 17 pls. 108 figs. Bulletin 85. Contributions to Fox Ethnology (Michelson). 168 pp.

##### PUBLICATIONS IN PRESS

Forty-first Annual Report. Accompanying papers: Coiled Basketry in British Columbia and Surrounding Region (Boas, assisted by Haeberlin, Roberts, and Teit); Two Prehistoric Villages in Middle Tennessee (Myer).

Forty-third Annual Report. Accompanying papers: The Osage Tribe: Two Versions of the Child-naming Rite (La Flesche); Wawenock Myth Texts from Maine (Speck); Native Tribes and Dialects of Connecticut (Speck); Picuris Children's Stories, with Texts and Songs (Harrington); Iroquoian Cosmology, Part II (Hewitt).

- Forty-fourth Annual Report. Accompanying papers: Excavation of the Burton Mound at Santa Barbara, Calif. (Harrington); Social and Religious Usages of the Chickasaw Indians (Swanton); Uses of Plants by the Chippewa Indians (Densmore); Archeological Investigations—II (Fowke).
- Bulletin 84. Vocabulary of the Kiowa Language (Harrington).
- Bulletin 86. Chippewa Customs (Densmore).
- Bulletin 87. Notes on the Buffalo-head Dance of the Thunder Gens of the Fox Indians (Michelson).
- Bulletin 88. Myths and Tales of the Southeastern Indians (Swanton).
- Bulletin 89. Observations on the Thunder Dance of the Bear Gens of the Fox Indians (Michelson).
- Bulletin 90. Papago Music (Densmore).

## DISTRIBUTION OF PUBLICATIONS

The distribution of the publications of the bureau has been continued under the charge of Miss Helen Munroe, assisted by Miss Emma B. Powers. Publications were distributed as follows:

Report volumes and separates	1, 450
Bulletins and separates	6, 870
Contributions to North American Ethnology	23
Miscellaneous publications	783
Total	9, 126

There was a decrease of 788 publications distributed, due to the fact that 1 less publication was distributed to the mailing list than in the previous year. The mailing list, after revision during the year, now stands at 1,713 addresses.

## ILLUSTRATIONS

Following is a summary of work accomplished in the illustration branch of the bureau under the supervision of Mr. De Lancey Gill, illustrator:

Drawings made (maps, diagraphmatic and graphic illustrations)	55
Photographs retouched, lettered, and made ready for engraving	598
Engraved proofs criticized	582
Color prints examined at Government Printing Office	3, 660
Illustrations catalogued for outside publications	350
Photographic negatives	96

Photographic prints.....	367
Enlargements.....	2
Development (films).....	12
Color print.....	1

The development and printing of all photographic work was done in the laboratory of the United States National Museum by Dr. A. J. Olmsted in cooperation with the bureau in exchange for work done by Mr. Gill for other branches of the Institution. This arrangement, as in the previous year, has proved eminently satisfactory.

#### LIBRARY

The reference library has continued under the care of Miss Ella Leary, librarian, assisted by Mr. Thomas Blackwell. The library consists of 27,921 volumes, about 16,177 pamphlets, and several thousand unbound periodicals. During the year 780 books were accessioned, of which 115 were acquired by purchase and 665 by gift and exchange; also 3,980 serials, chiefly the publications of learned societies, were received and recorded, of which only 108 were obtained by purchase, the remainder being received through exchange. A considerable amount of time was given to preparing bibliographic lists for correspondents. Requisition was made on the Library of Congress during the year for an aggregate of 325 volumes for official use. An increasing number of students not connected with the Smithsonian Institution found the library of service in consulting volumes not obtainable in other libraries.

#### COLLECTIONS

99366. Archeological and human skeletal material collected in Florida by Henry B. Collins, jr., during January and February, 1928. (133 specimens.)
99553. Lots of potsherds collected on the surface of mounds in the vicinity of Greenville, S. C., during the spring of 1927 by Dr. J. Walter Fewkes.
99554. Small archeological collection purchased by the bureau from R. W. Owen, Philadelphia, Pa. (16 specimens.)
99953. Archeological and human skeletal material collected by H. W. Krieger during the late summer of 1927 in the Columbia and Snake River Valleys. (190 specimens.)



101146. Small collection of archeological specimens from Tennessee secured in the spring of 1928 by Henry B. Collins, jr. (6 specimens.)
101340. Archeological material from two sites in Chaco Canyon, N. Mex., collected during 1927 by Dr. F. H. H. Roberts, jr. (199 specimens.)
101524. Potsherds, stone, and shell objects from a shell mound near Melbourne, Fla., collected by Dr. F. H. H. Roberts, jr. (4 specimens.)
101525. Atlatl, spearshafts, sandals, netting, etc., from a cave about 20 miles northeast of El Paso, Tex., collected in May, 1927, by Dr. F. H. H. Roberts, jr. (26 specimens.)

## PROPERTY

Office equipment was purchased to the amount of \$656.89.

## MISCELLANEOUS

*Clerical.*—The correspondence and other clerical work of the office has been conducted by Miss May S. Clark, clerk to the chief, assisted by Mr. Anthony W. Wilding, stenographer. Miss Mae W. Tucker, stenographer, continued to assist Dr. John R. Swanton in compiling a Timucua dictionary. She also classified and catalogued 2,323 musical records in the possession of the bureau. Mrs. Frances S. Nichols assisted the editor.

*Personnel.*—Dr. J. Walter Fewkes retired as chief of the bureau January 15, 1928, but continued on the staff of the bureau as associate anthropologist.

Respectfully submitted.

H. W. DORSEY,

*Chief Clerk, Smithsonian Institution.*

Dr. C. G. ABBOT,

*Secretary, Smithsonian Institution.*



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ACCOMPANYING PAPERS

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THE SALISHAN TRIBES OF THE  
WESTERN PLATEAUS

BY  
JAMES A. TEIT

EDITED BY  
FRANZ BOAS



## PREFACE

The following papers contain descriptions of the Salishan tribes of the interior, excepting the Middle Columbia tribe.<sup>1</sup>

The material presented here was collected by Mr. James A. Teit in 1904, 1908, and 1909 while he was traveling over British Columbia and the States of Washington and Montana for the purpose of determining the distribution of Salishan dialects and the general movements of tribes so far as these could be ascertained by tradition.

This investigation was made possible by the generosity of Mr. Homer E. Sargent, of Pasadena, Calif., who for many years defrayed all the very considerable expenses of Mr. Teit's work.

Mr. Teit was thoroughly conversant with the Thompson Indians, among whom he lived for a great many years. This facilitated his investigations considerably. It will be understood that the information given here is almost entirely based upon questioning of the Indians. The ancient customs have disappeared to such an extent that direct observation is impossible. The historical data contained in the following account must also be considered in this light. They are the records of oral tradition among the Indians and not based on documentary evidence.

On account of Mr. Teit's intimate knowledge of the Thompson tribe, it is natural that his inquiries were very largely guided by what he knew about the customs of that tribe. It is not unlikely that this may have colored, to a certain extent, the descriptions. I doubt particularly whether the negative statements contained in his report can always be taken as conclusive, because the question whether a certain custom is in vogue may be misunderstood and similar customs may have existed. Mr. Teit's statements of opinion must be taken as those of his informants, not his own, unless expressly so qualified.

The material here presented has been edited from a manuscript written by Mr. Teit and from notes scattered over many years of correspondence.

Mr. Teit's spelling of native words is not quite certain; particularly the distinction between *k* and *q*; *hw*, *x* and *χ*, *tl* and *l* is uncertain. The variability of vowels probably represents real differences.

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<sup>1</sup> A description of this tribe has been published in the Anthropological Publications of the University of Washington, vol. II, No. 4.

The following is an explanation of the symbols used:

Vowels have their continental values.

*ê* open e, as in "fell."

*ô* open o, nearly as in German "voll."

*E* obscure vowel, as e in "flower."

*tʃ* affricative.

*l* voiceless *l*.

*q* velar *k*.

*c* English *sh*.

*x* medial palatal continuant, corresponding in position to *k̄*.

*ɣ* velar continuant, corresponding in position to *q*.

' glottal stop.

Special attention is called to the use of *x* and *ɣ* which has been changed from earlier usage to conform with the system now generally employed.

Mr. Teit uses the period (.) to indicate in some cases a glottal stop, in others strong voicing.

Dr. Gladys Reichard had the kindness to revise with native informants all Indian words in the chapter on the Coeur d'Alêne. She was able to identify most of the terms. The spelling of Indian words in this chapter is, therefore, reliable, except in the case of a few words that could not be identified and which are marked with a query.

FRANZ BOAS.



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# THE SALISHAN TRIBES OF THE WESTERN PLATEAUS

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By JAMES A. TEIT

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Edited by FRANZ BOAS

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## THE COEUR D'ALÈNE<sup>a</sup>

### I. HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL

**HABITAT AND BOUNDARIES.**—The country occupied by the Coeur d'Alène was almost entirely within what is now the State of Idaho. A small part extended into Washington. They held all the headwaters of Spokane River from a little above Spokane Falls to the sources, including Coeur d'Alène Lake and all its tributaries. To the southeast their territory extended across the head of the Clearwater, a tributary of the Snake River. Their eastern boundaries were the Coeur d'Alène and Bitter Root Mountains. Generally speaking, their country is mountainous and more or less heavily forested, with more rain and snowfall than the territories of the surrounding tribes. The western part, around De Smet, Hangman's Creek, Tekoa, Farmington, and toward Spokane Falls, is drier and comparatively flat, open, and well grassed. In the central part are many navigable waterways.

On three sides tribes of the Flathead group were neighbors of the Coeur d'Alène—the Spokane to the west, the Kalispel to the north, and the Pend d'Oreilles to the east. On the south their neighbors were the Nez Percé and Palous; but, as the latter are considered comparatively new arrivals, in olden times probably they bordered only on the Nez Percé. It seems likely that there was a narrow strip of neutral country between the two tribes, used to some extent by both in times of peace. For many years the tribe has been on the Coeur d'Alène Reservation in Idaho, which is located near the southeastern border of their former territory.

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<sup>a</sup> The native names in this section were revised with the help of natives by Dr. Gladys Reichard. A few words that could not be identified are marked with a question mark. Mr. Teit's remarks on the Coeur d'Alène refer to the year 1904.

DIVISIONS, BANDS, VILLAGES.—The grouping of the Coeur d'Alène into divisions and bands is fairly clear. To judge from the number of chiefs and by information obtained from various individuals, the bands were grouped into three, possibly four, units corresponding to divisions of the tribe. These were—

1. Coeur d'Alène Lake and Spokane River (possibly Spokane River may have been a separate unit).
2. Coeur d'Alène River.
3. San Joe (or St. Joseph) River.

It seems that the foot of Coeur d'Alène Lake, where the head chief lived, was the headquarters of the tribe; but this is not quite sure. Some informants, however, consider it the old, traditional seat. I obtained the following list of villages, which were the permanent wintering places of the tribe immediately before the time when they became regular buffalo hunters, or at least before they were first decimated by smallpox. Some camps are said to have had few lodges (perhaps three or four families), and others had many. The largest camps are credited with a winter population of about 300. The population of the various camps fluctuated a little in different winters. The number of camps belonging to each band is not quite certain. In most cases the band lived in a single camp, forming a single village community; but in some cases it had besides the main camp one or two small outlying ones, as among the Thompson Indians and other tribes of this region.

*Villages of St. Joe River division*

	Location
1. <i>sti'q<sup>u</sup>take<sup>EN</sup></i> (?)-----	Near the mouth of St. Joe River, on the river, or near by on the lake.
2. <i>tcêti'ctace<sup>EN</sup></i> -----	Probably on the lake, near the last named, on the north or east side, not far from the mouth of the river.
3. <i>stotsEtä'wes</i> -----	On St. Joe River, at the place now called Fish Trap by the whites.
4. <i>tçut'owa'calqs</i> -----	On St. Joe River a little above the preceding.
5. <i>ntcä'mts<sup>EN</sup></i> ("confluence")--	At the confluence of the St. Joe and St. Maries Rivers.
6. <i>ta'x.olks</i> (?)-----	On upper Hangman's River, at a spring near the foot of the hill just south of De Smet.

There were no permanent villages or winter camps on St. Maries (or St. Mary's) River, none at *tea'tkolat* (Chatcolet of the whites), and none at *nlpo'sents<sup>EN</sup>* (Tekoa of the whites). These places were all summer camps. The Indians had a large fish trap near Tekoa long ago.

*Coeur d'Alène River Division*

	Location
1. <i>tclá'tcalx<sup>w</sup></i> -----	On Coeur d'Alène Lake, close to the mouth of Coeur d'Alène River.
2. <i>gwa'lít</i> (probably "black pines")	}Near the lake and close to Harrison.
3. <i>alqwa'rit</i> -----	
4. <i>ne'atsá'xstEm</i> -----	On Coeur d'Alène River a little above the preceding.
5. <i>nést'a'qvast</i> -----	At Black Lake, at a tributary river and lake here.
6. <i>qoqole'télp</i> s ("black pines," <i>Pinus contorta</i> ).	}A little above No. 5.
7. <i>sma'qEqEn</i> -----	
8. <i>hínsá'lut</i> -----	On Coeur d'Alène River, a little above No. 7.
9. <i>sEncá'lemānts</i> -----	A little above No. 8.
10. <i>nalstqā'lxwEn</i> -----	A little above No. 9.
11. <i>sk'wat'o'</i> -----	At old mission.

A band of Indians also made their headquarters near Wardner.

*Coeur d'Alène Lake and Spokane River Division*

	Location
1. <i>nt'a'q'En</i> -----	Hayden Lake, north of Coeur d'Alène Lake
2. <i>tcélá'tcÉlítcEmEn</i> -----	Halfway down Coeur d'Alène Lake, on the east side.
3. <i>ntc'Emqa'ínqwa</i> (probably "head").	}At Coeur d'Alène City.
4. <i>smÉlÉlc'na</i> -----	
5. <i>tp'ō'ené'lpEm</i> -----	Very near No. 4, on the same side.
6. <i>ncā'rept</i> -----	A little below No. 4.
7. <i>stcatkwe'i</i> -----	A little below No. 6
8. <i>q'āmí'len</i> ("throat," "gorge").	}At Post Falls.
9. <i>hínsaq'e'lpEns</i> -----	
10. <i>ne'Ewa'calqs</i> -----	A little below No. 9.
11. <i>ntsakwolsa'ko</i> (?)-----	On Tamarack Creek, toward the mountains.
12. <i>nesxwa'xwe</i> -----	On the river, a little below the last two.
13. <i>nesli'xum</i> -----	A little below No. 12.
14. <i>tcanokwā'kEn</i> (?)-----	A little below No. 13.
15. <i>mu'lc</i> (probably means "cottonwood").	}At Green Acres.
16. <i>tcatcwa'xclpEm</i> -----	

No. 16 was the last village of the Coeur d'Alène on Spokane River. A few miles below was the boundary between the Coeur d'Alène and the Spokane. The latter, however, did not reach much above Spokane Falls (or City).

POPULATION.—The Coeur d'Alène claim to have been very numerous before the first appearance of smallpox among them; but they have no definite idea of their numbers, which they place at from 2,000 to 5,000. Judging from the number of their winter camps or villages,

the population may have been between 3,000 and 4,000. Smallpox twice attacked the tribe—first, it is said, about 1831 or 1832; and again about 1850. Toll was taken of every camp, and some camps were almost completely wiped out. The report of the United States Indian Department for 1905 gives the number of Coeur d'Alène as 494, all on the Coeur d'Alène Reservation. There were also 91 Upper and Middle Spokane with them on the reserve.

**MIGRATIONS.**—There is no record of any migrations. According to tradition, the tribe has always been in its recent habitat.

**INTERCOURSE AND INTERMARRIAGE.**—Intercourse was chiefly with the Spokane, and to a less extent with the Pend d'Oreilles and Nez Percé. The Coeur d'Alène claim that long ago they seldom intermarried with other tribes, and what little intermarriage occurred was with Spokane, Pend d'Oreilles, and Nez Percé. They say the first intermarriage with Kalispel was not before 1840. After the tribe began to make annual journeys to the Flathead country for buffalo hunting intermarriage became more frequent with Pend d'Oreilles, and some took place also with Flathead and Kalispel. In later times there were a few intermarriages with Colville, Sanpoil, and Palous, but none at any time with Columbia, Wallawalla, Cayuse, Shoshoni (excepting slave marriages), Kutenai, and other tribes. The introduction of the horse facilitated intermarriage with Salish tribes to the west, north, and east. Since the tribe has been on their reservation intercourse has been almost entirely with the Spokane. Intermarriage with whites was never very common, and none occurred with Negroes and Chinese. There are probably fewer mixed-bloods among the Coeur d'Alène than among the surrounding tribes. Long ago there were a few slave women in the tribe, chiefly Shoshoni from the south; but it is not likely that much foreign blood has been introduced from this source.

**MENTAL AND PHYSICAL TRAITS.**—The Coeur d'Alène differ somewhat in appearance from the surrounding tribes. They are of fair stature, the men probably averaging about 169 centimeters, few being very tall or very short. They appear to be more heavily built than the Spokane and Okanagon, and to have rather large heads and heavy faces. In disposition they seem to be more serious and reserved than some of the neighboring tribes. They pay much attention to religious practices, and have been considered since early times as a tribe possessing a rather high standard of morals.

## II. MANUFACTURES

**WORK IN STONE.**—Stone of many kinds, intended for tools, was cut with quartz crystals. Arrow smoothers, generally made of sandstone or other coarse-grained stone, were also cut with crystals. Sandstone was used for grinding and sharpening bone, antler, and

stone, and also for cutting some of the finer-grained stones. Adze blades and chisel blades were made of fine-grained hard stones of several colors, and were cut and sharpened with quartz crystals and grit stone. They were all, or nearly all, of short type. However, stone adzes and chisels were not much used. It seems that no long celts, like those of the Lillooet, Thompson, and Columbia, were made or used. Adzes were hafted in the same way as among the Upper Thompson<sup>1</sup> and other tribes. It seems that adzes and chisels were more commonly made of antler. Stone hand hammers and pestles were made of river boulders selected for size and shape to save labor. They were worked down by pecking with the edges of hard unworked stones or river boulders selected for hardness and for handiness of shape and weight. The pecking was first done in rings<sup>2</sup> parallel to one another or in spirals, and then the intervening ridges were battered down, the process being repeated until the desired size and shape were attained. They were finished by smoothing with grit stone.

Pestles were conoid in shape. They had a rather small and almost flat base, and tapered gradually to the head which was often more or less pointed. A few had heads carved to represent animals, or had simple rim enlargements at the head. They were of two sizes—short ones, about 12 or 15 cm. in length, for use in one hand;<sup>3</sup> and long ones, up to double that length, for use in both hands.<sup>4</sup>

Hand hammers were of about the same length as the short pestles, but varied in size and shape. They were round, and usually had wide, deep striking heads and well-defined tops, like some of those used by the Thompson Indians and Nez Percé.<sup>5</sup> Most tops were flat; but some were pointed or rounded, and others hat shaped.

Stone mauls were made, some of which were of the type figured by Wissler for the Blackfoot.<sup>6</sup> Others were shaped somewhat like stone hammers; but they had deeper, narrower bases, more or less square or flattened, and the handles were longer and thinner than hammer handles. Some of them may have resembled the flat-sided hammer of the Nez Percé,<sup>7</sup> but were not so short and thick, while others may have more nearly resembled wooden mauls or some stone clubs of the Thompson Indians.<sup>8</sup> In these mauls the side of the base was the striking surface, instead of the bottom, as in hammers. Both ham-

<sup>1</sup> *a*, fig. 123.

<sup>2</sup> See Yakima, *i*, fig. 25.

<sup>3</sup> See Nez Percé, *b*, pl. 8, No. 8; compare Yakima, *i*, fig. 21, 22.

<sup>4</sup> See Nez Percé, *b*, pl. 8, Nos. 6, 7; compare Yakima, *i*, figs. 29–36.

<sup>5</sup> *a*, fig. 120; Nez Percé, *b*, pl. 8, No. 10; Yakima, *i*, fig. 27.

<sup>6</sup> *c*, fig. 1.

<sup>7</sup> *b*, pl. 8, No. 9.

<sup>8</sup> *a*, fig. 250.

mers and mauls were employed in driving wedges and stakes. A heavier maul wielded with both hands was in use. It consisted of a boulder fastened with withes or twine to a short wooden handle, and was used for driving larger stakes, as in fish weirs. Possibly some of the stones were grooved; others had hide shrunk over the handles. These may have resembled Blackfoot mauls,<sup>9</sup> but some seem to have been heavier and differently hafted.

It seems that no stone mortars were made or used, excepting perhaps a few small shallow ones, resembling dishes, for paint. They were made of steatite and other soft stone, and it seems were not at all common.

Files of fine-grained stone were used in smoothing and polishing bone, antler, and wood. Arrowheads, spearpoints, knife and other blades, borers or perforators and skin grainers were flaked with flakers of deer and elk bone. The small tines of antlers were rarely used as flakers. The process of flaking was the same as that described for the Thompson and Nez Percé.<sup>10</sup> Stones for arrowheads and other flaked instruments were procured near *tea'tkola't* and in other parts of the country. The common colors were black, white, and yellow; but some stones were reddish, mottled, and other colors. Pipes were of soapstone. The stone was cut with quartz crystals, arrowstones or animal's teeth, filed into shape with knives and files, and drilled with perforators.<sup>11</sup> Flaked stone knives with crooked points were in use, and seem to have been similar to those of the Thompson.<sup>12</sup> Flat stones were used as anvils. Small flaked and notched stones were used as rasps and planers for smoothing arrowshafts and rawhide thongs. (See fig. 15, p. 218.)<sup>13</sup>

WORK IN BONE, WOOD, ANTLER.—Wedges for splitting wood were made of deer and elk antler and of hard wood. The wood was bound around the top with bark or twine to prevent fraying and splitting. Chisels for felling trees and cutting wood were made of the basal parts of the antler. The points of some were rounded, and of others nearly square. All were filed to a sharp edge on one side.<sup>14</sup> Nearly all sharpening and smoothing of bone and antler were done with grit stone of different textures of grain. Stone knives and chisels were hafted with antler and wood. Arrow flakers have already been mentioned. Wooden mallets, of square cross section of striking head, like some of those made of stone, but longer and thicker, were sometimes used for driving stakes or wedges,<sup>15</sup> but

<sup>9</sup> *c*, fig. 1 *a*.

<sup>10</sup> *a*, p. 182; Nez Percé, *b*, p. 184.

<sup>11</sup> See Thompson, *h*, fig. 352, *e*, *f*, *g*; Nez Percé, *b*, pl. 7, Nos. 23–25.

<sup>12</sup> *a*, figs. 125, 126; *h*, fig. 352 *d*.

<sup>13</sup> Nez Percé, *b*, pl. 7, No. 34.

<sup>14</sup> Thompson, *a*, fig. 119; Nez Percé, *b*, fig. 5, No. 7; Yakima, *i*, fig. 39.

<sup>15</sup> Field Museum 111957.



stone hand hammers were probably more frequently used for this purpose. Some mallets were made of the basal parts of elk antlers, a tine serving as a handle.<sup>16</sup> Beaver-tooth knives were used for incising on antler, bone, wood, and soft stone; and stone<sup>17</sup> knives, generally with crooked points, for incising on antler, bone; and wood. Both kinds of knives were used for cutting hide and dressed skin. Flensing knives had leaf-shaped blades of arrowstone.<sup>18</sup> A few knives and spear points of bone and antler were used. Bark was cut with knives and antler chisels. Peelers of antler and wood were employed for removing bark from trees,<sup>19</sup> and some bone sap scrapers were in use. Mortars, it is said, were not used as much as among some tribes. A few were made of wood, and hide was sometimes shrunk over them. It seems they were of two shapes, circular and oblong, the former being the older type. The latter kind was probably similar to some used by the Nez Percé.<sup>20</sup> No mortars with handles were used. Horn spoons were made and shaped on molds of wood. Wooden spoons and wooden pestles were also made.

PAINTS AND DYES.—Paints of many colors were used, most of them made of minerals procured within the tribal territory. White consisted of a kind of white earth, and was used both dry and mixed with water. As among the Thompson, a gray paint was made by burning and pulverizing large bones of animals. The powder was mixed with water or grease. It was not much used. Red, yellow, and blue of various shades were obtained from earths in the Coeur d'Alène country, and in later days also in the buffalo country east of the Rocky Mountains. They were used dry, and also mixed with grease or oil, water, and occasionally with thin glue. Black was made from a black earth resembling coal dust. Another black paint was powdered charcoal, used dry or mixed with grease or gum. This was applied to arrows, and was then generally mixed with gum or glue. Soot in its natural state was also used as a black paint. Another black paint, described as shiny, may have been plumbago.

Berry stains of various kinds were used as coloring material. The juices of some kinds of berries were also used as dyes. A light-blue paint was obtained by crushing and rubbing on the fresh flowers of the larkspur (*Delphinium* sp.). Algae growing in stagnant pools were rubbed on fresh and provided a green paint. One of the two best kinds of red paint obtainable was secured by buffalo-hunting parties from a cave underneath a cliff near Helena in the Flathead country. This was a famous place named *aäpl'yu'tsamén* ("possessing red paint"). The paint from this place was very bright. The other

<sup>16</sup> See Lillooet, *k*, fig. 64 *b*, p. 203.

<sup>17</sup> Field Museum 111741.

<sup>18</sup> Yakima, *i*, fig. 6; Blackfoot, *c*, fig. 5, *b*; also Thompson, *h*, fig. 333 *b*.

<sup>19</sup> See Shuswap, *e*, fig. 235 *a*, *b*.

<sup>20</sup> *b*, pl. 6, No. 14.

paint was procured at a place about 10 miles below Rockford, and consisted of a red mud which was collected and kneaded into balls. When dry, it was heated over a fire. When cooked, it became brittle and on the slightest pressure turned into a fine powder. Nearly all kinds of mineral earths used as paints were also used as dyes, different shades of red, yellow, blue, and black being obtained from them. Some materials, such as grass and bark, were dyed black by being buried for a time in wet black loam. A common yellow dye was obtained by boiling the roots of the Oregon grape (*Berberis* sp.) and a common yellow or lemon colored dye was obtained by boiling wolf-moss (*Evernia vulpina*). This lichen was also used as a paint. It was dipped into cold water or applied to a damp surface. A reddish dye was obtained by boiling alder bark (*Alnus rubra*); and a green dye, from the leaves of the snowberry (*Symphoricarpus racemosus* Michx.).

PREPARATION OF SKINS.—The processes of dressing skins were similar to those practised by the Thompson Indians.<sup>21</sup> Of old (also employed at the present day) the common method, especially for medium-sized skins, was to soak the skin in water for several days. It was then placed on a smooth log resting against a tree, as among the Thompson, and the flesh side scraped clean. It was then reversed, and the hair scraped off, along with the outer cuticle of the skin. Some people scraped the hair side first. The scrapers or fleshers used were the ulna of the deer and the rib bone of elk or horse.<sup>22</sup> The skin was again soaked for a short time, and then wrung by twisting with a short stick, as among the Thompson. It was then stretched on a frame of four poles with lacing, and pushed and rubbed with a long-handled grainer with a stone head, like those of the Thompson,<sup>23</sup> until dry and soft.

If to be smoked (and most skins were smoked), two methods were used. One was identical with the process of smoking among the Thompson Indians, the skin being spread over a framework of sticks above the smoke hole.<sup>24</sup> The other method was to fold the skin in the form of a conical bag, closed at the top. The edges were pinned together. A crossbar was placed inside near the closed end and a rope was tied to it for suspension. The skin was kept in shape by means of a number of braces and hoops placed inside. The small end was hung to the branch of a tree, beam, pole, or tripod overhead.<sup>25</sup> The lower edges of the skin touched the ground around the hole in which a fire was made. They were kept in place by small

<sup>21</sup> *a*, pp. 184–186.

<sup>22</sup> See Thompson, *a*, figs. 128, 129.

<sup>23</sup> *a*, fig. 127.

<sup>24</sup> See Blackfoot, *c*, p. 65; Thompson, *a*, p. 185.

<sup>25</sup> See Northern Shoshone, *j*, p. 176 and fig. 3.

pegs—like a small tent. Sometimes, to prevent the escape of smoke, the skin, or part of it, was covered with a piece of canvas, blanket, or other old material. This process of smoking in time almost entirely superseded the former, and is used at the present day. In either method the skin was usually reversed, and the opposite side also smoked. However, many skins were smoked only on the inside. The materials used in smoking skins consisted of rotten wood of the cottonwood tree, and of cones of yellow pine (*Pinus ponderosa*).

Skins to be cured with oil were cleaned and dried, then soaked for several days in a basket with brains and water. They were then wrung and grained in the same way as already described. Occasionally, instead of soaking, the skin was smeared several times with brains or with oil until saturated, and then rubbed. At the present day skins are nearly all soaked in soap and water, as among the Thompsons. When the hair was to be retained, only the inside of the skin was dressed. Animals' brains and salmon oil were much used for preparing skins, especially for those dressed in the hair, which were nearly always oil cured. As among the Thompson Indians, skins were occasionally treated by leaving them in water until the hair pulled out, or by burying them in ashes.<sup>26</sup> Some grainers or scrapers with short handles of wood or antler and with small stone heads, and a few of a single piece of bone with one end sharpened<sup>27</sup> but not serrated, were used for softening the skins of small mammals. This was done over the knee. These grainers were similar in shape of blade and handle to the large straight grainers, but only about 15 cm. in length.<sup>28</sup> Some small stone scrapers without handles, some of them like rounded knife blades or grainers,<sup>29</sup> were also used. Usually only large skins of deer and medium and small skins of elk and buffalo were stretched on frames and rubbed with long-handled grainers. Small deer skins and antelope skins were held down by the feet and worked by pulling over the knees and toward the body,<sup>30</sup> at the same time being rubbed with a short grainer held in one hand. Only rarely were they stretched and laced on frames.

Another method of treating these skins was to draw them back and forth over a stick implanted in the ground and provided with a stone head. Large, heavy hides, especially of buffalo, in a dry state, were pegged to the ground, and treated, it seems, as described by Wissler for the Blackfoot.<sup>31</sup> Adze-shaped scrapers, with blades of stone and iron, and handles generally of wood with hide shrunk over

<sup>26</sup> See Northern Shoshone, *j*, p. 177.

<sup>27</sup> See Thompson specimen, Field Mus. 111742.

<sup>28</sup> See Thompson, *h*, fig. 352 *b, c*; Ottawa Mus. Nos. 161, 164.

<sup>29</sup> Similar to Blackfoot, *c*, fig. 5 *a*.

<sup>30</sup> See Nez Percé, *b*, p. 215.

<sup>31</sup> See Blackfoot, *c*, pp. 63-70.

them,<sup>32</sup> were used in cleaning all large, heavy hides. As long ago the Coeur d'Alène did not hunt buffalo or dress buffalo skins, the methods of treating large buffalo hides and the adze-shaped or crooked scraper were adopted from the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles. After iron became common, iron scrapers replaced those of stone; but a few people always preferred those made of stone.

It was considered best, whenever possible, to flesh and clean skins as soon as an animal was killed. The skins were then folded while still slightly damp, kept in place by tying or with weights, and dried. In this state they were much lighter and easier to handle and carry. No decoction of birch leaves was used for soaking skins. Entire skins were sometimes dyed in a decoction of alder bark. Before undergoing this process, they were soaked in water and dried.<sup>33</sup> Instead of alder bark, decoctions made of wolf-moss or of red, yellow, blue, and black mineral paints or earths were used. Sometimes entire dressed (finished) skins were painted by moistening them with water, and then rubbing them over until dry again, with wolf-moss or with different colors of dry paints. For this purpose they were often stretched or pegged. The dressing of skins was entirely the work of women.

Skins and skin clothes which had become soiled or dirty were whitened and cleaned with a white earth mixed with water. The skin was then worked with the hands until the dirt came off and it was left clean and soft. Sometimes the skin was first beaten with a stick, and then worked with the hands in the same way as clothes are washed.

SEWING.—Thread was made of Indian hemp (*Apocynum cannabinum*) and of sinew from the backs of deer, elk, and other animals. Twine and rope were also made of Indian hemp, which grew plentifully on the St. Joe River and in some other places. Needles were made from the small bones of bear's feet and ankles. They were cleaned, scraped, sharpened, and smoothed with grit stone and then bored. Some needles were also made of syringa and other wood of which combs were made. Some awls and pins for clothes were also made of syringa and other hard woods. Long thorns were also occasionally used as pins. Most awls were made of deer and bear bones, and in shape were like those of the Thompson and Shuswap.<sup>34</sup> Thong of dressed skin was much used for the coarser kinds of sewing and stitching; but as a rule the best clothes were sewed with fine thread of sinew or Indian hemp. Embroidery, before the advent of trade beads, was done almost entirely with porcupine quills,

<sup>32</sup> See Blackfoot, *c*, fig. 33 *a*, *b*; Nez Percé, *b*, fig. 5, No. 6.

<sup>33</sup> The Shuswap formerly used this method a good deal, and the Thompson to a less extent.

<sup>34</sup> *g*, figs. 72-74; *h*, fig. 357 *b*, *c*; Yakima, *i*, figs. 56, 57.

usually dyed two colors. A little quillwork was still done not long ago. Beadwork embroidery was very common until recently, and a little embroidery with silk thread has been done of late years. Seldom is embroidery of any kind now done, since the Indians ceased making decorated bags and fancy clothes for dances.

**MATS.**—Mats were formerly much used and were made in at least three kinds of weaving. All the best mats were of rushes (probably *Typha latifolia*) and tule (*Scirpus* sp., probably *lacustre*) woven with Indian-hemp twine. Long mats of rushes and young tule were used in the lodges as floor covers and for couches and seats. They were woven in the same manner as the floor or bed mats of the Thompson.<sup>35</sup> Another common mat used for spreading food on, or for wrapping, was of bulrushes woven in the same manner as the food or table mat of the Thompson.<sup>36</sup> Some coarser mats woven in the same style<sup>37</sup> were made of bark stripped from dead trees, generally willow. A few coarse mats of cedar bark were made long ago, and used for wrapping. They were like the cedar-bark mats of the Lower Thompson, but coarser.<sup>38</sup> Lodge mats were of tule sewed with Indian-hemp twine, and appear to have been like those used by the Thompson.<sup>39</sup> It is uncertain whether the tule or woof element of any sewed mats was twisted.<sup>40</sup> Tule would probably not be twisted. Berries were often spread on lodge mats. A special berry mat was made, although probably used for some other purposes as well. It was small, woven of the large leaves of an unidentified plant called *q'wa'sq'wes*, which grows near lakes. Mats were hardly ever ornamented. A few, however, had the natural colors of the rushes grouped so as to form light and dark bands, as among the Thompson. A few had the loose ends cut in several styles, as among the Kalispel. (Fig. 1.)

**WOVEN BAGS.**—A great variety of bags were formerly made. Oblong bags of matting doubled over, and the ends inclosed in buckskin, were common.<sup>41</sup> As among the Thompson, bags of similar shape and with inclosed ends were woven of Indian-hemp twine<sup>42</sup> in twined weave.<sup>43</sup> These bags were used for holding roots and other things. Round bags of Indian-hemp twine, some of them with narrow mouths,<sup>44</sup> were also made in the same weaves as the oblong bags. Both round and oblong bags woven of rushes on an Indian-

<sup>35</sup> *a*, fig. 131 *d*.

<sup>36</sup> *a*, fig. 131 *f*.

<sup>37</sup> *a*, figs. 131 *e*, *f*.

<sup>38</sup> *a*, fig. 133.

<sup>39</sup> *a*, fig. 131 *c*; Yakima, *i*, fig. 70.

<sup>40</sup> See Yakima, *i*, fig. 71.

<sup>41</sup> See Ottawa Mus. VI, M, 75, 77, 88.

<sup>42</sup> See Thompson, *a*, fig. 149.

<sup>43</sup> See Thompson, *a*, fig. 131 *h*.

<sup>44</sup> See Thompson, *a*, fig. 150; Ottawa Mus. VI, M, 81.

hemp string foundation were used for holding and drying berries.<sup>45</sup> Some bags, generally in plain twined weave, were made of swamp-grass or of a fine rush. Others were woven of the bark of dead trees, generally willow, and of the bark of an unidentified bush called *somrone'lp(?)*, which grows in the mountains. Some coarse bags of various sizes were made of cedar bark. The coarsest ones were often made in square or checker weave; and for the finest ones the best inner

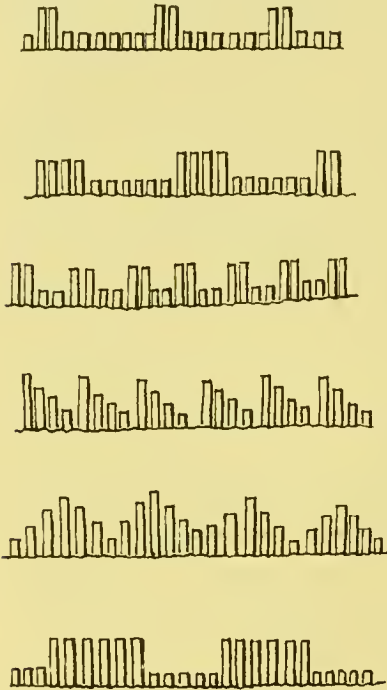


FIGURE 1.—Edges of matting

bark of the cedar was used, twined with Indian-hemp bark either untwisted or twisted into twine. The inside bark of the cedar was used in the same manner and for the same purposes as the bark of *Elaeagnus argentea* among the Thompson. It seems that this bush was scarce or did not grow in the Coeur d'Alène country. The finer kinds of woven bags were sometimes ornamented with stripes of the same material as the bags, dyed, or by introducing other material of a different natural color. The edges of many bags were bound with buckskin, while others had rims woven in different ways to prevent fraying. Flat wallets or soft bags of Indian-hemp twine tightly woven were made in great numbers and of various sizes. They were of the same weave as those made by neighboring Salishan and Shahaptian tribes.

The process of ornamentation was by what is known as "false embroidery," the material and designs appearing only on the outside of the bag.<sup>46</sup> Some bags had the entire outside covered with false embroidery in grass, while others were covered only in places where designs were introduced. Grass was usually employed as a field for the designs, which were often in other material. Formerly the Indians used two or three unidentified varieties of coarse, glossy-stemmed grasses growing in the mountains. According to some informants *Zerophyllum tenax* was employed most extensively. Grasses were used in their natural green, yellow, and white shades and were also dyed yellow, green, and red. Black was rarely used. Porcupine

<sup>45</sup> See Ottawa Mus. VI, M, 80.

<sup>46</sup> See Nez Percé, *b*, fig. 3; pp. 191, 192, pl. 6, No. 17; Shuswap, *e*, fig. 219.

quills, dyed and undyed, served to a considerable extent as design material, and sometimes also the inside bark of the cedar. In later days, corn husk largely took the place of grass and bark. After the advent of the whites, the material most in use was yarn, obtained by tearing up old or worn-out woolen blankets of various colors. Sometimes the edges of new ones were also unraveled. The favorite color of yarn used as a background for the designs was yellow. Some bags were almost entirely covered with it, the designs themselves being wrought in blue, red, and other colors. Some bags, both in early and later times, had ornamentation on one side only; but most of them had designs on both sides. A few wallets were quite devoid of ornamentation, as among the Thompson and some other Salishan tribes.

Another kind of bag, made of Indian-hemp twine closely woven, is said to have been round, or at least of a shape rounder than that of the wallets. They were of different sizes, none of them very large, and were in plain twined weave. As a rule, they were unornamented, although in rare cases there was a short buckskin fringe around the mouth.

No closely woven bags of Indian hemp with hide bottoms, like the Thompson "mortar bags," were used; but a kind of winnowing bag made of Indian-hemp twine woven rather open was used for cleaning *pi'wia* roots. The mouth was tied, and the bag of roots either struck against a smooth rock or beaten with a short stick until the roots were cleaned.

SKIN BAGS AND POUCHES.—Soft bags, pouches, or wallets of many sizes and several shapes were made of dressed hide of deer and elk, and occasionally of antelope, moose, or caribou. The common shape for ordinary purposes was the same as the flat wallets of Indian hemp. Some bags, used more or less for carrying purposes, were of a squarer shape. The smaller hand bags of the ordinary form were often elaborately ornamented with quillwork designs and fringes of cut skin. The latter were often strung with dentalia, beads, and small pendants, such as bone beads, teeth, fawn hoofs, copper beads, or hair tassels. After the arrival of the fur traders, colored trade beads supplanted most of the old materials for ornamentation. These fancy bags were usually embroidered on one side only. Sometimes the opposite side was also ornamented around the mouth. A large number of bags were also made of the skins of buffalo, bear, and other animals dressed in the hair. They varied in size and shape, and many were ornamented with long buckskin fringes. Paint pouches were of dressed skin, usually rather small; round or flat. Many were quilled, beaded, and fringed. Some of them resembled the paint pouches attached to belts among the Thompson. These were also like those of the Blackfoot, but with straight-cut top.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> c, fig. 36.

Tobacco bags were of skin, richly embroidered with quills or beads on both sides, and fringed. In later days many were made of red and blue cloth carrying beaded designs. Two or three shapes of tobacco bags were in vogue. One common kind, worn with a strap over the shoulder, was flat and rather large and square.<sup>48</sup> Another common kind, carried by a string over the arm, was smaller, rather deep, and narrow, like that of the Blackfoot;<sup>49</sup> but it seems the top was generally cut straight, and pinked. Both kinds had fringes, sometimes very long, at the bottom only. When cloth came into use instead of skin for the square kind of tobacco bag, fringes were made about an inch wide (as cloth could not be cut into small strings like skin), and the edges of the fringes were sewed, or bound with ribbon, to prevent fraying. Most cloth bags had eight of these fringes. The outside of the fringes and the carrying strap were often embroidered as well as one or both sides of the bag. The tobacco bags carried on the arm were always embroidered on both sides. Smaller, deep, narrow tobacco pouches were also used, drawn under and over the belt or attached to it. Some were plain, except for a fringe at the bottom, and others were embroidered on both sides. Tobacco bags made of the skins of marten, fisher, mink, otter, and fawn, dressed in the hair, were very common; and it is said that long ago they were more in vogue than those of skin without hair. Most of them were fringed with skin, and some were further ornamented with pendants. A few had quill embroidery around the edges.

RAWHIDE BAGS AND PARFLÊCHES.—Before the advent of the horse some rawhide bags were in use for storing and carrying dried meat and fat. They were made of the skins of deer and other large animals, but I failed to learn much as to their shape and details of construction. They were unornamented, except that sometimes the tail with hair was retained. About the time of the introduction of the horse, square and oblong bags of buffalo hide<sup>50</sup> were adopted from the Flathead, and became quite common. They had long fringes of dressed moose or buffalo hide, and were used as canteens or saddle-bags by women when traveling, and hung up in the lodges as receptacles for odds and ends, women's tools, etc. About the same time, or a little later, buffalo-hide parflêches came into use for carrying all kinds of materials on pack horses. Every family had numbers of these. Both the bags and parflêches were almost invariably painted with designs in red, brown, yellow, and occasionally blue and other colors. The paints used were various mineral earths powdered very fine. Rawhide to be painted was thoroughly moistened. Then the outlines of the designs were marked with the point of an awl or a

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<sup>48</sup> See Shuswap, *e*, pl. 13.

<sup>49</sup> *c*, fig. 35.

<sup>50</sup> See Thompson, *a*, fig. 151; Shuswap, *e*, fig. 220.



sharp stick. The paint was then applied with a flat narrow paint stick, a small stiff hairbrush, or the finger, while the skin was still quite damp. The paint was mixed with water to the consistency of a thick paste, or was spread dry over the marked parts of the skin and rubbed in with the paint stick, following the marks. The skin was then allowed to dry slowly. After about two weeks, when thoroughly dry and stiff, whatever paint remained loose and dry on the surface was shaken or wiped off, and the pigment which had entered the skin was smeared over with a heated beaver's tail, the oil from which entered the skin, made the paint more permanent, and gave the whole surface a glossy appearance. The beaver tail was often applied twice to the designs, and once all over the outside surface. When buffalo hides became scarce, skins of cattle were substituted in the manufacture of hide bags and parflèches.

Designs were occasionally made on rawhide bags by scraping away the outer layer of the skin, but this style was rare.

A bag of the same construction and shape as the square hide bags was made before the introduction of the horse, but it was of heavy hide, dressed fairly soft, and had short fringes. Bags of this kind were sometimes painted along the edges, generally with red and yellow paint.

A pail-shaped mortar bag made of rawhide was often employed for crushing berries. It is doubtful if it was used before the days of the horse.

The making and ornamentation of all kinds of bags, wallets, parflèches, baskets, mats, including the gathering and preparation of the materials, was the work of the women. The men generally skinned the animals, made most of the tools, and collected some of the paint.

**FLEXIBLE BASKETS.**—Flexible baskets of at least two kinds were formerly made. They were closely woven, round, rather deep in proportion to width, and of various sizes. It seems they were usually flat bottomed. One kind was of Indian-hemp twine throughout. The twine was heavier than that generally used in wallets and bags. This kind of basket seems to have been of the same weave as the basket caps, and, like them, was frequently ornamented with designs in grass and bark. Probably it was the same kind of flexible basket or bag as that made by the Nez Percé and neighboring tribes to the south and west.<sup>51</sup> The other kind differed from the former in being usually of larger size and of coarser material. The foundation or vertical elements were of cedar roots, generally split, and the horizontal elements (or warp) were of Indian-hemp twine. The technique of the weave is uncertain, but it is said to have been the same as in some soft baskets made by neighboring tribes to the south and southwest. None of the oldest people now living have seen any of these

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<sup>51</sup> *b*, pl. 6, No. 13 and fig. 4.

baskets; but their parents saw them, and their grandparents made them.

**OPENWORK BASKETS.**—Some openwork baskets or creels were made long ago, and were used for holding fish, fishing materials, and for other purposes. They were made of light rods or twigs, generally of cedar; and the weave seems to have been a kind of open lattice, according to some, while others claim that the technique was a twined weave the same or nearly the same as the openwork creels used by the Lower Thompson.<sup>52</sup>

**BIRCH-BARK BASKETS.**—Baskets made of birch bark were used considerably and for various purposes, including berrying. They varied much in size, but most of them were small. It seems that all of them were cut like those of the Thompson and Shuswap.<sup>53</sup> The bottom was flat and of the same diameter as the mouth; the sides were vertical. The bark was nearly always arranged with the grain at right angles to the rim, as was common among the Lake and very rare among the Thompson and Shuswap. Sewing threads were of split cedar root, like those used in coiled basketry. The mouth was strengthened with one or two hoops of willow or other wood placed generally, but not always, inside the rim. The stitching of the rims was of split cedar root or the split small branches of the cedar. Some had the stitches wide apart and not very regular, some had zigzag stitching,<sup>54</sup> and others had the stitches close together. The rims of some were ornamented with a kind of beading made of strips of bark, rarely of grass, in black and white colors drawn over and under the stitching, thus making an ornamentation of black and white spots on the rim.<sup>55</sup> Flattened quills were also used for this purpose. Some baskets were ornamented with scratched designs, both pictographic and geometric. Painted and burnt-in designs, it seems, were never used on these baskets.

**CEDAR-BARK BASKETS.**—Many baskets were made of cedar bark; but usually they were for temporary use, and therefore roughly made. Three shapes were in use. One kind was trough-shaped, consisting of a single piece of bark gathered up and tied at the ends. To preserve the shape, short pieces of wood were placed inside at right angles, to keep the bark stretched until dry and set. If required for immediate use, wooden pins were inserted through the bark and left there for a time. These baskets were usually small, and appear to have been exactly like those made of juniper bark by the Upper Thompson (fig. 2)<sup>56</sup> and used for holding melted fat, marrow, etc.

Another kind of cedar-bark basket was oblong. Two parallel slits were cut in each end of a piece of bark of the required size and shape.

<sup>52</sup> *a*, fig. 131, *b*, fig. 148.

<sup>53</sup> See Thompson, *a*, fig. 147; Shuswap, *e*, fig. 203; Lillooet, *k*, fig. 82.

<sup>54</sup> See Lake Baskets, Field Mus. Nos. 111859–111862.

<sup>55</sup> Probably similar to Shuswap, *e*, fig. 202.

<sup>56</sup> Ottawa Mus. VI, M, 72, Field Mus. 111713.

These slits were in length equal to the proposed height of the basket. The bark was doubled up at the sides; and the middle end pieces, being now continuations of the bottom, were also doubled up. The other two cut pieces at each end became a continuation of the sides, and were folded toward each other around the middle end piece. The three cut pieces at each end were then sewed together. (Fig. 3.) None of the bark was cut away, except for trimming the edges. These baskets, according to their depths, were used for storage purposes, as dye kettles, etc. Many of the shallower ones were used as dishes and for catching fat drippings.

The third kind of cedar-bark basket was much used for berrying, and, like the other two, consisted of a single piece of bark. A rather long, flat piece of bark was folded over in the middle, and the sides were sewed up with splint. A round hoop was roughly stitched inside the rim to shape the mouth and keep it open. The fold of the bark formed the bottom of the basket. Sometimes the strip of bark was cut narrow in the middle, which was to be the bottom, and widened toward both ends. When folded over the basket became

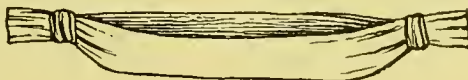
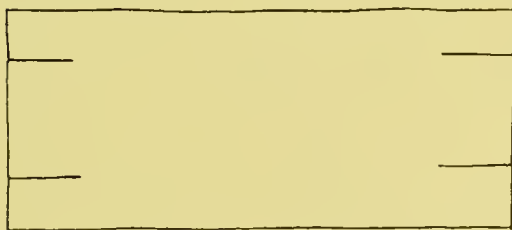
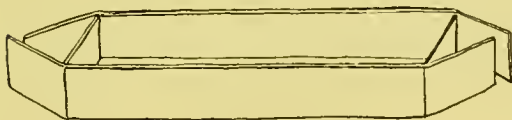


FIGURE 2.—Temporary bark basket



*a*



*b*

FIGURE 3.—Method of cutting bark for basket

narrow at the bottom, wide at the mouth. A carrying strap was often attached to it.

A receptacle for holding fishing gear was used in canoes. It consisted of a single flat piece of bark folded over. One end was drawn together by being tied with a string, and formed the handle, while the other end remained flat. This piece of bark was folded over near the middle and

the flat end was bent back toward the handle, forming a cover for the contents of the receptacle. It seems to have been the same kind of receptacle as that used in canoes by the Shuswap.

Canoe bailers were also often made of bark, but I did not learn exactly how they were made.

No wooden boxes or wooden dishes of any kind were made, and no pottery of any kind, so far as I could learn.

After horses became plentiful, and the mode of life of the tribe changed, owing to the annual buffalo hunting, all kinds of woven

baskets, bags, and mats rapidly went out of use, and the art of making many of them soon became lost. The making of baskets was discontinued first, and then gradually the making of mats and bags, until only a few lodge mats and a few flat wallets continued to be made. The latter were made until a late date, as they were handy in traveling and there was considerable sale for them among the Flathead and Plains tribes. Hide bags of various kinds continued to be made, and the women turned to the making of rawhide bags and parflèches in large numbers. At last, after buffalo hunting ceased and the tribe finally settled down on the reserve, doing hardly any traveling, the making of these was also gradually discontinued.

COILED BASKETRY.<sup>b</sup>—Closely woven baskets of coiled work were at one time very common. Both foundation and sewing were of split cedar roots and they seem to have differed but little from the coiled basketry of other Salish tribes. They were of seven or more different shapes and of many sizes. The kind used as burden baskets and for general purposes was rather deep in proportion to width, with two sides more or less flattened and wider than the other two. The flattening of the sides was to prevent rolling when carried on the back. They had no well-defined corners or angles, being nearly circular or elliptical at the mouth. The bottoms were nearly circular or slightly oblong, the arrangement of the coil being of the watch-spring type. They had some flare toward the mouth but not a great deal. These baskets appear to have been of a type common in early times to all the interior Salish tribes, including the Thompson. A second kind of basket was entirely circular. The mouth was considerably wider than the bottom and was contracted for several coils at the rim. Some of them bulged in the middle. (*o*, Pl. 14, *d*.) The large baskets of this kind were used for holding water, for storage, and for boiling, etc. Some of them were provided with a flat piece of bark as a lid. Baskets of the same kind but having no contraction at the rim were also common (*o*, pl. 70, *f*) and were used for the same purposes as the others. However, the use of a basket depended as much on its size as on its shape, if not more so in most cases. A fourth kind of basket was also circular, had a great deal of flare, and therefore was very wide mouthed. (*o*, Pl. 21, *c*.) The larger ones were very much used for boiling food. A fifth kind was somewhat pail-shaped. The bottom was circular and flat and the walls almost vertical to the mouth, the latter being very little wider than the bottom. (Similar to *o*, Pl. 69, *b*.) They were of various sizes. A sixth kind of basket occasionally made was low and oblong with rounded corners. None of them was very large, and most of them were contracted at the mouth. They were used as storage baskets for valuables, feathers, and many things, and

<sup>b</sup> See *o*, pp. 140-142.

also as work baskets. Some of them had lids attached with thongs. They appear to have been similar to the small "trunk" or "*stluq*" baskets of the Thompson. (*a*, Fig. 143.) Small baskets, practically the same as some of the "nut-shaped" baskets of the Thompson, were made, but it appears they were called by the same name as the larger circular baskets with constricted rims. Some of them had lids and they were used as work baskets, and for storing small odds and ends. (*a*, Fig. 145.) Some of these baskets had handles of thongs attached to the rims. Some of the oblong baskets had these thong handles at the ends, and some of the wide-mouth kettle and water baskets had thong handles fastened to rods somewhat the same as the loops in *parflèches*. It seems no basketry handles were made to baskets, nor feet or stands, nor necks or spouts. I did not learn whether any basketry trays, dishes, and cups were made. Still another kind of basket was the circular mortar or funnel basket, without bottom, and with sides very much flared. They were pegged down to a flat stone in the manner described for the Nez Percé (*b*, Pl. VI, 18.) Roots and berries, and sometimes seeds, were crushed in them. It seems a winnowing basket somewhat similar to that of the Nez Percé (*b*, p. 194) was sometimes made, but winnowing bags of cordage were chiefly used in cleaning of roots. (See p. 49.) Most baskets were devoid of ornamentation, but some were imbricated with a grass, *Xerophyllum tenax*, and possibly other kinds as well; or with strips of the inside bark of the cedar. It is said that no cherry or willow bark was used. The grass was applied nearly always in its natural color, but the bark was almost invariably dyed. Black was a common color, the bark being dyed a deep black by burying it for some time in a kind of black mud. The other principal colors were red and brown; occasionally yellow and some other colors were used. Sometimes instead of the inside bark of the cedar, twigs or small pliable branches of cedar were split and used with the outside bark adhering. It seems beading as well as imbrication was in vogue, narrow strips of dyed cedar bark being chiefly used in this kind of ornamentation.

NETS.—In early times the Coeur d'Alène were largely a lake and river people, who depended as much on fishing as on hunting. They had many nets, large and small, which were made of Indian-hemp twine. Netting sticks of the same shape as those of the Thompson were in use.<sup>57</sup> Several kinds of woven fish traps were also made.

DESIGNS ON BAGS AND BASKETS.—My information on this subject is meager. The Coeur d'Alène I interviewed had forgotten the names of designs; and without specimens it was difficult to get accurate information regarding design forms and groupings of elements. Grass for decorating caps was gathered early in the season, while still

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<sup>57</sup> *a*, fig. 134.

green, and the stems were cured. These retained their green color to a considerable degree. Later in the season the dry grass was collected. The stems were all sorted, the whitest ones being separated from the yellow ones.

DESIGNS ON FLAT WALLETS.—On woven wallets of the Nez Percé type made by the Coeur d'Alène the designs are said to have been of exactly the same kind as are to be seen on wallets of the Nez Percé

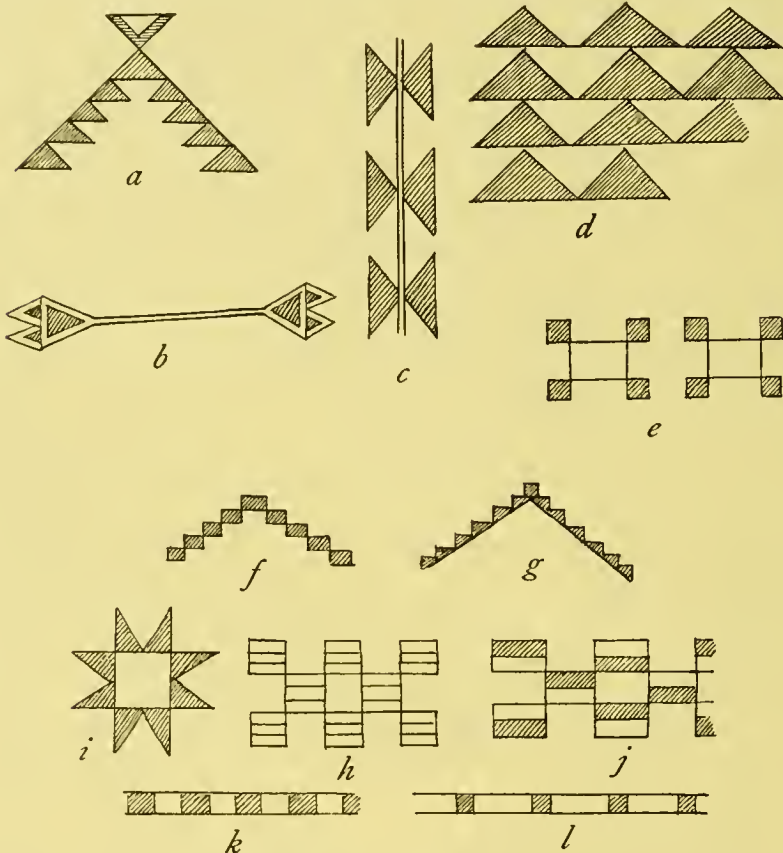


FIGURE 4.—Designs from woven wallets

(fig. 4)<sup>58</sup> and neighboring Salishan tribes. Some designs had names and others had none. All the designs were geometric, and each side of a wallet generally bore a different set of designs. So much alike were all the wallets of neighboring tribes, that a bag made by the Coeur d'Alène could rarely be told from one made by the Nez Percé or some other tribe. I saw a few wallets among the Coeur d'Alène, but obtained very few explanations of any of the designs on them.

<sup>58</sup> b, fig. 6.

DESIGNS ON BEADED BAGS.—Designs on beaded bags were mostly geometric, and some of them resembled painted designs on rawhide bags. Floral designs have also been fairly common for a long time. I saw a few of these bags with both geometric (fig. 5) and floral designs, and obtained a few explanations.

DESIGNS ON RAWHIDE BAGS AND PARFLÈCHES.—Rawhide bags and parflèches were adopted long ago from the Pend d'Oreilles and other tribes of the Flathead group. The first ones made by the Coeur d'Alène were copies of those obtained from Flathead tribes, the painted designs also being copied. As the designs did not originate with the Coeur d'Alène, the latter did not know the names or meanings of them. In later times, although Coeur d'Alène women were constantly making and painting these bags and parflèches, on the whole, they kept to the class of designs originally belonging to these bags and common to all the neighboring tribes. As far as known, no absolutely new designs were invented by any of the women; but in

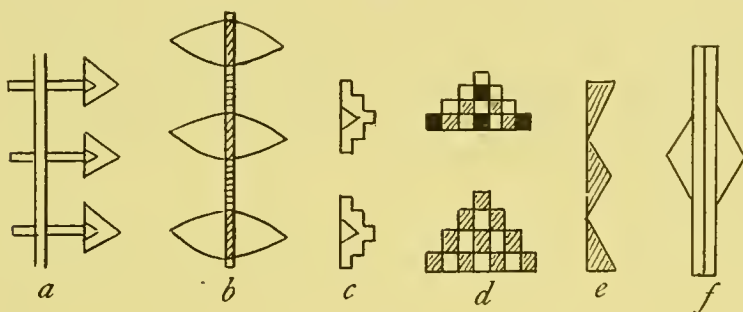


FIGURE 5.—Designs from beaded bags

time many variations of details, of groupings, and of coloring were introduced, according to the fancies and tastes of the women. So much was this the case that every common design and design element had a great many variations caused by modifications of their shapes or forms, and of different methods of arrangement in the field or of combining one design with another. Thus hardly two bags or parflèches could be found painted exactly alike. Some of the women must have learned or invented names for some of the designs, as in later times there were general names for some of them. Many, however, had no fixed names. They were merely described as to form, etc. Some of the design names remembered are "tents," "earth," "mountains," "lakes," "creeks," "trails," "trees," and "grass." No realistic designs were painted on any of these bags. As most of the old women in the tribe formerly painted bags and parflèches, it seems likely that a systematic inquiry would result in obtaining explanations of many of the figures.

DESIGNS ON BARK BASKETS.—The only designs remembered on birch-bark baskets are "spots," "arrowheads," "straight lines," "zigzags," possibly "trails," and "mountains." Occasionally small figures of men, women, horses, deer, elk, and buffalo were also scratched on them.

### III. HOUSE AND HOUSEHOLD

CONICAL MAT LODGE.—The conical lodge or tent of poles covered with mats made of sewed tules was the common family house of the Coeur d'Alêne, summer and winter. In summer the lodge was pitched on the surface of the leveled ground. Generally single layers of mats were used. In winter it was pitched over an excavation a few inches to a foot and a half in depth, and the excavated earth banked up around the base. Dry grass, dry pine needles, or pieces of bark were placed around the bottom of the mats to prevent decay. Double and treble layers of mats were used in the wintertime. These lodges varied in diameter from about 5 to upward of 10 meters. It seems that the foundation was almost always made of three poles. I did not hear of any particular method of tying the poles. In all particulars these lodges appear to have been the same as the common mat tent used by the Thompson and all interior Salish tribes. From one to three related families occupied a lodge. Many were occupied by single families.

SKIN LODGE.—It seems that very long ago no skin lodges of any kind were used; but some of the Flathead, and possibly also Pend d'Oreilles, are said to have used a few made of buffalo and elk hide, as far back as tradition goes. After buffalo hunting was engaged in by the Coeur d'Alêne, tents of buffalo skins, like those used by the Flathead and neighboring Plains tribes, began to supersede all other kinds of lodges, and soon became the only kind used in traveling. When buffalo skins became scarce, light canvas tents were substituted for the skin tents. At the present day these and white men's tents are altogether used in camping. Some of the buffalo-skin tents were ornamented with painted designs.

LONG LODGE.—The long communal lodge was also used, especially at gatherings and at summer resorts, where many people congregated temporarily. In fair weather the long lodge used was often a single one-sided lean-to, with the fires built in the open along the front. Sometimes windbreaks of mats or of brush were extended across one or both ends. If the lodge was to be used for a number of weeks, or if the weather was cold, and there was a good supply of mats on hand, another similar lean-to was built facing the first, and the spaces at the ends between the two were filled in, thus making a double lean-to lodge. An exit or doorway was left at each end. The long opening at the top was quite wide and served as an outlet



for the smoke. Sometimes, if people were camped in a single lean-to and cold windy weather came on, half of the single lean-to was taken down and pitched opposite the other half, and a double lean-to thus made. However, in warm summer weather the airy single lean-to seems to have been the customary type where there was a large crowd. Usually single lean-tos were in a straight line, but sometimes they extended more or less in an arc or half-moon shape. This depended on the length of the lodge and the nature of the ground. Some of them ranged in length from 30 to 50 meters. The construction of these as well as of the double lean-to was the same as among the Thompson,<sup>59</sup> Nez Percé,<sup>60</sup> and neighboring tribes. Construction varied sometimes in details, depending on the care with which the lodge was built, the length of time it was to be occupied, and the number, length, and quality of the poles obtainable. Some double lean-tos were from 18 to 35 meters in length, and, when necessary, accommodated as many people as could lie in them from end to end on both sides—from 75 to 100 or more. The people inhabiting them lived at other times (or when at home) in mat tents and other family lodges. These summer long lodges were not excavated, and usually had only a single thatch or layer of mats, and occasionally not even that. Some of the more rudely built ones were roofed partly with mats; and when these were scarce brush and boughs of trees, pieces of bark, skins, and old blankets were substituted. A large, permanent long lodge of the double lean-to type, constructed with great care, was erected at all the principal villages as a gathering place or general meeting house for the people of the village and as a winter dance house. It was also used for the accommodation of visitors. When not otherwise in use, it served as headquarters for young men engaged in training during the wintertime and was inhabited by them. During most winter nights, singing and dancing could be heard in this lodge; and at frequent intervals most of the people congregated there, especially evenings, to see the young men practicing their songs and medicine dances or playing games. These winter long houses were excavated to a depth of from 30 to 75 centimeters, and were made as snug as possible with double or treble layers of tule mats, and by banking up the earth around them. The mats were arranged horizontally and overlapping, as in all mat lodges. The long aperture in the middle of the roof, which served as smoke hole, was made as narrow as possible consistent with its purpose of serving as a smoke escape. These winter houses were from 5 to 8 meters wide and from 13 to 25 meters

<sup>59</sup> See *a*, fig. 142, but often or usually all the middle poles *a* were placed outside of the horizontal poles *c*. The top horizontal pole *c* (or ridge pole) was of heavier material and also the outside or corner poles *a*. The support poles *b* were also heavy.

<sup>60</sup> See *b*, p. 196.

long. Six "lengths" (of poles) were considered a large house, and very few were longer than this. A "length" was generally 4 meters or more (about 2 fathoms), but varied a little. Upright poles or posts supported the joinings of the "lengths," and were considered divisions for the fires and families; each "length" forming, as it were, a room on each side. Thus in a large house there were generally six fires placed opposite the middle of each "length." Each fire served two opposite rooms occupied by two families. Occasionally small partitions of mats were attached to the uprights, dividing off the rooms; but few people cared for privacy. Mats were also sometimes arranged inside the house in different ways to prevent or regulate draughts. Some of the largest villages had two or three of these houses, but the Indians claim that none of them were ever used exclusively as ordinary dwellings. At some of the old village sites near Coeur d'Al ne Lake there are reported to be marks of the sites of several of these houses, with cottonwood and other trees almost a meter thick growing in the excavations. In conjunction with all, or most of them, are circular depressions marking the sites of conical lodges, which, to all appearances, were in use at the same time as the long lodges, large trees growing in them also.<sup>61</sup> According to some informants, the village "long house" was under the supervision of the village chief. When not in use, the mats used as covering were taken off and placed in a cache until the following winter, or taken by the people if required; for it seems that in some cases the mats were supplied by the several families, and were their property. Young men, and sometimes others, kept the house clean when in use, and gathered most of the firewood required.

When a long house was built, the poles were cut and hauled and the excavation dug by all the people of the place at the request of the chief or elders. However, there were no very strict rules regarding the management of the work and the upkeep of the house. All this was considered a community matter and a public duty. As a rule, the orders or advice of the chief or elders were taken, and all the people assisted more or less, according to their ability or inclination. All mat lodges, especially if in windy places, were braced by poles laid vertically against the outside here and there. The butt ends of some of the poles were sharpened so as to catch in the ground; but where stones were handy a fairly heavy stone was placed against the butt of each pole, as among the Thompson and other tribes. Some people used mats inside the lodges around the heads of their beds. The mats were tied to the poles and were intended for protection against draught at the base of the lodge, and also, it seems, as conductors of the draught toward the smoke hole, thus helping to draw

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<sup>61</sup> See *b*, p. 180.

the smoke out. Screens for these purposes were also used in skin tents.<sup>62</sup>

**BARK LODGE.**—Cedar-bark lodges were used at all seasons of the year in places where good bark abounded. Both dry and green cedar bark was used. These lodges varied in size and accommodated from one to four families. They were short and oblong, constructed like the similar lodges of the Thompson Indians, covered with mats, bark, or brush.<sup>63</sup> When large, the horizontal side poles<sup>64</sup> were further supported in the middle by an additional set of cross poles<sup>65</sup> and two fires were used instead of one; or, as was more generally the case, one, two, or several upright poles<sup>66</sup> were placed at equal distances apart, or, where required, between the gable cross poles,<sup>67</sup> to hold up the ridge poles.<sup>68</sup> At the same time the upper ends of other poles were placed underneath the horizontal side poles, as in some lodges of the Thompson.<sup>69</sup> In some of these lodges the gables slanted inward, as was common in Thompson lodges.<sup>70</sup> The bark is said to have been laid on the poles up and down, overlapping sidewise; or, as was much more generally the case, the strips were placed close together side by side and another strip was laid above over each seam. The corners of the lodge were often rounded, so that the gable ends were semicircular. The entrance was through one of the gable ends, and in large lodges sometimes there was an entrance at each gable end. In small lodges the strips of bark were rarely placed horizontally, overlapping like mats, as was common in some tribes, but this arrangement required longer strips of bark and more poles—a number of poles slanting inward being required to lay against the outside of the horizontal poles and as many again on the outside of the bark to keep it in position and prevent it from curling. This arrangement, therefore, was not favored because of the additional labor and weight. Only rarely in a very few places (when deemed necessary) was any of the bark stitched or fastened together or to the poles in any way by withes to hold it in position. The bark was cut in lengths equal to the height of the lodge and of as great width as the diameter of the tree allowed. These strips, when placed on the lodge with other strips over the seams, and a pole resting against the middle of the joint (on the outside) remained in place without any kind of fastening. The upper and lower full-width strips of bark were equivalent to a double thatch; and when winter weather set in all cracks and knot holes were chinked and covered and the house made quite snug. Bark was put with the outer side out. Some tribes used it the opposite way. Usually there was only a single central fire in these lodges.

In the summertime bark shelters of the single lean-to type were used by small parties when in good bark country. They answered as

<sup>62</sup> *c*, p. 106, where back walls are mentioned serving the same purposes.

<sup>63</sup> *a*, fig. 137.

<sup>65</sup> *a*, fig. 137 *a*.

<sup>67</sup> *a*, fig. 137 *a*.

<sup>69</sup> *a*, fig. 142 *a*.

<sup>64</sup> *a*, fig. 137 *b*.

<sup>66</sup> *a*, fig. 142 *b*.

<sup>68</sup> *a*, fig. 142.

<sup>70</sup> *a*, fig. 138.

shades against the sun as well as shelters from rain and wind. Occasionally single families used small bark lodges open on one side with the fire outside the entrance. The bark covering on these was often placed horizontally, but this kind of lodge was not much used. It is doubtful whether any tents or completely circular lodges of bark were made, although some tribes, as the Lake, used them.

**BRUSH LODGES.**—Temporary brush lodges of poles and branches of coniferous trees, chiefly fir and balsam, were used by hunting parties and by people traveling in the mountains. Most of them were slightly oblong, almost like the bark lodges. A few were conical. On hunting grounds where good bark abounded, bark lodges were always used as hunting lodges. The bark was renewed as required. Families traveling short distances in the summer erected simple shades or shelters of two or three mats arranged most conveniently. If they had no mats they used simple shelters of brush or bark or slept in the open under large trees.

**WOMEN'S AND GIRLS' LODGES.**—Women's lodges, used by women during their isolation periods, and lodges of adolescent maidens, were chiefly small tents or conical lodges placed at some distance from other dwellings and covered with mats, bark, brush, or old skins. Sometimes in the summer women used a mere shelter or shade of mats or bark.

**UNDERGROUND AND OTHER LODGES.**—No semi-subterranean earth-covered lodges, like those of the Thompson, Columbia, and other tribes, were used. These lodges are said to have been made only by the western tribes along Columbia River. Underground sudatory lodges for young men, and underground menstrual lodges for women, such as were used by the Nez Percé,<sup>71</sup> were not in use. Lodges with square framework and also those of circular shape with square smoke hole were never used.

**SWEAT HOUSES.**—Sweat houses were of the common dome-shaped type, with a framework of bent willows, such as those used by all the plateau tribes. A hole was dug to one side of the entrance to hold the stones.<sup>72</sup> The covering was of bark or grass, over which was laid sod or earth to the depth of from 5 to 12 cm. Temporary sweat houses had the sticks farther apart, and were covered when in use with robes, skins, or closely woven pliable mats in one or two layers. After the introduction of canvas and woolen blankets very few earth-covered sweat houses were made, blankets or tents being used as covering whenever required. The floor of the sweat houses was covered with soft brush or with grass. Most of them were small, and could accommodate only one or two persons. A very few were made large enough for five or six people.

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<sup>71</sup> *b*, p. 198.

<sup>72</sup> *a*, pl. 17, figs. 2 and 3.

SCAFFOLDS.—Scaffolds of poles were erected near all the more permanent lodges for the storing of saddles, skins, and other goods, to keep them out of the way of dogs. Anything of value was covered with mats, which were often fastened down as a protection against the wind. Spare baskets, mats, poles, and frames for stretching skins were also often placed on these scaffolds. Pole scaffolds for drying berries and meat were used at the fall berrying and hunting camps. They were like those found among the Thompson and other tribes.

CACHES AND CELLARS.—The common cache was a circular pit dug in dry ground where the drainage was good. It was the same as that used by the Thompson and other tribes. Dried fish, dried meat, roots, and other kinds of food were stored in these. Mats, camping outfit, skins, and sometimes food were cached on small platforms built in the branches of large trees or suspended from large lower limbs, to be out of the way of rats and mice. Box caches made of poles or of bark, erected in trees or on posts or on platforms, were not used by the tribe. The Coeur d'Alène claim that box caches were used only by neighboring tribes in places where snakes were abundant. Poisonous snakes were not found in any part of their country.

HOUSE FURNISHINGS AND UTENSILS.—House furnishings, as among other interior tribes, were very simple. The parts of the lodge where people sat and slept were covered with "bed" or "floor" mats of rushes. (See p. 47.) Some other coarser, squarer mats were used to some extent as seats and food was placed on them, preparatory to cooking. Often a layer of dry pine needles, or dry grass, or fine boughs of fir, balsam, hemlock, or cedar, laid regularly, all the butts one way, was spread all over the floor of the lodge. If these materials were scarce they were spread where the people slept and the bed mats were laid on top. No stools or benches were used. Often blocks of wood, pieces of tree trunks or large branches, and slabs of bark were used as seats at open fires outside of lodges in the mountains or in the woods. No special back rests were made. People lounged on the beds, using as back rests the rolled-up bedding, rolls of skins, bundles of any kind, full bags or large stiff baskets placed mouth down. Sometimes short pieces of plank, or slabs of stiff bark placed on edge and properly supported, were used as temporary back rests. Beds were made next to the walls of the house. The sleepers had, as a rule, their heads toward the wall and their feet toward the fire. If the lodge was very narrow beds were made sidewise along the fire. Some people preferred this way when there was plenty of room. Beds were made of skins spread over mats and grass or brush, or sometimes of mats alone, or of skins alone spread over these materials. Skins of buffalo, bear, goat, and elk with the hair on were much used as bedding; also skins of deer, sheep, and old robes of any kind. For

bed coverings robes were used; possibly those of buffalo and elk were most common. Pillows generally consisted of bunches of dry grass tied loosely and covered with skin, also folded skins, leather, robes, and pieces of robes, or rolls of matting. Often the head of the bed was simply raised by heaping up grass or brush under the bedding. Sacks of clothes and other soft materials were also used for this purpose. No pillows of bulrush down were used, and very few of hair or feathers. The spaces next to the door of the lodge were used for keeping the cooking utensils and for storage. Some kinds of food stored in sacks and baskets, dressed hide, and many other things were placed out of the way in the spaces between the beds and the base of the lodge walls. As a rule, dressed skins, clothes, valuables, and odds and ends were placed near the head or side of the bed. Some men kept their medicine bags at the head of the bed or hidden under the pillow. Work bags, quivers, and clothes were hung up near the beds or in convenient places. For this purpose cords and light poles were often attached to the poles of the lodge. Moccasins were hung on these or put under the foot of the bed. In some lodges small shelves, consisting of racks of light poles, were tied to the poles. Meat and other foods were dried and stored on them. Sometimes a framework for smoking meat and fish and for drying clothing extended across the lodge above the fire. Water, cooking utensils, and the larger tools were kept just inside the door.

The various kinds of bags and baskets used for storage and many of the tools have already been described. Circular baskets were used as kettles for boiling food. Meat and other foods were roasted on sticks before the fire or baked in hot ashes. Small bowls hollowed out of knots of trees and others made of bark and basketry were only occasionally used. Probably some bark cups were used, but no wooden dishes, or wooden kettles and cups. Occasionally the cylindrical bark baskets (see p. 52) were used as food bowls, but their proper use was to catch fat drippings before the fire and as storage vessels for rendered fat and marrow. Food was served on mats or eaten out of basket kettles. Parties on short hunting and traveling trips, having no mats and baskets with them, spread food on twigs and the small ends of branches heaped together. They also did boiling in paunches; but as a rule meat was roasted by them on sticks before the fire. They carried no bedding, and slept wrapped in their robes on a couch of fir boughs or similar material.

Some small bowls were made of mountain ram's horn. Spoons and ladles were of horn and wood. The largest ones were all of mountain ram's horn. Smaller ones were made of goat horn or buffalo horn. A few may have been made of ewe horn. Large and small wooden spoons were used, and most of them were made of balsam poplar wood (*Populus balsamifera*). Spoons made from the

skullcaps of deer and possibly those of other animals were fairly common. Tongs and stirrers were made of wood and were similar to those of the Thompson.<sup>73</sup> The handles were sometimes painted.

Fire was made with the common hand drill, like that of the Thompson and other tribes. The hearth stick was of poplar, willow, or various other kinds of wood. The top stick was generally made of cedar. It seems that the two sticks were not called "man" and "woman," as among the Thompson and many other tribes.

Tinder consisted of very dry cedar bark shredded and teased very fine. It was carried in a bag made for the purpose, and in wet or damp weather was worn underneath the arm close to or within the armpit. In places where cedar bark was scarce, bark of other trees, dry grass, and other materials were used. In permanent camps fires were banked, or otherwise attended to, and never allowed to go out entirely. Fire was carried from one place to another by means of cedar-bark slow matches like those of the Thompson.<sup>74</sup>

#### IV. CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

Clothing was made of skins of deer, elk, antelope, and other animals, with or without hair. It was of the same general type as obtained among other interior Salishan tribes. The men wore moccasins, long leggings, belt, breechelout, shirt, and robe; and the women, moccasins, short leggings, long dress, and robe. In warm weather lighter robes were used. Some people used none at all except for sleeping. Often leggings or shirts, or both, were discarded by the men. On warm days some men wore only moccasins, breechelout, and headband. Many had the uncovered parts of the body painted, but the paint was always washed off every day. In the evening, if chilly, people put on a robe. When the people were traveling on foot the robe was carried or worn; when mounted, it was placed on the saddle; when hunting, unless the weather was very cold, it was left in camp.

ROBES.—Robes were tanned quite soft, and consisted chiefly of the skins of elk, deer, fawn, buffalo, marmot, ground squirrel, beaver, and sometimes coyote, lynx, and other animals. The skins were sewed together with sinew or bark thread, and occasionally were fringed along all the seams. Fringes consisted chiefly of leather cut into fine strings, and of narrow strips of animal skins with the hair on. There were several methods of fringing and ornamenting robes, according to the kinds of skin from which they were made. Ground-squirrel robes consisted sometimes of as many as 80 skins sewed together. Deerskin robes usually consisted of two skins, as among the Thompson; and these and elk-skin robes sometimes had stripes shorn into the hair for ornamentation.<sup>75</sup> Elk and buffalo robes often

<sup>73</sup> a, figs. 159, 160.

<sup>74</sup> a, fig. 161.

<sup>75</sup> a, pl. 18.

consisted of single skins, but some were of two pieces. Many buffalo robes consisted of the skin of a year-old buffalo entire; while others, made from skins of larger animals, had the back cut out, because it is too thick to be rendered pliable. The sides were sewed together, making a two-piece robe. All these robes were dressed in the hair. All were worn hair side out, excepting some of those with painted designs on the inside, which were occasionally worn inside out for show. Some robes had crosswise bands of headed or quilled designs. Some of these seem to have been similar to the central bands used on robes by the Blackfeet<sup>76</sup> and may have been copied from eastern tribes; but others, it seems, were of native invention, several bands being used on the same robe. Robes woven of narrow twisted strips of muskrat skins were quite common long ago. It seems that they were woven on a rigid loom of four poles; and the weave, as far as I could learn, was the same as that of some Thompson robes woven of strips of rabbit skins.<sup>77</sup> This was the only kind of woven robe used. Neither rabbit skins nor goat's wool were used for robes. Woven goat's-wool robes were known to be made by tribes living west in the Cascade Mountains, but not elsewhere. Some large robes (the size of ordinary robes) and some small robes (the size of large cloaks) were made of hide. They were usually painted with designs on one side, and sometimes fringed and ornamented with pendants. They were used chiefly in the summertime, and appear to have resembled similar robes used by the Thompson.<sup>78</sup> Some buffalo robes, most of them procured in trade, were used long before the advent of the horse; but after the tribe became regular buffalo hunters, buffalo robes became very cheap and common, and supplanted nearly all other kinds of robes.

**MEN'S CLOTHES.** *Shirts.*—Men's shirts were often short, reaching to the hips or a little below. Usually the sleeve parts reached to the elbow. A common kind of shirt was similar to a shirt used by the Thompson Indians.<sup>79</sup> It consisted of a single buckskin folded double, and a piece cut out for the head to pass through. It was sewed up the sides and under the arms or simply at the sides. Some had only stitches here and there under the arms, and others were laced with a great many thongs along both sides and under the arms. The thongs took the place of fringes. The sewed shirts usually had long cut fringes at the sides, and a few very long strings of fringes near the lower parts of the arms. These shirts were ornamented in several ways, but probably the most common ornamentation was the addition of another piece of skin, which passed over the shoulders and hung down in the shape of a triangle at the front and back. This piece of skin was stitched to the shoulders of the shirt here and there with thongs. It seems to have been in imitation of a collar

<sup>76</sup> c, p. 123 and fig. 74.    <sup>77</sup> a, fig. 131 g.    <sup>78</sup> a, fig. 301.    <sup>79</sup> a, fig. 163.



or small poncho, and, if not embroidered, was pinked, punctured, and painted with red dots. Long pendants of skin were often attached to the pointed ends and to the edges of the collar piece, both front and back; and similar pendants were sometimes included here and there with the cut fringes at the sides and arms, and occasionally some were attached to the body of the shirt as well. These pendants were usually pinked, punctured, and painted with red dots.

Another common shirt was made of two doeskins sewed together heads up. The head and neck skins were cut off, and this part was left open to allow the head to pass through. The sides were sewed up, and also the parts of the skins covering the arms and shoulders. The part underneath the arms was often only stitched with thongs here and there. This shirt was usually a little longer than the single-skin shirt, but appeared of about the same length, for the bottom part was cut in a long fringe. As all the seams were also fringed, there was fringing on the shirt all around—bottom, sides, shoulders, over and under the arms, and sometimes even around the neck as well. Frequently bands of quillwork followed the borders of all the seams excepting under the arm. Occasionally other bands of quillwork, in the form of stripes and triangles, were embroidered on the breast and upper part of the back, forming a triangular field, point down, similar to the corresponding fields in the clothing of the Plains Indians.<sup>80</sup>

A third kind of shirt, also common, was made of two skins, like the last; but it had no fringing along the seams, excepting sometimes at the sides. Occasionally also the bottom and the lower ends of the sleeves were cut in a fringe or pinked. The shirt was open under the arms, or merely stitched here and there. If stitched, the skin was sometimes fringed. A wide band of quillwork followed the seam of the skins over the shoulders, from the neck down to the ends of the sleeves, over shoulders and arms. For ornamentation a wide band of quilled skin passed at right angles over each shoulder and hung down in front and at the back to about the waist. Often these bands were stitched or sewed to the shirt, usually at the shoulders, but the ends hung loose. As in most shirts, large or small triangular areas (apex down) on the breast and back of the neck were worked with quills or otherwise embroidered. When there was no ornamentation at the back of the neck a long piece of embroidered skin similar to the front bands was sometimes attached there. It hung down the middle of the back to the lower border of the shirt.

Other similar shirts had quilled or beaded bands, which crossed the shoulders or connected with the shoulder bands, sewed down to the shirt their full length. The deer's tail was sometimes left on the shirt behind. Probably these shirts were cut as described by Wissler,

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<sup>80</sup> *d*, pp. 47, 48, figs. 1, 2.

and the sewed-down bands covered the seams, but I did not obtain exact information on this point.

Scalp shirts ornamented with fringes of hair were also in common use. Sometimes the bodies of these were painted in two or three colors arranged in fields. For instance, the upper part of the shirt, including the sleeves, might be red, and the lower part yellow. Yellow, red, brown, blue, black, and green colors were used. Sometimes, instead of hair or scalp locks, ermine skins were used as fringes. The plan of decoration was the same as in the style just described. In some tribes the hair of slaves was used for making fringes on shirts, but it is not certain that the Coeur d'Alène did so.

Some shirts of light-weight skin, used in the summertime, were covered with small punctures, painted with dots, and ornamented with painted or dyed fringes in the style of the type first described.

Some entirely sleeveless shirts of buffalo or other skins, dressed with or without hair, were in use. They reached to the hips and were laced at the sides. They were made of a single piece of skin folded over, with a slit cut for the head to pass through, like a poncho. Some were fringed at the sides.<sup>82</sup>

A few sleeveless shirts were also made of two skins of coyote or other small animals. The head part adjoined the neck. The tail remained attached and hung down in front and on the back. The skins were joined by pieces of skin at the shoulders and sides. They were laced or tied at the sides.<sup>83</sup>

Similar shirts were made of two pieces of skin of large animals in the hair.<sup>84</sup>

A fairly common shirt was made of buffalo-calf skin dressed in the hair. Most of these had long sleeves. Long ago only a few shirts had full-length closed sleeves, made of separate skins, and sewed to the body at the shoulders. A few were sewed to the body of the shirt at the elbow; the lower part of the sleeve was sewed up to the elbow. The upper arm was formed by part of the skin of which the shirt was cut, as in the specimens previously described, and was open or merely laced.

Most shirts opened only at the neck, where there was an opening left for the head, or a slit cut in the skin to allow the head to pass through. The opening was closed by pulling a lacing or with tie strings on each side of the neck, as in women's dresses. Some shirts had a piece of skin cut away to allow the head to pass through. This usually made the neck of the shirt lower both at the back and front, or sometimes only in front, according to the way the hole was cut.

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<sup>82</sup> See *a*, fig. 162, but without collar.

<sup>83</sup> Thompson specimen, Ottawa, VI, M. 400, and Thompson photograph, Ottawa, No. 30985.

<sup>84</sup> Thompson specimen, Ottawa, VI, M. 398.

Few shirts had slits in the front; the slits were always short. No collars or cuffs were sewed to shirts. No coats, jumpers, or vests were used long ago; they came into vogue after the arrival of the fur traders.

*Neck wraps, belts.*—Many men, especially in winter, wore small ponchos over their shirts. Usually they consisted of single skins of wolf, coyote, or otter. The head was passed through a slit at about the middle of the skin. The tail hung down the back and the head skin hung over the breast.<sup>85</sup> Sometimes pendants were attached to the head, tail, and sides of the skin. Some consisted of two skins, or parts of two skins, sewed together so that a tail hung down in front and behind, or more rarely at the sides.<sup>86</sup> Neck wraps of long pieces of fur doubled over and sewed together were in use.<sup>87</sup> They were fastened with tie strings at the throat and were used by both sexes. Armlets of skin ornamented with quillwork and feathers were used by some men. Belts made of leather were used to hold up the leggings. Some belts were worn outside the shirt and others inside. Many wide embroidered belts were used, some of them in addition to the belt for holding up the leggings. They were worn outside the shirt. Some belts were made of skin dressed in the hair and ornamented with pendent eagle feathers and other decorations.

*Leggings.*—Men's leggings were of skin, and reached to the thighs. They were fastened to the belt with tie strings, or with loops for the belt to pass through. Some were made rather tight fitting and others loose. All were fringed along the outer seams. The fringes of some increased in length below the knee. Some leggings were made wider below the knee, and others narrower near the ankle. Most of them, however, were about of an even width throughout. Many leggings had bands of beadwork or quillwork bordering the fringes. When cloth leggings came into use the fringes could not be cut, and extended as double flaps along the outside of the legs. Skin leggings also sometimes had uncut flaps embroidered with beads or quills, or painted. Garters were much used, and generally passed through slits in the outside of the leggings, so that they could be tightened without disturbing the fringes. No trousers were used long ago.

*Breechclouts and aprons.*—Breechclouts were seldom sewed. Most of them consisted of a loose strip of soft skin cut square at each end, and passed between the thighs under the belt. The ends (sometimes short and sometimes long) hung down over the belt in front and behind. Some of the same shape had the front and back flaps stitched down to the centerpiece, so as to make a place for the belt to pass through like a draw string. Some breechclouts had the ends

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<sup>85</sup> *a*, pl. 18.

<sup>86</sup> *b*, p. 217 otter-skin collars.

<sup>87</sup> Thompson specimen, Peabody Museum, No. 275.

cut in fringes. In olden times some of the old men wore simple aprons of buffalo skin. They were oblong in shape, and fastened to a belt, or tied with strings around the waist. Some were double, one piece hanging in front and another behind. Another kind of apron used by old men consisted of two wolf skins. Most of the sides of the skins were cut off, leaving the backs, heads, and tails. These were sewed, heads up, to a belt tied in front. The eyeholes were painted red and the tails hung down outside of each leg, almost reaching the ground. There was sometimes fringing in the spaces between the skins.

**WOMEN'S CLOTHES. Dresses.**—The common woman's dress of the Cocur d'Alêne seems to have been exactly like that described by Spinden for the Nez Percé.<sup>88</sup> About three entire large deerskins were required; two formed the body of the dress, the other being used for filling, to make the skirt even at the bottom, and to increase the flare and length, if necessary. The upper parts of the skins were folded down on the outside of the dress, forming a kind of false yoke at back and front. They were sewed to the body of the dress throughout, or stitched here and there with thongs. Pendants and tassels were often attached to the edges of the fold. The hair of the tail-piece was clipped in lines, and the end of the tail generally, but not always, cut off. Usually the sleeve parts were left open underneath, but sometimes they were stitched or tied here and there with thongs. Generally three rows of inserted fringe or thongs extended around the skirt below the waist. Single rows were also placed on the back and front of the dress below the yoke, but only rarely. Beads and shells of various kinds were sometimes strung on these thongs. Often all or the lower part of the yoke piece was beaded or quilled in lines following the contour of the edge of the yoke, or the dress itself was beaded immediately below the yoke. Some women's dresses had no folded piece or false yoke, and therefore no tail-piece; but imitations of the yoke and tail-piece were made in beading. Almost all dresses had fringes along the sides, bottom, and ends of the arms. Most dresses reached to the ankles, but some to about halfway between the knees and ankles. The sleeve parts of nearly all reached to the elbow, and occasionally almost to the wrist. Dresses were sometimes quilled or beaded with bands bordering the seams and fringes, and often with one or two additional bands or lines around the skirt near the bottom. Some had several lines of quillwork across the breast and back of the body and many had long fringes following the edge of the yoke.

Another kind of woman's dress was also of three skins; but in this case two skins formed the skirt, the third one being folded and sewed across the tops of the other two skins. A slit was cut in the

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<sup>88</sup> See *b*, pp. 219, 220; also *d*, fig. 18, Yakima.

middle for the head to pass through. This kind had draw strings which pulled the dress tight around the neck;<sup>89</sup> or the corners of the opening were tied together with strings, as in most dresses. These dresses were also ornamented with fringes, quilled lines, and rows of thongs. Horizontal lines and triangular and semicircular pieces of embroidery were made on the yoke or upper skin. This kind of dress had fringes like others, and some dresses were painted.

A common dress used in the winter was also of three pieces. The upper part was made of a year-old deerskin dressed in the hair; and the skirt of two pieces of dressed skin joined to the body of the dress at the waist and to each other at the sides. It was fringed like all other dresses and was worn hair side out. A few had two pieces in front, the upper part with the hair, and the back of a single piece of dressed deerskin, with or without hair. Sometimes the back was a duplicate of the front.

Almost all women's dresses were made of dressed skins of deer, elk, and antelope.

Many women wore belts over their dresses. Some of these were richly quilled. Many wore small paint pouches attached to the belt.<sup>90</sup> These generally were quilled on the outside and had a fringe at the bottom. Other kinds of light bags were also sometimes attached to the belt or sewed to the skirt of the dress.<sup>91</sup> Some served the purpose of pockets.

*Bodices.*—It seems that no bodices,<sup>92</sup> or short skirts with long fringes, were used by women. These were only used by tribes along Columbia River, especially near The Dalles. It is said, however, that long ago some old women of poor families, who had not enough skin to make dresses, wore aprons of skin with long fringes. These were tied around the waist. Over this they wore only a robe. This may have been the same as the bodice used along Columbia River, or it may have been somewhat different.

*Leggings.*—All women wore leather leggings. They reached to the knee and were fringed along the outer sides. A few extended a little above the knee. Some leggings were closed and had to be pulled up over the feet. They were fastened below the knee with garters or with a draw string. Others were open on the outside of the leg and were fastened with tie strings. Many had beaded designs, especially on the lower part; others had cross fringes, one above the other, for ornament.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> See Thompson specimen, Ottawa photographs Nos. 35409, 35408.

<sup>90</sup> See Ottawa Mus., No. VI, M. 386.

<sup>91</sup> See Thompson specimens with small bags sewed to the dress. Peabody Mus., 316, 341, 347; and Ottawa photographs, 27093, 27075.

<sup>92</sup> See Thompson, *a*, fig. 185; and Ottawa Mus., No. 139.

<sup>93</sup> See Thompson specimen with cross fringes, Peabody Mus. No. 351.

**CHILDREN'S CLOTHES.**—Children generally went bareheaded in good weather and also often barefooted except when traveling. Some wore long skirts and dresses without leggings, and others small robes. Leggings were used by some in conjunction with aprons or with breechclouts. Many boys went almost nude in warm weather. Ponchos of spotted fawn skin were much used by boys. They were worn loose or confined with a belt around the waist. Sleeveless poncho shirts of skins dressed in the hair, like some used by men, and tied or laced at the sides, were also in use. Usually they consisted of single skins or parts of larger skins. A common dress of girls consisted of two fawn skins sewed together. Some were sewed only on the shoulders and laced or stitched here and there at the sides. They were worn with the hair side out. All children's clothes were dressed quite soft. Lads and young women dressed almost like adults.

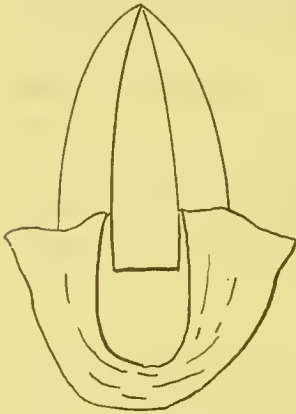


FIGURE 6.—Sketch illustrating cut of moccasin

**MOCCASINS.**—Moccasins were generally made of dressed buckskin and were of five main kinds:

1. A single-piece moccasin, with seam around the outside of the foot. This style was common to all the interior Salishan tribes, to the Nez Percé, and to some other tribes.<sup>94</sup>

2. A two-piece moccasin, with short tongue, seam down the front of the foot, and a short crosscut at the toe. This style is used by some of the interior Salishan and many Athapasean tribes, but among the

latter the cross seam at the toe is generally longer than among the Salish.<sup>95</sup>

3 *a*. A two-piece moccasin like No. 2, with short tongue, and a seam down the front of the foot from tongue to toe. The seam ends in a small gathering at the toe and also at the bottom of the heel, so there is no trailer. This kind was also used by the Thompson.<sup>96</sup>

3 *b*. A moccasin (which seems to have been often called by the same name as the last) differing from 3 *a* in the form of the tongue, which consists of a long triangular piece placed in the middle and ending in a sharp point at the toe.<sup>97</sup> It was not very common. (Fig. 6.)

4. A two-piece moccasin with long tongue and round toe, like some eastern moccasins.<sup>98</sup>

5. A two-piece moccasin, the sole being a separate piece, like many moccasins used by Plains tribes.<sup>99</sup>

<sup>94</sup> See Thompson Indians, *a*, fig. 169; Nez Percé; *b*, pp. 216, 217; *c*, fig. 78.

<sup>95</sup> See Thompson Indians, *a*, fig. 171.

<sup>96</sup> *a*, fig. 172.

<sup>97</sup> Also *c*, fig. 88.

<sup>98</sup> See Thompson Indians, fig. 170.

<sup>99</sup> See *c*, fig. 79.

Types Nos. 1, 2, and 3 are said to have been the only kinds used long ago, and of these probably No. 1 was the most common. No. 5 came into use after the introduction of the horse, and was probably copied from styles of moccasins used by tribes farther east. No. 4 came in at a later date with the fur traders and was less used than any of the other kinds. The Coeur d'Alène named it "white man's moccasin" and "Chippewa moccasin." Most moccasins had trailers of various styles. All moccasins had uppers or gaiters of skin, folded around the ankle and tied with the ends of the moccasin strings. Both sexes wore the same styles. Long ago most of the moccasins were devoid of ornamentation, but later on some were painted or embroidered, especially on the tongue; others were embroidered with quills or beads over the entire front and on the sides as well. Summer moccasins were made to fit the foot much more snugly than winter moccasins. Some winter moccasins were made of skin of buffalo, deer, and elk, with the hair inside. They were of the same cuts as others. In early times board lasts similar to those used by the Shuswap were in common use.

SOCKS.—No woven socks or inside shoes of cedar, sage, or any other bark were made. Sage does not grow in the Coeur d'Alène country. In wintertime pieces of dressed deerskin or buffalo skin, with the hair on, were wrapped around the foot or roughly shaped to the foot by sewing up the front, the heel part being left open. Usually they were long enough to reach up over the back of the heel. Otherwise dry grass was used inside of moccasins. In summer no filling of the moccasin was used.

MITTENS.—No gloves were made long ago, but mittens made of various kinds of skin dressed in the hair were commonly used in cold weather, worn hair side out. Some were short, but most of them were long. Many were made of coyote skin. Almost a whole skin was used for each long mitten, as they reached almost to the shoulders, and were fastened with a string around the neck. Long mittens of coyote and lynx skins were considered the warmest to wear when paddling.

MEN'S CAPS AND HEADBANDS.—In cold weather men generally wore round, rather high caps of fisher, fox, coyote, and other furs. The tail of the animal hung down behind. Some were made of cased skins, the hair being both outside and in. In mild weather headbands of various kinds were worn. Feather headdresses were used only at gatherings, dances, when going buffalo hunting, and on war expeditions, and were seldom or never worn when traveling in the woods or when hunting. A great many different kinds of headbands set with feathers were in use. For these the tail feathers of the golden eagle were most frequently used; but tail feathers of other

eagles and of hawks and occasionally of flickers and other birds were fairly common. The headband itself generally consisted of a wide band of skin, often embroidered with designs in quill and bead work. Pendants of beaded strings, feathers, animals' tails, ermine skins, and twisted strips of otter and other fur-bearing animals were attached to the sides, and sometimes also to the backs, of many kinds of headbands. Some of the most common styles of headdresses were as follows:

1. Headband with a single eagle feather erect at the back.
2. Headband with two eagle feathers erect at the back.
3. Headband with a single eagle feather or two hawk's feathers erect at each side. This was considered a hunter's style, as among the Thompson.<sup>100</sup>
4. Headband with a single eagle feather erect in front.
5. Headband with two eagle feathers erect in front.
6. Headband with two eagle feathers in front slanting away from each other, or rarely having their butts crossed.<sup>101</sup> This was a shaman's style among the Thompson, but it seems it was not particularly so considered by the Coeur d'Alène.
7. Headband set with eagle, hawk, or other feathers all round. The feathers were placed erect in some and slanting slightly backward in others. Each was attached independently and some distance from the next one.
8. Headband set with eagle feathers close together all round. They were placed erect and, like No. 7, attached separately. Sometimes they were made to slant slightly outward by use of a light hoop. Generally from 20 to 30 feathers were used. This style was called a "chief's bonnet" by many of the Thompson.<sup>102</sup>
9. Headband set with eagle feathers all round, erect, and so close together that they overlap. The butts only were attached to the lower part of the headband individually; the upper parts of the feathers were connected with a string so as to form a crown. This was the war bonnet or common headdress of the plains. It was claimed to be the best for windy weather and for riding. It became the common headdress after the advent of the horse, superseding entirely many of the others.
10. A feathered headband with streamers or feather "tails." The "tails" with feathers set horizontally were used only with No. 9. Those with pendent feathers, like a Thompson style,<sup>103</sup> were used with No. 8 and others. The tails were easily detachable, and in many cases merely an adjunct to the bonnet.
11. An eagle feather headband or bonnet with ermine skins pendent close together all round the sides and back. Ermine-skin ornamentation of this kind was used with bonnets like Nos. 6, 7, 8,

<sup>100</sup> *a*, fig. 180.

<sup>102</sup> Peabody Museum, No. 272.

<sup>101</sup> See Thompson, *a*, fig. 183, and Field Mus., 111767.

<sup>103</sup> *a*, fig. 182.



and 9. Usually with the last named the ermine was put only at the sides.

12. A headband of twisted otter fur, about 2 inches wide, and often provided with from two to four long "tails" of the same animal.

Headbands like Nos. 1, 2, 4, and 5 very likely had some special significance, and probably were not used by everybody, but I did not clear up this point.

It seems that the headdress of the plains type became common after the Coeur d'Alène became buffalo hunters. It appears to have been first copied from the Flathead tribes. Later some alterations of details took place from time to time through the influence of one tribe on another. In later days the Crow style was thought to be the handsomest and best, and all the tribes copied it. In still later days the Sioux style came into vogue, and many men of all the buffalo-hunting tribes copied it. It seems that the "tails" to bonnets with feathers laid horizontally (in pieces of skin or cloth) sticking out behind, or double, the feathers in the latter case sticking out to both sides, were adopted from eastern tribes. The thick ends of the quills were held in place by a thong which was passed up and down crosswise through a long piece of hide, so that a short stitch held down the butt end of the quill. A thin thread was also passed through the quills and they were often sewed down to the margin of the strip of skin. The feathers were attached either to one side or to both sides. "Tails" like these were generally used only on dress occasions and in dances.

Headdresses of animals' skins set with horns were common. Buffalo, antelope, 2-year-old buck deer, mountain ewe, etc., were used. The tips of the horns were sometimes pierced, and small tufts of hair of natural color or dyed were attached to them.<sup>104</sup> In later days red cloth, colored yarn, and ribbon were sometimes used. The sides of these headdresses, and sometimes also the backs, were set with fringes or pendants of skin, hair, strips of fur, feathers, or ermine skins. The last named were most frequently used, the entire skins being attached. Sometimes only the backs with the heads and tails were used, and sometimes the skins were twisted into strings. The long, twisted strips of otter, fisher, or other fur attached to some were wrapped here and there with fur of a different color, or with beaded strings, hair tassels, or feathers. Headdresses made of head skins of buffalo or grizzly bear were also used. The eyeholes were sometimes painted red or had a large bead set in each. Some headbands or caps made of the head skins of black-tailed deer, mule deer, white-tailed deer, and elk, were used by hunters. They retained the ears, which stood erect. Other caps were made of head skins of animals like coyote or wolf.<sup>105</sup> The animal's tail was some-

<sup>104</sup> See Thompson specimen, Field Museum, 111956.

<sup>105</sup> See Thompson, *a*, fig. 178.

times attached behind. Small feathers in their natural color or dyed and small tufts of hair were often wrapped around the small ends of large feathers used in headdresses. Colored feathers were also attached to the ends of strings and fringes of skin.

A few headbands of rawhide, made like the brim of a cowboy's hat and painted with designs, were sometimes used as eye shades in sunny weather.<sup>106</sup> Another kind of headband fairly common was made of parts of a buffalo hide having stiff hair, and other similar ones were made of the skin of a horse's tail split lengthwise, and the hair clipped to within about 10 centimeters of the skin. In these headbands the stiff hair stuck out all around the head, and acted as an eye shade, although they were not always specially used as such.

Some boy's caps and headbands were ornamented with the tails of hawks, flickers, grouse, etc., spread out like a fan, and attached to the front or to both the front and back of the cap.

WOMEN'S CAPS.—Headbands of skin embroidered with quills, beads, or shells were used by some young women; but most women, when fully dressed, wore caps. It seems that the kind in most frequent use was the basket cap, common also to the Nez Percé<sup>107</sup> and other tribes. It was fez-shaped, and ornamented at the crown with a small fringe of loose strings (or sometimes loops) of skin on which were often strung beads and shells. The weave is said to have been exactly the same as that employed by the Nez Percé<sup>108</sup> and other neighboring Shahaptian and Salishan tribes. Among the Coeur d'Alène they were made of fine twine of Indian hemp which was covered on the outside of the cap with grass (probably *Xerophyllum tenax*) excepting generally the crown and the middle of the crown. In most cases grass in its natural yellowish-white color formed the background for the designs, which were made of dyed grass, yellow and green being the colors most used. (See p. 55.) Sometimes designs were made entirely in natural colors. When put on the cap, as a rule the white stems were used as the field color, green ones for the designs, and yellow ones as borders to the designs.<sup>109</sup> In later days colored yarn, respun from shredded woolen blankets, was often substituted for the native materials.

Skin caps were also used by some women. They were all more or less conical or pointed at the top; but some were rounded and low, somewhat like skullcaps. Some were ornamented with fringes, and many had a fringe or tassel at the crown, like the basket caps. Beads and shells were sometimes strung on the tassel. Nearly all skin caps were further ornamented with beaded or quilled lines and zigzags. Zigzag designs were also common on basket caps. The skin caps

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<sup>106</sup> See Nez Percé, *b*, fig. 5, No. 4.

<sup>107</sup> *b*, Pl. VI, Nos. 15, 16.

<sup>108</sup> *b*, fig. 4.

<sup>109</sup> See *o*, pl. 66.

appear to have been of the same kind in every way as those used by women of the Thompson<sup>110</sup> and other Salishan tribes.

WOVEN PONCHOS, RAIN CLOAKS.—No woven-bark clothes were made or used, except a few ponchos and cloaks that were worn long ago by some people in rainy weather. Both kinds reached to the hips and were worn over the ordinary clothes. Most of them were made of dry bark of willow trees which had been burned (?), and they were woven in the same way as mats sometimes used for serving food on. (See p. 47.) Others were made of cedar bark and a very few of rushes. In shape the ponchos seem to have been like those of sage bark made by the Thompson.<sup>111</sup> None of the oldest people now living have seen any of these garments. It is said that they were used only by a few poor people who had few robes or blankets. Others, in rainy weather, if they were temporarily without robes, or if they did not wish to wet their robes, covered themselves over the shoulders, or sometimes over the head and shoulders, with ordinary mats, which they fastened with a wooden pin at the breast.

Fans were made of tails of birds, like the eagle or hawk. Some of them had the butt end inclosed in skin, and embroidered or otherwise ornamented.

ORNAMENTATION AND DESIGNS ON CLOTHING.—Most garments had more or less embroidery made with quills. Porcupine quills were chiefly used, and were arranged to display their natural black and white colors. They were also dyed; and most quillwork was made in three colors—white, red, and yellow. I did not learn with certainty the exact methods of applying the quills but it is said that there were several ways. They were twisted and wrapped, braided, or sewed to the skin. The quills were sewed on straight, with a simple stitch, as in the technique No. 3, mentioned by Wissler for the Blackfoot;<sup>112</sup> or they were put on obliquely with the same kind of stitch, probably as in the Blackfoot technique No. 5.<sup>113</sup> In still other cases they crossed each other, probably as in the Blackfoot technique No. 6.<sup>114</sup> The twisted quillwork appears to have been like the Blackfoot technique No. 10.<sup>115</sup> Fringes were occasionally decorated by being wrapped with quills, but I did not obtain a very clear idea of the method employed. It seems, however, to have been similar to Blackfoot technique No. 12.<sup>116</sup>

Quill flatteners made of wood, antler, and bone were used. In later days the back of an iron knife was often employed. Both

<sup>110</sup> *a*, fig. 191.

<sup>111</sup> *a*, fig. 194.

<sup>112</sup> *c*, fig. 15 and p. 56.

<sup>113</sup> *c*, fig. 18 and pp. 56, 57.

<sup>114</sup> *c*, fig. 19 and p. 57.

<sup>115</sup> *c*, fig. 23 and p. 59; also specimens Peabody Mus., No. 166, and Field Mus., 111755.

<sup>116</sup> *c*, fig. 25 and p. 60.

unsplit and split quills were in use. It seems porcupine quills were generally used unsplit.

In later days beadwork largely supplanted quillwork. Much beadwork consisted of designs distributed so that the skin formed the background, but solid beadwork covering the whole surface was also common. White was the usual color for the background; light blue was fairly common; and red and yellow were used occasionally. Beads were usually sewed down so as to make a rigid, flat, uniform surface. Rather frequently, however, the beads were sewed down at regular intervals, giving the surface a ridged appearance.<sup>117</sup> Designs in both quillwork and beadwork were mostly geometric (fig. 7); but floral designs were also used long ago and in later days became most common, though never as common as among the Nez Percé.

Some clothes were painted with designs, generally in red; but brown, yellow, blue, and black were sometimes also used. Occasion-

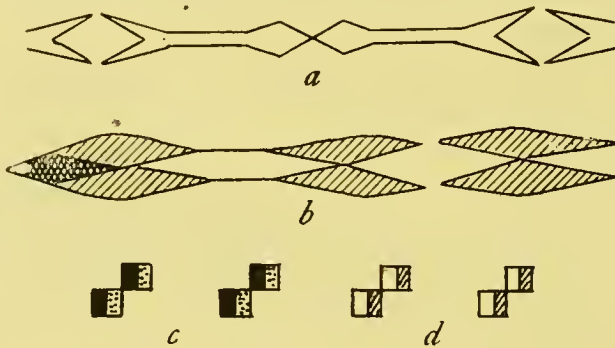


FIGURE 7.—Designs in quillwork and beadwork on clothing

ally the outlines of designs were edged with narrow lines in another color. Sometimes on women's dresses and men's shirts rather large round circles were painted in red or blue, or occasionally in yellow edged with red. These circles were made on the breasts of shirts, and sometimes also on the upper arms and other places. Sometimes a large circle was painted in the middle of the breast and two smaller ones a little lower down to the sides, about over the nipples. Occasionally two circles were painted on the back of the shoulders. The meaning of these designs seems to be unknown. The same painted ornamentation was in vogue among the Thompson.<sup>118</sup> Dresses were sometimes painted with horizontal lines and zigzags near the bottom of the skirt. Quilled and beaded lines on yokes of women's dresses, or below and following the lines of the yoke, were often parallel, about an inch apart. The lines or bands were

<sup>117</sup> See Coeur d'Alène bag, Peabody Mus., Coeur d'Alène, No. 1.

<sup>118</sup> See *a*, fig. 191, also Thompson specimens Ottawa, VI, M. 401, Peabody Mus., 320, 342, Field Mus., 111784.

about an inch wide, or sometimes more, and were composed of oblongs and squares alternating in different colors. Sometimes all the lines were placed close together, so that the whole formed a field of solid beadwork. Horizontal meandering and zigzag beaded lines were also fairly common on the upper parts of women's dresses. Generally there were two or several of these at equal distances, one above another. Another ornamentation on dresses consisted of a fairly wide beaded line following the tops of the shoulders, and another following the edge of the yoke. Narrower vertical lines about 5 to 7 cm. apart connected the two all around. Beaded lines, one to four in number, composed of checks and oblongs, were often embroidered on the skirts of dresses.<sup>119</sup> The lines were 5 or 7 centimeters apart or more, following the bottom of the dress. On some men's shirts and women's dresses there was an embroidered or painted triangular line on the front and back. The end pointed downward, reaching almost to the waist. Inside the area inclosed by the line there were often small detached designs of dots, crosses, or triangles; and on painted shirts, sometimes realistic figures of men, weapons, animals, moon, etc. Sometimes the whole area was in solid beadwork. Some men's shirts were almost entirely covered with tiny spots of red paint, which, according to some, represented blood.

Robes were painted with straight and zigzag lines and other geometric figures, as well as with pictographs of mountains, lakes, people, and animals. Some pictographs represented incidents in dreams, incidents and feats in war and the chase; and some were representations of the guardian spirit and of objects connected with it. After hunting began on the Plains the old styles of pictographs fell into disuse to some extent and paintings on robes became for the most part pictures, made as realistic as possible, of personal encounters, battles, etc., after the style of the Crow Indians. Long ago designs were also made on robes by scratching off the outer layer of skin with a sharp bone.<sup>120</sup> As a rule, they consisted chiefly of small triangles and straight lines, made in various forms and combinations. Sometimes long lines were made, with short lines radiating from them; triangles, diamond-shaped figures, and squares. Lines of triangles, called "arrowheads," were also made, and stepped triangles called "mountains." It is said that no designs were made on robes or clothes by searing. Elk and deer skin robes very often had the hair cut in parallel, horizontal, vertical, or diagonal stripes about 5 cm. in width. The hair in the lines was either uniformly clipped halfway down to the roots, or it was clipped in steps.<sup>121</sup> A

<sup>119</sup> See Pend d'Oreille (Flathead) specimen, Field Mus., 111909.

<sup>120</sup> See designs made on buffalo-skin pouch of Thompson; *a*, fig. 300; also *f*, p. 192.

<sup>121</sup> See Thompson, *a*, pl. 18, and Thompson specimen Field Mus., 111915.

few had small spaces of bare skin between the steps which were painted red.

Headbands often had painted or embroidered zigzag and triangular ("arrowhead") designs. Stepped designs also were used. Nearly all the women's basket-caps had zigzag designs. A three-pointed zigzag was most common. Stepped and checkered designs also occurred.

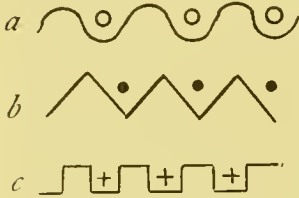


FIGURE 8.—Designs from headbands

Quilled, beaded, or painted zigzag designs were also common on skin caps. Both sharp-pointed and round-pointed zigzags were common; square-pointed zigzag also occurred. The spaces between the points of the zigzags were sometimes filled in with small designs, such as dots, circles, triangles, etc.<sup>122</sup> (Fig. 8.) Straight lines, generally horizontal, but not infrequently vertical, and occasionally diagonal; zigzags and triangles with both plain and stepped edges; figures composed of small checks, diamond-shaped figures, and crosses of various kinds, some of them called "stars," were all common designs on nearly all kinds of clothing.

Fringing, pinking, and puncturing were all common methods of ornamenting seams, edges, and flaps.<sup>123</sup> Red lines were also often painted on seams.

MODERN CLOTHING.—After the advent of the fur traders the tribe began to use cloth for making leggings and some other parts of clothing, and woolen blankets took the place of robes. New garments were also introduced, such as gloves, coats, vests, and trousers. (Fig. 9.) These new forms of clothing were made by the Indians themselves out of dressed skin as well as of blankets and cloth.<sup>124</sup>

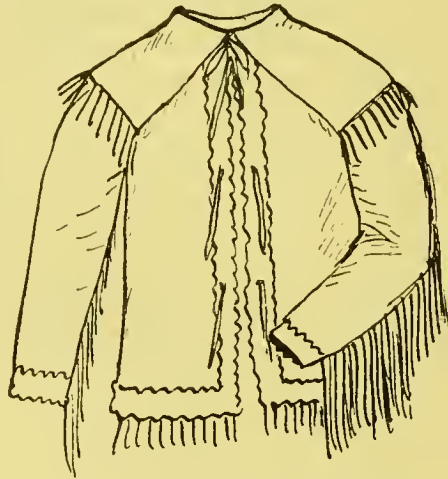


FIGURE 9.—Sketch illustrating cut of modern coat

Styles of cutting and ornamenting the new kinds of garments were evolved, and new styles of cutting and ornamenting men's skin shirts and women's dresses came into vogue. A great variety of clothes were now worn—clothes of old style in cut and ornamentation, those of the new style, and all degrees of variations between them, resulting from

<sup>122</sup> See Thompson, *a*, fig. 191.

<sup>123</sup> For puncturing of garments, see Thompson, *a*, 163, 184; Lillooet, *k*, p. 220; also *f*, p. 192.

<sup>124</sup> See Thompson blanket, poncho, or shirt, Field Mus., No. 111914.

modifications of the old-style clothes and of the new styles copied from the whites. However, much of the old-style clothing continued to be used up to the end of the buffalo hunting. After permanent settlement on the reserve, when the Indians took up farming, the change became very rapid, especially as the surrounding country was becoming settled. Many stores sprang up, where the Indians could get supplies of ready-made clothing. Old-style clothes continued to be worn only at dances and on special occasions. Some few years ago the dances were given up under the influence of the priests; and now, it seems, no Indian clothing is used at all, the tribe dressing in every way much as do the neighboring whites. Moccasins, however, are still used a good deal.

ORNAMENTS.—Throat necklaces and breast necklaces were used by both sexes. Most of the former were of the type used by the Thompson.<sup>125</sup> They were of soft skin padded with sweet-grass, beaver castor, hair, etc., and covered with solid beadwork on the outside. They were tied at the back of the neck. Another kind, wider, flatter, and stiffer (more like a collar), and covered with shells set horizontally, was used by some men. These were like the necklaces worn by many of the Flathead, Kutenai, and other tribes farther east.

The breast necklaces were single or multiple. The former consisted of beads or shells strung on a thong or on a string of sinew or Indian hemp, which passed around the neck. They were of various lengths, and were generally provided with a pendant of large shell or copper suspended from the bight of the necklace in front. Sometimes several of these necklaces were worn at the same time. One kind of beaded necklace used by women reached to the navel.

The multiple necklace was worn more by men, and consisted of a series of thin necklaces of increasing length attached, one below the other, to a heavier one. The highest was near the neck; the lowest reached down to the waist. There were different ways of making and arranging these.<sup>126</sup> Breastplates of long polished bone beads were used by men.<sup>127</sup> They were like the breastplates used by the Flathead and Plains tribes, and were first adopted by the Coeur d'Alène about the beginning of the nineteenth century. According to some informants, the bones were polished buffalo bones made by the tribes east of the Coeur d'Alène; while others claim that they were introduced by the fur traders and were quite unknown to all Indian tribes long ago. The materials strung for necklaces before traders' beads came into vogue were dentalium shells (and possibly a larger shell like it); flat, disk-shaped beads of bone and shell; hoofs of fawn, entire or cut in small triangle-shaped pieces, with notched edges; tubular beads of copper formed by rolling and beating sheets or beads of copper over

<sup>125</sup> *a*, fig. 200.

<sup>127</sup> See Nez Percé, *b*, p. 217, and pl. 10, No. 1.

<sup>126</sup> See Nez Percé, *b*, pp. 217, 218.

slender round sticks; feathers; quills; certain small round bones of animals (and possibly fish); teeth of elk, horse, and wolf (horse and wolf teeth were generally used by men); and claws of bear and other animals (also used by men only). Necklaces of grizzly bear's claws, generally set on a band of skin or fur, were used only by men, especially warriors. Some of the most common pendants to necklaces were abalone shells (procured in trade), certain fresh-water shells, flat pieces of copper cut in various shapes, and small, flat polished stones. Charms of various kinds were often attached to necklaces.

**NOSE ORNAMENTS.**—Nose pins were used by many women and by some men. They were of three kinds: (1) A single large dentalium shell, or two shells fitting into each other.<sup>128</sup> (2) A bird's quill scraped thin and transparent and stuffed with down, which was sometimes dyed. (3) A rod of bone (some of them nearly a finger-length long) ornamented with incised designs, and usually polished.<sup>129</sup> Many of these nose pins had tufts of bright-colored feathers glued into the ends, the bone pins being hollowed out for the purpose. The scalp of the red-headed woodpecker was the kind most used. No nose rings or crescent-shaped ornaments were used in the nose; and labrets were also unknown. After the tribe began to go to the Plains for buffalo hunting nose pins rapidly went out of style. The Nez Percé and the tribes to the south used them, but none of the tribes to the east.

**EAR ORNAMENTS.**—Ear ornaments were much worn by both sexes. They consisted chiefly of pendants of fresh-water shells, natural color and painted, pieces of abalone shell, and dentalium shells. The latter often had tufts of the red-headed woodpecker scalp drawn with a string into the wide ends, or glued there. Various kinds of beads, and small, square, oblong, or triangular pieces of copper, were also used as ear ornaments. From one to four holes were bored in the ear from the lobe around the helix, and as many pendants might be worn as there were holes. Slender rods of wood (*metsemets'elp*) *Spiraea?* (sp.) were worn in the ears by children. Pendants were attached to the ear with strings. No earrings of any kind were used.

**HAIR ORNAMENTS.**—Some men used long strips of otter skin and ermine skin to wrap around or to braid into the cues of the hair. Strings of beads or shells, or of both mixed, were also tied to the hair or braided into it. These were used by both sexes, but chiefly by women. Pendants of twisted fur were attached to the hair by men; and pendent hair ribbons of long narrow pieces of skin, quilled or beaded,<sup>130</sup> were worn by both sexes. Similar ribbons of embroidered skin were also used for wrapping round the hair or binding it. In later days silk ribbons, colored braid, and strips of red and blue cloth took the place of most of these. Women wore hair ribbons of short pieces of skin embroidered on one side with quill or bead work.

<sup>128</sup> See Thompson, *a*, fig. 197.

<sup>130</sup> See Thompson, *a*, fig. 177.

<sup>129</sup> See Thompson, *a*, fig. 198.



They were provided with strings for tying around the braids of the hair. Some had oblong flaps of skin about 15 centimeters in length, covered with quill or bead work, and fringed at the lower end. To the fringe were often attached beads, shells, or elk's teeth. The hair ribbons hung down on the outside of the cues and were fastened around the hair with tie strings. Generally they were attached to the hair near the ears.<sup>131</sup> It seems that long ago some of the young men also wore similar hair ribbons; but they were ornamented somewhat differently, and sometimes had feathers attached to them.<sup>132</sup> It also appears that scalp locks and strings of false hair were sometimes attached to the hair of men.

ARM RINGS.—Bracelets consisting of strings of shells and native beads were used long ago. Later bracelets were made of glass beads, and still later of metal (generally copper or brass) procured from the traders. Strings of deer and fawn hoofs were worn on the legs in dancing. Most of them were worn around the knees and ankles of dancers; but some were used as belts or armlets, while others were held in the hands. Armlets, wristlets, cuffs, and garters of embroidered skin have already been mentioned.

COMBS.—Combs were all of the fan-shaped type, made of syringa (*Philadelphus lewisii*) like those of the Thompson.<sup>133</sup> According to Spinden, Nez Percé combs were also of this type.<sup>134</sup>

TWEEZERS.—Depilation was practiced by both sexes. The men eradicated their beards and mustaches and the women narrowed the hair of the eyebrows and straightened the hair line of the brow by pulling out all irregular and straggling hairs. A well-defined hair line was admired. It seems that eradication of the pubic hair and of hair on other parts of the body was not practiced. Tweezers were used for pulling out hair. They were made of wood and horn, and appear to have been of the same kinds as those used by the Thompson.<sup>135</sup> In later days all of them were made of metal. None of the oldest living Indians have seen any tweezers excepting those of metal.

HAIRDRESSING.—The hair was dressed in a great many different ways, there being special names for most or all the styles. At least 20 different styles were described to me:

1. Worn loose and full length excepting in front, where it was cut in bangs across the forehead from temple to temple. If the hair was very long, it was gathered behind and tied at the back of the neck. This was the common style for children.

2. Gathered at the back of the neck and tied in a knot there. This was the common style used by lads at puberty.<sup>136</sup>

<sup>131</sup> See Thompson specimens, Peabody Mus., 394, 395, etc.

<sup>132</sup> See Shuswap, *e*, fig. 231.

<sup>133</sup> *a*, fig. 201, 202, 203.

<sup>134</sup> *b*, p. 221.

<sup>135</sup> *a*, fig. 210.

<sup>136</sup> See Thompson, *a*, fig. 209.

3. Gathered to the sides and tied in a knot near each ear. This was the common style of girls at puberty.<sup>137</sup>

4. Cut square across the back of the neck, or sometimes lower down, about on a line with the tops of the shoulders. This was the style of widows and all people in mourning.

5. Gathered at the sides and braided full length in a single cue at each side. This was a common style for both men and women; but the women always parted their hair in the middle, while many men parted theirs slightly to one side.

6. The same as No. 5, but the ends of the cues were tied together and worn on the back. This was a common style for women, but was never used by men. For women it is said to have come into use in the early part of the nineteenth century. Many people say that long ago braids of hair were tied together and hung down on the back.

7. The same as No. 5, but each cue braided for only from half to three-quarters of its length, where it was tied, and the ends allowed to hang loose. This was a woman's style.

8. Gathered at the sides and simply tied at each side on a line with the neck. This also was a common style for women.

9. Part of the side hair braided on each side (the lower part next to the face and ears) or rolled in wads, more and more hair being caught in the braid, until at the back all the hair was in one braid or the other. The braids were then untied and folded upward to the back of the neck and tied. This was a woman's style less common than the others, and used chiefly by young women.

10. Braided in two plaits on each side. A man's style, used by a few.

11. Gathered at the sides in two cues, the same as No. 5, and strips of otter skin interbraided with the hair or wrapped about it. A man's style.

12. Gathered together loosely at each side (without braiding), and tied rather close to the head. This seems to have been called the same name as No. 11, probably because of the similar attachments to the hair. Hair ribbons of several kinds, beaded strings, strips of otter skin and ermine skins, braids of scalp locks, scalps, etc., were attached to the hair. A man's style.

13. Simply combed back and tied behind. This style was chiefly used by men.

14. (a) Divided into three parts and gathered at each side and at the back, where it was tied close to the head.

(b) Sometimes the hair at the sides was braided and the hair at the back left loose. The hair was full length, not doubled up. A man's style.

15. (a) The front hair was done up in two small braids, one at each temple; and strings of beads or shells were interwoven in the

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<sup>137</sup> See Thompson, *a*, fig. 208.

braids or attached to them. Usually the rest of the hair was loose or merely tied at the back of the neck.

(b) Sometimes the front hair was divided into three parts. If the person had a cut forelock it hung down in the middle above the nose and the small braids lay just back of the eyes over the temples. This was a fairly common man's style of hairdressing.

16. (a) The side hair was cut on a level with the neck or shoulders and tied at each side. Rarely was it left loose. The back hair was left full length and tied close to the head. To it was attached the entire head, back, and tail of an otter. Sometimes, instead, hair ribbons and beaded strings of various kinds were attached to the back hair. This was a common style for men.

(b) Instead of being merely tied, both the side hair and the back hair were braided in cues, three in all. Ornaments were attached to the braids. This style of hairdressing was rare.

17. Forelocks were used by many men. Usually the lock was narrow and cut even with the top of the nose. Sometimes it was combed down flat over the middle of the brow, but more generally it was crimped, so that the end curled up. Occasionally the short crimping-rod was worn in the hair. Hairdressing with forelock had a special name. Rarely was the forelock braided. The rest of the hair might be done up in any fashion. It seems that women never had forelocks, at least not like those of the men.

18. The top hair combed back from the brow, then brought forward and tied in a bunch above the brow or on the top of the head,<sup>138</sup> but not braided or stiffened with clay. The rest of the hair was fixed in different ways—tied together at the sides, made into a braid at each side, or made into small braids at the temples, the rest being tied behind the neck or left to hang loose. This was a man's style.

19. All the hair gathered on the top of the head, and tied there, with the loose end upward and protruding or hanging forward. Occasionally the knot was pointed, and stiffened with red mud or paint. This was a warrior's style.

20. Much the same way as No. 19, but the hair rose in a high point above the top of the head. A bunch of dry tules tied together was set on end on the top of the head to form a support for the hair, which was bound all round it. The ends of the tules protruded above the hair. The crown of the head, and all the lower hair next to the head, were well saturated with water. A woman then lighted the ends of the tules, which burned down with the upright hair until the whole point or "horn" became flat and the fire went out in the wet hair next the head. This style was used by some men when dancing the scalp dance.

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<sup>138</sup> See Thompson, *a*, fig. 207, but without braiding

Sometimes the hair was painted red or white by men, all over or in parts. Down was sometimes put in the hair. Almost all people of both sexes painted the partings of the hair red. The red lines followed the bare skin exposed by the parting. Many people oiled their hair regularly with pieces of hard fine tallow or with bear's grease. A hair parter of wood was used for parting the hair evenly. The points of combs were also used. Loose untied hair was often crimped.<sup>139</sup> Rods of an unidentified reddish wood were used for the purpose. The wood was heated, and the lock rolled around it. At the present day nearly all the men have their hair close cut, like the whites. A few of the old men wear it long or cut across the neck. Most of the women wear their hair in two braids tied at the back or hanging loose at the sides.

PERFUMES.—Scents were much used by both sexes, and especially by young people. Sweet grass (*Hierochla odorata*) and other strong-smelling grasses and leaves were used. Small rolls of these were made up and often inclosed in skin. They were used as pads inclosed in knots or folds of the hair, or simply attached to it. Sometimes tiny bags of these scents were made up for attachment to the hair and clothing, or to be placed in workbags, workbaskets, and clothes bags, to perfume the contents. Sometimes the bags were sewed on to wearing apparel permanently. The fragrant leaves from which the scent was made were often dried, then powdered fine and poured into sacks, which were sewed up like tiny cushions. They were used in the same way as the rolls and small bags with strings attached. Powdered scents were frequently rubbed on necklaces, hair ornaments, clothes, the skin of the body, and the hair. A small skin bag about 4 by 3 centimeters in size, entirely covered on the outside with quill or bead work and provided with strings, was filled with scent and attached to the back of the hair as an ornament. Slender rolls of sweet grass without any covering were often wrapped in the hair. Besides vegetable scents, beaver castor was much used. Some people also used parings from the hard, strong-smelling gland inside of horses' legs. The parings were crushed fine and inclosed in skin bags.

FACE AND BODY PAINTING.—The face and body were painted in various ways, but I did not find time to go into this matter in detail. Painting was in solid masses and in designs. Some of the latter are said to have had no known significance, being merely for ornament, while other designs were connected with dreams and the guardian spirit. Some designs were considered protective in battle, while others were more for good luck. However, some styles of painting were mere fashions; and, according to some, this was the prevailing motive for their selection. The most common paint was red, but

<sup>139</sup> Many Shoshoni and Bannock are said to have worn their hair loose and crimped.

yellow was also used frequently; also white, black, and blue. The hair on the crown of the head was frequently painted red, yellow, or white with dry paint.

Paints were applied dry, mixed with water, mixed with grease or oil, and occasionally mixed with gum. Pencils of hard fat dipped in paint were used, as among the Thompson. Painting was also done with small sticks, brushes, and the finger tips. People helped each other much in painting each other's faces and combing and arranging each other's hair. As among the Thompson, the jaw of a deer with the teeth adhering was used for scraping parallel lines in face paint. Stamps were also employed; or the design was first painted on the palm, and then pressed against the face. Many women painted their eyebrows red. A round spot on each cheek, and sometimes also one on the brow, was a common pattern used by women.

A circle of charcoal or red paint mixed with gum was made around each eye to aid the sight when there was a bright glare of sun on snow, sand, or water. It was also used for weak eyes. Sometimes a line or half circle above the eyes was made instead of a complete circle. Scars on any exposed parts of the body were painted red, as among the Thompson and other tribes.

SCARIFICATION.—Scarification was practiced chiefly by young men.<sup>140</sup>

TATTOOING.—It seems that tattooing was common long ago, and was practiced by both sexes. Most marks were made on the forearms and wrists. They consisted of both geometric and realistic figures. The former were chiefly long horizontal lines (generally from one to four); short horizontal lines with spaces between them, or sometimes placed one above the other; zigzag lines, with either sharp or rounded points; triangles of various kinds; and dots (usually from one to four). (Fig. 10.) Sometimes the lines completely surrounded the wrist, but usually they were made on the back of the wrist only. The realistic figures were chiefly representations of bear, elk, deer, snakes, mountains, arrows, and the like. The legs were often also tattooed, the principal figures being lines and dots. A line was often made around or on the outside of the leg just above the ankles. A dot was often tattooed on the instep. Men sometimes also tattooed figures of animals on the legs. Tattooing on the body was done only

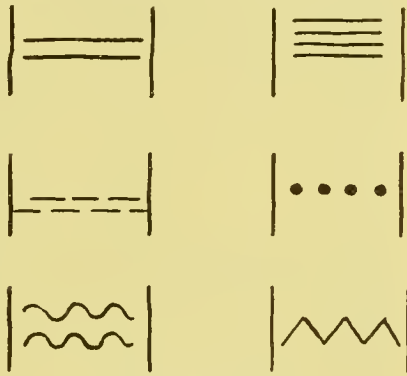


FIGURE 10.—Wrist tattooing

<sup>140</sup> See p. 169.

by men, and was not common. Long lines were sometimes made following the ribs, and small figures of animals were also sometimes made on different parts of the body.

Face tattooing was fairly common among women long ago, but was rare among men. The figures were all geometric. Women used short single or double lines extending downward from the corners of the mouth, two or three vertical lines on the upper lip below the nostrils, a dot or a small circle on each cheek, and rarely a similar mark on the brow. Men used a line of dots along the top of the brow. From one to five radiating or sometimes vertical lines on the chin formed a fairly common tattoo; but my notes do not make it clear whether this mark was used by men or women, or by both. All tattoo marks had names, but now these are nearly all forgotten. Although the figures all had names, it is said that most of the geometric designs had no significance. It was just fashion to make the marks that way; and they were merely considered decorative in the same way as certain face paintings and other designs were used for decoration only, and followed certain customary forms or outlines. Most of the triangles in tattooing were called "arrow-heads"; the vertical lines on the chin were called "tail feathers"; and the radiating lines on the chin, "eagle's tail." Realistic designs were often connected with the person's dreams or guardian.<sup>141</sup> It seems that most tattooing was done by pricking with a sharp bone or a sharp pin or needle of hard wood. Powdered charcoal was rubbed into the wound. Some men preferred cutting the skin, especially for making lines. Powdered charcoal, red ochre, and white earth were rubbed into the wounds by men. After the Coeur d'Alène began to go to the plains to hunt buffalo, tattooing gradually fell into disuse, as it was not fashionable among most tribes living to the east. A few women have continued the practice in a modified way until recently.

## V. SUBSISTENCE

FOOD.—As among other inland tribes, the food of the Coeur d'Alène consisted of the flesh of animals, birds, and fishes, and of vegetable products which were much depended on; but meat and fish were of chief importance. No agriculture was practiced. The principal vegetal foods used by the tribe are given below.

Latin name	Roots	Coeur d'Alène name
1. <i>Camassia csculenta</i> Tendl.....		<i>sxa'ulutxwa</i> (Thompson <i>ski'an</i> raw, <i>ēlxwa</i> camas) (camas in the raw state), <i>e'txwa</i> (camas when cooked).
2. <i>Lewisia rediviva</i> Pursh.....		<i>sp'ū'Em</i> .

<sup>141</sup> See p. 192.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 3. (Probably <i>Lomatium kaus</i> Wats. ? or ( <i>Pcu-</i><br><i>cedanum cous</i> Watson).   | } pē'wīa.   |
| 4. Root of an unidentified plant said to have<br>a yellow flower and a round and rather<br>flat root.  | } p'ār <sup>w</sup> p'EX <sup>w</sup> .                     |
| 5. Root of an unidentified plant said to have<br>a white flower and a small round root.  | } tu'xwa.   |
| 6. <i>Allium</i> sp., possibly <i>geyeri</i> -----   | sīstc.  |
| 7. <i>Allium</i> sp., probably <i>cernuum</i> -----  | qwēli'wīle (Thompson kolā'wa,<br>kala'ua).                  |
| 8. Root of an unidentified plant said to have a<br>tall white flower and a small round root.   | } st'ā'qom.   |
| 9. Probably <i>Daucus pusillus</i> -----   | mō'smēn.  |
| 10. <i>Claytonia</i> sp-----   | squā'tēm.   |
| 11. Root of an unidentified plant said to have a<br>white flower and a small flat root.  | } la'q'ām <sup>w</sup> .                                    |
| 12. Probably <i>Fritillaria pudica</i> -----   | tc'a'wEX (Thompson tcā'wEX):<br><i>Lilium columbianum</i> . |
| 13. Probably <i>Sium lineare</i> -----   | mā'tsēmEts.   |
| 14. Root of an unidentified plant said to have a<br>white flower and a large long root, and<br>just one leaf which grows on top of the<br>water. | } sgeigEts (Thompson: <i>Opuntia</i><br>s'qEQE'rz).         |
| 15. Probably <i>Cnicus undulatus</i> Gray-----   | marē'opa.   |
| 16. Root of an unidentified plant-----   | pitclū'sa.  |

My informants claimed that the roots of *Balsamorhiza sagittata* and *Balsamorhiza hookeri* were not eaten, although one or both of these were used by the Flathead. Also they said that the roots of *Lilium columbianum* (Hanson) were not eaten, although this root is much used as a food by the Thompson, Shuswap, Okanagon, and others. *Lewisia rediviva* did not grow in the Coeur d'Aléne country, but was plentiful in Spokane territory, where Coeur d'Aléne parties went to dig it.<sup>142</sup> The *pitclūsa* grew only on the borders of the Nez Percé territory, and parties went there to gather it. Some of the unidentified species used by the Coeur d'Aléne may be the same as some of those used by the Nez Percé.

## BERRIES

Latin name.	Coeur d'Aléne name
1. <i>Amelanchier</i> sp. (service berry or June berry).	} sla'q.
2. <i>Prunus demissa</i> Walpers (chokecherry or black wild cherry).	} ta'xlEX .
3. <i>Prunus</i> sp. (red wild cherry)-----	t'Ecile'pa.
4. <i>Sambucus</i> sp. (elderberry)-----	stsā'qEQ (Thompson: tsē'kuk)
5. <i>Crataegus</i> sp. (black hawberry)-----	sxo''nalc.
6. <i>Crataegus</i> sp. (red hawberry)-----	kwāla.
7. <i>Cornus pubescens</i> Nutt. (red willow berry).	stūtsx <sup>w</sup> .
8. <i>Rubus</i> sp. (raspberry)-----	nḫalā'tsê (Thompson: currant laā'za, xlaā'za).

<sup>142</sup> b, pp. 203, 204.

9. *Rubus* sp. (probably thimble berry) (or possibly salmonberry). } *po'lpolgen*.
10. *Rubus leucodermis* Dougl. (blackberry or black raspberry). } *m̄tsu'q* (Thompson: *m̄t'.tcuk*, *m̄t'cak*).
11. *Rubus* sp. (trailing or low blackberry or bramble). } *t̄i'ltel̄elum̄x'* (Thompson: *l̄i'tel̄.ūm*).
12. *Ribes* sp. (red gooseberry)----- *ni'it'ém̄lps*.
13. *Ribes* sp. (black gooseberry)----- *ya'rt̄en*.
14. *Ribes* sp. (wild currant)----- *ts̄'rus* (Thompson: Oregon grape *ts̄ā'l.za*, Okanagon *.sts̄'res*)
15. *Shepherdia canadensis* Nutt. (soapberry or buffaloberry). } *s̄x̄o'sem* (Thompson: *s̄x̄ō'sem*, *sh̄ō'.zem*).
16. *Fragaria californica* C. and S. (strawberry). } *ts̄sa'gom* (Thompson: service berry *.sts̄a'gum*, *.sts̄'ō'gom*).
17. *Vaccinium membranaceum* (huckleberry or whortleberry). } *st̄cō'(stk)*.
18. *Vaccinium* sp. (white huckleberry) ----- (*sen*) *paqpaqa'xen*.
19. *Vaccinium* sp. (small blueberry) ----- *st̄a'q̄n*.
20. *Berberis* sp. (Oregon grape) ----- *sq̄w̄'yu* (Thompson: berry of mountain ash *.sk̄ā'u*, roseberry *s.kōkuw̄'u*).
21. *Arctostaphylos uva-ursi* (bearberry)----- *i'te* (Thompson *ā'ik*, *āi'ek*; raspberry *.s̄āilsku*, *.sci'tck*).
22. *Rosa* sp. (roseberry)----- *ts̄et̄w̄ts̄et̄w̄x̄w̄ōiye'p̄ā*.

The berries of *Prunus emarginata* were eaten only occasionally. *Shepherdia* (or soapberry), it is said, does not grow in the Coeur d'Alène country, and, according to some, is not found east of the Colville country. It was procured in trade.

The following berries were not eaten:

Latin name	Coeur d'Alène name
<i>Sorbus samblicifolia</i> E. and S. (mountain ash berry).	} <i>wa'x̄'ēlp</i> .
<i>Lonicera involucrata</i> -----	<i>.sa'mpaqen</i> .
<i>Juniperus</i> , two sp. (juniper berry).	
<i>Symphoricarpos racemosus</i> Mich. (snowberry).	<i>st'Emst'Emne''(ix̄en)</i> ("dead people's berry" or "dead head").
A blackberry growing in the high mountains, possibly the heath berry.	{ <i>t̄āEpt̄ēlp</i> ("black plant") (Thompson: <i>st̄a'plapt</i> , black; <i>st̄ēt̄ēp̄ā</i> <i>Ribes</i> , sp.).

#### SEEDS, NUTS, AND OTHER VEGETAL FOODS

Latin name	Coeur d'Alène name
Nuts of the hazel tree. Hazel did not grow in the Coeur d'Alène country, and the nuts were procured from the Colville through the Spokane. <sup>c</sup>	} <i>k'e'puzwa</i> (Thompson: <i>.qapuz</i> ).
Nutlets of the yellow pine ( <i>Pinus ponderosa</i> )--	<i>sts̄Etc̄'tes'</i> (Thompson: <i>.sts̄ikk</i> ).
Nutlets of the silver-barked pine ( <i>Pinus albi-caulis</i> ).	} <i>sowi'stic</i> .
Seeds of <i>Balsamorhiza</i> , one or two sp., possibly also seeds of <i>Helianthus</i> sp.	} <i>m̄i'tcto</i> (Thompson: <i>mi'kto</i> ).

<sup>c</sup> Any kind of nut.—N. Richard.



Cambium layer of yellow pine ( <i>Pinus ponderosa</i> ).	} stsi'ɣwe (Thompson: stse'ɣwe).
Cambium layer of black pine ( <i>Pinus contorta</i> or <i>murrayana</i> ).	
Cambium layer of the poplar ( <i>Populus</i> sp.) was eaten occasionally.	
Growing stalks of <i>Balsamorhiza</i> .....	smo''kwacem.
Growing stalks of <i>Heracleum lanatum</i> Mich. (cow parsnip or wild rhubarb).	} ɣo'ɣlp.
Growing stalks of <i>Peucedanum</i> sp. (wild celery).	
The black tree moss, <i>Alcortoria jubata</i> L. Much used long ago.	} sã'tc'etct.

The *Opuntia* (*sɣu'wênâtc*) was known to many of the Coeur d'Alêne, but was not eaten. It did not grow in the Coeur d'Alêne country, but in the arid country to the southwest and in some parts of the plains region.

TOOLS AND METHODS OF HARVESTING.—The growing stalks of *Heracleum*, *Peucedanum*, and *Balsamorhiza* were merely plucked, peeled, and eaten raw. Seeds of *Balsamorhiza* were heated with hot stones and crushed. Berries were picked by hand into baskets of several kinds. Some varieties of berry, when very ripe, were gathered by bending the twigs or branches over the mouth of the basket and beating them with a short stick, thus making the berries fall. Small blueberries were sometimes collected by combing them into the basket.

Roots were dug with root diggers and gathered into baskets. When most kinds of baskets had gone out of use, woven bags were generally employed for gathering roots. Root diggers were of the same sizes and shapes as those in use among the Thompson Indians.<sup>143</sup> Some were round, the wood being used in its natural form. Many others were more or less square excepting near the point. The latter kind had a better grip in the ground. The curve of the digging stick varied. Those used in soft ground were wide and curved, while those used in hard ground were rounded and almost straight. The points were often hardened by charring. Root diggers were made of the wood of service trees (*Amelanchier*), haw trees (*Crataegus*), or syringa (*Philadelphus lewisi* Pursh). The handles were of elk antler. None were of sheep's horn, and only a few were made of goat's horn. Wooden handles were hardly ever used. No stone handles like those described by Spinden for the Nez Percé were used.<sup>144</sup> Long ago root diggers were occasionally made, both handle and blade, of a single piece of elk antler.

For gathering the cambium and sap of the black pine, sap scrapers were used. They were made from the shoulder blades of various

<sup>143</sup> a, fig. 212.

<sup>144</sup> b, p. 200, Pl. VII, 33.

animals, with little alteration.<sup>145</sup> No double-ended ones were used, as among Athapasean tribes and the northern Shuswap.<sup>146</sup> Sap scrapers were often drilled at the small end for the attachment of a carrying string. Scrapers for collecting the cambium of the yellow pine were knife-shaped and made from the rib bones of various animals, as among the Thompson. For stripping the bark from yellow pine trees, bark peelers of wood and antler were used. In the case of black pine trees, after the cut had been made, the bark could generally be peeled by hand. In this tree the cambium layer adheres to the trunk, and the scrapers were pressed downward along the latter, removing the cambium in narrow ribbons, which, if not eaten at once, were collected, along with as much sap as possible, in large spoons or in small bark cups or baskets. In the yellow pine the process is different, as the bark is much thicker and stiffer, and the cambium layer adheres to the bark, from which, after stripping, it is separated or cut and pried off with a knife-like bone instrument.

PRESERVATION OF VEGETAL FOODS, COOKING, DISHES.—The manner of preparing berries and roots for winter use was much the same as among the Thompson.<sup>147</sup> Some roots were strung on strings and dried. Others were dried by being spread out, and hung up in sacks of rather open weave. Several kinds of roots were cooked in earth ovens or pits, after the manner of the Thompson and Nez Percé.<sup>148</sup> The pits were circular, and their width and depth depended on the kind and quantity of roots to be cooked.

*Mó'smen* roots (p. 89, No. 9) were cooked as follows. Hot rocks were placed in the bottom of the pit and a layer of mud or wet clay spread over the top. The roots were put on top of the mud and covered thickly with grass. The whole was then covered with earth. An upright stick was left in the middle, the lower end being inserted between the rocks at the bottom of the pit, while the upper end protruded above the earth covering. This stick was pulled out, and water poured down the hole to the hot rocks. The hole was then plugged, and the roots allowed to steam until cooked.

Black moss (*Alectoria*), camas, onions, and some other kinds of roots were cooked in the same kind of pit, but without steaming. Hot stones were put in the bottom of the pit, then a layer of grass, the roots, grass again, a layer of bark, and over all, earth. A fire was built on top, and kept going sometimes for two days. Some roots—such as *Claytonia*, *la'q'äm.r<sup>w</sup>*, and *Fritillaria*—were simply boiled. Camas and *pi'wia* roots (p. 89, No. 3) were sometimes simply boiled; but as a rule both kinds, after cooking, were crushed and made into cakes, which were dried. *Pi'wia* was kneaded into flat cakes

<sup>145</sup> See Kamloops, *h*, p. 411, fig. 339.

<sup>146</sup> See Shuswap, *e*, fig. 235 c; Thompson, p. 233, fig. 214; Chilcotin, *e*, fig. 275.

<sup>147</sup> *a*, pp. 235–237.

<sup>148</sup> *a*, pp. 236, 237; *b*, pp. 201, 202.

about an inch thick and of two sizes—a large size, from 1 to 2 feet in length; and a small one, of about the size of the hand. Camas was mashed and kneaded into cakes of various sizes, most of them large. *Alectoria*, and sometimes also camas, was cooked in pits until it became a paste, which, when cooled, was cut into bricks or cakes of various sizes. As among the Thompson, bone knives were used for cutting these cakes. Long ago *Alectoria* was generally cooked by itself; but in later times it became the custom almost invariably to cook and cake it with wild onions. As stated already, *pi'wia* roots were first cleaned in bags, being beaten with sticks or struck against a flat rock (p. 49). Large cakes of camas, etc., were dried on frames made of slats or split pieces of wood, similar to those used by the Thompson for drying cakes of berries on.<sup>149</sup> The slats were woven together with bark, or occasionally with thongs, or other kinds of string. Hazelnuts and nutlets of the yellow pine were usually eaten raw. Nutlets of *Pinus albicaulis* were cooked in hot ashes. Soups or thick gruels were made by boiling root cakes or dried roots, either of a single kind or of two or more kinds together. Service berries were generally spread on mats (often tent mats were used for the purpose) and dried in the sun. When cured, they were stored in bags. Often the fresh berries were mashed in baskets with wooden pestles like those of the Thompson,<sup>150</sup> and made into cakes, which were dried on layers of grass spread on frames elevated on scaffolds of poles. Fresh berries of *Crataegus* were boiled in baskets and spread on thick layers of grass. A thin layer of berries was spread first, and then juice poured over it. When partially dry, the process was continued until the desired thickness of cake was obtained or the contents of the basket used up. Sometimes *Crataegus* and chokecherries were mashed with pestles in mortars or on large flat stones, made into cakes, and dried, in the same manner as service berries. Often stone pestles and stone mauls were used instead of wooden ones, because of the large hard stones in these berries. It seems a number of forms were used.<sup>151</sup> Hand hammers were also used. Berry cakes and berries were also spread on small mats woven of the large leaves of a plant called *k'wa'sk'wes*, which grows near lakes. Chokecherries, huckleberries, bearberries, and sometimes raspberries and currants, were simply dried without other treatment. Service berries and huckleberries were sometimes boiled, and then eaten; or, like fresh raspberries, strawberries, blackberries, chokecherries, they were sometimes mashed and eaten without boiling. All kinds of berries were also eaten fresh as gathered. At the present day sugar is added to some of them, especially to fresh mashed berries. Thick soups were made of dried berries and roots boiled together.

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<sup>149</sup> *a*, fig. 215.

<sup>150</sup> Lillooet, *k*, fig. 64a.

<sup>151</sup> Compare Blackfoot, *c*, fig. 1.

PRESERVATION OF ANIMAL FOODS, COOKING.—Meat and fish, when fresh, were roasted on spits or sticks in front of the fire. If the meat was fat, bark dishes were placed underneath to catch the drippings. Fresh meat and fish were also often boiled, and the brew drunk. After the meat had been removed, roots might be put in the brew and boiled, making a soup. Dried meat and fish were generally boiled, but sometimes were roasted before the fire, or eaten raw. Meat intended for winter use or to be carried a long way was invariably dried either by the fire or in the sun, or both, assisted by wind and smoke. If to be dried quickly, it was cut into thin slices which were spread on a low framework somewhat similar to that of a large sweat house. A fire was built underneath, and the meat turned as required. If there was no particular hurry, strips of meat were spread on a large scaffold of poles about 2 meters above the ground like those used by the Thompson and other tribes,<sup>152</sup> and there allowed to dry in the sun and wind. If rain threatened, the meat was covered over with mats. At most times, and particularly in cloudy weather, fires were built underneath. If flies were troublesome, the fires were made smoky. Dried meat was frequently made into pemmican by being pounded with pestles, mauls, and stone hammers in mortars, on flat stones, and on rawhides—usually on a flat stone with a maul. A large mat or skin was spread on the ground, and the flat stone placed in the middle. The jerked meat was stored in sacks, and was generally eaten without further preparation. Sometimes it was made into proper pemmican by mixing it with hot grease (fat or marrow) and kneading it into balls or cakes. Bones were crushed on flat stones with hand hammers and mauls in order to extract the marrow. Sacks containing pemmican were often sealed if intended to be kept for a long time. Tree gum was sometimes used for this purpose. No berries were used in pemmican, as they were thought to make the meat too sweet. Nearly all the bags used for storing and carrying meat and fat were made of rawhide. Ordinary dried meat was sometimes wrapped in mats. Fat and marrow were often stored in bark vessels. Long ago meat was occasionally cooked in pits or ovens like those used for cooking roots. Hunting parties of men having no baskets or kettles roasted meat almost entirely on spits. Occasionally they boiled meat in kettles made of paunches or of skins which they did not intend to save. Blood soup was often made, especially by hunters. The principal meats cured were those of deer, elk, and buffalo. Horse flesh was not much used and dog flesh was never eaten.

Fish were split, cleaned, and hung on poles to dry in the sun and wind. If the weather were cloudy or rainy, the drying process was hastened by fire and smoke. Cooked salmon flesh was sometimes

<sup>152</sup> See Blackfoot, c, fig. 2.

pounded up, salmon oil was added, and the whole thoroughly kneaded. This kind of pemmican was stored in salmon-skin bags, which were sealed with gum or glue. Salmon oil was put up in small salmon-skin bags or bottles, which were sealed in the same way.

SEASONS.—The Coeur d'Aléne recognize five seasons—spring (*se'tqaps*), summer (*yalstk*), early fall or autumn (*stsag*), late fall (*ste'e'Ed*), winter (*sitsitk<sup>w</sup>*).

*Months and seasonal employments.*—The moons are called by names up to 10, the rest of the year being called by the seasonal name of "fall." The moons are also called by numbers, the first month beginning, it seems, in the late fall (October or November). Probably all the members of the tribe did not agree on what constituted the beginning of the year or the first month. I obtained the following ancient names of months, with their characteristics; and the principal occupations of the people in each.

1. *ste'e'Ed* ("real late fall month"). Begins in October or November, according to the moon; approximately November month. Warm weather is finished. People go hunting and also fix their houses or camps for the winter.

2. *sme'qun* ("snow month"). Most snow falls in this month. Most people are away on lengthy hunting and trapping trips.

3. *sqwa'sus*, may mean "scorched" or "contracted," because the cold seems to scorch people. It is always cold this month. Most people remain at home in their lodges.

4. *t'êqwe'panex* (February and March—meaning uncertain). There is generally a good deal of cold this month also, and most people remain at home.

5. *stEnä'remen*, named from a yellow flower (probably *Ranunculus* sp.) which blooms at this time of year. Some people trap fish for the first time.

6. *se'tqaps* ("spring month"). Many warm winds blow in this month, and all the people begin to gather food.

7. *sloq'wa'iyol* ("bark loose [on trees]") or *skwarkwarhelkwa* (?) (name of a flower which grows in the water at this season). About May. Some kinds of roots are dug.

8. *yalstk* ("summer month"). People dig camas.

9. *sEla'mp* (meaning uncertain). Berries ripen. People are chiefly engaged in berrying and fishing.

10. *stsa'aq<sup>w</sup>* ("early fall month"). It really means "red" or "aglow," and is so named because vegetation dries up and changes color, putting on red and other bright hues. People fish for salmon. The last of the camas and berry crops are gathered in. Toward the end of the month salmon turn red and are poor. Horses are very fat, and the buffalo hunters start for the plains.

The rest of the year is called by the seasonal name of "late fall." Most people were away traveling and hunting on lengthy trips, getting meat and skins.

**GAME AND HUNTING.**—The animals hunted for meat and skins were chiefly deer, elk, and buffalo. Of less importance were moose, goat, sheep, antelope, bear, beaver. Marmot, ground squirrel, otter, muskrat, coyote, wolf, fox, and other small game were hunted and snared chiefly for their pelts. Birds (such as grouse, ducks, geese) were sought for food; and eagles, hawks, and woodpeckers for their feathers. In olden times elk were very abundant. Moose always inhabited the Coeur d'Alène country, but were nowhere very plentiful. Goats were fairly numerous. Sheep did not occur, but parties hunting beyond the tribal boundaries in the country of the Flathead and on the confines of the Nez Percé got a few. They were also obtained in the Rocky Mountains and in some parts of the buffalo country farther east. Caribou were sometimes seen and killed by parties who occasionally hunted beyond their tribal boundaries to the north. There were none of these animals in the Coeur d'Alène territory. Antelopes were very abundant until about 1820 in the Spokane country, especially on Spokane Prairie; but they inhabited only a small fringe of the Coeur d'Alène country on the west, especially around Hangmans Creek, which was their eastern limit. The last of them were killed off in this section about 1820; but they continued plentiful farther west, in the countries of the Spokane and Columbia, until much later. At one time buffalo were plentiful in the Flathead country west of the Rockies, right up to the eastern flanks of the Bitterroot Range, and many buffalo skulls could be seen there. Only two buffaloes were ever known to be in the Coeur d'Alène country. These were killed by Indians on a hill near Tekoa (eastern Washington) about 1815. Buffalo were sometimes hunted before the introduction of the horse by small parties related by blood or marriage to the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead, or led by men related to these tribes. They hunted in the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead country with their friends, and were generally absent about nine months.

According to tradition, deer did not inhabit the Coeur d'Alène country at one time long ago, and many people did not know much about them. The first deer seen was swimming a lake. A man chased it in a canoe, and shot it with an arrow as it landed. Many people came to see and examine the strange animal, and they wondered at its small fine nose and its slender, neat legs. They thought the animal was very pretty, but did not know what it was. They sent for the oldest person in the tribe. This was a very aged woman, who was completely blind and able to walk only by the aid of canes. They asked her the name of the animal. She felt it over with her hands.

After feeling its nose and legs, she said, "This is *ts'EO'LEX<sup>u</sup>*,<sup>d</sup> and is very good to eat." This name was therefore applied to deer at first. After a time deer became very plentiful and the common name *ts'i'i* was applied to them.

Bear, beaver, and many other animals have always been fairly abundant. At a time, before 1800, when the Coeur d'Alène were well supplied with horses, and the Blackfeet were often attacking the Flathead, the latter extended invitations to the Coeur d'Alène and other western tribes, and welcomed them to hunt buffalo in their territory. Then well-equipped and well-mounted parties of Coeur d'Alène went hunting on the plains, where they joined forces with the Flathead and western tribes. Greater numbers went annually, until at last nearly the entire tribe took part in these excursions. Women and children went along with their husbands and other relatives. Only the oldest people and a few others remained at home. The parties left in August, after the harvesting of the principal root and berry crops, and after the salmon had been put up. Most of them went by a short trail over the Bitterroots, by Old Mission, returning in April by Kalispel River where the snow goes off early in the spring, and grass for horses is abundant. The Coeur d'Alène claim that they began going to the plains buffalo hunting some time before the Nez Percé and that long ago the Nez Percé hardly ever went east of even the Bitterroot Range, although buffalo were close to the range on the east side. Flathead and Shoshoni bands hunted in the country east of the Nez Percé.

WEAPONS OF THE CHASE—*Bows*.—Nearly all bows were sinew backed, and only a few simple bows were used. Most bows were made of a wood called *atse'tcEnalrw<sup>e</sup>* ("bowwood"). This has not been identified, but is said to be a reddish wood, similar to juniper, which grows along creeks in the mountains. It is not cedar. The Thompson Indians call yew (*Taxus*) "bowwood." Juniper was rarely used. A good many bows were made of mountain ram's-horn in a single piece.<sup>153</sup> Only the largest horns were used for making bows. They were split lengthwise and a central piece taken out the full length. The horn was made pliable by boiling it or heating it over the fire. Usually the outside of the horn formed the inside of the bow. Most of the sinew used on bows was from the legs of deer. The sinews were cut off as long as possible and dried. When to be used they were thoroughly crushed with stone hammers and mauls until they were quite pliable and torn into shreds. They were then glued the entire length of the back of the bow with a glue made from salmon skins. After the first layer of sinew was glued on, the bow was wound with *pa'telen* bark (probably bird-cherry [*Prunus emarginata*]; compare Thompson *pakla'n*) and hung up to dry and

<sup>d</sup> A Kalispel term. *atse'tcEn* the heartwood of fir.—G. R.

<sup>153</sup> See Nez Percé, *b*, pp. 211, 212.

set. In a few hours it was taken down and another layer glued on. It was thus treated until the sinew backing was considered sufficient—from about 5 to 10 millimeters in thickness. From 20 to 30 leg sinews of deer were required for the best bows. Each layer of sinew as put on was cut partly through with a knife. The cuts were made about 5 centimeters apart and at right angles to the length of the bow stave. Care was taken not to make the cuts in one layer at the same place as those made in the preceding layers. When dry, the bow was painted all over, most frequently with red ochre. If more than one color was used the colors were arranged in masses. Very few designs, either geometric or realistic, were applied. The middle of the bow, or hand grip, was generally wrapped with *pa'tlen* bark,<sup>154</sup> otter skin, or other hide. Occasionally the hand grip and some other parts of bows were ornamented with quillwork. No snake skin was used as coverings for bows, as among many tribes, as there were no large snakes in the Coeur d'Alène country. Many sinew-backed bows were wrapped all over with strips of *pa'tlen* bark<sup>155</sup> to prevent their getting wet, as much rain or wet relaxed or loosened the sinew backing.

Bowstrings were twisted from the shredded sinews of deer's legs (back sinews of animals were used almost exclusively for making sewing-thread<sup>156</sup>). Great care was taken in stretching the bowstring; for, if this were not done properly, the string was of little value. The common method of stretching was by tying it between two trees or stakes and attaching to it weights of stone. Bowstrings were not glued, waterproofed, or painted.

To make some of the best bows took nearly two weeks. This included the work on the wood or horn, the work on the bowstring, and a little ornamentation.

Boys' bows were simply of wood, or rarely of a slip of ram's-horn. They were not so powerful as those of the men. Only a few of the wooden ones had a little sinew backing. The horn ones generally had no backing. Men's horn bows always had sinew backing, like the wooden ones, but not as much. Most boys' bows were neatly wrapped with strips of *pa'tlen* bark arranged very closely,<sup>157</sup> and glued with tamarack (*Larix occidentalis*) gum. Coeur d'Alène wooden bows were all of the flat, wide kind,<sup>157</sup> the width averaging that of a man's hand spread flat (without the thumb), or about 10 centimeters. They were about a meter long, or a little more. Horn bows were narrower and shorter, averaging less than one meter. A few bows, especially those used by boys, were about 70 centimeters long. No bow points were used. Bows were held nearly horizontal when in action, and the release seems to have been primary.

<sup>154</sup> See Thompson, *a*, fig. 216; Shuswap, *e*, fig. 236.

<sup>156</sup> See p. 19.

<sup>155</sup> Thompson, *a*, figs. 217, 219.

<sup>157</sup> Thompson, *a*, figs. 217, 219.



A very few men used double-curved bows procured from the Spokane, but they were not preferred. Wrist guards were seldom used, except with the double-curved bow. In shooting the flat bow they were not required. The Coeur d'Alène claim that the Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, and Kalispel used the double-curved bow entirely. By far the greater number of the Spokane also used this type of bow. A few Spokane, perhaps 1 in every 10, used a different kind of bow, which was also employed to some extent by tribes west and north of them. This bow was of ordinary length, thick and rounded in the middle, and small, narrow, and rather flat at the ends. All the Flathead tribes covered the backs of their bows with sinew and snake skin.

Two shapes of bows were used by the Nez Percé long ago—one kind was flat like that of the Coeur d'Alène, but only about half the width (2 finger widths); the other was thick in the middle and small and thin at the ends, like that used by some Spokane. All the best bows of the Nez Percé were also sinew-backed and covered with snake skin. After they had begun going to the plains many of the Nez Percé adopted the double-curve bow. The tribes on the plains immediately east of the Flathead used double-curved bows altogether.

*Arrows.*—Arrows were rather long and slender, of about the same length as the longest of those used by the Thompson, which were nearly 1 meter long. Service wood (*Amelanchier*) was the principal wood employed in making them. Wood of a white-flowered tree like dogwood (probably a species of dogwood) was used occasionally. Another wood used more frequently than the latter was *mitsemitsē'elp* (*Spiraea* sp.? Compare Thompson *metmetstrelp*, *Spiraea discolor* Punk.), the largest sticks of which were split. Rosewood was not used, and it is doubtful if *Syringa* was used, either. Arrow shafts were straightened by the hand or the teeth, after being slightly heated. They were also straightened and smoothed with arrow smoothers of stone.<sup>158</sup> Men's arrows were usually feathered with three tail feathers of a hawk, put on flat. Boys generally used tail feathers of grouse, three or two, attached either flat or twisted. Sometimes they used a single feather twisted around spirally. All feathers were attached with fine sinew. Long ago many arrow shafts were ornamented with notches and incised designs. Rows of short or long notches were made, also incised lines parallel to the shaft, incised spirals or zigzags. It seems that these lines and notches were partly for ornament, and partly for facilitating the bleeding of wounded game. Many different styles of painting arrows were in vogue, and many colors of paint were used. The two most common styles were a red band about 5 cm. wide around the nock, and a

<sup>158</sup> See p. 42; Lytton, *g*, figs. 57, 58; Nez Percé, *b*, pl. 7, Nos. 32, 34.

similar band immediately below the feathering; and the feathered part of the shaft painted red.

Arrowheads varied a good deal in size, but most of them were quite small. Almost all the shapes figured by Spinden for the Nez Percé<sup>159</sup> were in use. Heads were placed on the shaft parallel with or at right angles to the nock, according as they were intended for use against game or people. Arrows with detachable foreshafts<sup>160</sup> were used, especially in war. Small game was hunted with headless arrows with sharp points. Birds, especially the smaller kinds, were shot with a three-pointed arrow, like those used by the Thompson.<sup>161</sup> A blunt-headed arrow, something like those of the Shuswap and Chilcotin,<sup>162</sup> was used only in some boys' games. For shooting fish a plain arrow with sharp point was used. Some of these were shorter than ordinary arrows and unfeathered. No crosspieces were used on the ends, as among the Thompson,<sup>163</sup> for shooting at the heads of fish. No arrows with harpoon or detachable points<sup>164</sup> were ever employed, as far as remembered. Wooden arrows, with the points of the shafts barbed or notched, were in use, as among the Thompson.<sup>165</sup> A special arrow was much used for hunting ducks and water-fowl on lakes. It was made of cedar wood and tipped with a splinter from an elk's leg, about 12 cm. long, securely set in the shaft with pitch. It was winged with goose-tail feathers attached with wrappings of *pa'telen* bark. When shot, it bobbed up, floating in the water perpendicularly, and was easily seen and recovered. Most of the stone for arrowheads was obtained near *teatkolet* and certain other places in the Coeur d'Alêne country. Some, however, was obtained from mountains to the southwest, near the confines of the Nez Percé. In later days iron was often used for making arrowheads. Some of these were notched at the sides. Very few bone points were used.

I did not learn whether any beaver spears were used long ago.

*Quivers*.—Quivers were made of entire skins of otter, fisher, cougar, coyote, wolf, deer, and occasionally other animals. The first three were most used. No quivers woven of bark were in use,<sup>166</sup> and none of leather and rawhide. No caps or covers were used on quivers.<sup>167</sup> No double or divided quivers, like those of some eastern

<sup>159</sup> *b*, Pl. 7, Nos. 3-22.

<sup>160</sup> See Thompson, *a*, fig. 222 *b*; Field Mus. 111735.

<sup>161</sup> Field Mus. 111731; Peabody Mus. 441.

<sup>162</sup> Chilcotin, *e*, fig. 276 *d*.

<sup>163</sup> Field Mus. 111732; Peabody Mus. 440.

<sup>164</sup> Thompson, *a*, fig. 222 *g*; Chilcotin, *e*, fig. 276 *a*; Field Mus. 111730; Peabody Mus. 442.

<sup>165</sup> See Thompson, *a*, fig. 222 *f*; Chilcotin, *e*, fig. 276 *c*; Field Mus. 111729.

<sup>166</sup> See Thompson, *a*, fig. 224.

<sup>167</sup> See Thompson, *a*, fig. 225.

tribes, were used long ago. In later days some of these were found, but they may have been procured in trade from the Crow, who made very fine quivers of cougar and otter skin with two compartments, one for the bow and the other for arrows. Many Coeur d'Alène quivers had a pocket or narrow compartment for holding the fire drill, as among the Thompson.

*Guns.*—The Coeur d'Alène were one of the last tribes to obtain firearms. They were practically without guns until after the traders came to their country, and were not well supplied until about 1830. Even as late as 1850 to 1860 most of them, or at least many of them, had only bows and arrows. They claim that all the surrounding tribes were using guns before they did. The first guns came from the north and east; the Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, Kalispel, Colville, and Okanagon obtained their first guns at about the same time. Perhaps the Flathead had guns before any of the other Salishan tribes; but the Blackfoot and other tribes north and east had guns before the Flathead. Of all the tribes known to the Coeur d'Alène, the Chippewa had the first guns, and this at a date long before the Blackfoot or any western tribes. After the introduction of guns, shot pouches, cap holders, and powderhorns came into vogue. The last named were always made of buffalo horn. No wooden ones were made or used.

*METHODS OF HUNTING AND TRAPPING.*—Deer were run to bay or to water with dogs in the same manner as among the Thompson. As deer, when closely pursued, run to regular crossing places of lakes and rivers, men waited on shore at these places in ambush or on the water in canoes. Crossing places were also watched by men in canoes in the seasons of rutting and migrating, even when the deer were not driven. When a deer took to the water, it was chased and shot with arrows, or overtaken and speared. Some men preferred to use a moderately long stick with a crooked end, or with a hook at the end, by which they caught the bucks by the antlers and other deer by the neck, and pulled their heads under water. When people who were fishing and unprovided with weapons unexpectedly sighted a deer swimming, they gave chase, and clubbed it on the head, or caught it by the antlers and thrust its head under water until it was drowned. Elk, moose, and bear when caught swimming were despatched in the same way as deer.

Moonlight hunting was engaged in during warm weather in the same way as among the Thompson. Men sat behind small screens of brush near salt licks, and behind screens or in trees near springs and watering places, where thirsty animals came at night to drink and eat water grass. The methods of still hunting, hunting in company, and driving, in vogue among the Thompson,<sup>168</sup> were in common use.

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<sup>168</sup> a, p. 246.

A method of driving practiced by large parties in suitable parts of the country in the early spring was as follows. The first night in camp, before hunting, each person in the party gave the hunting chief a piece of buffalo or other animal's skin with the hair on. These pieces were about 15 cm. square. The party busied themselves making sticks with sharp points, one for each piece of skin. In the morning the chief directed the men where to go (say, to a place about 5 miles to leeward of where he was to go himself). On reaching the place, they spread out in a line about 100 meters apart and facing the wind. At a given signal they advanced slowly in line, shouting from time to time or barking like dogs. Meanwhile the chief, who had to go a shorter distance, scorched the pieces of skin in the fire, and put them together in a sack. He carried these pieces of skin and the sticks to a selected place not far from camp, about 5 miles to windward of where the hunters had started. Here he set out the sticks with a piece of scorched skin on the end of each in a line parallel to the line of hunters. He now went to some eminence near the line of sticks and toward the hunters to watch for the deer. As the drivers approached, the startled deer ran toward the line of sticks; but when they get near enough to smell the scorched skins, they hurried back again, and bunched together beyond the scent of the skins. When the drivers arrived below the chief, but still out of sight of the deer, the chief called to the nearest to stop advancing, as the deer were now stationary and close by. The signal was passed along the line; and each man lay down, concealing himself as well as possible. The chief now descended, and, advancing directly down wind from the sticks, ran toward the deer, shouting and throwing up his hands. The deer scattered and ran toward the line of hunters, who now shot them as they advanced or passed. According to circumstances, when the final signal was given, the hunters sometimes came closer to each other and nearer the deer, before concealing themselves, and sometimes they formed a semicircle around the deer. Whatever deer were killed were now skinned and cut up by all hands; and the meat that could not be carried to camp immediately by the hunters was piled up and covered with snow. Generally the following day the women carried this meat to camp.

"Ringing" deer by a body of hunters advancing toward the center of a circle was not in vogue. Possibly the country was in most places unsuitable for this method. However, a method somewhat similar was employed in places where a long mountain ridge terminated abruptly in a lake, forming a steep bluff above the water. One side of the ridge was chosen for the hunt, which began on the ridge, from 4 to 7 miles from the lake. From this point the drivers started in extended line, one above another, on the side of the ridge, their objective being the bluff. They walked with the wind. Other

men were stationed along the top of the ridge, some distance back from the bluff, and others in the same way at the bottom. A runway or passage was left for the deer to reach the lake along the base of the bluff. Canoes were concealed behind the bluff. When the deer found that they were entrapped, they ran into the lake, where the canoes attacked them, the women paddling, and the men shooting. All deer entering the water were soon overtaken and killed. Those that tried to pass back on the drivers, or through the men stationed at the sides above and below, were also as a rule killed. Any that returned from the water when the attack by the canoes commenced were met by the men stationed near the foot of the bluff, who advanced to the water edge when they saw that the deer had taken to the water.

After the introduction of horses, game—even antelope—was sometimes run down on open ground, but this kind of hunting was not always successful. Buffalo were hunted by parties of mounted men advancing on them in a line, usually not far apart, and often quite close together. At a signal given by the hunting chief, the hunters dashed at full speed at the herd of buffalo, stampeding them. They shot and speared the animals in the rear and sides of the herd. The pursuit and slaughter continued until the party considered that they had sufficient meat and skins. Occasionally, in the excitement, more were killed than the party required, and only the choicest meat, fat, and skins were taken. Buffalo were also stampeded over cliffs above coulees, and sometimes killed in large numbers by the fall. It is said, however, that this method of driving over cliffs was not used by the Coeur d'Alène in their own country when hunting elk or other kinds of game. Possibly the timbered nature of the country and the contour of the hills did not favor its employment there.

Decoy dresses made of the heads and skins of animals were used by some men in still hunting to approach the game before shooting. Headbands and caps set with horns, ears, or side feathers were also used. Antelope were frequently approached in this way.

Deer and elk were called both by direct imitation and with calls made of wood.

Animals, such as deer, were cut up in the same way as among the Thompson<sup>169</sup> and their skins were also often used as temporary bags for carrying meat to camp. It seems, however, that the long stick that was put inside the bag for stretching it was not used by the Coeur d'Alène. (Fig. 11.)

Spring pole snares for catching the feet of deer, like those common among the Thompson,<sup>170</sup> were not used, but deer fences were erected and snares set in the openings. These consisted of ordinary running nooses of Indian-hemp rope. The end of this rope was fastened to a

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<sup>169</sup> *a*, p. 248.

<sup>170</sup> *a*, fig. 228.

tree or log or to a stick erected for the purpose, and the noose spread in the opening with strings of light, fragile bark fastened above and at the sides to poles or trees. The deer put its head through the noose, and in moving farther away snapped the supports, drew the noose tight around its neck, and choked. Snares of this description were also used for capturing elk and bear. They were often set on animals' trails. Nets, pitfalls, and corrals of brush or poles for catching deer and other game were not used. Deadfalls were used for catching bear

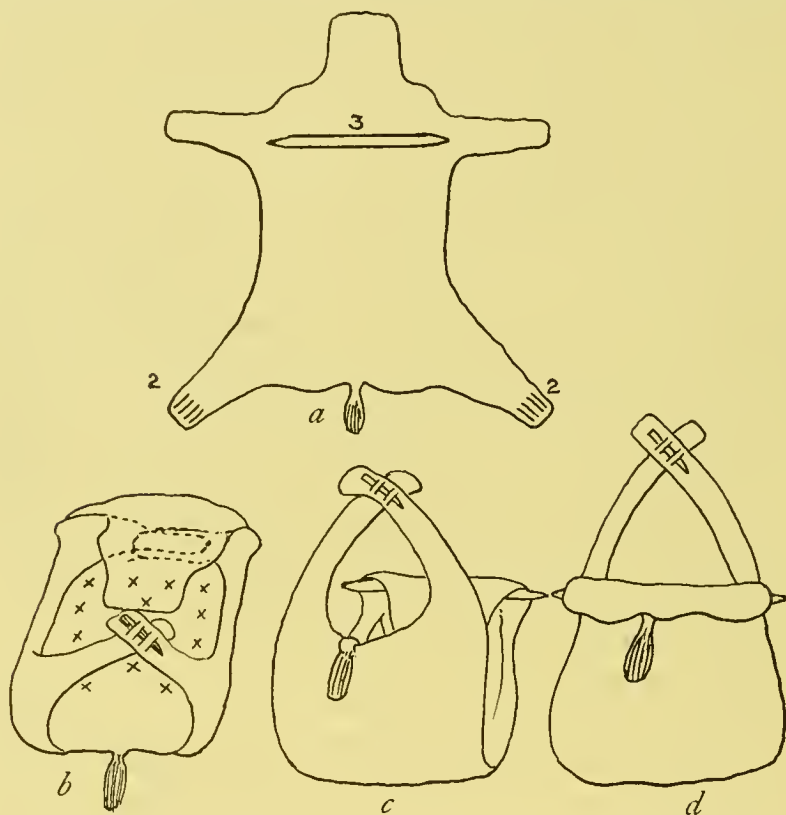


FIGURE 11.—Sketches illustrating the use of a hide for a bag in which meat is carried

and several other kinds of animals. Spring-pole snares were used for catching rabbits. Prairie chicken, grouse, and rabbits were caught with ordinary noose snares of twine set on their trails or among bushes. Sometimes a small brush house was made, and the snare set at the opening; or short wings of brush were erected leading to bird snares. The red-headed duck and some other kinds of duck were caught with lines and hooks baited with small fish. Large eagles were caught by men concealed in a pit screened with brush. When the eagle started to eat the bait the man seized it by the feet.<sup>171</sup> Young eagles were

<sup>171</sup> Shuswap, *e*, p. 523; Nez Percé, *b*, p. 215.

taken from their nests and reared for their feathers. Very little is remembered now of the old methods of trapping before the introduction of white man's traps and the taking up of buffalo hunting. Since the days when the tribe began to go regularly to the plains very little trapping has been done. Few capable men remained at home during winter, the trapping season, most of them being absent on the buffalo hunt. Trapping and snaring of game thus fell into disuse, and has been little prosecuted since 1800.

**FISHING—Hooks.**—Fish were hooked, gaffed, speared, trapped, and netted. The methods of fishing with hooks and lines appear to have been about the same as among the Thompson.<sup>172</sup> Lines were made of Indian hemp. Rods were of wood of any suitable bushes at hand. Fishline reels were made of a single piece of wood, generally oblong or square in shape. Lines were also merely hanked and put into the fish bag. Fish bags were woven of rushes or other materials.<sup>173</sup> Some were of rawhide and others were receptacles or baskets of bark. The most common hook was angular in shape, consisting of a wooden or bone shank and a barb of bone.<sup>174</sup> This was the only kind used on lines set in lakes, and was also the kind used for catching ducks. The other kind was the "gorge" hook, consisting of two straight splinters of bone fastened together.<sup>175</sup> Stone sinkers were used on nets and lines set in lakes. Many sinkers were simply attached with a double hitch,<sup>176</sup> while others were notched, grooved, or bored.<sup>177</sup> Floats, it seems, were made of tule. Those for lines were very small. Gaff hooks, with long wooden handles, were used for feeling salmon in the pools and hooking them out in the dark. It is uncertain whether they were used before the advent of iron, as the hooks are remembered as always having been of this material. Some tribes may have used gaff hooks with heads set with barbs of bone or antler like the angular fishhook used on lines.

**Spears.**—Two kinds of fish spears were in use. One was of the harpoon kind, with single detachable point,<sup>178</sup> used for spearing salmon in shallow riffles and from the banks of rivers; and the other was three-pronged with solid head.<sup>179</sup> The latter were of various sizes for spearing fish of different kinds from canoes or from the edge of ice. Spear points were made from leg bones of elk or deer. Harpoon spears with double prongs, like many used by the Thompson,<sup>180</sup>

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<sup>172</sup> *a*, p. 253.

<sup>173</sup> See Thompson, Peabody Mus. 156–158.

<sup>174</sup> See Thompson, *a*, fig. 234 *b*.

<sup>175</sup> See Thompson, *a*, fig. 234 *a*; Nez Percé, *b*, fig. 5, no. 9.

<sup>176</sup> See Thompson, *a*, fig. 234 *a*.

<sup>177</sup> See Thompson, Ottawa Mus. VI, M, 409.

<sup>178</sup> See Nez Percé, *b*, fig. 5, No. 10; compare Lillooet, *k*, fig. 87.

<sup>179</sup> See Thompson, *a*, fig. 232; Nez Percé, *b*, fig. 5, No. 11.

<sup>180</sup> *a*, fig. 231.

appear to have been unknown. Fishing through holes cut in the ice was a common method used in winter. The fisher lay flat on a woven mat, with a robe or blanket over his head; he held the line with a fish lure in his left hand, and a three-pronged spear in his right, ready to strike. Fishing with bait and hook and line was also practiced through holes in the ice when the weather was not too cold. Large trout were speared on dark nights in the lakes from canoes by torch-light. As among the Thompson, the torches consisted of bundles of split pitchwood, and three-pronged spears were used. Eye shades of several kinds were worn by the spearmen. (See p. 76.)

*Traps.*—Fish traps were of several kinds, but I did not obtain detailed information regarding them. The screen trap described by

Spinden was in use.<sup>181</sup>

(Fig. 12.) A second kind of trap commonly employed was used chiefly in creeks when they were in flood. It appears to have been the same as the cylindrical trap of the Thompson with "heart," and was called *moo*, which is also the Thompson name. A third kind of trap, with a trapdoor composed of a row of slanting sticks,

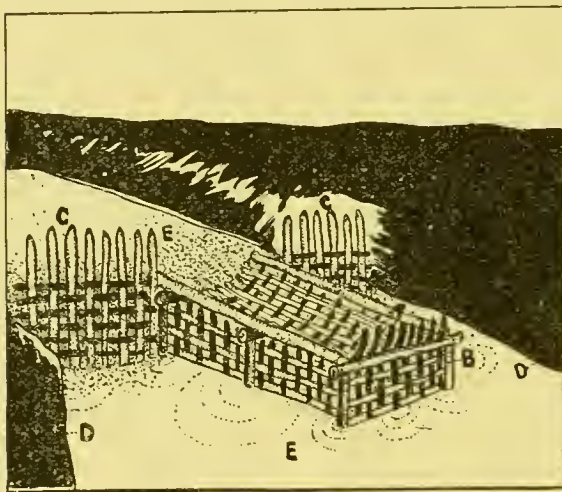


FIGURE 12.—Fish trap

appears to have been the same as a common kind among the Thompson, Shuswap, and Nez Percé.<sup>182</sup> A fourth kind, said to have been circular (possibly cylindrical), was used only for small fish. A fifth kind was used, it seems, only for salmon in large streams. It was large, and had high walls. The top was open excepting at the ends, which were covered over to prevent fish from jumping out. These traps were made of coarser materials than others; they were

<sup>181</sup> See Nez Percé, *b*, p. 211. I have seen screen traps used by the Shuswap and Chilcotin in small, rather rapid streams and have often seen fish lying on the screens. The screens were somewhat larger than the ones used by the Nez Percé. They were made of willow rods fastened together with bark and withes. They were oblong, slightly depressed in the center, and tilted up at the lower end away from the stream. I am under the impression that some of them had low brush walls to prevent the fish falling off the sides. Some had corrals underneath to catch any small fish that worked through the screens. The whole creek was dammed and the water forced over the screens with great force.

<sup>182</sup> See Shuswap, *e*, fig. 245 *a*, *b*; Nez Percé, *b*, p. 211.



set in rocky places and fastened to stout logs, as a considerable volume of water flowed through them. Men walked into them and clubbed the salmon. It seems they were used only on Spokane River. Weirs were commonly employed in conjunction with traps, and there were also simple weirs for stopping fish, thus facilitating spearing.

*Nets.*—Long nets were set in lakes, and ordinary bag nets were used for catching whitefish (*Coregonus*) and other fish from rocks and platforms on the banks of streams. Very large bag nets with long handles were used for catching a "sucker" which appears on the surface of lakes in calm, warm weather. The nets were dropped through the masses of fish from canoes. They were also scooped up with small bag nets into the canoes.<sup>153</sup> Bag nets were also set as traps, as among the Shuswap,<sup>154</sup> and the fish were driven into them. Bag nets were not used by the Coeur d'Alène for fishing salmon, nor were they used in salmon fishing by the Spokan; but it is said that the Nez Percé used bag nets a great deal in capturing salmon in the rivers. It seems that all salmon were trapped, speared, or gaffed by the Coeur d'Alène and also by most of the Spokan. It is said that the latter, in a few places on tributaries of the Spokane River, used large-mesh nets spread across the stream. These may, however, have been intended in large measure as weirs for stopping the fish rather than for catching them. The Coeur d'Alène had no salmon in their own country, but salmon came close to the borders of their territory along Spokane River. Some Coeur d'Alène bought what dried salmon they required from the Spokan; but large numbers of the tribe went to Spokane Falls and other parts of Spokane River where they fished salmon for themselves with the Spokan tribe. As the two tribes were usually friendly, this opportunity was generally available. It is said that no salmon could pass the falls, and therefore there were no salmon in the Coeur d'Alène country. A long time ago (before the introduction of the horse, according to some also later) some of the Coeur d'Alène were in the habit of trapping salmon in the mountains to the southeast, on streams which were northern feeders of the Clearwater. This was near the confines of the Nez Percé country. Long ago they also fished salmon at several points on the main Clearwater.<sup>155</sup> Although the Nez Percé claimed these places to be within their territory, they never themselves went there to fish. Long ago, some Coeur d'Alène also fished salmon on the Graywater, and beyond Smeda, up to the mountains as far as the salmon went. No landlocked salmon frequented any water in the Coeur d'Alène country; but trout of several kinds, whitefish, and several other kinds of fish were abundant. It seems that sturgeon also occurred.

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<sup>153</sup> See Shuswap, *e*, p. 526.

<sup>154</sup> *e*, fig. 242.

<sup>155</sup> My informant said "the main Snake River," but seemed to mean Clearwater River.

## VI. TRAVEL, TRANSPORTATION, AND TRADE

CANOES.—All the canoes were of the sharp-snouted “sturgeon nose” type like those used by the Thompson, Shuswap, Lake, Kutenai, and some other tribes. All were made of cedar bark. No “dugouts” were used. In size, canoes varied from small ones, intended for the use of a single person, to large ones, capable of accommodating seven people and some cargo. The bark of trees intended for canoes was stripped when the sap was running, in May, June, and July, and almost all canoes were made during these months. Holes were made in the trees, and wedges driven in, on which a man climbed to a height sufficient for the length of bark required for the canoe. A cut encircling the tree was made at this place and another at the bottom. A long, vertical cut was then made down one side of the tree, connecting the two cuts, and the bark taken off in a single piece. For prying off the bark, peelers of antler and wood were used, as among other tribes.<sup>186</sup> Split cedar root was used chiefly for sewing canoes. Paddles were made altogether of fir wood. Cedar was considered too light, and tamarack and pine too heavy. They were nearly all of one shape, with blades pointed at the ends, widest near the handle end.<sup>187</sup> In some places, where canoes could not be made, tule rafts were used, and in other places where both bark and tules were scarce, pole rafts were employed. Tule rafts were pointed at both ends. They were made of lodge mats rolled in bundles; or tules were tied in long bundles which were tightly lashed together. A well-made raft resembled a canoe, and was almost as good as one. Canoe bailers were made of bark, and were like small baskets.

TUMP LINES.—Before the introduction of the horse, everything not transported by canoe was carried on people’s backs with tump lines. Dogs were not used for carrying loads. Tump lines consisted of wide bands of hide that passed over head or chest, and lines of hide at the ends for attachment to the burden. The load was rolled in matting, put in mat bags, carrying bags woven of Indian-hemp twine, or hide bags. Baskets were also much used, especially in transportation of loose materials, and were employed mostly by the women.

SNOWSHOES.—When snow was deep on the mountains, people used snowshoes for traveling and hunting. They were of types similar to those of the Thompson. Three shapes of frames were in use, and two or three forms of mesh, differing more in arrangement of the strings than in the weaving.

A common kind was exactly like the common kind used by the Thompson.<sup>188</sup> Another shorter, rounder kind was less common. It had three head strings on each side, and was of the same weave as

<sup>186</sup> See Shuswap, *e*, fig. 235, *a*, *b*.

<sup>188</sup> *a*, fig. 239.

<sup>187</sup> See Field Mus. No. 111954.

the first one. It was even rounder than a similar style used by the Thompson.<sup>189</sup> A third kind, similar to a Thompson style,<sup>190</sup> had four head strings on each side, and cross strings in groups of threes, or, more generally, fours. A few were made in groups of twos. Like the first, this was a common type. The manner of attaching the lacing or foot strings of snowshoes seems to have been similar to the common Thompson method.<sup>190</sup> Fillings of snowshoes consisted of babiche or rawhide strings made chiefly from bear hide. Occasionally buffalo, elk, and deer hide were used. No cross sticks were employed on real snowshoes, and no frames with sharp or pointed "tails" or "heels." Most frames of snowshoes were made of an unidentified wood called *sqwaxt* (?), which grows in the mountains. A few were made of maple-wood vine (?). When parties were caught in heavy snow without snowshoes, and there was no ready means of making proper ones, temporary snowshoes were made of brush or saplings tied together at the ends, and kept stretched in the middle with cross sticks, which served also instead of filling. Most of these were nearly of the same shape as a kind of temporary snowshoe used by the Thompson.<sup>191</sup> The sizes of snowshoes were the same as among the Thompson.

Dogs.—The ancient dogs of the Coeur d'Alène are said to have been rather small. Face and ears resembled those of coyotes. Their colors were dark or bluish gray, spotted, or mixed. They were used only for hunting, and, it is said, never for purposes of transportation, such as carrying burdens or hauling loads. No dog sleds of any kind were known. Dogs were never clipped, and their hair was never used for any purpose. Their flesh was never eaten; and their skins were seldom used, if at all. It is said that no regular halter ropes with toggles, like those of the Thompson,<sup>192</sup> were in use. Leashes for hunting dogs were made of rope.

HORSES.—Horses were introduced a long time ago, but were not plentiful or much used at first. Some think the tribe had plenty of horses, at least about 1760. They were procured in the beginning chiefly, if not altogether, from the Kalispel, Pend d'Oreilles, and Flathead. The very first horse came from the Kalispel, and the following story is related regarding it:

The first horse came to the Coeur d'Alène country at a place about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles northwest of De Smet. A large number of people were gathered there, digging camas. They saw a man approaching on horseback, and became greatly excited. The rider was a Kalispel Indian, who remained several days with the Coeur d'Alène. The people examined the horse closely, and wondered much at the strange animal. As the horse was gentle, many people tried to ride him; but when he trotted, they fell off, excepting one man. The Coeur

<sup>189</sup> Thompson, *a*, fig. 242; Lillooet, *k*, fig. 91.

<sup>191</sup> *a*, fig. 243.

<sup>190</sup> *a*, fig. 241.

<sup>192</sup> *a*, fig. 227.

d'Alêne obtained their very first horses from the Kalispel, and a little later obtained a few from the Pend d'Oreilles, Flathead, and Spokane. A few of the Coeur d'Alêne crossed the Bitterroot Mountains in days before they had horses, visiting the Pend d'Oreilles and hunting buffalo which were at one time quite plentiful in the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles countries between the Rocky Mountains and the Bitterroot Range; but no Coeur d'Alêne went on the plains east of the mountains until after they had horses. When they first went to the plains they had plenty of horses; and the neighboring tribes, the Spokane, Colville, Columbia, and Nez Percé, were also well supplied. They found at this time that the Shoshoni and Flathead had great numbers; but the Blackfoot and some other eastern tribes did not seem to have many. As an abundance of horses made traveling and buffalo hunting much easier, the tribes to the east who were not well supplied made frequent raids upon the Shoshoni and Flathead, trying to steal their horses. At this time the Crow had more horses than the Blackfoot and Gros Ventres, but not nearly as many as the Shoshoni and Flathead. When not at war, the Coeur d'Alêne and western tribes in early times always sold horses to the Plains tribes, but no horses were procured by western tribes from eastern tribes. It seems certain that in early times the Crow, Blackfoot, and all the near-by eastern tribes secured all their horses in trade and in war from the Shoshoni and Flathead, who had horses long before they did. Horses were considered the greatest wealth a person could have. The Plains tribes were still using dogs for packing and hauling when the Coeur d'Alêne began to frequent the plains; but as they gradually became better supplied with horses, dogs were used less and less. In later days, when buffalo became scarce on the eastern plains, the tribes from that region, who were by this time all well mounted, moved farther west into the better buffalo grounds, encroaching on the Shoshoni and Flathead.

**HORSE EQUIPMENT.**—Saddles and other equipment for horses must have come into use at the time of the introduction of the first horses. Certain articles of horse equipment are said to have been borrowed from the Pend d'Oreilles, and it seems likely that the rest came from the same source. Men's saddles were of two kinds. One kind, perhaps the most common one, consisted of a pad of deer's hair inclosed in leather. It was made to fit the back of the horse, and the four corners of the saddle were generally ornamented with areas of solid beadwork or quillwork in two or three colors.<sup>193</sup> The other kind of saddle was constructed somewhat like a packsaddle. The sides were of wood, and each pommel was made of a forked piece of deer's antler, which formed an arch slanting outward. The lower parts of the tines were fastened to the sidepieces with thongs, which passed through holes in the latter. Rawhide was shrunk over all.<sup>194</sup>

<sup>193</sup> *l.*, fig. 8.

<sup>194</sup> *l.*, figs. 4, 20.

Women's saddles had wooden sides and high straight pommels of antler or wood with wide, flat ends. Rawhide was shrunk over all, and they were often further covered with leather, which was cut into fringes around the ends of the pommels.<sup>195</sup> Sometimes, instead of cut fringes, a strip of dressed skin about 7 to 10 cm. wide, often covered with solid beadwork on the outside, depended from each pommel, reaching almost to the horse's back.<sup>196</sup> The ends of these bands were often fringed. Many women's saddles had a spike of wood or antler which projected forward and upward from the middle of the front pommel.<sup>197</sup> It was used, it seems, chiefly for suspending the baby carrier when traveling. Some saddles had short skirts of leather which were beaded or fringed along the edges. Stirrup leathers consisted of wide straps of heavy buckskins or elk skin, and stirrups were made of slats of wood bent into shape by heating when green. Generally buffalo or other skin was shrunk over them. (See *l*, fig. 12, p. 16.) Cruppers were used with many saddles. They consisted of wide pieces of skin fringed along the lower side, and beaded on the outside.<sup>198</sup> Collars or "horse necklaces" of similar material and design were also used a good deal, especially by women. As a rule, they were fringed and embroidered, and many had pendants that hung on the horse's chest. Saddle blankets consisted of pieces of woven matting below and pieces of buffalo or other skin in the hair on top. Some saddle blankets of leather, embroidered along the edges and having long corner ends, were also used.<sup>199</sup> Saddle covers of skin, used over the saddle for sitting on, were common. Sometimes light robes were used for this purpose.

Bridles consisted of ropes or braided or twisted horsehair or buffalo hair attached to the lower jaw. Many consisted merely of a strip of buffalo hide or other rawhide. Cinches were made of woven horsehair or of rawhide. Lariats, halter ropes, and stake ropes were made of horsehair, buffalo hair, or of leather braided or twisted; and others were merely long strips cut out of raw buffalo and other hide. Women used fringed hide bags<sup>200</sup> attached, usually one on each side, to the fronts and sometimes also to the backs of saddles. Saddlebags were fastened to the saddle behind. These crossed the back of the horse, and had a deep pocket on each side and very long fringes.<sup>201</sup> Things required during the day when traveling and odds and ends were carried in them. Quirts were like those in use among the Flathead, Thompson and other tribes. They had handles of antler or wood, and lashes of rawhide.<sup>202</sup> Although the horse and dog travois were

<sup>195</sup> *l*, fig. 17.<sup>196</sup> *l*, fig. 2.<sup>197</sup> *l*, figs. 2, 17.<sup>198</sup> *l*, figs. 14, 15.<sup>199</sup> *l*, fig. 18.<sup>200</sup> See Thompson, *a*, fig. 151; Shuswap, *e*, fig. 220.<sup>201</sup> *l*, fig. 19.<sup>202</sup> *l*, figs. 23, 24.

both well known to the Coeur d'Alène, who had seen them constantly during the many years they hunted on the plains, still they were never adopted. Carrying rather than hauling was the method of transportation preferred by the Coeur d'Alène as well as by other western tribes, because best adapted for travel through rough, mountainous country.

Packsaddles were of wood, both sides and crosspieces. Antler was sometimes used for crosspieces; and poplar wood was principally used for the sides of both pack and riding saddles. Rawhide was shrunk over all.<sup>203</sup> Large rawhide bags and parflèches were hung by loops over the crossbars of the packsaddle, one on each side, and goods were transported in them. Robes and skins were often thrown flat on the top of these, and the whole load fastened down with rawhide ropes. Sometimes bulky materials, such as tents and skins, were folded and lashed together in bundles of equal weight, to be carried as side packs on horses.

Horses were often decorated with tassels and bunches of dyed or painted horsehair, and tail feathers of eagles, hawks, and other birds. Sometimes pendent feathers were attached, one above another, along the outside of horses' tails. A feather pendant or a long streamer of dyed horsehair was often suspended from the lower jaw. Some men made war bonnets of eagle-tail feathers, which were strapped on the horses' heads. Horses were painted in various ways, and their manes and tails were plaited or clipped in different styles. Some men and women rubbed scent or perfume on them.

TRADE.—More or less trading was done by all parties visiting or being visited by neighboring bands or tribes. As most things which the Coeur d'Alène had were common to all the neighboring tribes, trading was generally merely an exchange of articles common to all, and depended on the needs and fancies of individuals. However, there were a few things which were abundant with some tribes and scarce or absent in the territories of others. Thus soapberries (*Shepherdia*) and hazelnuts, which did not grow in the country of the Coeur d'Alène, were obtained from the Spokane, who, in turn, got them from the Colville Indians, in whose country they were plentiful. Bitterroot also did not grow in the Coeur d'Alène country, and was procured from the Spokane, in whose country it grew abundantly. After the introduction of horses, many Coeur d'Alène made trips to the district around Cheney and Sprague, in Spokane territory, to dig it. The Spokane never raised any objections, as they had an abundance, and, besides, they were always friendly with the Coeur d'Alène. The Spokane also allowed them to come into their territory and put up supplies of salmon, as there were hardly any in the Coeur d'Alène country. Some of the Coeur d'Alène, however, preferred to

<sup>203</sup> Peabody Mus. No. 194.

buy dried salmon from the Spokan. A little dried salmon was also occasionally obtained from the Paloos.

Tobacco was imported, as none was native to the country, and it seems none was grown. It is not clear from which tribe they obtained it, but some think it was procured chiefly from the Spokan. After the arrival of the fur traders, tobacco was procured entirely from them. Dentalium, abalone, and some other shells used as beads were procured chiefly from the Spokan. A few were obtained from the Paloos, and possibly from the Nez Percé; but all these shells came originally from the tribes along Columbia River near The Dalles, who procured them from other tribes living on the coast or to the south. In later days fur traders sold dentalia and other shells. Fresh-water shells were used to some extent and were obtained at home. Flat, circular beads were bought chiefly from the Spokan, who procured them from the tribes along Columbia River. In later days these also were procured from the traders. They were in vogue a very long time ago. Polished tubular bone beads, for necklaces and breastplate ornaments, came into use in the beginning of the last century, and were procured, it seems, from the Flathead and the white traders. It is not known where copper and iron came from before the advent of the traders, but some think chiefly from The Dalles through the Spokan.

Long ago a very few slaves were bought from the Spokan and Paloos. They were nearly all young boys and girls, and, according to tradition, were chiefly Snake and Ute. Occasionally young slaves of Umatilla and Paloos extraction were also bought from the Spokan. Sooner or later these were bought back by their relatives. Sometimes the Paloos would come and buy them back directly, but oftener the Spokan who sold them would buy them back and sell them to their Paloos or Umatilla relatives who wanted them. The Snake and Ute slaves were never bought back, as their relatives lived too far away. The Coeur d'Aléne hardly ever bought and sold slaves among themselves; and very few of them cared to have any, even if they could afford to buy them.

Before the advent of the horse, a good many buffalo robes were bought from the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. Some sheep's horns were also bought. Parties of Coeur d'Aléne and Nez Percé always did more or less trading when they met, but there was no trade in any special articles with the Nez Percé.

It seems that in olden times the Coeur d'Aléne did nearly all their trading with the Spokan, and comparatively little with other tribes. After they began to go to the plains a trade sprang up in special articles with several of the Plains tribes. All parties going to the plains to hunt buffalo carried small quantities of western products to trade, for the Plains tribes were very fond of some of these, and were

willing to pay rather high prices. Thus salmon oil put up in sealed salmon skins, salmon pemmican mixed with oil and put up in salmon skins, cakes of camas and other roots, cakes of certain kinds of berries, Indian hemp, and Indian-hemp twine were transported across the mountains. Some people say that a great deal of Indian hemp and Indian-hemp twine was sold to the Plains tribes, fairly large quantities of camas cakes, salmon pemmican, etc., and only small quantities of berry cakes. The Plains Indians also desired arrows and bows of horn and wood, which they considered better than their own; also shells, certain kinds of beads, necklaces peculiar to the west, and greenstone pipes. They were also anxious to buy western horses; and most parties drove a considerable number of spare horses along, partly as remounts, but most of them for sale. Skins and clothes were also traded and interchanged. In exchange feather bonnets of the best kind and buffalo robes of the finest sort were obtained. The best bonnets and robes of the Plains tribes were considered better than those of their own. The feather bonnets most desired were of the Sioux style. Some of them were made by the Crow; but most of them, including all the best ones, were made by the Sioux themselves, and sold by them to the Crow. The buffalo robes desired were of the softest tan, and ornamented with a band of beadwork across the middle. The Crow robes were most highly valued. Often a horse and, in addition, a well-made leather shirt, was paid for one of the best kind of robes. Catlinite, and catlinite pipes, were also often bought from the Plains tribes. It is said that often when the Coeur d'Aléne or other western tribes met Plains tribes, the chiefs of the two sides held a talk and declared a state of peace and trading for a certain number of days. No one on either side was to quarrel, fight, or steal horses; but all were to be friends for the allotted number of days, and all were to play games and trade as they felt inclined. Then the people of both sides intermingled freely and without sign of restraint or suspicion. Often, toward the end of the time, dances of various kinds were held, large numbers taking part. The conduct of the people during these periods of truce was in great contrast to their attitude at other times, when each side was always ready to attack or repel an attack. Sometimes, after all had parted good friends, less than a day passed before one side made an attack on the other. The Blackfoot are said to have been the worst offenders. Often the very first night after the truce was over, and each party had gone its way, they would return and try to run off horses or kill stragglers around the camp. For this reason the western Indians, for several nights after parting company with their eastern friends, corralled their horses, mounted strong guards and were ready to repel any attempt at attack or horse stealing.

The articles traded for with the early fur traders were flint and steel, guns and ammunition, traps, iron, copper, knives, hatchets,



glass beads, shells of certain kinds, red and blue cloth, and tobacco. Furs of beaver, otter, fox, marten, fisher, dressed buckskin, and other hides, and foods of certain kinds, were given by the Indians in exchange.

## VII. WARFARE

WEAPONS.—Besides bows and arrows, already mentioned, for offensive purposes spears, lances, knives, daggers, and several kinds of clubs and tomahawks; for defense, shields and armor were used. War spears were usually about 2 meters long, with a point of flaked stone either leaf or knife shaped, rather long and narrow. All were sharp pointed and double edged. After iron came into use, some of them were serrated near the base on both sides. In later days, when buffalo were chased on horseback, a longer spear with a narrow point was sometimes used for stabbing game. Handles of spears were of various kinds of wood, particularly an unidentified wood called *sElega'lq<sup>w</sup>*. Lances for throwing were used both in war and in games. They were about 1½ meters in length and resembled large, heavy arrows. They were feathered like arrows and had stone and iron points. Those employed in games simply had the ends sharpened. They went out of use as a weapon soon after the introduction of the horse and the beginning of buffalo hunting on the plains. War knives had blades like spear points. They were all of flaked stone, somewhat leaf-shaped, set in short wooden or antler handles. After iron came into use, all war knives were made of that material, and were double edged, like those of the Thompson.<sup>204</sup> Some daggers were made of antler and bone. No double-ended daggers were used for fighting and for pushing in mouths of bears, as among the Okanagan and Thompson.

War clubs were of at least seven kinds. One kind consisted of a round stone set in the end of a short wooden handle, and heavy rawhide shrunk over all, which made the club rigid.<sup>205</sup> Usually the end of the handle was slightly grooved to fit the roundness of the stone, but occasionally instead the stone head had a shallow socket for the end of the handle to rest in. In rare cases it had two shallow grooves running at right angles for the attachment of thongs to bind it to the handle. In most clubs no thongs were used, the stiff rawhide being considered sufficient to hold the head firm.

A second kind of club was like the first, but with a pliable head. The stone was inclosed in a small bag of skin, the lower end of which was attached to the handle, leaving the middle part as a pliable neck.<sup>206</sup>

A third kind consisted of a spike of elk or deer antler set crosswise in the end of a short wooden handle. Some were double-ended with

<sup>204</sup> *a*, fig. 246.

<sup>205</sup> See Thompson, *a*, fig. 247.

<sup>206</sup> See Thompson, *a*, fig. 248; Nez Percé, *b*, p. 227, and fig. 5, No. 5.

two spikes of equal length, while others had a shorter back spike of antler, sometimes of flaked stone.<sup>207</sup> Some of these clubs had single or double ended heads of flaked stone.<sup>208</sup> Rawhide was shrunk over the ends of these clubs. In later days iron was substituted for antler and stone; but after the arrival of the traders, trade tomahawks of iron largely took their place.

A fourth kind had a double-ended, somewhat oval stone head, set across the head of a short wooden handle. The stone generally had a shallow groove around the middle for the attachment of thongs to connect it tightly to the end of the handle. Hide was usually shrunk over the joining, or over the entire club excepting the tips of the head.<sup>209</sup>

A fifth type had a spike of antler or a blade of arrowstone sunk and glued into the upper end of the face of a wooden handle. Some clubs had a groove up and down the handle in the upper half of the side opposite the striking head. In this groove was set a row of small splinters of arrowstone, like teeth in a saw. In later days a long, narrow blade of iron was used instead of the stone teeth, and an iron spike for the striking head.<sup>210</sup>

A sixth form used was a one-piece club of elk antler, with a short tine, or piece of a tine, at one end sharpened to a point. It was probably like similar clubs used by the Thompson.<sup>211</sup>

A seventh form was made of one piece of wood. It was somewhat paddle-shaped, but much thicker, in proportion, than the blade of a paddle. It was often ornamented with incised designs, and some were polished. It appears to have been the same as a common wooden club among the Thompson.<sup>212</sup> Single-piece stone clubs, it would seem, were not made, but a few made by tribes along Columbia River were obtained in trade. As far as known, no clubs of whale-bone were obtained in trade.

It is claimed that all these kinds of clubs were in use before the advent of the horse; and tradition says that all are very ancient, excepting perhaps the fourth kind, which, according to some, came into vogue about the time of the introduction of the horse. Some claim that the fifth kind is older than the fourth, but tradition is not quite clear as to whether it is equally as ancient as the other kinds described. Clubs were ornamented with skin fringes, feathers, hair tassels, and painted designs. Iron tomahawks became common after the arrival of the traders; also musket clubs and other clubs of supposedly white manufacture were obtained, as well as a few swords, machetes, and bayonets. When these trade weapons became common the use of most of the old-fashioned clubs was abandoned.

Points of arrows and spears were not poisoned in any way.

<sup>207</sup> See Thompson specimen, Peabody Mus. 383.

<sup>208</sup> See Thompson, *a*, fig. 299.

<sup>209</sup> See Nez Percé, *b*, p. 227.

<sup>210</sup> See Peabody Mus., No. 379.

<sup>211</sup> *a*, fig. 81.

<sup>212</sup> *a*, fig. 251.

ARMOR.—Long ago several kinds of armor were used. A sleeveless shirt or tunic of heavy elk hide, reaching below the hips, was in vogue. If possible, it was soaked in water before being used in battle. A short vest of wooden rods woven or fastened together with thongs or with Indian-hemp twine was in use. It reached from the shoulders to the hips, and had spaces for the arms.<sup>213</sup> The common wood used was *Spiraea* sp. (?). The outside was generally covered with dressed skin, which was ornamented with feathers and painted designs.<sup>214</sup> Some elk-skin tunics also had painted designs. Cuirasses made of slats of wood were not used.

Three or four kinds of shields were in use. One kind was oblong and about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  meters in length. It was made of a single piece of heavy elk hide.<sup>215</sup> It was sometimes moistened with water when about to be used. One side often carried painted designs. The second kind was circular or slightly oval, and about 60 centimeters in width. It consisted of from one to three thicknesses of heavy buffalo, elk, or other hide, stretched while moist over a hoop, and dried. The skins were sewed to the hoop. When two or three thicknesses of skin were used, the hoop was taken off when the skins were quite set, and the edges all around were sewed together. Some shields were circular and small, made of the thickest hide from the thigh of the buffalo, further thickened and hardened by scorching in fire. After the introduction of the horse this shield was the only one used; and it continued in use until after the introduction of fire-arms, when all kinds of shields became useless. According to tradition, small wooden shields were also used long ago, but nothing is now remembered of their shape and construction. None of the oldest living Indians have seen any of the old-style shields and armor, excepting the small hardened buffalo-hide shield. Although this type is said to have been in use before the advent of the horse, some think it is not as ancient as the others. All other kinds of shields and armor gradually went out of use after horses were employed, as they were not adapted for riding.

FORTS AND DEFENSES.—Long ago there were many forts. Most of them were stockades consisting of a row of posts, set deeply in the ground, as close together as possible. Sometimes they surrounded small groups of houses; but usually they were built near a camp as a place of refuge in case of attack, or as a safe retreat at night when most of the men happened to be away. The walls were about 3 meters high, and provided with loopholes at the proper height for shooting arrows. Shelters made of mats were erected all around the inside of the walls for the accommodation of the people. Some

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<sup>213</sup> See Thompson, *a*, fig. 254.

<sup>214</sup> See Thompson specimen, Peabody Mus., No. 378.

<sup>215</sup> See Thompson, *a*, fig. 255.

of the smaller stockades had the whole enclosed space roofed with mats. Pits and trenches were sometimes dug inside for the greater safety of noncombatants. The shape of all the stockades appears to have been circular, and all were provided with zigzag entrances just wide enough to admit one person at a time. These entrances were closed with wooden bars.

Another kind of fort was made of logs laid horizontally one above another, somewhat after the manner of a log cabin. Logs were also laid across the roof, and the whole building covered, first with brush and then with earth. The walls were about 2 m. high and had loopholes between the logs. Pits were dug in some of them and some had underground passages leading to the edges of banks or concealed places among rocks or trees. The entrances to these buildings were low and narrow, admitting a person only on all fours. Most buildings had a small hole left uncovered in the middle of the roof to admit light, to serve for ventilation, and as a smoke hole when fires were lighted. In shape, these fortresses appear to have varied, many being oblong, others square. None of them were very large. This type of fort had the advantage that it could not be set afire by an enemy.

Temporary defenses consisted of breastworks and circular inclosures of logs laid one on another to a height of more than 1 meter, and covered with brush and earth. Sometimes a trench was dug along the inside of the wall. Other temporary defenses consisted of a fence of poles made like a corral, with brush and earth thrown against it. Still others were circular or semicircular inclosures made of stones piled up to a height of more than 1 meter. Loopholes were left here and there between large stones. In wooded parts of the country they were made entirely of brush piled up to about the same height and partially covered with thick bark and earth. The nature of the breastworks depended a great deal on the environment, configuration of the ground, material at hand, and the number of people engaged in making them. Many were semicircular, some were completely circular, and others formed straight lines and zigzags.

WAR DRESS.—War dress varied a great deal, as each man attired himself according to his own inclinations and dreams. Some men went into battle with only a breechclout, moccasins, and headdress, while in olden times suits of armor were worn by many. Most warriors wore a special headdress of some kind, which varied among individuals according to their guardian spirits, dreams or tastes. For war the hair was usually done up in special fashions (see p. 85); and all warriors painted their faces and exposed parts of the body in designs of different colors, often according to their dreams. Others had styles which they considered lucky or which they had adopted from past usage. Feathers, skins, pieces of skins, and hair

of animals considered as guardian spirits were often attached to the hair of the head, and to clothes, shields, and weapons. These as well as the designs painted on the body were supposed to lend power to the wearer and to protect him. The medicine case was often carried in battle, and many men wore scalp shirts and scalps or scalp locks. Besides the common eagle feather war bonnets, others made of the head skins of animals, set with horns, and entire skins of large birds, were used. A common "medicine skin" was that of a small owl noted for keenness of sight. The entire skin was fastened to the back of the hair, with the owl's face looking backward. Persons who had this owl for their guardian spirit and who wore its skin thus in their hair were protected from being attacked unawares. They were also exempt from any danger of attack from behind. Some men attached scalps to the hair; and long feather streamers hung from the hair or from the backs and sides of war bonnets. Some men took charms out of their medicine bags before battle and attached them to their hair. As already stated, war horses were often painted and decorated. White horses were preferred, and therefore were of most value among the Indians, because they showed off the paintings and decorations better than horses of other colors. Red was the common war color; but yellow, black, blue, and white were also used. War customs and war dances will be described later on. (See p. 187.)

WARS.—In olden times the Coeur d'Alène had occasional wars with the Spokane, Kalispel, Pend d'Oreilles, Flathead, Nez Percé, and Kutenai; and in later times, after they began to hunt buffalo east of the Rocky Mountains, they fought with the Blackfoot, Crow, Sioux, and other eastern tribes. There are no traditions of wars with the Palooos, Cayuse, Columbia, and other western tribes. The following narratives will illustrate some of these wars, and at the same time throw some light on certain customs of the people.

*Wars with the Spokane.*—Usually the two tribes, the Coeur d'Alène and Spokane, were friends. They traded and played games with each other. However, once long ago they were at war with each other for a time. A Spokane chief had given his daughter to be the wife of a Coeur d'Alène chief. He had done this as a mark of esteem and of good will to this chief and to the Coeur d'Alène tribe, and also to cement their friendship. The girl went with her husband to his home. Afterwards her husband had bad luck gambling. He blamed his bad luck on his new wife and hired a man to kill her. When the Spokane heard of this, they were very indignant, and declared war on the whole Coeur d'Alène tribe. Those members of both tribes who lived near the limits of their respective territories deserted their homes and retired to their more distant tribespeople, so that a wide strip of intermediate country was left virtually uninhabited. The war lasted two or three years, and was detrimental to both tribes,

and especially to the Coeur d'Alêne, who depended on fishing salmon and digging bitterroot within Spokane territory. All trading was also stopped. A Coeur d'Alêne chief <sup>216</sup> went to a salmon-fishing place on the Little Spokane. Coeur d'Alêne parties had been in the habit of going there annually to fish and play games with the Spokane. It was the fishing season, but no one was there. The chief felt very sorrowful when he saw the place look so deserted. He thought of the many good times and all the fun the Coeur d'Alêne and Spokane had so often had together at this place. He returned home, and called the other Coeur d'Alêne chiefs to a council. Six chiefs met him. He told how he had gone to the fishing place, and how he had sat down and had been overcome with sorrow when he viewed its loneliness, and had thought of the mirth and happiness that used to be there. Now there was no fishing there, and there were no games. All was as if dead. He said he wanted peace, and intended to give his daughter to the Spokane chief to make peace. All the other chiefs agreed with him. The girl was advised that she was to be made a sacrifice for peace, and that there was a possibility that the Spokane would kill her. She said she was willing to do as her father and the other chiefs advised, even if she should lose her life. She dressed herself in her best clothes, and the chiefs gave her a load of fine robes and valuables to carry as presents to the Spokane. Some Coeur d'Alêne men followed her, keeping out of sight. They were sent to learn her fate. One night, after traveling several days without seeing any one, she had a dream in which she was told that she would see people on the morrow. The following morning, shortly after leaving her camp, she saw in the distance a flock of flying cranes making a great noise. She thought people must have startled them, and she went in that direction. After a time she met a Spokane woman, and sat down to chat with her. She told her the errand she was on, and added, "If the Spokane kill me, I do not care; for I have been sent as a sacrifice by my father and the other Coeur d'Alêne chiefs, who all desire peace and a renewal of the friendly relations that formerly existed between the tribes. They are sorry that there is no more intercourse between us." The woman told her to sit where she was. She would go and see the people. This place was not far from Chewelah. A large number of Spokane were encamped there. When the Spokane chief learned of her mission, he sent out some young men to invite her in and to carry the presents she brought. After making a speech to all the people, he distributed the presents among them, and told them that he would take the girl to wife. She was a good girl, and henceforth lived with the Spokane. Shortly afterwards the chiefs of the two tribes met, and a permanent peace was arranged. This

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<sup>216</sup> Some informants say it was the chief who killed his wife, but most informants say another chief.

was the last war with the Spokane. Since then the two tribes have always been the best of friends.

*Wars with the Kalispel.*—Long ago there were several short wars with the Kalispel, and the two tribes sent war parties into each other's territories. Once, in one of the last wars with the Kalispel, the great-grandfather of head chief Saltis of the Coeur d'Alène was camped with some other men at Sawmill, a place near De Smet. He had three children—one a grown-up lad, and the others a little boy and girl. The Kalispel had invaded the country. They found this camp, attacked it and mortally wounded the men. The lad ran with his brother by his side, and carried his sister under his arm. His brother was shot. When he looked at his sister, he saw that she also had been killed by a shot. He continued running to some bushes, where he hid. Presently two of the enemy came along, riding the same horse. The halter rope was dragging along the ground. As they passed, the lad seized the end of the rope and jerked the horse, dismounting the two men, who ran off. The lad then mounted the horse and rode away. The men shot arrows at him, wounding him slightly, but he escaped. There were several Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead among this Kalispel war party. These tribes were all allies, and they often had joint war parties.

*Wars with the Pend d'Oreilles.*<sup>217</sup>—Long ago there were sometimes wars with the Pend d'Oreilles, who generally were the aggressors and invaded the Coeur d'Alène territory. The Coeur d'Alène never sent war parties into the countries of the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. Once, at a time when the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead had their first guns, but the Coeur d'Alène as yet had none, a war party of Pend d'Oreilles, including a number of Flathead, led by a famous chief called *Qutena'lq<sup>w</sup>* entered the Coeur d'Alène country and attacked a camp of about a dozen people who were gathering camas at a place about a mile east of De Smet Mission. A fight took place, and most of the Coeur d'Alène were killed. A woman and her two little sons were taken captive. In the fight one Flathead had become separated from his friends and for a time was unable to find them. The Pend d'Oreilles, thinking he had been killed, said, "We will kill the woman to make even the loss of our friend." They dismounted, and stabbed the woman with a very large knife, the kind used by the Flathead, which was different from the knives of the Coeur d'Alène. Before stabbing her, they made her tell where the other camps of her tribe were located. They did not

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<sup>217</sup> The narrator hesitated to tell this story. He suggested that if it were printed it might hurt the feelings of some Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. He believed that these evil doings of the past should be forgotten, and that people should not continue to tell them to their children; that anything which might cause bitter feelings to a people or wound their pride should be avoided.

kill the little boys, but gave them each a piece of buffalo gut, and told them to go home. This happened on the trail, a few miles to the east of De Smet. Later some Coeur d'Alêne men happened to come along, and, finding the woman still alive, bandaged her wound. She asked to be taken to the little spring near De Smet. They carried her there and left her. She got well. This woman was the great-grandmother of the narrator of this story, Nicodemus *Qwaro'tus*, my chief informant among the Coeur d'Alêne. One man escaped unhurt from the Coeur d'Alêne camp. He crossed the hills by a short route to St. Marys River and informed the people he met of what had happened. At once six or seven men started back with him to alarm other camps, and to try to intercept the invaders. Meanwhile the Pend d'Oreilles attacked a camp about 7 miles from De Smet, near the present Government sawmill. The people there were also digging camas. During the previous night a man in this camp dreamed that the camp would be attacked by Flathead, and accordingly had left. When he heard the shots he ran away as fast as possible. During the attack one man escaped from the camp with his two sons and one daughter. He carried the children under his arms. They ran along a creek unobserved, but later, on crossing a piece of flat, open ground, were seen and attacked. The little girl was shot with an arrow, and he himself was badly wounded.<sup>218</sup> The man told the lad, "I am badly wounded; save yourself." He ran away some distance and then returned; as he did not want to leave his father. Again his father entreated him to run, and he ran off and hid in some bushes. The enemy dispatched the man and pursued the lad. As the bushes were thick, the enemy dismounted and left their horses loose in the open. The chief called out to the lad that if he lay still, they would not kill him; but his guardian, the Coyote, told him, "Do not fear, they can not kill you. Run, and you will be safe." He ran out of the bushes to where the horses were, took one by the rope and tried to mount it. He failed because the rod armor he wore had slipped down too low on his hips. He jerked it up with his teeth and managed to mount. The warriors ran out of the bushes and shot arrows at him, one of them striking his backside. Then they pursued him; but he whipped up his horse and escaped. Afterwards the Coeur d'Alêne marked the bark of a tree at this place to commemorate the exploit. All the people in the sawmill camp were killed except this lad and the man who had the dream.

The following year a small party of Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead returned to the Coeur d'Alêne country. Among them was *Qutena'lq<sup>w</sup>*, who had been chief of the war party that slaughtered the Coeur d'Alêne the previous year, and two other chiefs called *P'oqp'oqcine'na*

<sup>218</sup> Another version has it that the man carried one child under his arm and the lad carried the other. Both children were shot with arrows and killed as they were being carried.

<sup>c</sup>A Coeur d'Alêne, but not a chief.—G. Reichard.



and *Citemu's*. The latter two wanted *Qutena'lq<sup>w</sup>* to make peace, and had accompanied him for the purpose of aiding in the matter. They went to the main camp of the Coeur d'Alène at Coeur d'Alène City. The Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead were not afraid to travel in small parties in an enemy country, as they had guns. The Pend d'Oreilles party camped near the Coeur d'Alène, who now began to gather in great numbers at Coeur d'Alène City. After much talk, the Coeur d'Alène chiefs agreed to make peace; and after all the terms had been arranged, they and the Pend d'Oreilles chiefs began to smoke the peace pipe brought by the latter. Just as they started to smoke, the lad who had escaped from the fight at Sawmill, and had been wounded, spoke up, addressing the Coeur d'Alène chiefs, and objecting to the making of peace. He said to them, "It is easy for you to make peace, for you have had none of your near relatives slaughtered; but what about my slaughtered relatives?" Then he addressed the Pend d'Oreilles chiefs, saying, "It is all right for you to make peace with us; but I can not make peace with you, for you have killed my parents, and my brother and sister. To-morrow I will see if I can make peace with you." This broke up the peace proceedings. That day the Pend d'Oreilles moved camp a mile away, that they might have the shelter of a very large fir tree, as it was raining. On the following morning they were sitting around their fires at this tree, and a large number of Coeur d'Alène encircled them on the outside. The chiefs were about to speak of peace again. *Qutena'lq<sup>w</sup>* was seated with sinew and awl, sewing his gun case. The lad who had spoken the previous day was hidden behind some of the people. He began to play with his bow and arrows unseen by the Pend d'Oreilles. Suddenly he drew his bow and shot from his hiding place. *Qutena'lq<sup>w</sup>* looked up when he heard the twang of the bow-string, and at the same moment was pierced through the stomach and killed. He exclaimed, "I thought this was going to happen!" Now the Pend d'Oreilles and Coeur d'Alène fought, and many were killed. Chief *P'oqp'oqcine'na* was killed. Chief *Citemu's* escaped with some others. The Pend d'Oreilles party lost all their horses and guns. The Coeur d'Alène divided the horses; but the guns they broke up, and made knives out of the metal, as they did not know how to use them. According to some, this Pend d'Oreilles peace party was about one-third Pend d'Oreilles, the rest being Kalispel and Flathead. Some people say a majority were Kalispel. The following year a large Flathead party came to the Little Spokane River; and their chief called all the chiefs of the Coeur d'Alène, Spokane, Kalispel, Pend d'Oreilles, Colville, and Kutenai to meet him there. He wanted to make a peace between all these tribes, and have their differences settled once and for all. All the chiefs went, and many followers with them. There was a great assembly. The Flathead chief made

a great speech, and said that the peace pipe must be filled and smoked. One Flathead said, "No. How can we smoke the peace pipe? The Coeur d'Alène broke it. There is no peace pipe. How can it be smoked?" The Coeur d'Alène said they were willing to smoke, as they could make an honorable peace now, for Flathead blood had been spilled as well as Coeur d'Alène blood. Any peace arranged before would have been one-sided and dishonorable. Many speeches were made, and the conference lasted a number of days. At last everything was arranged amicably, and the pipe was smoked by all the chiefs of these tribes. They agreed that there should be an everlasting peace between them; that none would fight the others and that all would be friends and allies. This pledge has never since been broken.

*Wars with the Kutenai.*—Coeur d'Alène parties sometimes went to the Lower Kutenai country and attacked the people there, but the Kutenai never retaliated by invading the Coeur d'Alène country. Probably the last fight between them happened as follows: At the time when guns were first introduced among the Coeur d'Alène, two brothers had a gun between them. One day they quarreled about the gun, each wanting to hunt with it. At last one brother said to the other, "Well, you may have the gun as your sole property. I will go and get a gun in war." At that time the Kutenai, Pend d'Oreilles, and Flathead had a great many guns, but the Coeur d'Alène had hardly any. The brother arrayed himself for war, and, taking a canoe, went down the river to the lake, where he saw a number of people ashore. He hailed them and told them he was going to fight the Kutenai. Many men said they would join him. At last the party numbered about 100 men, and they held a war dance. They crossed the lake and portaged their canoes on their heads, taking turns carrying them. Afterwards they cached their canoes and went on foot until they reached Pend d'Oreille Lake. Here they made new canoes and crossed the lake. There were many loons on the lake, and they made a great noise when they saw the canoes. Someone said, "Stop those birds from crying!" One man who was a shaman tried and failed. Then another tried and succeeded. When they arrived at the head of the lake they cached their canoes and proceeded on foot. At last they reached a place on the Kootenay River where there was a large camp of Lower Kutenai. The party counseled as to whether they should attack the camp by daylight or wait until early morning. They decided to wait. At daybreak they rushed the camp and surprised the Kutenai, who were unable to put up a fight and fled. Some jumped into the river and swam away; others hid in the water, holding on to bushes, which concealed them; and some reached their canoes and crossed the river. Many Kutenai were killed; and the Coeur d'Alène captured all the valuables in camp,

including several guns. In the camp was a buffalo-skin tent, which was thought to be empty, as no one had attempted to escape from it. It was occupied, however, by a sick man who had a gun. A Coeur d'Alène went to look in, and the Kutenai shot him in the thigh, wounding him badly. The brother who had started the war party then killed the sick man and took possession of his gun.

*Wars with the Nez Percé.*—The Coeur d'Alène probably had more wars with the Nez Percé than with any of the Salish tribes, and each invaded the other's territory. These wars, however, were not frequent. Once during a war with the Nez Percé a band of Coeur d'Alène was camped on Hangmans Creek, at a place about 3 miles west of De Smet, gathering camas. Some Nez Percé had been killed some time before in a fight, and the Nez Percé had declared that they would exterminate the Coeur d'Alène. As it was war time, the band at Hangmans Creek had partially fortified their camp and were constantly on the alert. A large war party of Nez Percé went there and surrounded them. They assaulted the camp, but were repulsed. The parties fought for two days, many Nez Percé and Coeur d'Alène being killed. The headman of the Coeur d'Alène said to his friends, "The Nez Percé far outnumber us. We can not hold out against their numbers, and probably to-morrow the last of us will be killed. To save ourselves I will try a ruse." He was a strong, athletic man. At midnight he left the camp and ran in the dark swiftly from place to place in front of the Nez Percé lines, giving the war cry "Wa-a-a!" in a loud voice. At the same time the people in the Coeur d'Alène camp began to shout and to make a great noise. They also called out challenges and insults to the Nez Percé. The chief standing in front of the Nez Percé, but unseen because of the darkness, spoke loudly to them in their own language, saying, "Nez Percé, we do not want to be always bad friends. We will give you a chance to go home; and if you don't go, then at daybreak we shall slaughter you. All the Coeur d'Alène warriors from St. Joseph's, Coeur d'Alène City, and other places are now here, and we shall give you battle at daybreak." The Nez Percé held a consultation. They believed that the man had spoken the truth, for there appeared to be great joy and shouting in the Coeur d'Alène camp. They left that night, and the Coeur d'Alène escaped.

*Wars with the Blackfoot and other tribes east of the Rocky Mountains.*—The Plains tribes had no fixed boundaries. They had their homes in certain places; but they traveled hundreds of miles, looking for buffalo, and changing their headquarters from time to time. The Coeur d'Alène never visited the real homes of any of these tribes, as they were far to the east; but they often met them when they were buffalo hunting in the intermediate country, and they knew the general direction of what was considered to be

the country of each tribe. The Flathead knew much more than the Coeur d'Alène regarding the countries from which these tribes came. As all these eastern tribes were encroaching on the western tribes and on one another, there was almost constant warfare between them and the western Indians, as well as among themselves. On the other hand, the western Indians were allies, and did not fight among themselves. The western part of the plains, stretching from the Flathead main camps to the Yellowstone and easterly for a very long distance, was at one time practically an intertribal hunting and battle ground. No one lived there permanently; but all the tribes hunted and fought in it, and tried to claim hunting rights by force of arms. Nearly all parties who traveled or hunted in this region were perforce large, for small parties were liable to be cut off and exterminated at any time. Long ago most of this western strip of the plains country belonged to Flathead and Shoshoni tribes, who hunted there, usually in small parties. The Blackfoot and Crow invaded the country in large numbers, and for a time drove out the Flathead and Shoshoni. Many of the bands of these tribes who formerly lived east of the mountains were practically wiped out, and others retreated to the west and south. The Shoshoni especially were severely handled, and for many years no Shoshoni were seen on the northwestern plains north of the Yellowstone. The Flathead were also much reduced in numbers during these wars, which had lasted many years. Therefore they made peace with all the western tribes, and invited them to join them as partners in buffalo hunting in their former territory. After this the Coeur d'Alène and other western Salish tribes began to go in ever-increasing numbers to join the Flathead in hunting and war. Many Kutenai and Nez Percé also went annually. All these tribes made their rendezvous in the Flathead country, and moved from there eastward, northward, and southward for buffalo hunting in three or more large parties, keeping more or less in touch with one another during their travels. Being equal in numbers, and superior in horses and weapons to most parties of the Plains Indians, they had little difficulty in holding their own. These conditions continued until the buffalo became nearly extinct. The Coeur d'Alène generally went with the Spokane, and both often with the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles. Sometimes part of them went with the Flathead, and at other times with the Nez Percé. Most fighting occurred with the Blackfoot, who were considered the worst enemies of the Salish tribes, but also with the Crow, and in later days with the Sioux. The Snake, Bannock, and Ute were almost always friendly with the Salish tribes, and were aligned with them against the eastern tribes. Only one short war between the Salish and Shoshoni is remembered. This was with a tribe of Snake inhabiting the Yellowstone country. The final fight in this war was between them and a

large force of combined Flathead (or Pend d'Oreilles), Spokane, and Coeur d'Alène, who, after a fierce battle, captured nearly all the horses, baggage, and buffalo meat of the Shoshoni. So much of the buffalo meat was taken that it could not be transported, and most of it was left there. The Snake who escaped were nearly all on foot. After this some other Snake acted as intermediaries, and peace was made. No Blackfoot, Crow, or other eastern tribes, or Shoshoni, ever came to the Coeur d'Alène country. The Blackfoot and Crow knew little about taking horses and transports through mountains. They were used to traveling with travois in a flat country. When their war parties went into the Rocky Mountains in search of Snake or Flathead, they were always afoot, and as a rule met with little success. Once, long ago, a large party of Blackfoot invaded the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead countries. A battle was fought which lasted two days, and the Blackfoot were driven off. A number of men were killed on both sides. About this time or a little later a party of Blackfoot and another Plains tribe, possibly the Gros Ventres, attacked the Pend d'Oreilles and were driven off with considerable loss. Either this fight or another one occurred at *sniyelemen* (now Mission in the Pend d'Oreilles country). At a still later date a large war party of Crow attacked and defeated the Shoshoni, and, following this up, attacked the Flathead, who, however, routed them and drove them south. Once, at a time when the Salish tribes had many horses but very few guns, and the Blackfoot a good many guns but not many horses, a large party of Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, Kalispel, Spokane, and Coeur d'Alène, with a few Sanpoil and Columbia, were traveling in a flat country along a large river, possibly the Yellowstone, on their way to hunt buffalo. At the same time a war party of 32 Blackfoot were returning from an unsuccessful raid against the Crow or Shoshoni. They camped on a hill not far from the river, and were tired, for all were on foot. That night one of the party dreamed, and woke up the others before daybreak. He told them, "You must not go down to the river. I dreamed that down there the ground was red with blood, and it was your blood. I saw the sunrise that will come in a short time, and it was very red. In its glow I saw many people, and then I saw your blood on the river." They laughed at him, and all of them went down to the river except the man who had dreamed and his brother. They went farther up the hill, and sat down to watch. It was just daybreak when the 30 left and went to the river at a place where a creek came in. There was a flat near the stream strewn with bowlders and bearing a little timber. The plateau ended in a bluff above this place, and the Flathead and others were in the habit of driving buffalo over this bluff whenever they had the opportunity. The Blackfoot party had just reached the river when the two men on the hill saw many people

approaching on horseback. This was the Salish party, and they soon noticed the Blackfoot in the hole and surrounded them. The Blackfoot threw up a breastwork of rocks and trees, and a battle ensued. The Salish shot bullets and arrows at the Blackfoot until there was no further response. Then they rushed to the breastwork, and found that the Blackfoot were all *hors de combat*. They drew out all the bodies one after the other, and examined their wounds. One very large man was shot only on the tip of the shoulder, and still he appeared to be dead. They watched him; and when he showed signs of reviving, they killed him with a knife. Some wounded men had crawled under the rocks and into underground passages which had been made there at a former time, probably for concealment. These places were searched and the bodies pulled out. One wounded man almost escaped. A Flathead searcher pursued him, and killed him after a hand-to-hand struggle. They counted 30 bodies. After scalping them and taking all their best clothes and weapons, they left the bodies lying where they were. Among the weapons was a number of guns (perhaps 10 or more), which were considered a great prize at that time. The bones of these Blackfoot remained at this spot for several years afterwards, scattered among the rocks by wolves, and mixed with old buffalo bones. The two Blackfoot brothers who had been watching made good their escape during the fight, unobserved by the Salish, and reached their own country.

*Wars with the whites.*—The Coeur d'Alène were on the whole always friendly to the whites. They never made any aggressions against the fur traders and first white settlers. During the Cayuse wars (1845–1850) and the Yakima wars (1855–56) they were neutral. Owing to some dissatisfaction over the treaty made with Governor Stevens, which they claimed the whites had not kept, and probably for some other causes, the Coeur d'Alène joined the Spokan in the war of the latter (1858). In this war it seems they never attacked any of the traders and settlers, but only the soldiers who invaded their country. In May, 1858, a large force of Coeur d'Alène, led by their head chief, Saltis, participated with the Spokan and a few Colville and other Salish, in the defeat of Colonel Steptoe's command of 200 dragoons and 30 Nez Percé scouts near Steptoe Butte. It seems that there were no Yakima and Paloois in this battle, as claimed by some authorities. The Indians pursued the remnants of the column to the Snake River. In September of the same year the Coeur d'Alène were also engaged in two attacks on Colonel Wright's force of about 1,000 men; and they took part in the battles of Four Lakes and Spokane Plains, in which the Indians were defeated. In the latter engagement they fought all day, and a few days afterwards again engaged Colonel Wright on his way to Coeur d'Alène Mission. When the soldiers reached there the Coeur d'Alène submitted and

their allies dispersed. The Indians claim that strong influence to submit was brought to bear on them by the priests and others; but the chief reason was that they were entirely out of ammunition and had no way of replenishing it. They considered it foolish to continue the war with bows and arrows against rifles and artillery. In 1877 the Coeur d'Alène refused to join Chief Joseph, and a large body under the same Chief Saltis turned out to drive the Nez Percé out of the settlements and protect the white settlers. The tribe was neutral during the Bannock war of 1878. By 1880 very few of them went to the plains; and by 1885, the buffalo being practically extinct, the last of the Coeur d'Alène settled permanently on their reserve.

*Internal fights.*—Occasionally long ago there were blood feuds between families of the Coeur d'Alène. One of these came about in the following way. Very long ago a Flathead or Pend d'Oreilles chief sent his daughter to marry a Coeur d'Alène chief called *Hinwa'xene* (full name *Hinwaxeniv'ct?*). He directed her how to go, telling her to descend Coeur d'Alène River. She made a mistake and went down St. Joe River. A man called *Cililtcsq'wa'ilix<sup>w</sup>*<sup>f</sup> was on the river in a canoe. He saw a woman approaching who wore a leather dress painted red, and knew she must be a stranger. When she saw him she sat down on the river bank and he came to her in the canoe. They began to talk, but, not understanding each other's languages, they had to resort to signs. She told the name of her father, that he was a chief of the Flathead (or Pend d'Oreilles), and that he had sent her to marry a chief of the Coeur d'Alène called *Waxene'*. He answered that he was glad, because he was *Waxene'*, and she must come with him. This man lived at *Xwa'ret*,<sup>g</sup> an old Indian village near Harrison, and he took the girl there. After staying four days the girl noticed that her husband's friend, who often came to visit him, always called him *Cililtcsq'wa'ilix<sup>w</sup>*, and she had heard people ask him to go to *Waxene's* house. This aroused her suspicions. After this, one day she saw the chief's daughter playing, and asked her the name of her husband. The girl answered, "Your husband's name is *Cililtcsq'wa'ilix<sup>w</sup>*" She then asked the girl what her father's name was, and she answered, "My father's name is *Waxene'.*" Then she told the chief's daughter that she had been sent by her father to marry *Waxene'*. The girl told her father; but the latter said nothing for a time, for *Cililtcsq'wa'ilix<sup>w</sup>* was one of four brothers. The whole family were noted as bad men and great fighters. Now, it came to be wintertime; and, ice having formed on the river, most of the people began to prepare for a great elk hunt. The chief, *Waxene'*, arranged with four men to kill *Cililtcsq'wa'ilix<sup>w</sup>* as soon as most of the people had left. The people were hardly out of sight when they killed him. An old man who lagged behind heard the dogs yelping furiously and

<sup>f</sup> He lived at St. Marie's.—G. Reichard. <sup>g</sup> Harrison.—G. Reichard.

turned back to see what was the matter. The chief told the four men, "We must now kill *Cililtcsq'wa'ilix<sup>w</sup>*'s three brothers, or they will kill us." He persuaded the old man to help. The brothers had gone with the elk-hunting party. The old man went on to the camp of the elk hunters and told stories, keeping the people up very late, and making them very sleepy. When all were asleep, he went out and told the four men who were waiting where the brothers slept. They went in and killed them all. Then they went at once to another camp, where the uncle and other relatives of the brothers were, and killed them also. The father of the brothers was an aged infirm man, and lived at another place. They induced the people with whom he lived to desert him, saying that they were going hunting and would be back soon. They left him firewood, but no food, and he died of starvation. When the four men returned to the chief, he feasted them and gave them presents. The girl became the wife of *Waxene'* and lived with him. As all the males of *Cililtcsq'wa'ilix<sup>w</sup>*'s family were killed off, there was no one to avenge their death on *Waxene'* and his helpers.

#### VIII. GAMES AND PASTIMES

DICE AND GUESSING GAMES.—A great many games were played. A favorite one among women was the game of dice played with beaver teeth, which were tossed down on a blanket, robe, skin, or mat. The game and the dice seem to have been the same as among the Thompson.<sup>219</sup> The manner of counting is said to have varied a little in different places. The dice consisted of four pieces, making two pairs. One pair was marked with straight transverse lines; the other with zigzag lines.

A card game was in vogue long ago; but particulars of this game and the marks on the cards are now forgotten. The cards were generally made of stiff hide of young deer; but some were of wood split very thin, and others were of birch bark.<sup>220</sup> Each card was marked. Sometimes the designs represented dreams. As far as remembered, the cards were marked in pairs; but the number of pairs or cards in the set is uncertain. Some say the numbers varied in different sets.

The stick game played by the Thompson with marked sticks<sup>221</sup> was unknown; but a guessing game was in vogue, played with six or seven unmarked sticks of about the same length and diameter as those used in the stick game of the Thompson. The sticks were all of an even length except one, which was longer than the others. They were held in the hands with all the ends arranged evenly on the side exposed toward the person who had to guess. One was selected and pulled out. If it was one of the short sticks, the guesser lost; and if the long one, he won.

<sup>219</sup> *a*, p. 272, and fig. 256.†

<sup>221</sup> *a*, pp. 272, 273.

<sup>220</sup> See Thompson, *a*, p. 276, and fig. 264.



The hand game or *lehal* was very common and was played in the same way as among the Thompson,<sup>222</sup> but 22 sticks were used as counters instead of 10 and 12, as among most other tribes. Knuckle covers<sup>223</sup> were used by many in playing the game. They were made of otter, weasel, coyote, and other skins, and were fringed. Singing always accompanied the game, and time was beaten with short sticks on a log or board placed in front of the players.

HOOP OR RING GAMES.—A number of hoop or ring games were played. A favorite game was the ring and pole game of the Thompson<sup>224</sup> and other tribes. Among the Coeur d'Alène the logs for stopping the ring from rolling too far were from 10 to 15 centimeters in diameter and generally placed about 5 meters apart. There were many different ways of playing, such as standing with the toe to a mark or not moving forward when throwing the lance or stick, erect, and taking one step forward when throwing, erect and two steps forward, sitting, kneeling, kneeling and one hand on the ground, and so on. The lance or stick was thrown so as to stop the ring and make it fall over on the stick. Points were counted according to the beads that rested against the stick. All rings had two blue beads, which counted the greatest number of points. The other beads were of various colors. In early times bone beads were used, also colored quills, or, instead, wrappings at the various spaces on the ring. The sizes of rings and throwing sticks were about the same as among the Thompson. Besides different methods of throwing, there were several ways of counting and all had names. Each bead and combination of beads and the positions of the ring on the stick had names, as well as almost every inch of the throwing stick. No other game had nearly as rich a nomenclature as this game. In most ways of playing, besides counting the beads and their positions against the stick, the part of the stick the beads rested against was also counted. Thus most sticks had divisions marked on them with rings and wrappings. People bet and gambled much in this game, and there were often disagreements and quarrels. Elderly men known to be honest and disinterested were appealed to or asked to act as referees or arbitrators to settle all disputes in the game. These referees used slender sticks or pointers, with which they righted ring and stick, thus ascertaining accurately the positions of the beads. Their decision was final.

Another ring and stick game was common. The ring was usually about 30 centimeters in diameter, or slightly more, made of a stick bent into a circle, the ends joined, or, more generally, two sticks bent and joined. A web of thong or bark twine filled up the inside of the ring like a net, leaving a circular hole in the center about 3 cm. in diameter. (Fig. 13.) The Indians claim that the weaving of the hoop

<sup>222</sup> *a*, pp. 275, 276.

<sup>223</sup> See Thompson, *a*, fig. 263; also Peabody Mus., No. 367.

<sup>224</sup> *a*, p. 274, fig. 260.

was generally done as sketched. It seems that some hoops varied in the number of meshes and therefore in the size of mesh. Two persons rolled the ring back and forth to each other while two others, one on each side, took turns at throwing the stick or spear at the hoop. The persons throwing generally stood. As a rule, two played against two and turns were taken at rolling and spearing the hoop. The object was to throw the spear through the central hole. This won the game. Points were also counted according to the mesh that was hit—the nearer to the center, the higher the points. These meshes had different names. If a person hit the same mesh twice in succession he had to withdraw from the game or allow himself to be prodded in the backside by the other players with their sticks. (This was also a forfeit or punishment in ring games of the Thompson.) The stick or spear used in this game was more than a meter long,

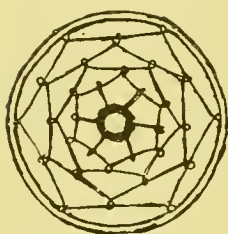


FIGURE 13.—Netted hoop

sharp-pointed, and made of a slip of a young tree with from three to seven stubs of branches left on the upper part to prevent it going entirely through the meshes.

A game with feathered lances or sticks, like large arrows, was also common. These were about a meter in length and like war lances for throwing; only they had no attached heads, the points being simply sharpened. I did not obtain any particulars of this game, but it seems that the lances were hurled at targets and marks of different kinds.

A ring-and-dart game like that played by the Thompson<sup>225</sup> was much played by boys. The ring was about 15 cm. in diameter and made of tule or strips of bark wound around a core. The darts were feathered and like those of the Thompson. Both this game and the preceding one have been out of use for a long time.

ARROW GAMES.—A number of arrow games were played. In some of these rings and disks were used. One kind of disk was about 8 inches in diameter, made of a coiled stick wrapped with bark. It was round in section, and thick. It was set going and arrows were shot at it from the side as it passed, the object being to hit the disk as it rolled.

Another similar game was played with a ring or rolling target made of two sticks woven together side by side with bark. In this case the ring was wide in section and was shot at from behind as it sped away.

Another arrow game was to shoot at a target consisting of a circle marked on the face of a hard sandy bluff. Sometimes the target consisted of several rings marked one inside the other.

Yet another arrow game was like ninepins, only the pins were shot at. The pins or targets were made of grass wrapped tightly with

<sup>225</sup> *a*, pp. 274, 275, fig. 261; also Peabody Mus., Nos. 363, 364.

twine. They were from 25 to 30 cm. in length and about 10 cm. in diameter. These grass targets were set up one or more at each end of the shooting ground. Sometimes rows of them were used.

Another arrow game was to shoot an arrow into a sandy mound or bank and use it as a target, the object being to hit the nock of the arrowshaft.

A boy's arrow game in which blunt arrows were used was mentioned as having been at one time in vogue, but it has been out of use for a very long time and I obtained no details regarding it.

**BALL GAMES.**—A number of ball games were played. The most common one was played with bats having crooked ends and was the same as the ball game played by the Thompson<sup>226</sup> and other tribes. The bats were very much like hockey sticks.<sup>227</sup> In some forms of the game, netting was used on the sticks<sup>228</sup> and the ball was caught in this and thrown forward. It seems that the netted sticks were used chiefly in winter, when there was snow on the ground and the ball hard to advance without lifting and throwing. According to the rules of the game, the ball must not be touched with the hands, but it might be kicked as well as hit with the bat. Some players used guard sticks<sup>229</sup> in this game. Balls were made of deer's hair sewed tightly in leather. No wooden balls were used.

It is uncertain whether the ball game played like baseball, as described for the Thompson,<sup>230</sup> was in vogue very long ago, but a form of this game was played at one time. Another ball game was like one very common among the Lower Thompson.<sup>231</sup> The ball was thrown up and all tried to catch it. The one who caught it ran and the others tried to catch him before he reached the goal. When caught or slapped with the hand, he had to throw the ball up. Women often participated in these games. Some of both sexes played on each side when there were sides. Occasionally one sex played against the other. Usually men played together in one place and women in another; or the same playground was used by both sexes in turn. Ball games were played by the tribe until lately. Nowadays the young men of the reservation have a good baseball team, and play against white teams from neighboring towns in Idaho and Washington.

There are some indications that a ball-and-hoop game similar to that played by Thompson children<sup>232</sup> was at one time in vogue, but I did not ascertain this with certainty.

A ball game was played on smooth ice. A small ball was rolled at a mark. If it missed the mark, the game was lost. Sometimes a ring instead of a ball was rolled at a mark.

<sup>226</sup> *a*, pp. 277, 278, figs. 265, 267, 268.

<sup>227</sup> See Thompson, *a*, fig. 267 *a*.

<sup>228</sup> See Thompson, *a*, fig. 267 *b*.

<sup>229</sup> See Thompson, *a*, fig. 268.

<sup>230</sup> *a*, p. 277, figs. 265, 266.

<sup>231</sup> *a*, p. 278.

<sup>232</sup> *a*, p. 279, fig. 269.

The ball-and-pin game was common, and was the same as among the Thompson.<sup>233</sup> The pin consisted of a sharpened stick or bone, and the ball of grass, tule, or bark. In the early summer balls for this game were often made of the growing heads of the cow parsnip (*Heracleum lanatum* Michx.) before the flowers came out. It is said that some of the ball and other games that were in vogue long ago have now been forgotten, and even the names of some games are no longer remembered.

SPORTS.—Many kinds of athletic games and sports were at one time practiced. Favorite winter sports, engaged in by old and young of both sexes, were coasting and sliding. Coasting slides were made on open parts of hillsides, and the toboggans consisted of pieces of rawhide and bark, which were bent up in front. Sliding was practiced on good smooth ice, after a light fall of dry snow, and was much enjoyed.

Tugging or pulling games were common. In one of these, hooks made of eagle bones were used, two men pulling against each other until one bone broke. Pulling with the middle fingers and pulling on a rope was practiced. Sometimes teams of men took part in rope pulling.

Wrestling contests were common among men, and women also wrestled occasionally. A wrestling match between women often furnished great amusement to the spectators.

All the Indians could swim. The arms were worked dog fashion, and they struck out with the right foot. Sometimes there were swimming races. Nearly all the men could dive, and some men could dive right across St. Joe River.

Foot racing and canoe racing, and in later days horse racing, were common. Jumping for distance and height were both practiced, and also the standing jump, running jump, and vaulting.

A catching game was in vogue, called "making slaves." Two goals were marked at opposite ends of the playground with stones, poles, pegs, or scratches in the earth. On the clapping of hands by a "chief," who sometimes stood in the middle, the game commenced. The object was to touch the hands of any person of the opposite side, and then return and reach one's own goal without being caught by him. The person caught was considered and called a "slave" or "captive of war," and was conducted over to the enemy lines by the person who caught him. The game continued thus until one side was out. Women often participated in this game.

A kicking game<sup>234</sup> was in vogue among men, especially at gatherings where there were many young men. There were contests in this game between men of different villages and of different bands.

<sup>233</sup> Peabody Museum, Nos. 362, 403.

<sup>234</sup> This game was also common among the Thompson.

Sometimes there were intertribal contests. Often 30 or more men played on a side. They formed in two rows, facing each other, and after taunting each other, at a given signal by the "chief" of the game they rushed forward in close formation and kicked each other until one line fell back. Sometimes the two opposing rows were drawn up close together or within striking distance and lines made on the ground close behind each. At a signal they began kicking, and whichever side pushed the other back over their line won. When a man was forced back over his own line by his adversary he was out of the game. Sometimes this game resulted in fighting. Once a party of Coeur d'Alène were digging *pīcēlū'sa* roots, which were obtained only on the borders of the Nez Percé country. A party of Nez Percé were also gathering roots near by. While the women were out digging roots the men of the two parties had games and sports. They had been playing *lehal* and other games all day. In the evening a young Nez Percé gave the challenge for the kicking game, calling loudly, "Hu ha, hu ha, hu ha!" The Coeur d'Alène accepted and went to play. The contest was very stubborn, neither side being able to push the other. At last some of the young men began to quarrel and fight. One Coeur d'Alène took a stick and struck a Nez Percé over the head, knocking him senseless. The chief ran up and stopped the game, otherwise there might have been bloodshed. This happened about 1860.

Cat's-cradle was played a great deal, especially to amuse children. The figures made were the following: Coyote, skunk, beaver, bear, beaver and bear, owl, magpie, geese, snake, salmon, sun, man and sun, man and dog, two men, woman roasting ducks, fish trap, tent, skin stretched on a frame, shoulder blade, and some others. The knee and mouth were brought into use in making some of the figures.

All the above-mentioned games and sports were in vogue before the introduction of the horse, except horse racing. After horses had become common, sham battles and war maneuvers were sometimes practiced on horseback under the direction of chiefs.

Dancing was a favorite amusement, and also singing. Cries of animals and birds were imitated by children for amusement, and also the actions and speech of certain individuals and of old people. Play acting and mimicry of animals, persons, and mythological characters were in vogue. Sometimes the actors dressed up for the occasion so as to make the acting more effective (see p. 163). Many kinds of toys were made for children, including miniature canoes, board baby-carriers, bows and arrows. Dolls were used by nearly all girls.

## IX. SIGN LANGUAGE

According to tradition, a sign language has been used from the earliest times. The old sign language is said to have been somewhat different from the modern form, but the Coeur d'Alène do not

remember that earlier type. The old style of sign language was used by all the interior Salishan tribes known to the Coeur d'Alène, and by neighboring tribes of other stocks. It was understood over a large area, and may be called the old plateau sign language. It varied slightly between tribes, and was a little different at the extreme boundaries of the country. The present-day sign language is said to be the same, or almost the same, as that used on the plains, and has been employed by the Coeur d'Alène since the middle of the eighteenth century, ever since they began to go in large bodies to the plains. It seems that, besides the plateau form of sign language, there was at one time a northern form used by the Blackfoot, which differed a little, and also an eastern form used by the Crow; and possibly there were some other forms. However, they did not vary considerably from one another. It is said that the Crows were considered the most proficient in the use of sign language, and possibly the form used by them was the richest. However this may be, the Coeur d'Alène claim that the plateau and Blackfoot, and all other forms, were modified by the Crow form, whose sign language was finally adopted by all the tribes. This is said to be the form used at the present day by all the Salishan tribes east of Columbia River, and also by the Kutenai, Blackfoot, Gros Ventres, Crow, Shoshoni, Bannock, Nez Percé, and others. Salishan tribes who did not go much to the plains probably continued to use the older or plateau form of the sign language until the Chinook jargon came in. It is said the Coeur d'Alène did not have much trouble in talking by means of signs with people of any tribe. Some time after the arrival of traders the Chinook jargon began to supersede the sign language along the upper Columbia River and west of it, and later along Fraser River and in other parts to the north, west, and south, but it never took much hold east of the Colville and Lake tribes. Even at the present day very few Coeur d'Alène understand or speak the Chinook jargon. For comparison with what is probably part of the old plateau form of the sign language as remembered by Thompson and Shuswap, and with the eastern sign language, I collected a few of the signs used by the Coeur d'Alène representing the form now and lately used in the eastern parts of the plateau and the adjoining parts of the plains. I might have obtained a complete vocabulary had I wished, as the sign language is still used considerably by elderly Coeur d'Alène in speaking with some Spokane and members of other tribes. Sign language was much used in talking with strangers, in trading and hunting, and as gestures accompanying speech.

#### SIGNS

1. *Bear*.—The same as Thompson sign No. 1 (see *a*, p. 283). The sign is made with the fists in front of the chest, or perhaps more generally at the sides of the head. (The sign is no doubt imitative of the movements of the bear.)

2. *Deer* (in general).—Index finger held in front of body, pointing outward, and wandering motions made with it from side to side. (Imitative of the movements or manner of deer traveling about.)<sup>235</sup>

3. *Buck deer*.—Four fingers of each hand held near sides of head, fingers slightly apart and pointing upward, hands moved forward and backward, at the same time describing curves. Sometimes the whole head and shoulders are moved uniformly with the hands. (Imitates antlers and movements of a buck.)<sup>236</sup>

4. *Young buck*.—The same sign as the Thompson sometimes make for "doe," but the two fingers on each side moved around as in the "buck" sign.<sup>237</sup>

5. *Doe*.—The sign for "woman" (No. 15) and then the sign for "deer" (in general) (No. 2).

6. *Raven* (or *Crow?*).—Hands held out in front of sides and pointing slightly sidewise; fingers extending slightly downward or drooping, and both hands moved up and down from the wrists at the same time. (Imitates flapping of wings as made by ravens.)<sup>238</sup>

7. *Eagle*.—Almost the same sign as the preceding, but the hands flopped farther from the body and a little more motion put into the arms; one hand is then pushed downward with a sweep. (Imitates the flying and swooping of an eagle.)<sup>239</sup>

8. *Snake*.—A wriggling zigzag motion made with the hand or forefinger pointing downward and outward. (Imitates the movements of a snake crawling.)<sup>240</sup>

9. *Salmon* (or *Fish*).—Hand held rather stiffly in front of body, edge up, and fingers close together, then moved forward in short rapid zigzags with a movement chiefly from the wrist. (Imitates the movements of a fish, especially swimming upstream.)<sup>241</sup>

10. *Lake trout*.—The same sign as the preceding, then the right index finger pointed to the tip of the left elbow, and shaken or made to describe a small circle. (The last part of the sign seems to refer to the spots on lake trout. Sometimes the circle is made against something of a yellowish or grayish color.) See "color" sign.

<sup>235</sup> This sign is often used by the Thompson for "unalarmed deer or similar game traveling around feeding."

<sup>236</sup> This sign is also used by the Thompson for "buck deer."

<sup>237</sup> Also used by the Thompson for "young buck," especially for a 2-year-old buck.

<sup>238</sup> This sign is used by the Thompson, who differentiate between raven and crow. The sign is made more slowly if a raven is meant, and generally an imitation of the raven croak (krô) accompanies it; for a crow the movements are faster and the crow cry (kā, kā) is generally given.

<sup>239</sup> The Thompson sign for "eagle" is only a little different from this.

<sup>240</sup> The same sign is used by the Thompson.

<sup>241</sup> See Shuswap, *e*, p. 568, No. 103.

11. *Man*.—Index finger held almost horizontally in front of chest and pointing outward.<sup>242</sup>

12. *Old man*.—Hands clutched and drawn downward close in front of face, and then the sign for “man” made. (The first part of the sign is imitative of the drawing down of the face and wrinkles of old people.)

13. *Man on horseback* (or *riding*).—Left hand held out in front edgewise, fingers close together; sign of “man” made with the right, then the first and second fingers of the latter parted and straddled over the upper edge of the left-hand fingers. (Imitative of riding.)<sup>243</sup>

14. *Chief*.—Right index finger pointed upward directly in front of the brow. (Probably has some connection with “high” or “prominent.”)

15. *Woman*.—Hands raised to near top of head, palms backward and fingers toward thumbs, then parted and drawn over or in front of ears with a sweeping motion downward to fronts of shoulders and outward. (Imitates parting of the hair or hairdress of women.)

16. *Wife*.—The same sign as the preceding, then the right fist lowered with a slight jerk at the right side. (Imitates sitting down at your side; *viz*, the one who sits by you.)

17. *Robe*.—Hands closed and passed by each other close to and in front of breast. (Imitates putting on of a robe or blanket.)<sup>244</sup>

18. *Spoon*.—First and second fingers of right hand, backs down, and points inclining upward to the left, then moved in motion as if scooping up something. (Imitates the hollow of a spoon and dipping.)<sup>245</sup>

19. *Knife*.—The right hand held edgewise and moved across the top of the left backward and forward (imitating cutting).<sup>246</sup>

20. *Gun*.—Right arm placed across the breast, with the index finger pointing out past the left arm a little above the elbow or at the elbow. (Imitates a common Indian method of carrying a gun in front of the body, with the muzzle sticking out to the left.)

21. *Shooting a gun*.—This sign is not clear, but I understood it to mean “shooting a gun.” Right arm and finger the same as in preceding sign, but higher up, near the left shoulder; one or both eyes closed, then the right hand pushed downward quickly a short distance (probably in imitation of closing the eye when taking aim, and the sudden discharge or recoil of the gun).<sup>247</sup>

<sup>242</sup> See Thompson, *a*, p. 283, No. 7.

<sup>243</sup> See Thompson, *a*, p. 283, No. 8.

<sup>244</sup> The same sign is used by the Thompson for “robe” or “putting on a robe.”

<sup>245</sup> See Thompson, *a*, p. 283, Nos. 10, 11.

<sup>246</sup> Used by the Thompson as a sign of “cutting up or slicing something,” also nearly like a Thompson sign for “knife.”

<sup>247</sup> See Thompson, *a*, p. 285, No. 56.



22. *Bow and arrow*.—Same sign as Thompson, No. 55.<sup>248</sup>

23. *Tipi or lodge*.—The two index fingers placed across each other at the first joint, with tips raised more or less upward.<sup>249</sup>

24. *Rain*.—Hands held a little above the head, bent and limp from the wrists, all the fingers toward each other and drooping; hands then moved or shaken up and down. (Imitates frequent dripping.)<sup>250</sup>

25. *Snow*.—The same sign as the preceding, then a small circle made with the index finger (toward something white, if there is a white object handy).

26. *Sun*.—Thumb and forefinger spread and extended upward to the right above the level of the head, and then stopped suddenly. (Probably imitates the course or high position of the sun in the heavens.)

27. *Moon*.—The same sign as for "sun" is made, and then the hands brought over each other in front of the body, a little distance apart and palms down. (May possibly contain the idea of "small" or "narrow", or covered sun.)

28. *Star*.—Lips half opened, and sign of "sun" made forward and then upward with a swinging motion. (May be imitative of distribution or scattering. Some Indians say it means literally almost the same as saying "sun thrown away.")

29. *East*.—Index finger pointed to the east, point curved upward, and a half circle described upward toward the body. (Seems to imitate rising or coming out in the east.)<sup>251</sup>

30. *Sunrise*.—The sign of the "sun," and then that of the "east"; or the sign of "east" made with the spread thumb and forefinger. (See "Sun." Imitates the rising of the sun.)<sup>252</sup>

31. *West*.—Index finger with point curved downward, pushed from the body downward toward the west. (Imitates setting or going down in the west.)<sup>253</sup>

32. *Sunset*.—Sign of the "sun," and then that of "west"; or the sign of the "west" made with the spread thumb and forefinger. (Imitates setting of the sun.)<sup>253</sup>

33. *Noon*.—Sign of "sunrise" made. When the motion toward the body reaches near the right ear, the finger is straightened and pointed sharply and directly upward. (Imitates the high position of the sun at noon or overhead.)<sup>254</sup>

<sup>248</sup> See Thompson, *a*, p. 285.

<sup>249</sup> Used by the Thompson for "tipi" or "conical lodge."

<sup>250</sup> Also used by Thompson Indians.

<sup>251</sup> See Thompson, *a*, p. 283, No. 13; p. 286, No. 75.

<sup>252</sup> See Thompson, *a*, p. 283, No. 13.

<sup>253</sup> See Thompson, *a*, p. 283, No. 14.

<sup>254</sup> See Thompson, *a*, p. 283, No. 12.

34. *Cross trails*.—Forefinger of each hand brought out from sides and crossed over each other out in front of the body. (Imitates coming together and crossing.)<sup>255</sup>

35. *Lake*.—Circle described with both hands in front. (Imitates "roundness" or more probably "surrounded" [by earth].)<sup>256</sup>

36. *Bushes*.—Hands brought together facing each other, a little distance apart, with fingers extending upward; then hands moved up and down a little.<sup>257</sup>

37. *Thick brush*.—The same as the preceding, but the hands very close to each other. (Imitates thick growth or things standing thickly together. The movement of the hands seems to indicate that the things are not in one place, or in two rows.)<sup>258</sup>

38. *Cold*.—Clenched hands held more or less closely together in front of body, then arms and hands made to tremble or shake. (Imitates drawn-up feeling and shivering.)<sup>259</sup>

39. *Hot*.—There are several methods of expressing "hot" or "heat" of different kinds, viz: (a) Sign made for "no," and then that for "cold"; (b) sign made for "good," and then sign for "sun"; (c) breath blown slightly as if panting; (d) the breath blown slightly as if panting, and then the sign of "sun" made (this is if the sun is very hot, or a person is hot from the heat of the sun).

40. *Tobacco*.—Left hand held palm up in front of the body, hand lax, and palm slightly hollowed; right index finger placed across it, then the index finger and thumb brought together, and small circular motions made with them in the hollow of the palm. (Imitates crushing or mixing in the hand of tobacco preparatory to putting it in the pipe.)<sup>260</sup>

41. *Cigarette*.—Both hands held close together horizontally, points of fingers of each hand almost touching; then fingers of both hands describe motions over the thumbs toward the body. (Imitates rolling of the tobacco in paper.)

42. *Smoking*.—Hand held in front, fingers closed excepting forefinger, which is arched upward with the back outward; the finger is then brought to the mouth and back again several times. (Imitates pipe and puffing smoke.)<sup>261</sup>

43. *Small*.—Right thumb placed underneath the point of the index finger, a little back from the end (sometimes both curved slightly toward each other); hand held out in front of the breast or

<sup>255</sup> See Thompson, *a*, p. 286, No. 74.

<sup>256</sup> See Thompson, *a*, p. 283, No. 6.

<sup>257</sup> See Thompson, *a*, p. 283, No. 4.

<sup>258</sup> See Thompson, *a*, p. 283, No. 5.

<sup>259</sup> See Thompson, *a*, p. 287, No. 84.

<sup>260</sup> A Thompson sign for "tobacco" is very similar to this one.

<sup>261</sup> A Thompson sign for "pipe" is the same as this one. The sign for "smoking" is different.

face; sometimes also a small or short breath was blown, or the mouth was puckered. (Imitates something "tiny.")<sup>262</sup>

44. *Big*.—Hands held close to each other, palms facing, and fingers bent almost to touching; then the hands suddenly drawn asunder, describing half circles toward the sides of the body. (Seems to imitate something held which expands<sup>263</sup> and can no longer be held.)

45. *Very big*.—The same sign as the preceding, but the circles or sweeps of the hands are more extended.<sup>264</sup>

46. *Color*.—Pointing to something of the desired color, and then making a small circle opposite it with the forefinger.

47. *Bad*.—Hand makes waves in front of the head, is then pushed outward and afterwards downward with fingers extended. (Possibly implies "pushing aside or away from one.")

48. *Good*.—Right hand pushed past front of mouth or lower part of face in a sweep or wave. Sometimes the sweep is made slightly inward toward the body. (Possibly implies "retainment," the opposite of 47.)

49. *No good* or *very bad*.—A wave of the hand inward toward the breast, then outward and downward, as in the sign for "bad." Sometimes the fingers make a slight snappy noise as they move out and down. (Probably implies "pushing away" and "disgust.")

50. *Good looking*.—Right hand drawn over the face to the chin (without touching), and then swept outward, palm down. (Implies "good face.")

51. *Glad*.—Hand drawn up in wriggling motion from opposite the abdomen to the breast, and then outward. (Suggests a feeling of satisfaction or good feeling rising up to the heart or breast.)<sup>265</sup>

52. *Dumb*.—Hands placed flat on the mouth, and then on the ears. (Probably implies "closed in" or "shut" mouth and ears.)<sup>266</sup>

53. *Deaf*.—Hands placed flat on the ears.<sup>267</sup> (Probably implies "closed.")

54. *Dead*.—Right hand passed downward on left side between the body and left arm, the forefinger pointing to the ground. (Seems to have some connection with going down to the ground.)

55. *The chief is dead* or *dead chief*.—The same sign as the preceding, and then the sign for "chief."

56. *I* or *Me*.—Forefinger put on nose. The breast struck with the forefinger is also used.<sup>268</sup>

<sup>262</sup> A Thompson sign for something very small or a very small quantity was made like this one. The mouth was puckered. See also *a*, p. 287, No. 81.

<sup>263</sup> Also used by the Thompson.

<sup>264</sup> Also used by the Thompson.

<sup>265</sup> Also used by the Thompson.

<sup>266</sup> Used by the Thompson for "dumb" or "deaf and dumb" (can neither speak nor hear).

<sup>267</sup> Also used by the Thompson.

<sup>268</sup> See Thompson, *a*, p. 284, No. 33.

57. *Thou*.—The right arm and forefinger extended and pointed toward a person's breast.<sup>269</sup>

58. *Ye*.—Right hand pushed out in front of left side, then drawn across in front and downward to the right. Often the left hand is touched or tapped lightly by the right before making this sign.

59. *All*.—Right hand held in front of breast, palm downward, moved around horizontally.<sup>270</sup>

60. *Ye all*.—Same as "Ye" (No. 58); but the hand continues in a wide sweep to the right in horizontal plane, palm down.

61. *Yes*.—Hand with forefinger extended carried across the body to the left, and then struck a little downward.

62. *No*.—Hand drawn up and pushed out to right, back outward, and fingers thrown downward; or the hand extended a little in front of body, and then carried with a sweep to the right and downward. (Seems to be connected with the idea of pushing something aside.)

63. *Good-looking woman*.—Sign of "woman," and then sign of "good-looking."

64. *Good-looking wife*.—Sign of "woman," then sign of "good-looking" and then sign of "wife."

65. *(I) think woman not good-looking*.—Sign of "woman," then of "good-looking," then of "thinking," and then of "no good" (No. 49) or "no."

66. *To think (or like?)*.—Fists held one above the other in front of the breast.

67. *Thou art no good*.—Sign of "no good," and then finger pointed to the person.

68. *Good man*.—Hand brought to breast, and then pushed outward with fingers upward. Also the sign of "man" made, and then that of "good."

69. *Know or I know*.—Thumb and forefinger raised to near throat and then thrown outward. (Seems to imply holding or gripping something.)

70. *Don't know*.—Hand held in front, back inclining downward, fingers spreading, then hand shaken from side to side. (Seems to imply shaking off something.)

71. *Don't hear or understand*.—Forefinger held opposite right ear and shaken, then hand thrown outward to right side and downward.<sup>271</sup>

72. *Untrue or tells a lie*.—First and second fingers forked or spread, then pushed past front of mouth; then fingers snapped slightly, and hand pushed outward and downward. (The first part of the sign seems to imply talk which is "double" or not direct.)

73. *Drinking or to drink*.—Points of bent forefinger and thumb placed touching or almost touching, the two forming a circle, then

<sup>269</sup> Also used by the Thompson, *a*, p. 284, No. 35.

<sup>270</sup> Also used by Thompson, *a*, p. 284, No. 38.

<sup>271</sup> Also used by Thompson, *a*, p. 285, No. 53.

drawn to the mouth. Often at the same time a motion of swallowing is made with the throat or mouth.<sup>272</sup>

74. *Whisky*.—Sign of “drinking” made first, and then the sign of “bad” made, or of “crazy.”

75. *Jumping*.—The hand pushed out in front upward and then downward, forming a curve, palm down.<sup>273</sup>

76. *Running*.—Like the “bear” sign, but the elbows held well back and moved alternately, as a person does when running.

77. *Falling or fall down (also capsized)*.—The hands placed close together, then carried to the right side and downward; at the same time the hands are turned over.<sup>274</sup> (Seems to imitate something turned over or capsized.)

78. *To fall from a horse*.—Sign of “man on horseback” or “riding,” then right hand thrown down to the right side.

79. *Stop*.—Hand held in front, palm forward, and forefinger bent out, then pushed gently outward and downward a couple of times.<sup>275</sup> (Seems to imitate pushing back something.)

80. *Look*.—Fingers of both hands brought up to level of the eyes, then the index fingers extended outward in front.<sup>276</sup>

81. *Thou look*.—Sign of “look,” and then both index fingers pointed to the person.

82. *Come*.—Hand extended some distance in front of the body, index finger extended slightly and bent; then the hand swept inward toward the body. (Seems to be imitative of hooking or bringing something toward one.)<sup>277</sup>

83. *Don't come*.—Same sign as “come,” and then hand thrown off to the right side. Otherwise the sign of “come” made, and then the sign of “no.”

84. *Walking*.—Hands and arms swing alternately outward and inward in front of sides several times.

85. *Meeting*.—Two index fingers brought together in front on a horizontal plane until the points touch.<sup>278</sup>

86. *Two meet*.—The spread first and second fingers of right hand held in front of head, points up, and then the two fingers brought together.

87. *Where from, or where have you come from?*—Right hand extended and shaken in wavering motions in front of the body or toward the individual.

<sup>272</sup> This is like the sign for “drinking” of the Thompson, *a*, p. 283, No. 11.

<sup>273</sup> Like the Thompson sign for “man jumping.”

<sup>274</sup> See Thompson, *a*, p. 286, Nos. 65, 66.

<sup>275</sup> See Thompson, *a*, p. 285, No. 42.

<sup>276</sup> See Thompson, *a*, p. 285, No. 49.

<sup>277</sup> Compare Thompson, *a*, p. 286, No. 75; Shuswap, *e*, p. 567, No. 88.

<sup>278</sup> Compare Thompson, *a*, p. 286, No. 71.

88. *Came from, or I came from (certain place or country).*—Finger pointed in the direction of place or country where the person came from. When hand in proper direction, finger pointed downward with a slight jerk; then the hand drawn back to the front of the body, and finger pointed down near feet. The raising and stretching of the arm much or little defined to some extent whether the place was distant or near; but, as several places and tribes were often located in the same general direction, the name of the place or tribe was often said, or the sign for the tribe given. When considered necessary, places were also differentiated by defining in signs the nature of the place, whether by a lake or a river, a falls, or in mountains, valley or plains.

89. *White man, or whites.*—Right hand raised to left side of brow, inclining slightly inward, palm down, fingers close together and somewhat extended; hand drawn across horizontally to right side of brow, as if making a cut. (The origin of the sign is unknown, but it is thought by the Indians to imitate the wearing of hats by the whites.)

90. *Think the whites are good.*—Same sign as preceding, then sign of “thinking,” and then sign of “good.”

91. *Think whites are no good.*—The same sign as preceding, only the “no good” sign made instead of sign for “good.”

92. *Don't like whites.*—Sign for “whites,” then sign of “think,” then sign of “no.” (The same sign seems to be used for “think” and “like,” at least in some cases.)

#### TRIBAL NAMES IN THE SIGN LANGUAGE

93. *Coeur d'Alène.*—The sign of “bow and arrow” and shooting horizontally. Sometimes the sign of direction of the Coeur d'Alène country was also added. Sometimes the left hand, in making the sign for “bow,” was held edge up, with the thumb pointing down, and fingers all close together, the arm held horizontally and arched. The arm was also sometimes moved from left to right. The meaning of the sign is “flat bow” (or “the people who use flat bows, shooting them horizontally”). Some of the Plains tribes used the simple signs of “bow and arrow” and “west” or “sunset” for the Coeur d'Alène, meaning “Bow and arrow people of the west.” This name is supposed to have been given them because at a time when all the other buffalo-hunting tribes had at least some guns the Coeur d'Alène were still using bows and arrows. The terms “Flat bow” or “Wide bow” were applied to the Coeur d'Alène in the sign language because of the universal use of flat bows by them, and because, of all tribes, they used the widest bows. The terms “Awl-heart,” “Pointed-heart,” etc., were not used by any Indians for the Coeur

d'Alène in the sign language. Some of the traders, however, may have used signs with these meanings.

94. *Flathead* or *Salish proper*.—Right hand placed on the right side of the head slightly back of the temples, with fingers extending upward to top of head. Sometimes the hand was merely touched to the side of the head. Supposed to mean "pressed the side of the head" (hence "Flathead"), but the origin and true meaning of the sign are unknown.

95. *Pend d'Oreilles*.—With both hands sign of paddling, first on one side of the body and then on the other. This means "Paddlers" or "Canoe people." Sometimes the sign of "lake" (with reference to Flathead Lake) was added to the sign of "paddling," because at one time a large number of the tribe lived near Flathead Lake; i. e., "Lake paddlers" or "Canoe people of the Lake." The Pend d'Oreilles were called "Paddlers" or "Canoe people" because they used bark canoes, while the Flathead did not, and because they were the most eastern people of the region who used canoes. The terms "Ear drops," "Ear pendants," were never used for the Pend d'Oreilles by any Indians in the sign language.

96. *Kalispel*.—This tribe was called "Paddlers" or "Canoe men," just like the Pend d'Oreilles. When it was desired to differentiate them from the latter the sign of "river" was added; viz, "River paddlers" or "Canoe men of the river." They were so named because of their habitat on Pend d'Oreille River and because they were canoe people like the Pend d'Oreilles and used the same kind of bark canoes.

97. *Spokan*.—First the sign of "salmon" or "fish" was made, then the fingers were raised to the mouth and a motion of swallowing made. The sign means "Salmon eaters," or "People who eat salmon." The Spokan were so named because they were the only tribe of the Flathead group having salmon in their country, and they were the most eastern tribe of the region using salmon extensively as food.

98. *Colville* or *Chaudière*.—Sign of direction of location of country was made, then the sign of "falls" by pushing the hand down, fingers perpendicular, then the signs of "fish" or "salmon" and "catching" up with the hands. Sometimes the sign of "river" was made first of all. The meaning is "Salmon fishers at falls." The term has reference to Kettle Falls, the main salmon place of the Colville, and to the fact that the Colville caught more salmon than any other tribe of the region. The term "Kettle Indians" was not used for the Colville in the sign language by any of the Indians.

99. *Lake* or *Senijextee*.—The sign for "Lake trout" was made, or the sign for "fish," and then of "a spot of yellow." The meaning is "Lake-trout people," so named because it is said that comparatively

few good salmon reached their country, and the tribes depended for food on lake trout, which were abundant.

100. *Sanpoil, Okanagon*.—My informant was not quite sure of the signs for these tribes.

101. *Similkameen*.—The sign of "eagle" was made for this people; "Eagle people." Said to be so named because eagles were formerly very plentiful in the Similkameen country, and eagle-tail feathers were formerly exported from there.

102. *Thompson or Couteau*.—My informant thought the sign of "snow" was formerly made by some people for the Thompson; "Snow people." Why so named is quite unknown. It may be derived through folk etymology from the name of the tribe. They were also sometimes called "People of the big river to the northwest." The sign for "knife" was also made for them; "knife people," but this term was used chiefly by the fur traders. The river to the northwest is either the Thompson or Fraser River.

103. *Shuswap*.—My informant was not sure of the sign for the Shuswap, but a term sometimes used meant "People who live (or go down) in the valley on the other side of the high country to the north."

104. *Lillooet*.—My informant was not familiar with any sign for this tribe, but thought the sign for "ax" was probably applied to them because the Okanagon group of tribes call them "ax people."

105. *Wenatchi*.—Fists brought together in front of breast, thumbs adjoining, then each turned upward and backward as if breaking something. Said to mean "bent or nearly broken" or "bent or broken in the middle," but with reference to what is uncertain. The sign may be derived through folk etymology from the tribal name.

106. *Columbia, Moses Columbia, or Columbia Cayuse*.—Hands placed together, points of fingers and wrists almost touching; then right hand pushed hard along middle of left, as if pushing something through. Said to mean "wedged" or "pressed in," or "wedged or divided in the middle," but with reference to what is unknown. The sign may possibly be derived through folk etymology from the tribal name.

107. *Yakima, Klickitat*.—Both hands held over temples, fingers meeting at top of head. Often the hands are pressed down on the head. Means "pressed or flattened heads." Said to be so named because the Yakima formerly pressed the heads of all infants; and they were the nearest tribe to the Coeur d'Alène having this custom.

108. *Paloos*.—The common sign for the Paloos was the same as for Yakima, but with the sign of "location" or "direction" added. There was another sign for the Paloos which my informant had forgotten.



109. *Nez Percé*.—Forefinger of right hand pointed across the nostrils or point of the nose. Sometimes the forefinger was simply held for a moment horizontally across in front of the nose. The meanings of the signs are "Pierced noses." They were so named because long ago nearly all the Nez Percé had their noses pierced, and they wore nose-pins of shell and bone to a greater extent than any other tribe.

110. *Wallawalla, Umatilla, Cayuse*.—My informant said he did not know any signs for these tribes. Usually they were called by the same sign as the Nez Percé, with signs of location added to differentiate them.

111. *Chinook, Wasco*.—My informant said there was an old sign name for the Chinook and Wasco, both being called by the one name, but he had forgotten it.

112. *Coast Indians*.—First the sign for "water" or "drinking" was made; then a wry face was made, as if something bitter had been tasted. Sometimes the sign for "sunset" was added, or for "west beyond the mountains." The meaning is "bitter-water people."

113. *Shoshoni*.—The sign for "snake" (viz, "Snake people") was made for all the Shoshoni. Different tribes were differentiated by signs of location. The origin of the term is unknown. The Flat-head are said to have used different signs for certain tribes of Shoshoni besides the general one of "snake."

114. *Kutenai*.—The sign of "robe," and then that for "deer," was made for the Kutenai, meaning "deer robes." They are said to have been so named because they used deer robes extensively in early times. There was a special or additional name occasionally used for the Lower Kutenai, but my informant was uncertain of what it was. The fur traders sometimes used the term "Flat bow" for the Lower Kutenai.

115. *Cree*.—Hand pushed down over nose, or the finger points drawn down over the nose, as if scratching it. Sometimes the two signs were combined. Said to mean "bloody noses" and "striped or scratched noses." The origin of the sign name is obscure. Some Coeur d'Alène suggested that the name may have arisen from some of them painting their noses red or in stripes.

116. *Gros Ventres or Atsina*.—Two signs were used for this tribe. In one, the two forefingers were crossed near the outer joints, with points extending upward. This means "tent" or "tent poles." This is the oldest sign name for the tribe; but why they were so designated is unknown. Some think it was because they had inferior tents long ago. The other sign was made by bringing the hands together in front of the breast, palms inward, and points of all the fingers touching. The hands were then pushed forward and downward without being parted, making a curve in front of the belly.

This means "big bellies." The origin of this name is also unknown. In later days this sign name almost entirely superseded the former, and it was the only one used by the fur traders.

117. *Blackfoot*.—The hand put to the mouth, and from there upward and outward, then swept down to the right and drawn across the ankle, as if cutting it. The full meaning of the sign seems to be uncertain, but it has some connection with "mouth" and with "foot," or possibly "moccasin." It may mean "Blackfoot speaking." Another sign was made by pointing at the right foot, and then making the "color" sign opposite something black or dark. This means "black foot" or "black feet." The term was used as a general one for all the Blackfoot tribes, and as a special one for the Blackfoot proper. The first sign was used as a general term for the Blackfoot tribes and may refer to the Blackfoot language; but the Indians differ in opinion as to the exact meaning of the sign.

118. *Blood*.—The sign for "blood" was made for this tribe, and the signs of "blood" and "Blackfoot" combined; viz, "Blood Blackfoot."

119. *Piegan*.—The sign of "robe" and "small" (viz, "small robes") were made for the Piegan. Rarely the sign "Blackfoot" was added.

120. *Arapaho*.—The right index finger placed vertically alongside the right nostril. My informant thought this was at least one sign for the tribe, but he was not quite sure. Meaning unknown.

121. *Cheyenne*.—The same informant thought the common sign for the Cheyenne was "striped arrows," or "striped arrow shafts," or "feathers of arrows." The sign of "arrow" was made, and the sign of "bars" or "stripes" across the head of the arrow. Supposed to be so named because long ago they had stripes on their arrows different from stripes on arrows used by other tribes.

122. *Crow*.—The sign of "raven" or "crow," meaning "raven people" or "crow people." The origin of the name is unknown.

123. *River Crow*.—Sign of "man" and sign of "blue" (viz, "blue men"). Why so named is uncertain; thought to be because they may have used blue paint more extensively than other tribes.

124. *Sioux*.—The right hand held out flat in front, and then drawn from left to right across and opposite the throat. Means "cut-throats." The origin of this name is also unknown.

#### COUNTING, GREETING, SIGNALS

125. *Counting*.—In counting, the Coeur d'Alène begin with "one" by putting the right index on the point of the little finger of the left hand, and continue to the thumb, which is "five"; then they reverse hands, and count beginning with the little finger of the right up to nine or ten. When the meaning of "ten" is to be conveyed, both

closed hands are placed alongside each other and shaken once. Two shakes means "twenty," three shakes "thirty," and so on.

126. *Greeting*.—As a sign of greeting and good will or respect, on meeting one another, people clasped or placed together their right hands, but did not shake the hands nor press nor squeeze them, as most whites do. Another common method of greeting, probably most common among women, was the making of what may be called the "good will" or "blessing" sign, which is the same as that used by the Thompson.<sup>279</sup> It was made with both hands, from the head or the shoulders, down the front of the body or front of the arms, to the legs. This was usually repeated two or three times, but sometimes done only once. Often it was begun with one hand on each shoulder of the person, and the hands continued to touch the person's body as they were drawn down. This sign was also made to a person as a greeting from a little distance off, as the whites do sometimes by lifting the hat or waving the hand instead of going up and shaking hands. The person making the sign generally uttered the word "hwié"<sup>280</sup> from one to four times. These forms of greeting, it is said, were the only ones used between the Coeur d'Alène themselves and between them and Salish and some other tribes. With a number of Plains tribes and some Shoshoni a different form of greeting was used. The right arm was passed around the person's neck and the left hand placed on his right shoulder. The cheeks were then pressed or rubbed, and often a snapping noise was made with the mouth at the same time. In later days the handshake of the whites superseded all the old forms of greeting.

127. *Signals*.—Signs similar to those used by the Thompson and other tribes were used on vacating camps and on trails as notices to other parties. Signals and calls were also frequent and were much like those of the Thompson. When hunting in bushy and timbered parts of the country, especially when driving game, whistling and cries were used to regulate the pace of the hunters or drivers and to keep them in line. If the distance between the drivers was small, each man whistled in a low tone now and then as he walked along. If farther apart, each cried softly "Hô, hô!" Often when the men were in line, and ready to start, the hunting chief from his position gave a whistle or cry as a signal to start. Each man took it up in turn and at once started. Sometimes the hunting chief would signal by whistle or cry at almost regular intervals, the cry being passed along. In this way he knew the position of the drivers, how they

<sup>279</sup> *a*, p. 287, No. 86.

<sup>280</sup> The Thompson almost invariably utter this word when making the sign. The word is also used to children when a person is well pleased with them or when they do something deserving of pity or praise. Men among the Thompson hardly ever use the expression, but it is commonly employed by women, especially old women.

were keeping in line, and how they were progressing. The hunters themselves, hearing the signals, knew whether one or more persons were too far ahead or too far back, and they went faster or slower accordingly. Sometimes by agreement the hunting chief gave a signal at short intervals, so that all the others could hear. As long as he continued, the line kept advancing. When he stopped, the line stopped. When he began again, it advanced again. When a person saw game but could not shoot it, he gave a loud whistle (but not shrill) as a signal to his companions that game had been seen and to look out for it. Besides whistling and the calling of "Hô!" dog and owl cries were used in hunting.

### X. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND FESTIVALS

**SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.**—The social organization of the Coeur d'Aléne seems to have been almost the same as that which obtained among the Thompson.<sup>281</sup> There was no hereditary nobility, no class with special privileges. *Claus*, *gentes*, *phratries*, or societies did not exist. The tribe was divided into geographical divisions and bands in the same way as were the Thompson. In some cases the people of a band occupied but a single winter camp, while others occupied several small contiguous camps. However, as a rule, one of these was larger than the others, and was considered the main camp of the band. Each band had headquarters in a well-defined locality. The division consisted of a group of bands occupying a certain large area, defined, and separated more or less definitely from other bands of the tribe by natural boundaries, such as mountain ranges. Thus, for instance, the people of Coeur d'Aléne and St. Joe Rivers would naturally constitute separate divisions of the tribe, as their respective territories were situated quite apart, a wide intervening stretch of mountainous country separating the two. The band consisted of a greater or lesser number of families more or less closely related, being descendants of people who had made the territory their headquarters for a long time. Each family, no matter in what part of the tribal territory it might temporarily be living, belonged to some particular band, and therefore had a locality that was considered to be its home, and which it claimed as such. Each family generally wintered within the territory of the band to which it belonged, although it did not necessarily winter in the same spot every winter. Occasionally families wintered in the territories of other bands where they had friends or relatives. Some people claimed the right to winter in the territory of any one of two or three different bands, because they were descended from people of all these places. A family might winter at the father's or husband's village, or again at the mother's or wife's. People having close rela-

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<sup>281</sup> *a*, pp. 289-302.

tives in different bands sometimes wintered with one and sometimes with another, or spent half the winter in one and the other half in another. Often they wintered with one set of relatives and summered with another. With these many mixed families, it was largely habit that decided in which village they lived most of the time. As a rule, however, one band or village was preferred. In time it became their real headquarters; and their children usually continued to live in this place. There was considerable intercourse and relationship through intermarriage between all the bands of a division, but considerably less between bands of different divisions. However, as the permanently inhabited part of the Coeur d'Alène country was not very extensive, and the territories of the several divisions and bands were connected by easy waterways, there was probably more intercourse and relationship between them than was the case in some other tribes. Neighboring bands had much intercourse with one another in the wintertime; less in the summer when there was much more traveling, and distant bands were often visited. Before the advent of the horse, the Coeur d'Alène spent a good deal of time traveling, fishing, and hunting along the rivers and lakes of their country, although parties also went on distant hunting trips in the mountains during the fair season. At certain seasons considerable numbers of people congregated at famous camas and other root-digging grounds. They also went to the Spokan for salmon fishing, trading, and sports. These journeys were made on foot, for there were no water routes leading to these places. On the whole the people were fairly sedentary, and most of them lived the greater part of the year on their home grounds, although they had no permanent houses or villages, unless the long communal dance houses at the larger villages may be so called. Being a semisedentary people, and living in a country where wood, bark, and vegetal materials of many kinds abounded, the Coeur d'Alène developed the arts of fishing, canoe making, and textile work in weaving of mats, bags, and baskets, probably to a greater degree than any of the neighboring tribes.

With the introduction of the horse the social and economic life of the tribe became materially changed. In fact, it seems that it wrought a greater change in their customs and material culture than in any other tribe. Fishing and canoe travel were gradually forsaken for buffalo hunting and travel by horse. Since the forested country was not well adapted for horses, most of the tribe moved to the more open, grassy districts. This drew them away from the lakes, and in great measure from fishing, canoes, bark, and wood, materials which they were accustomed to use. They could not follow the old life on the water and in the forests, and at the same time keep horses. Besides, as raising and herding horses and buffalo hunting necessitated much travel, the people had no time for their former industries. Further-

more, many of their utensils were unsuitable for the new style of life. Objects made of wood, bark, and basketry were either too bulky, cumbersome, or fragile; therefore they were largely dispensed with. Bags of skin, leather, and rawhide took the place of basketry and woven bags because they were better suited for travel by horse. Instead of the former small hunting parties, consisting of people of one band or part of a band, hunting now became largely a tribal business, and demanded a different organization. The easier method of making a living offered by buffalo hunting, as well as the pleasure and excitement of traveling and mingling with strangers, which it afforded, were great inducements. Once horses were plentiful, intercourse became easy and general between all members of the tribe, and buffalo hunting as a tribal affair could be engaged in. The old system of chiefs of bands and divisions became obsolete, and only tribal chiefs continued to be recognized. There were really no more bands or divisions. The change from a tribe consisting of many semisedentary bands with as many headquarters to a single, almost entirely nomadic community, with a single center, was in time almost completed. The old communal dance houses were abandoned and dancing was conducted entirely in the camp circles. An impetus was given to trading. While formerly trade was chiefly with the western tribes, now much trading was also done with those to the east. Commodities were exchanged more rapidly, and came from greater distances.

Again, in later years the Coeur d'Alène, like other tribes, had to adapt themselves to another great change, brought about by the failure of buffalo hunting and the settlement of the country by the whites. This forced the tribe to become farmers and stock raisers.

CHIEFS.—Chieftaincy was of exactly the same kind as that of the Thompson,<sup>282</sup> and not necessarily hereditary. Chiefs were elected, and everyone was eligible, whether a chief's son or not. Each band and village community, and also each large camp, had a chief. In places where the people of several bands congregated for root digging one of the band chiefs present was elected chief of all for the time being. If all were about equal in popularity, then the chief who had the largest following in camp was elected, or the senior chief was chosen. If no chief was present, some good man was elected as camp chief, and he continued to act until the camp broke up. Chiefs of bands were often called "small chiefs." On their election, if wealthy enough, they gave a feast and some presents to the people of the band, who thereafter were called their "children." Sons of former chiefs were often elected, but with equal frequency they were not. If too young when the chief died, or if deficient in chief-like qualities of goodness, liberality, wisdom, and honesty, they were

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<sup>282</sup> *a*, p. 289.

never chosen. As a rule, the best man in the band was appointed. People were ashamed if they had a chief much inferior to others, or if their chief was wicked or foolish. If a chief turned out to be bad or foolish, he was deposed, and another one elected. But very few chiefs were deposed, as care was generally taken to choose a good man; and most men, when they became chiefs, were careful of their conduct, and tried to live up to their position. From time to time most chiefs gave small feasts, and sometimes presents, to the members of their band. It seems that each division had a head chief. It is not quite clear whether he was a specially elected man or simply one of the band chiefs. It would seem, however, that the latter was the case. It would also seem that he generally belonged to a band which was considered the head band of the division, either because of numbers or because it was considered the original or parent band which occupied the traditional original headquarters, and from which the other bands of the division had sprung.<sup>283</sup> Of the three, or possibly four, chiefs of divisions, it seems that one was head chief of the tribe. As formerly the Coeur d'Alène City chief was generally, if not always, head chief of the tribe, this may indicate that this district is the original center of the tribe. When they began to give up the old style of life for that of buffalo hunting, and to live as a single community, the system of "small chiefs" or band chiefs passed away and chiefs of divisions only were recognized. At one time there were three of these, but possibly at one period there were four. Later, with reduction in numbers caused by epidemics, and the beginning of reservation life it seems that the number of chiefs was reduced to two—a head chief and a subchief. When the head chief died the subchief became head chief and another man was elected from the tribe to fill his place. It is said that about 1820 there were three recognized chiefs of the tribe, the head chief *Stéla'am*, with headquarters at Coeur d'Alène City; *Xwisteeni'tsa* ("walking robe"), with headquarters at Mission; *C'íc'iltc'ó'sqet* ("revolving sky or cloud"), chief of St. Joe division, who died about 1848. When *Stéla'am* died, André *S'iltis* (Saltis) became head chief. He was no direct descendant of *Stéla'am*, but was elected on account of his wealth and intelligence.<sup>284</sup> He was chief of the tribe in 1858 during the Spokane war with the whites, in which he took part, and in 1877 during the Nez Percé war. He died in 1902. At this time Pete *Wa'iyí'lcu'* (called "Wild Shoe" by the whites—a corruption of his

<sup>283</sup> Information of this kind sometimes leads to a knowledge of the original site of the people as a tribe, and shows the manner in which they spread into the surrounding country, gradually enlarging their boundaries by offshoots. There are strong traces of this to be found among the Lillooet, Thompson, Shuswap, and Okanagon.

<sup>284</sup> Information furnished by Gladys A. Reichard.

Indian name) was second chief, and he became head chief. He died in 1907. Pete *Tci'yarpa'* (full name *Tci'yarpa'sqet*, "rolling on the clouds") was elected second chief when *Wa'iyi'lcu'* became head chief; and he became head chief on the latter's death, and is head chief now. Some other former head chiefs of the tribe were Pete or Pierre *T'ent'ennemilstcen* (?) (the name seems to have some connection with "horns" or "head"), who was son of a former band chief of the St. Joe division; *Anastemel'po'* (?) (full name *Templ'po'semen*, "no heart"), who a long time ago was a chief of the Coeur d'Alène River division; *Sqonxwā'lqo* or *xwelts'po'semen* ("deep thinker," literally "many hearts"), another chief of olden times. The last name is probably a Spokane form. There were no female chiefs, and women had no direct voice in the election of chiefs. However, the influence of some women was powerful in moulding public opinion. A woman who had chief-like qualities, who was good, intelligent, sagacious, and liberal, was called *sq'o'mā'lt*. Such women were highly respected, and their opinions treated with consideration. Some of them occasionally made speeches before the people and chiefs.

COUNCILS.—Each band chief had a large stone pipe which was the "band" pipe, and the chiefs of divisions had "chief's pipes." The head chief of the tribe had the "tribal" pipe. All important matters concerning the welfare of the band were arranged at councils or meetings of the elders and heads of families, presided over by the chief. In smoking ceremonials and in making agreements, bargains or treaties, if the band pipe was smoked, it was only binding on the band to whom the pipe belonged. When the tribal pipe was smoked, the contract made was binding on the whole tribe, and therefore this pipe was smoked in ratifying agreements and making important treaties with strangers and enemies. All chiefs used criers, who were generally elderly men and good speakers. When the chief wanted to assemble the people or talk with them on any matter he sent out the crier to inform the people that a general meeting would be held on the morrow. The crier went out in the middle of the camp circle and gave the information in a loud voice, so that all might hear. If some of the lodges were too far away or were scattered, he went on foot or on horseback, stopping in front of each lodge door, and gave the notice. Councils, meetings, and all public functions were held in the communal long house or dance house, maintained at all large villages of bands, at all times when the majority of the people were at home. During fine weather or when in camp, meetings were held in the open air or under a temporary shelter erected for the purpose. Sometimes they were held in the chief's house or in the largest tent. After the old band and village system was broken up often a large skin tent was erected especially as a meeting and dance lodge; or a circular lodge of poles, open on the sides and roofed with brush, bark, or mats, was



used. These were erected in the middle of the camp circle. The chief's lodge still continued to be used occasionally for small meetings. It seems that the chief's lodge occupied no particular position in regard to other lodges in a camp. In the ancient villages doors of lodges were in any direction most convenient for access to water and for shelter from winds. Thus doors generally faced the streams. In temporary camps doors faced either inward (if the lodges were in a circle), or to the east if there was no circle. There were some exceptions, however, especially in favor of a southerly direction.

**CAMP CIRCLE.**—In camping on the plains a large camp circle was formed, and at night the horses were kept inside. This was often necessary as a precaution against horse stealing. When camped on friendly ground in conjunction with allied tribes, each tribe might camp in a circle of its own, contiguous to the others, but when camped on unfriendly ground, where there was considerable chance of being attacked, all camped in one circle. If there were two tribes about equal in numbers, each occupied half the circle. The lodges were never mixed. It seems that sometimes positions of tribes in a camp circle were taken according to the geographical position of their homes. For instance, when they camped with Kalispel, the latter took the north side of the circle, and the Coeur d'Alène the south. When camped with Nez Percé, the latter took the south side and the Coeur d'Alène the north. Coeur d'Alène and Spokane would take the west side; and Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead the east. Oratory was highly developed, as among all the neighboring tribes.

**TRIBAL REGULATIONS.**—It seems that there were seldom any attempts at coercion on the part of the chiefs; and they did not interfere in purely personal matters, except in an advisory way. There was no real police. The influence and advice of the chiefs and public opinion concerning matters of procedure and ethics were sufficient to keep order. The orders of the chiefs, especially if the result of discussion and agreement at a council held beforehand, were received with great consideration, and hardly ever combated. Sometimes a number of young men or others were chosen to carry out certain orders, or some elderly men were appointed to see that they were carried out. These men, it seems, were appointed only for special occasions. Customs regarding murder, theft, adultery, and rape were the same as those which obtained among the Thompson and Nez Percé.<sup>285</sup>

**WAR CHIEFS.**—As already noted, all hunting and war parties had chiefs. Hunting chiefs were elected by hunting parties the first night in camp, or the night before hunting began. Often a man was recognized from the start as hunting chief. The most experienced hunter was chosen. His authority lasted only during the hunt.

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<sup>285</sup> *b*, pp. 244, 245.

War chiefs were elected in like manner, and continued in authority to the end of an expedition; but there were also many permanent war chiefs, who were elected as war chiefs of bands and divisions. They were men who had warlike qualities, experience, and had distinguished themselves in war. At all times they received respect, being treated like other chiefs; but they had no authority excepting in war time. In some cases men who were war chiefs were afterwards chosen to be "peace" chiefs or chiefs of bands. The band chief exhorted the people as to conduct, morals, and industry and regulated in large measure the procuring of the food supply of his band. He was also leader in many ceremonies, and, on the whole, acted as an advisor and teacher of the people, to whom he was supposed to give a good example at all times. He also in large measure conducted the business between the band and strangers, and he often had to act as host to foreign visitors. Band chiefs also kept count of the days, moons, and years by cutting notches in sticks.

COMPANIES.—As already stated, the introduction of the horse and the adoption of buffalo hunting led the people away from their old habitat and ways of living and forced on them a changed tribal organization. The bands seem to have become completely merged in the tribe. The tribe could not be on the move for about nine months of the year, traveling long distances and hunting buffalo in a country where they were subject to attack at any time, without being fairly well organized for traveling, camping, hunting, and protection. Thus it came about that the system of chiefs and many of the former regulations of the tribe were changed to suit the new conditions or environment. The chiefs and councils obtained more power, in which all the people acquiesced. At the same time it seems that force was not employed much more than under the earlier system. The men of the tribe became divided in companies, each one of which had special duties to attend to. It seems that certain rules came into vogue in traveling—the women and families and pack animals, on the whole, occupying the center, groups of warriors traveling in the front, rear, and on the borders. Scouts were still farther off, but I did not obtain full information regarding the system. It seems that a considerable body of warriors rode just in front of the main body of the people, many of the leading and elderly men among them. Men who knew the country best acted as guides and rode well in front, but some young men or scouts were with them or preceded them.

Young men, most of them unmarried, were divided into two or three companies. Some of them rode near the chief and occasionally acted as his messengers. One group of young men acted as scouts; another acted as horse guards and took the horses in charge. They saw to their pasturing, took them out, and brought them in again. A group of older (?) men assisted in the camping, and it seems that

there were groups having particular duties in connection with buffalo hunting, war, or defense. The men in each group were generally those best adapted by age or experience to do the work assigned, and men naturally fell into one group or the other. It was not obligatory to be in any particular company, and a man might join one group or another as he wished. However, men were sometimes assigned to one group or another by the chiefs or asked to perform certain services. It seems that no one thought of refusing; and young men especially were eager to be in the group of scouts or horse guards, as the case might be. They considered it an honor to do the chief's bidding and perform important service, especially where there was danger. It seems that most, if not all, companies had captains who were old, experienced men. Most of the older men had little to do in traveling, except to look after their personal belongings and families and to help in making their own camp. Young men drove the pack animals. The number of men in the companies varied. If there was a shortage in any one, or if more men were required for an emergency, the chiefs regulated it. I obtained an understanding of the system only in a very general way, and received very few details. It seems that there was also a soldier or warrior company of middle-aged men. This company contained the bravest and most reliable men in the tribe. The defense of the camp was intrusted to them. As far as I could learn, none of these groups had any functions like those of the military societies of the plains. Men were graded to some extent, however, according to their deeds of valor. Only those who had done certain deeds were supposed to wear eagle feathers in certain ways and carry certain ornaments, bands, and ceremonial or symbolic objects. This custom, being well developed among the Shoshoni, Flathead, and Kutenai, may possibly have been copied from them, if something similar was not already in vogue among the Coeur d'Aléne before they began to go to the plains. Among these men of valor was a small company who had counted coup on an armed enemy in the thickest of battle, and had returned unscathed. They wore certain feathers and other ornaments. They were believed to be invulnerable, and were expected to act as leaders in battle. They were middle-aged or elderly men. However, it seems that this class had existed under the old system also, and the members were known as those who required no protection; therefore they used no armor.

It seems that a fairly perfect system of cries, whistles, and other signals was evolved whereby people were at once advised of any important happening. There were dog cries, crow cries, owl cries, and certain whistles or signals when strangers were sighted, or when buffalo were seen. When these calls were heard, the chiefs and the

men of each company at once knew what to do, and acted accordingly. There was thus little confusion among the people.

SLAVERY.—Slaves were of two kinds—captives made in war and those purchased from other tribes. The latter were all procured in trade from western tribes, chiefly the Spokane, and none of them were of interior Salish origin. It is said that most of them were boys, girls, and young women of the Snake, Ute, and Paiute. Many of them were probably captives made in war by Nez Percé, Cayuse, Wallawalla, and other tribes to the south, who at one time were almost constantly at war with the Shoshonean tribes west of the Rocky Mountains. None of these slaves were repatriated, and very seldom were they resold. They became members of the tribe and lost their own language. A very few slaves were from the Umatilla and other tribes to the south and southwest, but they were generally bought back through the Spokane or Palooos, or sometimes directly from Coeur d'Alêne parties who went to the intertribal dances at the mouth of the Snake. Captives were generally girls and young women of non-Salish tribes with whom they were at war. As a rule, they were sold back to their friends or exchanged at the end of the war. If not, they were usually later given their liberty and in most cases they returned to their own country. It is said that the Coeur d'Alêne did not favor making captives and generally killed all their enemies or allowed those to escape whom they did not want to kill. Shoshonean slaves never tried to escape, but slaves and captives of other tribes sometimes ran away. Slaves were kindly treated, and most people regarded them as affectionately as their own wives or children. When a slave boy died his owner has been known to show as much grief and weep as much over him as if he had been one of his own children. When a slave woman bore children to her master she became the same as a free member of the tribe; and no one watched her or tried to retain her in captivity. When her children grew up they were treated with as much respect as other children and were never openly called "slave children." Some of them became capable men, and they would resent being treated differently from others. Until they came to be considered members of the tribe, the hair of slaves was kept short.

There are several cases remembered of Coeur d'Alêne women having been made captive and enslaved by Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, but in nearly all cases they eventually returned to their tribe. In one case, very long ago, a woman never came back. She was treated well and became a member of the Pend d'Oreilles tribe. At a later date two women enslaved by the Pend d'Oreilles escaped after a time. A man took pity on them, and hid some food, moccasins, and thread and awl, telling them where they would find them. Then at night

he ferried them across the river and gave them directions how to go. They hid in the daytime and walked at night, always avoiding trails. The people searched for them one day, and then gave it up. They reached home in safety.

Only a very few of the Coeur d'Alène kept slaves, and this long ago. After the tribe began buffalo hunting they rarely bought any slaves and very rarely took any captives in war. Slaves were of little value to a people who were not fairly sedentary, and they could not easily be kept captive.

PERSONAL NAMES.—I did not collect many data on names. As among the Thompson, names fell into several classes. Names of males and females were distinct.

One class of names consisted of dream names, often obtained directly from the guardian spirit at puberty, or received at a later age in dreams. Other dream names were taken from incidents of dreams. These names were believed to be connected in some way with the guardian of the individual. Some men took the name of their guardian for a personal name.

The second class of names may be designated as nicknames. Some were derived from physical peculiarities of the individual, or from incidents in his career.

Names of these two classes originated with the individual himself, and could become hereditary by being passed on to his descendants. Often, however, they died out with the person who acquired them, and whose property they actually were.

The third class of names were inherited. These were the property of families and had passed down in them for generations. In many cases their origin is unknown. Many of them are difficult to translate because the original forms and pronunciations had become altered, were archaic, or were derived from languages of other tribes. A peculiarity in this class of names was that most of them had regular name suffixes, not more than six or seven in number, whereas most other names did not have these suffixes. Nevertheless, it seems that many of them originated in just the same way as other names.

Among the Coeur d'Alène names with these regular suffixes are not as common as among the Thompson; but probably at one time they were more frequent. There seems to have been a tendency for several generations back to discard them and to adopt striking names derived from dreams and exploits, which were more high-sounding and at the same time easy to translate and explain. Some of the Coeur d'Alène names, with name suffixes analogous to those of the Thompson, are at first hard to recognize because of the tendency to clip off the ends of many long words. This tendency is common to the Flathead and all tribes of that group, as well as to the more eastern Kutenai and the Coeur d'Alène. For examples see *Hinwaxane'*

*Waxene'* for *Hinwaxen'lst* (p. 129), and names of chiefs (pp. 153, 154), where *-posemen* is shortened to *-po.* and *-a'sqet* to *-a.* It seems that among the Coeur d'Alène there occur some Spokane forms of names acquired through intermarriage.

I noticed the following suffixes in old hereditary names which are the same as those used by the Thompson.<sup>286</sup>

1. *-itsa* ("robe," "blanket," "skin"), in both men's and women's names, as among the Thompson, most common among men. (Thompson forms, *-itsa*, *-itsa.*)
2. *-qain* ("head," "top," "eminence"), in men's names. (Thompson forms, *-qain*, *-qen.*)
3. *-alst*, *-ilst*, *-äst* ("stone"), in men's names (often shortened to *-i*). (Thompson forms, *-elilst*, *-äst.*)
4. *-a'sqet*, *-sqet* ("cloud," "sky," "day"), in men's names (often shortened to *-a*). (Thompson forms, *-el'sqet*, *-a'sqet.*)
5. *-kwa* ("water"), in women's names. (Thompson forms, *-koe*, *-kō*, *-a'tko.*)

I did not find the suffix *-inēk* ("bow," "belly," "rounded"), common in women's names of the Thompson, but it may occur. Of the nine chiefs' names mentioned on pages 153 and 154, one has the suffix *-i'tsa* and two the suffix *-a'sqet*. The name *Xwistceni'tsa* (translated "walking robe") occurs in slightly different forms among the Okanagon and Thompson. A name similar to *Cilciltcō'sqet* also occurs in all these tribes. The names *Temtpo'semen* and *Xweltspo'semen* are used by the Okanagon and Spokane as well as the Coeur d'Alène. It seems quite possible that certain names may have originated independently in these different Salish tribes; but most Indians think that each hereditary name, especially those with the name suffixes, is of but one origin, having originated in one tribe or another, and been introduced into other tribes by intermarriage. Therefore they say that persons who bear the same name in two tribes have inherited it from a common ancestor, and that they must be related, however remotely. There was hardly any stealing of names, and only rarely were names exchanged, bestowed, or sold; and when they were, they were usually lately adopted dream names or nicknames belonging to the individual, and not names which had already become hereditary and belonged to families.

Some other Coeur d'Alène men's names are *Sikwa*, *Temltcā(te)* ("no hand"), *Tedele'melsteen* ("runs on a horn"), *Tsu'lemlxwetsut* ("buffalo-bull mountain"; this name occurs among the Thompson, and has probably been derived from the south), *Loq'e'tästc'eso* ("lying in the brush"), *Tpoxe'wes* ("painted stomach"), *Ttsēlēle'tsa* ("pierced [with arrows] robe [or skin]"; slight variations of this name are found among the Okanagon and Thompson), *Ntce'ētqe'în(äst)* ("first shot" or "first daylight"; a name similar to this occurs among the Thompson).

<sup>286</sup> a, p. 291.

Some women's names are *Sai'môsā*, *Yaromi'*, *Siyó'e*, *Xwa'm-cenma'*, *Ḥaxae'teen* (a similar name occurs among the Thompson), *Stewêlemcena'*, *Wilewilema'*, *Siyaxta'*, *Si'pal*, *Telemtä'l*, *Xweotsti'*, *Tc'ä'äne* (a similar name occurs among the Thompson and Shuswap), *Doxwal al da'renc* ("moon fell"), *Qaxpi'(tsa)* ("turned-up robe or blanket"). (A Spences Bridge woman has this name, and it also occurs among the Okanagon.) Women's names are as a rule harder to translate than men's.

It is said that parents sometimes received names in dreams which they were told to give to their children.

Descent was reckoned in both the male and female lines, and children received names from both sides of the family. Slaves took Coeur d'Alène names given them by their masters and these names became the property of their descendants. Horses and dogs were named in the same manner as among the Thompson.<sup>287</sup> Most of their names were nicknames.

PROPERTY.—The institutions of the tribe were on the whole paternal and almost the same as those of the Thompson.<sup>288</sup> Male relatives took precedence in the inheritance of property. In the family the male elders ruled, although the women had the right to advise and express their opinion in almost all matters, and often their advice was asked. The father and elder male relatives generally instructed the boys; and the mother and elder female relatives the girls. The father, grandfather, or uncles, or all of them, frequently admonished and lectured the children and members of the family on morals or ethics and behavior, and encouraged the children to be industrious and to persevere in obtaining knowledge and powerful guardian spirits. They also advised them to perfect their physical and mental qualities, so that the boys might become noted warriors, hunters, chiefs, or shamans; and that the girls might become women of good quality and thus obtain the best husbands.

The woman generally followed her husband and lived among his people. Levirate prevailed, as in other Salish tribes. A woman's effects were distinct from those of her husband's, and each was the absolute owner of his or her own personal property. The husband and wife often gave presents to each other and to their children. Personal property consisted of tools, weapons, clothes, bedding, lodges, horses, dogs, baskets, mats, etc. Food was family property, and in charge of the head woman of the house. Lodges were often family property, especially skin lodges, but many of them belonged to the women. Mat lodges generally belonged to the women, as men had nothing to do with the gathering of the materials and the making of them. In the case of skin lodges, the men provided the hides, but

<sup>287</sup> a, p. 292.

<sup>288</sup> a, pp. 293, 294.

only in this way had any claim. If the husband bought a ready-made skin lodge, as was sometimes the case, it belonged entirely to him. When several families lived together the food for immediate use was pooled, each woman replenishing the general supply from her stores or caches. Meat obtained by the men of the lodge was pooled in the same way, or it was handed over to the women.

Large game, such as deer, were cut up in the same way as among the Thompson.<sup>289</sup> Hunting parties generally divided the game in the following manner: The skin, brisket, and one side piece of the animal belonged to the man who had killed it. The other side piece went to the hunting chief. The rest of the carcass was the common property of the hunting party, and was divided equally among all the hunters by the chief. In small hunting parties of friends the division was about equal. A man hunting alone owned the whole animal, but he often gave part of it to his neighbors or friends. In buffalo hunting parties, as a rule, each hunter owned all he killed, and he took as many of the skins and as much of the meat as he wanted or could handle. Whatever was left was the property of whoever wanted it, and all could help themselves without restriction. When only a few buffalo were killed, and the people were short of food, the meat was divided by the chief like other game.

Land was communal or tribal, and the same applied to rivers and lakes. The whole country was considered the property and food preserve of the tribe. However, parts of the country in proximity to villages of bands were seldom used by outsiders, for they depended on this territory for the gathering of roots and berries, and for everyday fishing and hunting. Besides, these grounds were under the control of the band chief. Nevertheless the more distant parts of each band territory were considered tribal, and not band territory; and even the "home ground" of each band was free for any member of the tribe to use, as long as the chief of the band was notified and his regulations were followed. Every part of the tribal territory was free to all members of the tribe for travel and later on for pasture, and also for gathering of food, hunting and fishing, when traveling from point to point.

Each band chief was in charge of the "home territory" of the band, and regulated the gathering of roots and berries therein. As each important kind of fruit ripened, he sent persons from time to time to inspect the crop at different places. When on any ground a sufficient quantity of berries was ripe, he declared the ground open for berrying, and the women went in companies and gathered the crop. This gave all the women an equal chance, and prevented jealousies, quarrels, and the picking of immature berries. The same regulations governed the digging of camas and all important roots. Some

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<sup>289</sup> *a*, p. 248.



of the large camas and berry grounds distant from the settlements of any band were in charge of chiefs of divisions and were opened by them at the proper time for digging or picking. These places were free to all members of the tribe, and people from all bands resorted thither. All, however, had to obey the orders of the divisional chief, or, if he were not present, of the camp chief. It seems that there were no restrictions regarding times for fishing and hunting, for these matters regulated themselves by the seasons, the weather, and the habits of the different kinds of game and fish. It seems that there was no private or family property in fishing places, eagle cliffs, etc., and it is very doubtful if deer fences were privately owned. In some cases these appear to have been band property.

Skins and meat of trapped animals, when the traps or snares were private belongings and the trapper was unassisted, belonged to the man who trapped them.

As mentioned already, the long lodges used as meetinghouses, dance houses, and guest houses, were the property of bands, and were erected and maintained by their common labor.

The division of labor between the sexes appears to have been just the same as among the Thompson and Nez Percé.<sup>290</sup>

FESTIVALS.—Feasts and ceremonies at which presents were given were of three kinds. In a simple feast, one family or the members of one lodge invited their immediate neighbors to a small feast, which generally lasted one evening or an afternoon and night. As a rule, no presents were given. Often, at a later date, one of the invited families gave a similar feast to the neighbors, the former hosts being invited. Several of these suppers might be given by families in turn in a single locality during the winter. Story telling and a few games were the chief amusements at these feasts, and rarely singing and dancing.

Another kind of feast was on a large scale, and in some localities took place once during the winter. The band chief gave this feast to the members of his band, if he felt he had an abundance of food and wanted to have a social time. A few members of neighboring bands often attended. The festival generally lasted a day and a night, and occasionally part or all of a second day and night. The people played games, made speeches, and told stories. Sometimes dancing, singing, and exhibitions took place. One or more persons dressed up and acted parts of a narrative or story that was told, or they simply dressed up to cause amusement, especially to the children, impersonating animals and people, or acting like clowns. Occasionally they sang comic songs. During the festival the chief might give a number of small presents to male and female members of his band, a joke often being made with each present. Sometimes in return one of the

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<sup>290</sup> *a*, pp. 295, 296; *b*, p. 246.

leading families of the band would invite the chief to a feast at a date a little later, and whoever desired might come. Sometimes other members of the band assisted the head of this family with presents of food for the feast. No return was made, however, of the chief's presents.

The third festival of this kind was something like the "potlatch" of the Thompson,<sup>291</sup> and was on a larger scale than the other festivals mentioned. A man, a family, or a community singled out another man, family, or community, and invited them to a feast, which lasted from one to three or four days and nights. Speeches, singing, dancing, and games took place at intervals. The host or hosts gave presents of skins, horses, and the like to the guests. Generally the following year the people who had been guests returned the compliment by inviting their former hosts to a feast of the same duration, and returned gifts to them of a value about equal to what they had received.

A feast of first fruits was held, and will be described later (p. 185).

Feasting also took place at burials, and on a smaller scale at births. Many people, however, never gave feasts at births.

Dancing was much in vogue, and most public dances were accompanied by more or less feasting and playing of games. Dances and other customs, partly religious and partly social, will be described in the chapter on "Religion."

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.—As an aid to singing at feasts and dances several kinds of instruments were in use. Of these, the drum was most important. All the old-style drums were circular and had skin on one side only. They generally had sides about 10 cm. deep and were about 50 cm. in diameter. Many were painted with designs, either geometric or realistic, or a combination of both.<sup>292</sup> Drumsticks consisted of a stick with the head wrapped in skin, or a stick with the end padded with deer's hair, inclosed in skin.<sup>293</sup> Drums and drumsticks were sometimes ornamented with deer hoofs and with feathers.

Rattles were used which consisted of a bunch of deer hoofs attached to the end of a wooden handle.<sup>294</sup> Others made of strings of deer hoofs were also attached to the legs of dancers. Round and elongated rattles, consisting of pebbles inclosed in rawhide<sup>294</sup> and rarely of wood(?), were also used to some extent, and held in the hands when dancing.

Notched sticks or rasps, over the notches of which other sticks were rubbed, were in common use.<sup>294</sup> Time beaters of wood were also in common use. Some were simple sticks, while others were carved and ornamented.

<sup>291</sup> *a*, pp. 297–299.

<sup>293</sup> See Thompson, *a*, p. 385, fig. 315 *b*.

<sup>292</sup> See Thompson, *a*, p. 385, fig. 315 *a*.

<sup>294</sup> See Nez Percé *b*, p. 230.

Long flutes, or flageolets, were made of elder, and sometimes of other hardwoods, and appear to have been similar to those in use among the Thompson, Okanagon, and Nez Percé.<sup>295</sup> They generally had six holes. The air passage near the mouth was partly stopped with a small ball made of pitch and deer's grease. They were suspended from a leather string worn around the neck. Often the string was richly embroidered and ornamented. Young men used them for serenading girls at night, but they were also used for giving signals on horse-stealing raids. Another kind of flute was shorter, and made of the wing and leg bones of large birds, such as geese, swans, or cranes. It had from three to six holes and was used for calls or signals, and imitations of cries of birds.<sup>296</sup> It was also used by young men and young women for serenading. Another bone whistle was quite short and had no holes. It was used simply for signaling. It seems some other kinds of bone and bark whistles were used long ago; but I obtained no particulars.

PIPES.—Smoking was almost universal among men, but long ago women rarely smoked. Smoking formed a part of all important ceremonies at meetings, some ceremonies being opened and closed with smoking. Pipes were made of steatite, which was plentiful in the Coeur d'Alène country. The common colors were black, gray, and brown. Brown steatite was exported to other tribes in whose countries it was rare. Catlinite and pipes of the same material were procured from the Flathead and other tribes to the east. The western tribes often traded green soapstone, and pipes made of the same, to the Plains tribes for red soapstone and pipes made of it. The ceremonial pipes of the Coeur d'Alène, called "chief's pipes" and "peace pipes," were large, and in later days were nearly all made of catlinite. Formerly most of them were of brown soapstone. Long ago the tubular pipe was common and continued to be used until after the arrival of the fur traders. Pipes of the elbow type, however, were in use before the fur traders came, and before the tribe began to go to the plains. In later days this type of pipe entirely superseded the tubular pipe. Some of the pipes were ornamented with a serrated flange. (Fig. 14.) It seems that pipes with simple bowls without shanks were also used to some extent, including those of disk shape. Stems of pipes were of wood. The smaller ones were generally round and the larger ones flat. Stems were orna-

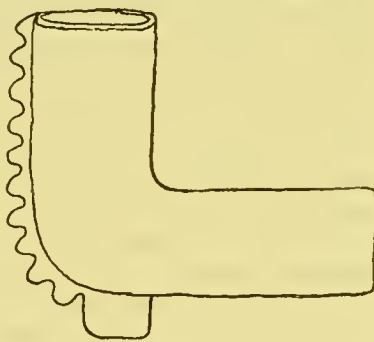


FIGURE 14.—Pipe

<sup>295</sup> See Nez Percé, *b*, p. 231.

<sup>296</sup> See Thompson, *a*, p. 313, fig. 284 *a*.

mented to a considerable extent with incised designs, painting and wrappings of quills. The tobacco used was wild tobacco procured from the neighboring tribes. Kinnikinnick, consisting of bearberry leaves and red willow bark, was mixed with tobacco in smoking by most people but not by all.

## XI. BIRTH, CHILDHOOD, PUBERTY, MARRIAGE, DEATH

**TWINS.**—I did not receive full information regarding birth and childhood. Old women acted as midwives. Some women, for a short time before childbirth, lived in the menstrual lodge. There were probably some restrictions on pregnant women long ago, especially as to what they should eat and touch; but it seems that after the tribe began to hunt buffalo most of the old customs gradually broke down and little is now known about them. My informants claimed that they had never heard of any twin ceremonies in the tribes, or of any beliefs that twins were connected by dreams of the mother with bear or deer, or that twins had any particular guardian spirits or powers.<sup>297</sup> Neither were the parents of twins compelled to live apart from the people. Some people considered a family lucky that had twins; or thought twins lucky, and that was all. The Coeur d'Alène name for "twins" is derived from the numeral "two." It is thought that twins were less frequent among the Coeur d'Alène than among other tribes, although there is one notable case on record of a woman who had first girl twins, then boy twins, and then girl twins again, and no other children before or after.

**CARRIERS OR CRADLES.**—Infants were put in a bark carrier. Most of these were made of birch bark. In shape they were like the Thompson birch-bark carrier,<sup>298</sup> only much higher at the head. The depth of the carrier at the head rendered the use of hoops for holding up the cradle cover unnecessary, and none were used. Bedding consisted of fine rotten wood (like sawdust), which was gathered, dried, and worked up fine. This was renewed as often as required. A piece of soft fur was put under the baby's head, shoulders, and back. A soft robe of fur formed the covering, and the baby was strapped in by flaps with lacing, which passed over the covering. An outside covering placed loosely over the carrier was used when abroad to protect the infant from wind and weather. When the baby was from two to three months old the bark carrier was discarded and replaced by a cradle board. These, at least for many years back, have been all of the same type as those used by the Spokane, Pend d'Oreilles, and Nez Percé.<sup>299</sup> About one-third of the board was beaded and extended above the infant's head. In earlier times

<sup>297</sup> See Thompson, *a*, pp. 310, 311; Shuswap, *e*, pp. 586, 587; Lillooet, *k*, p. 263.

<sup>298</sup> *a*, p. 306, fig. 280.

<sup>299</sup> See Nez Percé, *b*, pp. 225, 226.

cradle boards were much lower or shorter than those of the present day, and some of them were provided with hoops.

The navel-string pouch and strings of beads and other ornaments were often attached to the carrier, especially at the head. Hammocks were often used for babies in the lodges. They were made of skin and suspended on two ropes passing through hollow seams. Cross sticks were placed between the ropes near the head and foot to keep the ropes sufficiently apart. When the baby became older and began to walk the board carrier was discarded and a carrying bag or skin carrier was used when the weather was mild. These carriers were similar to those used by the Thompson,<sup>300</sup> and the child's head, arms, and legs protruded. In cold weather the same carrier was used, but the mother folded the baby in the robe she wore. More often, however, the carrier was not used at all in very cold weather, the mother preferring to fasten the babies on her back in the folds of the robe only. The bark carrier, the board carrier, and the skin carrier or baby bags have all been used together in the way described as far back as tradition goes. In later times, after the tribe engaged in buffalo hunting, the bark carrier went out of use, because bark could not always be obtained when wanted and because this kind of carrier was usually too fragile. Baby bags were used to some extent until a much later date, but finally they went out of use also. This was probably because they were not necessary in horse travel. Finally board carriers of the high type which better protected the child's head, and the robe alone, were used in carrying young children. I did not learn definitely whether any conduits were used with cradles. The Nez Percé are said long ago to have used bark carriers like those of the Coeur d'Alène for infants.

HEAD DEFORMATION.—During the life of the child on the board carrier (generally from two or three months old to about a year) its head was fastened down with a pad of stiff skin attached by means of strings. The pad rested on the forehead. It was tightened when the child slept and slackened when it awoke. Male and female children were treated alike, and this practice was formerly universal in the tribe. It is said, however, that the intention was not to flatten the head but merely to keep the child's head in place and prevent its wiggling and thus hurting it, especially when the mother was carrying it. The strings were never pulled tighter than was necessary to accomplish this object. Some claim that the pad was tightened only a very little, or not used at all, when the baby was on the board in the lodge; but when the mother was traveling with the baby awake the pad was tightened a little; and when the baby slept, if she was still traveling, it was tightened more. The use of these pads, it is thought by some of the Indians, caused a slight flattening of the head behind,

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<sup>300</sup> Ottawa Mus., Thompson specimens 147, 149, 150, 151.

while other Indians consider that the shape of the head was not altered by them, excepting perhaps a very little in exceptional cases, probably when mothers used the pads in a careless manner. It is said that long ago the Nez Percé also used pads like those of the Coeur d'Alène for holding the heads of infants steady; but whereas the Coeur d'Alène never tightened these pads more than was necessary, many of the Nez Percé tightened them intentionally to flatten the heads of infants. Infants' heads were thus flattened intentionally by many families of all the Shahaptian tribes, the pad-strings being pulled very tight. The custom of fostering children was fairly common.

WHIPPING ORDEAL.—It is said that a long time ago, when all the Indians were living in the ancient way, there was a whipping ordeal each winter, through which nearly all the children and young people had to pass. In many places it was held several times during the winter. This ordeal was thought to make the children hardy and good. It seems to have been the same kind of whipping ordeal as was practiced by the Thompson<sup>301</sup> until recently.

PUBERTY.—There were a number of ceremonies similar to those of the Thompson at the time of attaining of puberty of both sexes. They formed part of a course of training undergone at this time of life by adolescents, that they might become healthy, strong, industrious, and capable men and women. Most of these ceremonies, especially those of girls, have not been practiced for so long that very little of them is remembered now. When the Coeur d'Alène turned buffalo hunters most of them dropped out of use. It appears, however, that they were similar in extent and character to the ceremonies practiced by the Thompson. Possibly there were not quite as many restrictions, and the Coeur d'Alène resembled in this respect, perhaps, the Shuswap and Okanagon. However, according to Coeur d'Alène informants, tradition says that there were a great many, although none of them could tell much about them. Girls, on attaining the age of puberty, lived apart in small tents made of brush and mats, where they were attended and instructed by their mother, aunt, or grandmother. Their hair was done up in a knot near each ear; and they wore scratchers and combs on a string around the neck. During the training period, which lasted several months, they had to practice various kinds of work to make themselves efficient, and to follow certain customs to insure for themselves good luck in after years. They had to bathe and sweat to make their bodies clean and strong.

Boys at puberty had their hair tied in a knot at the back of the head. The parents generally arranged their children's hair during their training period, as the children were not supposed to touch the hair. The reason given for the tying of the hair in knots by both sexes at this period was to assure its growth, so that the hair would

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<sup>301</sup> *a*, pp. 309, 310.

be thick and long in after years. The period of training for boys was longer than that for girls, and appears to have been conducted in the same manner as among the Thompson and Nez Percé.<sup>302</sup> The importance to boys of gaining a guardian spirit was much greater than to girls; and it seems that training was always continued by boys until this object was attained. All persons training, whether male or female, obtained "power" or "mystery" in some degree. A person who went through no training would not be efficient in physique or in skill. Neither would one be as hardy, energetic, and industrious as a person who had trained even a little. Considerable importance was attached to mental training in certain ways. To attain success, persons had to concentrate the mind as much as possible on the object of their desire. They tried thus to obtain a vision. Emotions, such as anger, disappointment, sexual desires, should be suppressed. The youth should enter into a state of calm and expectancy. With the guardian spirit the novice generally obtained a song. Some obtained more than one song from their guardian spirits. Sometimes the song was heard and no one seen. Some obtained several guardian spirits and several songs, generally one from each. Some men could get *en rapport* with their guardian spirits at will, and were informed by the latter of things that would happen. Some could tell what people said about them behind their backs, and they could read people's thoughts and judge their intentions. Many of these men became shamans.

The old people made boys and girls bathe in cold water every day. This was to make them strong, hardy, and able to endure cold. It was also believed to make them healthy, immune from colds and sickness, and able to recover quickly from wounds.

**TATTOOING.**—The first tattooing on boys and girls was generally done at the age of puberty. Some of the designs tattooed, especially those on boys, were records of their dreams or visions in the same way as were some face and body paintings. Some believed that they had a protective influence, or formed a sympathetic bond between the individual and his guardian. Some marks were pictures of the guardian spirit himself (p. 193).

**SCARIFICATION.**—Scarification was practiced by all young men during their training at puberty. Cuts were generally made on the arms and legs, and sometimes on the insteps, and backs of the hands and fingers. Some men training to be shamans or warriors cut their bodies as well. Sometimes a long slash followed each rib; or, again, many short horizontal cuts, occasionally close together, one above the other, were made on the upper arms or elsewhere. Some youths rubbed charcoal, or white or red ochre, into the wounds, which, when they healed, were similar to tattoo marks. Others who did not do

<sup>302</sup> a, pp. 317-321, b, 247-250.

this, in after years, whenever clothes were not worn on these parts, painted all their visible scars red. Burning with live coals taken from the fire was also practiced, as well as burning with dry stalks of tule, which were lighted and allowed to burn out on the skin. Cutting is said to have been intended to let out bad blood, to make the person healthy, light-footed, active, and to prevent laziness. It also helped to inure the youth to the sight of his own blood; so that in case he was afterwards wounded, he would not faint or be alarmed. It helped him to be brave. Burning was for the purpose of enabling him to stand severe pain without flinching. Young men generally used their sweat house as a sleeping place when training in the mountains. Sweat houses were generally individual, as among the Thompson.

**MARRIAGE.**—There were no restrictions on marriage except between blood relatives. Parents (or families) tried to select husbands and wives for their children from families of good standing. Good or distinguished men, and capable, industrious women had no difficulty in obtaining the best wives and husbands. Friendship was cemented between families and feuds and quarrels sometimes settled by intermarriage. In the same way intertribal peace was made and sustained by intermarriages between the families of the chiefs. The forms of marriage were similar to those of the Thompson.<sup>303</sup>

Marriage by proposal of the man's family, followed by gifts of goods given by them to the woman's family.

Marriage by betrothal, the girl's family taking the initiative, and betrothing their daughter to the man. When she came of age, or on a prearranged date, she became his wife with or without presents from his side.

Marriage by touching or direct choosing, and proposal by the man himself, as in the marriage dance, the man proposing to the girl by touching her or dancing with her. (See p. 191.) The union was consummated with or without presents from his side. Only rarely did the girl's side give any presents.

This occurred occasionally, however, in what may be called a fourth form of marriage. A family selected a distinguished or wealthy man. Unknown to him, they sent their daughter to marry him and gave her presents for him, to make her all the more acceptable. Her parents considered it an honor to have the man as a son-in-law and to have her family connected with his. The man might refuse to take the girl to wife, but this very seldom happened.

Marriage by elopement was very rare.

Marriage gifts were not kept by the parents or persons receiving them, but were at once given to the other members of the family, who distributed them among themselves. Skins and robes were the

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<sup>303</sup> a, pp. 321-325.



most common marriage presents. As far as remembered, there was no conveyance ceremony, whereby the bride was conducted back on a visit to her people, and presents interchanged.<sup>304</sup> As a rule, there was little or no feasting at marriages. In recent years it is customary for both the bridegroom's and the bride's people to give feasts to each other. Sometimes only the man's people give a feast. Friends now give presents to the newly married couple; but this is considered a modern custom adopted from the whites.

Serenading of girls by song or on flutes and whistles was common. Marriage was seldom or never proposed in this way, however, the serenading being done as a matter of courting, prompted by sexual desires.

At least two common methods of proposing marriage were in vogue. Marriageable girls generally slept on straw or hay near the fire in the center of the lodge. When a girl saw a lad approach her, she stood up near her bed and turned her back to him. He sat down on the straw and talked with her, finally telling her he wished to marry her. She never answered. Then he turned over some of the straw of her bed and began to burn it. She put her foot backward and stamped out the fire without looking at him or speaking to him. He squeezed her foot or tramped on her toes. If she said, "Why do you tramp on my foot?" he knew he was accepted, and left. Again in a day or two he visited her; and if she looked at him this time, it was a sign that he was certainly accepted and that she had not changed her mind. He then told his parents, and they and his other relatives began to save up property for the marriage gift. If the girl did not talk to the man, or look at him, or put her foot out, or attempt to stamp out the fire, then the man knew that he was refused.

Another custom was similar to a Thompson method of proposal.<sup>305</sup> The lad went at night stealthily and sat on the edge of the girl's blanket as she lay in bed. If she tried to pull it away and said nothing during the time he remained there, it meant that she refused him. If she made no attempt to pull the blanket away, he felt encouraged, and continued to sit there. He never spoke. At last she asked him why he sat on her blanket. He then knew he was accepted, and told his parents. As far as remembered, there was no custom of tapping a girl with an arrow, thus proposing marriage to her.<sup>306</sup>

On the death of a woman's husband she became the wife of his brother, who now became responsible for the subsistence of herself and children. For this reason all the belongings of the deceased were taken by his brother and divided among his family, leaving to the widow only her own personal property.

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<sup>304</sup> See Thompson, *a*, p. 323.

<sup>306</sup> See Thompson, *a*, p. 324.

<sup>305</sup> *a*, p. 324.

If she refused her husband's brother, who was obliged to marry and sustain her, his responsibilities ceased, and she was no longer considered part of her late husband's family. She had to leave, and could marry whom she chose. Her children were taken by her husband's brother or his relatives. Infants remained with the mother until old enough not to need her. Then she had to relinquish the child to its father's family.

Separation between husband and wife was uncommon. Elopements occasionally occurred. In this case the husband had the right to kill his wife and her paramour.

Women lived apart from their husbands during menstruation, and appear to have been at these times under restrictions similar to those obtaining among the Thompson.<sup>307</sup>

**MOTHER-IN-LAW TABOO.**—It seems that formerly there was a strict taboo forbidding a man to speak to his mother-in-law; also in many families women did not speak to their fathers-in-law. These customs are said to have been in vogue long before the tribe commenced to go to the plains, and were not adopted from any eastern tribes. The restrictions regarding speaking obscene conversation before relatives were similar to those of the Arapaho.

**BURIAL.**—The Coeur d'Alène disposed of their dead by burial in the earth or in rock slides. Corpses were never cremated or deposited on scaffolds or in trees. People were buried in the nearest suitable place. Only rarely did people bring the body from a distance and bury it beside relatives' graves or in family or communal burial grounds. Only bodies of chiefs or prominent men were sometimes thus treated. An instance of this was that of a great hunter called *Celceltô'ls*, belonging to Mission. He was accustomed to hunt far to the southeast of St. Joe River, in the Clearwater country, at the extreme end of the Coeur d'Alène hunting grounds. He died in these distant mountains after 10 days' illness. He was a tall, heavy man, and the people tried to carry his body home through the long stretch of rough mountainous country. Horse after horse gave out, and at last they had to bury him in the mountains. Bodies of warriors who died on distant expeditions or in enemy country were not burned, as was often done by the Thompson and Shuswap. The body was buried in some hidden place, or under the camp fire of the lodge in which the man had lived. A fire was built over it to destroy the signs of burial. The camp was then struck; and many people and horses passed over the grave, treading the ashes of the fire as well as those of other fires in the camp. This rendered it impossible for any enemy to detect the burial. Burial under the camp fire rendered it much less likely that the body would be discovered and dug up by wolves. Sometimes a person was buried and a fire built over the grave.

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<sup>307</sup> a, pp. 326-327.

Other similar fires were made near by to give the impression that a party had camped there. When the fires were out the party rode or drove their horses over the fire places. These methods of burial were always employed by parties hunting on the plains.

When a person died the body was tied up with cords, knees to chin, and wrapped in a robe. It was seldom washed or painted before burial. Occasionally the face was painted red, and very rarely also the body or parts of the body. If the deceased had been fairly wealthy or had wealthy relatives the body was wrapped in a good robe. Sometimes the body was dressed and further wrapped in a good robe. Poor people simply wrapped the body in an old robe, in poor skins, or in mats.

As soon as a person died a messenger was sent to announce the death to the neighbors and to all relatives living at a distance. The corpse was prepared for burial as soon as death was certain. A pole was placed over the body and sewed inside the robe, the ends protruding. This was used for carrying the corpse. It was long enough so that one or several men at each end could bear it on their shoulders. When all was ready the corpse was taken outside and suspended from the branch of a tree until all the relatives had arrived and the people had gathered for the funeral. When all had come it was taken down and carried to the grave. Before the body was deposited in the grave the latter was swept out with a branch of rosebush, as among the Thompson.<sup>302</sup> If this was not done it was believed that some one else would die soon. The corpse was put into the grave on its side, or occasionally in a sitting posture. It seems that it was not placed facing in a particular direction. Very little of the dead person's property was buried with him; in many cases merely the robe he was wrapped in. Occasionally a few small things, including food, were put into the grave by mourners. Long ago most burials were in rock slides, and those in the earth had heaps of rocks put over the grave. Graves were circular and about 3 feet in depth above the corpse. Slender poles were also commonly erected at graves—generally single poles, or two poles, including the pole the corpse had been carried with. Sometimes three poles were erected over the grave like the foundation poles of a tent. Goods consisting of some of the property of the deceased, and presents given by friends at the funeral, such as blankets, were suspended from them. Often small quantities of food and small presents were placed on the grave. In the case of women, roots and berries—fresh ones, if in the proper season—were placed at the grave immediately after burial. This was supposed to satisfy the spirit of the deceased and prevent her from visiting the berry and root patches, thereby spoiling the crops or interfering with the diggers and pickers. Often one or more horses

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<sup>302</sup> *a*, p. 328.

belonging to the deceased or his relatives were killed and the skins hung at the grave. If the skins were required, then only the hoofs were hung there. Canoes, like other pieces of property, were sometimes deposited at the grave. No tents of mats or skins, wooden boxes, fences or figures were erected over graves. Grave poles were always peeled, and painted red. Occasionally only parts of them were painted. None of them were carved in any way. It seems that there was no custom of rebundling by taking up the bones some years afterwards and rewrapping them, as among the Thompson.<sup>309</sup>

Human bones, when found, were placed in branches of trees by the person finding them, or occasionally buried where found. Hunters, when they found animal's skulls, often placed them on the branches of trees.

Neighbors who came to funerals gave small presents, such as food, to the bereaved relatives to help them and to show sympathy and pity. Some of the presents went with the dead, being deposited at the grave; the food was used to feed people who attended the funeral. If the relatives themselves fed all the people they might run short of food supplies if they were poor people. These presents were absolute, and no value was returned. Good-hearted neighbors, who volunteered their services without payment, cooked and served food for the funeral assembly. After the burial the property of the deceased was divided up among his relatives as they saw fit. At a later date it became a custom for the relatives to set aside part of the property of the deceased to be given to the people who attended the funeral, partly to "stay their grief" and partly as a present for their kindly offices. The people divided the property received in whatever way they saw fit.

After a person's death no miniature deer were made and shot at, as among the Thompson,<sup>310</sup> but strings of deer hoofs were suspended across the lodge, and shaken from time to time. It seems that this was to frighten away the ghost. The lodge was fumigated by burning leaves, grass, and roots in the fire, making a dense smoke. The people, especially relatives, fumigated themselves several times by standing in the thick of the smoke as long as they could endure it. The principal plants used in fumigation were sweet grass (*Heirochla odorata*) and an unidentified plant called *mare'metstatst*(?). In many cases the lodge in which an adult person died was burned and a new one erected in another place. Sometimes the lodge was taken down after being fumigated, shifted to another place, and fumigated again after being put up.

Persons burying or handling the corpse had to fast for several days and bathe themselves in running water.

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<sup>309</sup> a, p. 330.

<sup>310</sup> a, p. 332.

The men who dug the grave, the people who arranged the corpse for burial, and the men who carried it to the grave received no payment from the relatives of the deceased. They were generally neighbors who volunteered their services to help the bereaved. There was no paying-off ceremony,<sup>311</sup> as no one received payment for any services rendered in connection with the dead. At the present day there is a regular gravedigger, as among the whites, who looks after all the funeral arrangements. Before and after the burial, most of the assembled women joined the sorrowing relatives in crying and in singing mourning songs, which were *ex tempore* and all of the same tune. As among the Thompson, orphans were made to jump over the corpse of their deceased parents, and, if they were too young to do this, they were lifted over.

On the death of a father, mother, son, daughter, husband, or wife, the hair of mourners was cut straight across the neck by relatives. Widows and widowers usually cut their hair a little shorter than parents, and the hair was always cut shorter for adults than for children. The hair cut off was burned. The tails of horses belonging to a man who had died were often docked. It seems that no thongs were worn around the neck, ankles, and wrists by widows and others, as was the custom among the Thompson.<sup>312</sup> Rose twigs were worn on the body by widows and other mourners in the same way as fir boughs and rose twigs among the Thompson.<sup>313</sup> Widows and widowers slept on beds of brush in which were placed a few rose branches. They washed themselves every day for a certain time with water in which rose branches had been boiled. They also bathed in running water morning and evening. They did not eat meat of any kind for four days; and during the whole period of mourning they ate only common food, and that sparingly. They should not eat much at a time, nor eat food of which they were particularly fond. They should turn their thoughts away from any delicacy, and restrain their appetites.

Widows were not allowed to pick berries, for by so doing the crop would be spoiled. The belief was that the ghost might follow the widow to the berry patches and harm other pickers, and blast the crop.

The period of mourning and purification for widows and others appears to have been generally shorter than among the Thompson, but it varied with different individuals.

The burial customs of the Nez Percé are said to have resembled very much those of the Coeur d'Aléne; but there were some differences. For instance, among the Nez Percé the faces of corpses were

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<sup>311</sup> See Thompson, *a*, pp. 334-335.

<sup>313</sup> *a*, p. 333.

<sup>312</sup> *a*, p. 333.

nearly always painted, and they clothed and decked out the corpse much more than was done by the Coeur d'Alêne. They also buried much more property in the grave.

## XII. RELIGION AND CEREMONIES

CONCEPTION OF THE WORLD.—Coeur d'Alêne beliefs regarding the world were very similar to those held by the Thompson.<sup>314</sup> Some people thought the earth was surrounded by water on all sides, while others thought there was water on two sides only. According to some, the edges of the earth were mountainous all round, or on two sides only according to others. Vague ideas were held regarding the shape and origin of the earth. Some thought it was oblong, and others that it was circular; while still others held no definite ideas on the subject. Some people believed there was only water before the earth was made. Many considered the earth as animate, a transformed woman. She was sometimes spoken of figuratively as "mother," and the sun as "father." The earth was given its final form by the culture hero Coyote in mythological times. At the time the Indians were few, and they had a severe struggle to exist, owing partly to their own ignorance of arts, adverse physical conditions on the earth, and the prevalence of monsters who preyed on them. Coyote destroyed or transformed the monsters and changed the face of the country to benefit the Indians. He also taught them many arts, such as the use of fire. He also introduced salmon into many parts of the country, told the Indians to eat them, and showed them how to capture and cook them.

In mythological days the climate was different from the present. According to some, there were much wind and heat. According to others, there was also much thunder. Again, others say there was no rain and snow; it was hot, dry, and windy, but there was little or no thunder. One tale relates how the wind once blew much stronger than it does now, and often hurt people. Coyote made snares. At last, by making an exceedingly small one, he captured the wind and broke its power. He made it promise never to blow again so strongly as to hurt people.<sup>315</sup>

A belief was held that hot and cold winds (or heat and cold) were made by people who kept these winds in bags. The hot-wind people lived in the far south and the cold-wind people in the far north. When the former felt cold they squeezed their bag and a warm wind rushed over the earth northward. When the cold-wind people be-

<sup>314</sup> *a*, pp. 337-342. In regard to the deity *Amo'tqen En*, see p. 184.

<sup>315</sup> See for this and the following Folk tales of Salishan and Shahaptian tribes: *Memoirs American Folk-Lore Society*, vol. 11, pp. 119, et seq.

came too warm they in turn squeezed their bag and a cold wind rushed southward. The Indians who lived in the country between were thus troubled with successive hot and cold winds.

There is another tale which relates that Heat and Cold were brothers, the former good-looking, and the latter ugly. Once when his brother was away, Cold got angry at the people and said he would kill them. He made such cold weather that the people began to freeze to death. Heat, hearing that the people were dying and that many were already dead, hurried home to save them. He made the weather so hot that he killed his brother. Since then heat can always kill cold, and ice and frosts and snow melt away and die. As long as the two brothers lived together at home the qualities of the one counterbalanced those of the other, so that the weather was always temperate and there was no danger to the people; but if one went away then the remaining one had the power to cause extreme heat or extreme cold.

Another version of this tale is that the two brothers lived part of the time with the people; and it was then always fair, temperate weather, because the influence of the one counteracted that of the other. At a certain season, however, Cold went away on a journey; and as Heat alone remained, his influence was much felt, and there was then summer. At another season Heat always left for a journey, and Cold remained, whose influence became great, and the people had winter. Cold was of an erratic, ugly disposition; and one time when his brother was away he became very angry at the people and caused extremely cold weather. Many froze to death; and all would have perished had not Heat rushed back, as warm weather now sometimes does in the spring after a protracted winter, to save the people, and made the weather so hot that he killed his brother. Since then cold has not had the power to kill people except very rarely, when they were foolish; nor has extreme cold had the power to remain longer than a few days at a time.

I did not hear of any beliefs relating to the origin of light and darkness, clouds and fog, although I inquired for them. It seems, however, according to some tales, that the world at one time was always dark, and that people had to grope about. To make things better, they thought they should have a sun and a moon. They chose Robin to be the sun, and he went up into the sky. He was sometimes so hot that the people were nearly burned up, and had to submerge themselves in the water during his day's course in the sky. Those who could not reach water died. The people deposed Robin and put in his place a one-eyed man called *Sentaqo'tsElts xä te'ä' xqew*, son of *Tc'äxqen* the one-eyed one. Since then it has never been too hot.

When Coyote had finished his work on earth the people chose him to go up into the sky and be the moon. He served as moon for some time; but at last he became unsatisfactory, because he always divulged what he saw on earth, and many people were ashamed, for they did not like their deeds to be known. When Coyote had gone to be the moon the old man or Chief *Sporwan̄'teɛlt* traveled around on earth, inspected Coyote's work, and set right many things that Coyote had left undone. This Old-Man Chief is said to have been altogether helpful to mankind. My informants said that he was for the Indians what Christ was for the whites. When he had finished his work he went up into the sky and became the moon in place of Coyote. Some think that he sent Coyote to be the moon after Coyote had finished his work as transformer, but later, seeing that Coyote was not quite satisfactory, he himself took his place. Afterwards a toad jumped on the face of the moon and remained there. Before this the moon was very bright—equal in brightness to the sun.

A moon halo is called "the moon makes a house"; and a sun halo, "the sun makes a house." Eclipses of the moon are said to be caused by the moon covering his face or eyes.

Once the sun killed some of Coyote's children, and in revenge Coyote killed the sun and cut out his heart. At once the earth became totally dark. Coyote tried to go home in the dark, carrying the heart; but it always got in his way, so he trod on it. Seeing that he could make no progress, he put the heart on the sun's body; and at once the sun came to life, and there was bright light as before.

The rainbow is called "Coyote's bow."

Thunder is the noise made by the large wings of the Thunder Man who lives on the high mountains. At one time he used to kill people by throwing stones like large arrow stones. A man went to his house and tore up his dress, which was made of feathers. After this Thunder Man could not kill people and merely thundered when it was going to rain.

Rain and snow are made by the "chief above" or "Sky Chief," who showers them on the earth as required. Earthquake is simply called "the earth shakes"; and it seems that no cause is ascribed for it, except that some people think the "earth mother" is moving.

Most stars are considered to have been transformed people of the mythic period.

The morning star is called "bringing the day"; the evening star *henc'eqe'naxwun* (meaning uncertain). The Milky Way is called "dusty road."

The following story is told regarding the constellation Great Bear. There were three brothers who had a brother-in-law, a grizzly bear. The youngest brother loved their brother-in-law, but the two elder ones



disliked him. One day when they were out hunting they told their youngest brother they would kill the bear. He would not agree to this, and followed him, who had already gone hunting, to warn him. The other two brothers started in pursuit and overtook them. They were about to shoot at the bear when the youngest brother called out, "Brother-in-law, they are going to kill you!" As they were in the act of shooting all were transformed into stars, and may now be seen as the four stars forming the corners of the Dipper. Some people say that the four stars in the square are the bear and the stars forming the handle of the Dipper are the three brothers.

It seems that the Pleiades are called "Cluster." They are said to have been a group of people. To the side is a small star, and behind it a large red star. The small star is called "Coyote's child"; and the larger one, "Badger." The latter stole Coyote's favorite child. Coyote pursued them. When he had nearly overtaken them they were transformed into stars. It seems that some people include the Pleiades in one name with these stars.

A group of stars forming a circle, with one to the side (probably Auriga), are said to have been a group of women cooking camas in a pit in the ground. The roots were nearly cooked, and the women sat around it, ready to take out the roots. Skunk went there with the intention of spoiling the cooking.<sup>316</sup> As the women quite encircled the oven, he could not get near, so he sat down a little distance off to await a chance. As all were in this position they were transformed into stars. The Thompson call what seems to be the same group of stars "cooking in an earth oven," and say that these stars were women cooking.

Another group of stars is called "the canoe." Five men were making a canoe. A man was working at each end and one on each side. The fifth one was standing between one of the side and end men. As they were in this position they were transformed. The Thompson call the stars of Orion "bark canoe"; and another group of stars, "canoe with men in it."

Another group of stars is claimed to have been a lake, with a bird called *t'äq'tul* ("snow goose"?) on it. Some hunters shot it, and as it died it spread out its wings over the water. All were transformed, including the bird with its wings outspread. This is probably the same group as that called "lake with swan on it" by the Thompson, also called by them "lake" or "swan."

A group of stars consisting of three in a line is said to have been three persons running a race. These are probably the same stars as

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<sup>316</sup> See taboo against men approaching an oven when the roots were cooking (p. 185).

those called "following each other" by the Thompson. Another group of two stars is called "racers" or "runners" by the Thompson, who say they were men running a race.

DWARFS.—The Coeur d'Alêne believe in a race of dwarfs who inhabit the forests and live in trees which they go up and down with great celerity. People have watched them ascending and descending trees. They always go head first. They are formed just like people, but are very small. They appear to be all red, and most people think they dress in red. They carry their babies upside down on board carriers. People whom they approach lose their senses. Sometimes when they come out of their stupor they find themselves leaning against a tree upside down. Sometimes they missed parts of their clothing and, on looking around, would see them hanging from the ends of branches high up in the trees. These dwarfs were fond of playing tricks. They took away food and hid it, and occasionally took whole bags of camas and fastened them to the ends of branches up in trees. They never kept any articles they had taken, and never killed or hurt people.

Another kind of dwarfs, often called by the same name as the first, but differing from them in appearance and disposition, are of the size of small boys. They live in cliffs and rocky places up in the mountains and were formerly numerous in parts of the Coeur d'Alêne and Nez Percé countries. They dress in squirrel skins and use small bows and arrows. They often shout when they see people, and in this way have often led hunters astray. One was found dead by a party of Nez Percé about 1895. They heard some one scream and, going in that direction, found the body.

TREE MEN.—Other beings seen formerly in the Coeur d'Alêne and Spokane countries are called *stc'emqestci'nt*. They have a strong odor, dress in buffalo skins, and have the power of transforming themselves into trees and bushes. Once a number of people were dancing in the Spokane country near a small lake close to Cheney. Suddenly they smelled something, and one of them exclaimed, "That is *stc'emqestci'nt*!" They looked around and saw four men standing a little apart from one another and wearing around their shoulders buffalo skins, the hair side out. Immediately they disappeared and four bushes remained where they had stood. These four bushes could still be seen lately. Possibly the power of the people's glance killed them or prevented them from transforming themselves back into men. However, there are trees which have been in one spot a very long time, but they are *stc'emqestci'nt* just the same, although they seem merely trees to people looking at them. In other places trees and bushes change places or are sometimes absent and sometimes present. Often when these beings were seen and people

approached them they disappeared, and only trees or bushes could be found.

GIANTS.—Giants were formerly common. They have a very strong odor, like the smell of burning horn. Their faces are black, some say painted black, and they are taller than the highest tents. When they saw a single tent or lodge in a place they would crawl up to it and look down the smoke hole. If a number of lodges were together they were not so bold. Most of them dress in bearskins, but some use clothes of other kinds of skins with the hair on. They live in caves in the rocks. They have a great liking for fish, and often stole fish out of the people's traps. Otherwise they did not bother people much. They are said to have stolen women occasionally from other Indian tribes, but there is no tradition of their having done this in the Coeur d'Alène country.

LAND AND WATER MYSTERIES.—There were many "land mysteries" and "water mysteries." In character they were the same as those inhabiting parts of the Thompson, Shuswap, and Lillooet countries.<sup>317</sup> The locations of these mysterious powers were usually in mountain peaks, waterfalls, lakes, and sometimes in trees. Offerings were made to propitiate them or to obtain their help. Occasionally these powers showed themselves, and when they did so it portended evil. The "mystery" of each locality had a well-defined form of its own, no two being alike. In one lake the form of "mystery" seen was half mammal and half human; in another lake, half human and half fish; in another place it was entirely of mammal form, being like a huge buffalo; and in another place it was like a huge fish. As a rule, "water mysteries" arose out of the waters of lakes, and were rarely seen on land. People who saw them died shortly afterwards.

The "mysteries" of some lakes have underground passages leading from under the water to holes in the tops of mountains.

Once a long time ago some women were gathering service berries at a place called *Golxē' Estem(?)*<sup>b</sup>, a long way up the St. Joe River. Among them were four sisters. One day when it was very hot the women said they would swim in the river. When they were swimming one of the sisters saw in the deep water what she thought was a large fish. She proposed to swim out to it, and said, "Let us see who can reach it first!" When the four sisters reached the spot where the fish was, it went down, and immediately all the sisters sank and were seen no more. The other women who were watching said, "That was no fish, it was the tongue of a water mystery." Near this place is a mountain with a little "mystery" lake on the top

<sup>317</sup> *a*, pp. 338, 339, 344, 345; *e*, pp. 598, 599; *k*, p. 276.

<sup>b</sup> One of the many "lost lakes" in Coeur d'Alène folklore.—G. Reichard.

called *Tvxē'stem(?)*.<sup>i</sup> Shortly after the drowning of the sisters some people were up on this mountain and discovered the hair of the sisters on the shores of this lake. They reported this to the parents of the girls, who went there and took the hair away. After this people knew that there was a water passage between the river and the lake on the top of the mountain.

Near the head of St. Joe River is a lake called *Hingā'mEMEN* ("swallowing"). When people look at it sticks jump out of the water. The Indians are afraid of this lake and never go near it. Once two brothers were traveling on a ridge above this lake. The elder brother said to the younger, "Go and bring me some water from the lake, I am very thirsty." The younger brother said, "I am afraid. No one ever goes near this lake." The elder answered, "You must go, for I shall die of thirst. You must bring me some water." The lad hurried to the lake, drew a little water quickly, and then ran back up the hill. The water followed him uphill. He hurried to his brother, put down the water bucket beside him, and then ran down the opposite side of the hill. The elder brother watched the water rise to the top of the hill, then it stopped a moment, and disappeared down the hill, catching his brother halfway down. Then it rose to the top of the hill again, and receded to the lake. When all was quiet he went over and found his brother dead. He had evidently been drowned by the water when it caught up with him.

In Coeur d'Aléne Lake there is a "mystery" in the shape of a water buffalo. Once a man was traveling in a canoe along the edge of the lake. At one place a bush grew alone near the water. As he was passing this place in the dark, all at once his canoe stood still, and, paddle as he might, he could not make it move. He could see nothing in the dark and began to feel along the sides of the canoe. He felt a horn holding the canoe on each side and then knew it was the water buffalo. He gave it a present and begged it not to harm him. Then the canoe was allowed to proceed. After this, people, when passing this place in canoes, always propitiated the "mystery" by praying to it not to harm them and not to make the lake windy. At the same time they deposited offerings, which they put down near the bush.

There were also "mysteries" at other parts of Coeur d'Aléne Lake to which the Indians made payments and asked for good weather on the lake and good luck in fishing.

It seems that people did not paint their faces specially when they passed by mystery lakes in the mountains, as the Thompson often did. At some of the high summits where trails pass and in passes

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<sup>i</sup> Now Grizzly Elk.—G. Reichard.

in the mountains in the eastern part of the Coeur d'Alène territory, each passer-by puts down a stone. Thus at some of these places large heaps of stones have accumulated. These places were abodes of "land mysteries." Indians who neglected to do this were generally visited by bad luck in their undertakings or by sickness.

**THE SOUL.**—I obtained very little information about beliefs regarding the soul and the future state. My informants said that long ago the Indians had no knowledge of what the whites call the "soul." Besides the body, people knew of nothing else belonging to a person except a shade, which they believed survived after death. Some thought there were two of these, one of which remained near the body, the other going off to some place, they knew not where, to a land where all shades finally lived together. Many, however, believed only in the one shade, which became a ghost after death. It remained near the grave, or wandered about the places where the person had been in his lifetime. After a greater or lesser length of time it disappeared altogether and no one knew where it went.

Ghosts of drowned people haunted the water for a time. Ghosts of persons who had been dead but a short time liked to visit people. If repelled, they gave up their attempts, and afterwards appeared only in lonely places and near graves. Sometimes they harmed people and cast sickness on them. Some people's ghosts resembled them when alive, while others differed slightly. Some people believed that ghosts were just like people, but that they had no heads.

It is said that in the earliest time people did not die. After a time death was introduced into the world by a woman, and since then all people have died, and their flesh has rotted, leaving only bones. After a time even these decay and disappear. It seems that there was no belief that Coyote or others brought back the dead.

Nowadays the Christian idea of a reunion of the dead is held by some, but the Indians say that this has been learned from the priests. The form of the belief held seems to show that it is modern. I learned of no belief regarding animal underworlds or spirit worlds. There was no belief that infants, children, or other people were reborn.

**PRAYERS AND OBSERVANCES.**—The prayers and observances of the Coeur d'Alène were of the same character as those of the Thompson.<sup>318</sup> The Chinook wind was supplicated for mild weather. People prayed to the rain to come or to stop, as it best suited their interests. They had a rain song. The snow was supplicated by hunters who wished it for facilitating the tracking or procuring of game. Dancing and singing often accompanied prayers and supplications. The rain and all powers were called "chief" when addressed in prayer. Pray-

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<sup>318</sup> *a*, pp. 344-350.

ers to land and water mysteries, and offerings of payments made to them, have already been mentioned.

Prayers were offered by some families once or twice each day, generally in the morning when rising, and sometimes also at night on retiring, by one or two of the elders of the family, and were addressed to *Amo'tqen*, or sometimes also to the day and to the sun.

Most chiefs, elders, heads of families, and elder brothers prayed and admonished and instructed more or less regularly the children and others regarding the proper conduct of life. Elderly women did the same.

It seems that the chief deity prayed to was *Amo'tqen*,<sup>319</sup> who is said to live on the highest mountains, whence he looked out over all the earth. He could see all lands, and understand what was required for the benefit of the Indians. He was supplicated to pity the people and to attend to their necessities. He was asked particularly for plenty of game, berries, and roots.

Before hunting, hunters often fasted and sweat-bathed; and in the sweat house they prayed to the animal they were to hunt and to other powers, such as the spirit of the sweathouse, that they might be successful in procuring game. When animals were killed they were often thanked.

Much respect was paid to bear and beaver, as these animals were thought to know, see and hear everything. They knew what people said and thought about them. If a man intended to hunt them they knew it. They allowed themselves to be killed only out of pity for the people. Skulls of bear and beaver were therefore always elevated on poles or put on trees. When a man killed a bear he blackened his face and sang the "Bear song," which had an air of its own and resembled a mourning song. He praised the bear in the song for giving himself up, and at the same time bewailed his death. This custom has not been practiced for about three generations.

It seems that there was no first-salmon ceremony and no ceremony when the first tobacco of the season was smoked or gathered. This may be accounted for by the fact that neither salmon nor tobacco were indigenous to the Coeur d'Alène country.

In contrast to the Coast Indians, it appears that there were no ceremonies regarding the capture or eating of any kind of fish among the interior Salish tribes, with the exception of the Lillooet and to a less extent of the Lower Thompson. It also seems that none of the tribes had any special ceremonies when eating game or flesh of any kind of animal.

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<sup>319</sup> See Thompson, *A'moten*, a, p. 345.

As among the Thompson, men, especially unmarried men, were not allowed to come near the earth ovens when the women were cooking certain kinds of roots.<sup>320</sup> Among the Coeur d'Alène this referred more particularly to camas. The roots would spoil or would not cook properly if a man came near. As far as I could learn, there was no belief regarding lizards following people.<sup>321</sup>

Four was the common mystic number among the Coeur d'Alène as among the Thompson and other interior Salish tribes.

DANCES AND CEREMONIES, FIRST-FRUITS CEREMONY, OR HARVEST DANCE.—The Coeur d'Alène, like other interior Salish tribes, had first-fruits or harvest ceremonies. When the first important berries, such as service berries, were gathered, before any were eaten the chief of each band who had supervision over the berry and root crops of his territory, called his people together, and in their presence offered a long prayer to *Amo'tqen*, thanking him for the berry crop, and telling him that his children were now about to eat them. The chief then held out on a tray or mat, or in a basket, an offering of the berries in season to *Amo'tqen*. The direction of the chief's prayer and offering was generally toward the highest mountain in view. After this the people often danced for a short time, and after that they had a feast of the berries. Exactly the same kind of ceremony was performed when the first important root crop was gathered, such as camas. If the people were in a large camp and belonged to several bands the chief of the camp made the offering. These ceremonies have been out of use for a very long time.

PRAYING DANCE.—A dance considered distinct from the sun dance, and called by a different name, was almost the same as the common religious or praying dance of the Thompson, Shuswap, and Lillooet.<sup>322</sup> The manner of dancing in circles, and the steps, motions, and signs made in the dance, appear to have been just the same as among the Thompson. The deity prayed to was *Amo'tqen*, who was addressed directly as *Amo'tqen* or *Amū'tep*, and also as "chief."

The "marrying dance" was not associated with this dance, as was generally the case among the Thompson and Shuswap, but instead was attached to the scalp dance. It seems doubtful if the praying dance among the Coeur d'Alène had any connection with beliefs in the dead, the return of souls and of Coyote, as it seems to have had in a number of tribes, such as the Lillooet, Shuswap, Thompson, and Kutenai. However, very little is now remembered about the dance. The connection with the dead seems to have been less pronounced among the Thompson than among the Shuswap and Lillooet.

<sup>320</sup> *a*, p. 349.

<sup>321</sup> See Thompson, *a*, p. 348; Shuswap, *e*, pp. 619, 620.

<sup>322</sup> *a*, pp. 351-354; *e*, pp. 603-605; *k*, pp. 283-285.

Elements of what may have been sun worship appear to be connected with the dance in all the tribes. The Coeur d'Alène claim that long ago the dance was generally held but once a year, about the time of the winter solstice or a little later. Some years it was performed oftener and at irregular intervals. No musical instruments were used.

**SUN DANCE AND SUN WORSHIP.**—The sun was much worshipped. The people prayed to him constantly for good health, good luck, success in undertakings, and for protection. After *Amo'tqEn*, the sun was probably the deity prayed to most. Symbols of the sun were much used in early times as designs in embroidery and in painting on clothes and utensils, especially on shields and weapons of warriors. Bands and also smaller groups of people performed the sun dance at frequent intervals. People in some places danced it once or twice a year, and others almost every month. People might dance it at any time they desired. The sun was prayed to directly in this dance and the dancers made all the signs or motions in the dance toward the sun. The sun dance with torture of the prairie tribes was known but never adopted by the Coeur d'Alène.

**HORSE DANCE, THANKSGIVING CEREMONY.**—It is said that a dance was performed by some of the bands long ago, and in later years by most of the tribe, at the end of the harvest, when all the crops of berries and roots had been cured. The people had all their salmon and other supplies stored and were ready for the fall hunting. *Amo'tqEn* was given thanks in this dance and ceremony for the plentiful and successful harvest; and prayers were offered, it seems, to him and to the sun—to the former to give a bountiful harvest the next year, to the sun for success in the hunting which was about to begin. According to some people, one of the chief aims of the dance was to hasten the fattening of the horses before starting on the annual buffalo-hunting expedition to the plains. I did not obtain full details regarding this dance.

**MEDICINE DANCE.**—An important dance among the Coeur d'Alène similar to ceremonies of other Salish tribes<sup>323</sup> was the medicine dance. The participants sang the songs obtained from their guardians and imitated them by cry and action. This dance was for several purposes, such as to overcome the bashfulness of young people; to find out how adolescents had progressed in their training, and to learn if they had received songs from their guardian spirits and the nature of their powers; to bring people together in a friendly way and induce closer fellowship between them and their guardian spirits; to

<sup>323</sup> See Shuswap, *e*, p. 610; Lillooet, *k*, pp. 285, 286.



bring the people as a whole in closer touch with one another, with the guardian spirits as a whole, and with all animals and everything in nature; to learn who had powers over certain things, such as the weather; and who could through their powers be of most service to the people when help was required at any time.

Songs sung by some shamans produced warm or cold weather according to the qualities of their guardian spirits. Others made game plentiful or drew it near. Persons who had these powers could be called upon for help when the weather was bad and game scarce, and their singing and dancing in the medicine dance helped to produce favorable conditions. The dance was supposed to benefit the people in some way, to make life easier and to drive away sickness. It was held several times a year, but chiefly in the winter, by each band independently. As far as described to me, the dance is the same as the guardian-spirit dance of the Nez Percé described by Spinden.<sup>324</sup> It seems that no musical instruments were used in this dance either—only singing.

WAR DANCES AND WAR CEREMONIES.—A dance was held before going to war, and also, if possible, before an attack. Usually, however, it was held before going on the warpath. As there was almost constant war between the western Plateau tribes and the Plains tribes, it was invariably danced previous to starting for the plains on the annual buffalo hunt. Originally it seems to have been the same as the war dance performed by the Thompson and northern Salish tribes, and similar to an older form in vogue among the Nez Percé. In later days the step of the dance and some other details were modified, probably under the influence of the Flathead and eastern tribes. In the old form the guardian-spirit element was more pronounced than in the modern form, which lacks this element almost entirely. It seems also that the oldest form of the dance was to a greater degree imitative of battle than the modern dance, which is reduced more to a set form for all dancers, and allows less freedom of action to the individual. The Coeur d'Aléne continued to dance the war dance for exhibition and for exercise until about 1900, when it was discontinued owing to the influence of the priests. They say that the late form of their war dance was identical with that of the Nez Percé and Flathead, and the same as is still danced on Fourth of July celebrations by the Yakima, Columbia, Sanpoil, Nez Percé, and others at Nespelim and on the Yakima Reservation. The Nez Percé, in dancing the old form of the war dance, kept time with notched sticks or rasps only, but among the Coeur d'Aléne both rasps and drums were used. Only the members of the war party participated. In late

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<sup>324</sup> *b*, pp. 262-264.

days, when the dance became largely for exhibition only, nearly all the men danced.

When the tribe thought of going to war a war council was held of chiefs, war chiefs, and leading men invited by the head chief, or the head war chief. When the council decided on war, blankets were hoisted, like flags, on the tops of all the tents of the men who had formed the council. Generally the first blanket was hoisted on the council tent. The people then knew that war had been decided on. Later the people of each tent who intended to join raised a blanket in the same way. All the people then gathered to talk with the chief who was to organize the war party, and to hear what he had to say. The chief (?) took a blanket and beat time on it with a short stick, at the same time singing a war song. Others took hold of the blanket and did likewise, joining in the song. The party turned around slowly in a circle contra-sunwise as they sang. Each one who joined by taking hold of the blanket pledged himself as a member of the war party. When there was no room for any more to hold the blanket another blanket was brought into use. This was kept up for hours, until all who wished had joined. When this ceremony was over a council was held, at which chiefs were elected to take charge of the party, and matters of organization and conduct of the war were discussed. During this discussion the big pipe was constantly passed around contra-sunwise, every one smoking a few puffs as his turn came. It seems that every party had a war chief, and some parties had two or more, one of whom, however, was the head. One of the chiefs, generally the leader, always carried the pipe. Some parties elected one or more shamans to accompany them. The war dance was repeated at intervals, sometimes for several days.

If an individual decided to go to war and wanted companions he took a robe and beat time on it with a short stick. He sang his war song, stopping in front of every lodge. Those who wanted to join took hold of the robe and sang and beat time with him. A war dance was held after all the houses had been visited and all who wished had joined. Those who did not care to go simply looked on.

Occasionally no war dance was held before starting. The above was a common way for men to make up expeditions to go on horse-stealing raids against other tribes. Sometimes the men went around on horseback from house to house instead of on foot. There appears to be no memory of any dance held by the women during the absence of a war party, as was customary among the Thompson.<sup>325</sup> Before a war party left they often went through a farewell ceremony. All the men of the party beat time on blankets, a number of men holding

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<sup>325</sup> *a*, p. 356.

one blanket. They traveled around the lodges in the nighttime, following a course contrary to that of the sun. They stopped before each lodge, singing twice. The women followed behind and joined in the singing. Sometimes it was daybreak before the round was finished.

**SCALP DANCE.**—When a war party returned without trophies of any kind there was no celebration. If they had killed an enemy the party shot off a gun when about a mile from camp. Sometimes four shots were fired, which meant that they had been successful. If the number of shots was other than one or four they denoted the number of scalps taken. When the people heard the shots they went out to meet the party and escorted them into camp. The warriors marched with faces blackened and bearing the scalps on the ends of slender poles or on their lances. The poles were set up at the houses of the men owning the scalps, where they remained until the scalp dance was performed. Shortly after the arrival of the party the chief announced when the scalp dance would be held, always within two days after the arrival of the party. The people assembled in an open space, or, if it was cold weather, in the large dance house. After a short dance by the warriors, into which were introduced actions and gestures in imitation of the experiences of the war party, the war chief related the events of the expedition. He was followed by the warriors who had taken scalps or done deeds of valor, such as counting coup, or being the first to approach close to the enemy. Each recounted his particular exploits and explained in detail the manner in which each enemy had been killed. In pauses during the narratives the drummers beat rapid taps on the drum, as if in approbation. They did the same after each notable exploit had been narrated. The people joined in applause and shouting. Meanwhile the women relatives of the warriors, and any others who cared to join them, formed themselves into a mimic war party. They elected chiefs, dressed in the clothes of the warriors, did up their hair and painted their faces, donned war bonnets, and took up weapons. They took possession of the scalps which the warriors had exhibited in the recounting of their deeds and bore them on the ends of poles at the head of the procession, which was led by their mock war chief. If there was only one scalp the leader carried it. After they had marched around with much acclamation and shouting they formed a circle ready for the dance. The six greatest warriors of the band took each a small drum; and all sat together at the east or south side, outside the circle. Occasionally they sat down in the middle of the circle. The men and all the rest of the people formed a large circle of spectators away from the dancers. The chiefs beat the drums and sang the scalp song. The women then danced in a circle against the sun's course and con-

tinued for about two hours. All of them joined in the song while dancing. In the afternoon the dance was repeated for about the same length of time. When it was over the persons owning the scalps took possession of them. Some men exhibited them suspended from poles in front of their lodges, taking them down in a day or two. Others attached them to their hair or clothes and wore them for a short time. Some men preserved the scalps entire and wore them at dances, while others used the locks for fringes of scalp shirts. In later days they were chiefly used as arm fringes on shirts. They were used rarely or not at all as fringes for leggings.

If the war party had taken captives an additional dance was performed called "to-scalp-dance-them." This dance was held at the end of the regular scalp dance, and was exactly as described by Ross and quoted by Spinden.<sup>326</sup> The men formed two rows facing each other, with the women between in two rows facing each other. The captives, chiefly young women and sometimes boys, had to march up the middle, carrying the poles with the scalps. During the whole dance the captives had to pass back and forth between the rows of women, who taunted them, jeered at them, pulled and pushed them, and struck them with their fists and with sticks. If a captive cried much, the women might draw a scalp across her mouth or eyes or down her face. It might be that of the woman's husband, child, or other relative. When the dance was finished the men, who meanwhile had taken no part in the abuse of the captives, took possession of them and each one escorted his slaves to his lodge. They were now treated kindly and their wounds and bruises were washed and dressed.

If an adult man was brought back as a captive he was held a prisoner until the end of the dance and then killed, usually without torture. It was rare, however, for a man to be captured, as it was preferred to kill him in battle and scalp him. Men who did not care for the captives they had taken sold them to other members of the tribe or to strangers. Sometimes they allowed them to escape after a while. Most captives were held, however, and adopted into the family as wives or children. Occasionally the head of some noted enemy was brought to camp entire, and rarely also his feet and hands. These were carried at the scalp dance on the ends of poles, and preceded the scalps borne in the procession, always being carried in front of all the other trophies. If a noted enemy was killed close to the camp the whole body was carried in dressed as it was and set up on forked sticks for exhibition. It happened rarely that at the end of the "to-scalp-dance-them" dance one or more of the captive women or boys were killed by the excited women in revenge for relatives

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<sup>326</sup> *b*, p. 267.

killed in the expedition. The scalp dance sometimes lasted for four days.

**TSUWIKT DANCE.**—A Nez Percé variety of the scalp dance, called *tsuhwikt* or *tsuwikt* (a Nez Percé term), appears to have been adopted by the Coeur d'Alène and danced occasionally. It was never much in vogue. No doubt it is the same as that referred to by Spinden.<sup>327</sup>

**TRIBAL AND INTERTRIBAL WAR DANCES.**—At certain periods a great war dance was performed, which may be called a tribal war dance. A common rendezvous was named and people came from all the bands of the tribe to attend it. In form it was the same as the ordinary war dance, but was performed for exhibition and not for war purposes. It was also an occasion for making the exploits of war parties, of bands, and of individuals known to the whole tribe. In this way it was like a grand review. The dance lasted several days, with intervals of rest, feasting, and games. Other dances, such as the scalp dance, marrying dance and medicine dance, were often associated with it.

Intertribal dances of a similar nature were also held, the most famous place being at the mouth of Snake River. Here annually all the neighboring Shahaptian and Salishan tribes met in times of peace for a great exhibition. It seems that the Spokane and Columbia attended this dance regularly, and often Coeur d'Alène parties accompanied the Spokane. Intertribal games took place at the same time, the meeting generally lasting about two weeks. Besides war and scalp dances, many other dances were performed for exhibition at this gathering, and warriors recounted their deeds.

**MARRYING DANCE.**—A marrying dance, in which men chose wives, was similar to that of the Thompson, Shuswap, Lillooet, Okanagon, Yakima, and Klickitat.<sup>328</sup> Among the Shuswap and Thompson the dance was often associated with the praying dance; but among the Coeur d'Alène it is said to have been generally combined with the scalp dance, although there is no apparent connection with it. All the young women arose first and danced in a circle. Then the young men formed in a circle on the outside, dancing in the opposite direction. Each man carried a short stick. During the progress of the dance, when a young man came opposite the girl he desired, he placed his stick on her shoulder, and leaving his line danced alongside of her. If the woman refused him, she threw off the stick, and he had to fall back into the men's line. If the woman allowed the man to dance with her and the stick to rest on her shoulder until the end of the dance, she accepted him; and they were considered married, and so declared by the chief at the end of the dance.

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<sup>327</sup> *b*, p. 267.

<sup>328</sup> See Thompson, *a*, pp. 324, 353; Shuswap, *e*, pp. 591, 604; Lillooet, *k*, p. 268.

FESTIVAL OR GIFT DANCE.—A common ancient dance was performed at social gatherings of bands or families. The dancing appears to have been individual, the dancers being generally apart and dancing in one spot. Women danced more frequently than men. It seems to have been the same as the “*stle'i*” dance of the Thompson, used at festivals and potlatches.<sup>329</sup>

WOMAN'S DANCE OR ROUND DANCE.—In late years the dance called “squaw or woman's dance,” or “round dance,” was often danced at gatherings. It served for amusement only. The women go in a circle sidewise with a limping step. A woman may take up a male partner to dance with her, holding his arm or hand. Usually she has to make a small gift to the man she takes up. The dance is looked upon as distinctly a woman's dance, and is said to have been introduced from the east about 1870. Some claim that it is of Cree origin and others say that it came to them from the Crow.

WEATHER DANCES.—As already stated, people danced when they wanted a change of weather; and there was a rain song, a snow song, etc. Usually this kind of dancing was done by small parties, especially hunting parties, and was led by some shaman or other individual who through his guardian spirit was supposed to have control over the weather. He generally sang his own song and the people generally joined in the singing.

GAME DANCES.—Similar to the weather dances were the game dances, and often the two were combined. If the people found it hard to get buffalo or other game they engaged a shaman or other man whose guardian was the buffalo, or who had power over the animal to be hunted. He sang and the people usually danced and sang with him. The dancing differed somewhat for different kinds of game. Sometimes prayers were offered at these dances. Usually at the end the shaman foretold where and when the animals would be met with, and the hunters acted on his advice.

GUARDIAN SPIRITS.—Guardian spirits appear to have been about the same in character as among the Thompson<sup>330</sup> and were acquired in the same way. Almost everyone, both male and female, had one or more guardian spirits, but as a rule those of the men were more powerful than those of the women. A person partook to a greater or less degree of the qualities of his guardian. No parts of animals were guardians, but often parts were employed as symbolic of the whole. Sometimes a part of an animal had more power than others, and therefore was spoken of as a supernatural, but it was not independent in power of the animal itself. As among the Thompson, the sun was a powerful guardian of warriors but was hard to obtain.

<sup>329</sup> a, pp. 385, 386.

<sup>330</sup> a, pp. 354-357.

Thunder, eagle, and certain kinds of hawks and owls were also guardians of warriors, but less powerful than the sun.

Every man had one or two "medicine" bags in which he kept skins, feathers, bones, or other parts of his guardians, and also charms of stone and herbs. Many men wore some of these charms when on journeys, on hunting trips, and especially when going to war. They were worn as necklaces and pendants or were attached to the hair, clothes, or weapons. Some of them were worn concealed. Men who had a small, sharp-sighted owl for their guardian attached it to the back of the hair facing backward as a protection against being attacked from behind. (See p. 119.) Some men never displayed any parts of their guardian animals, but kept them in their "medicine" bags.

Medicine bags were of two kinds. One kind was of soft leather, and rolled up into a cylindrical-shaped package. It was generally kept near the head of the bed, or under the pillow. The other kind was a cylindrical case of rawhide, often fringed, and ornamented with painted designs similar to those on *parflêches*.<sup>331</sup> It was suspended in the lodge near the owner's sleeping place, where he kept his shield and weapons. Many men carried these cases in battle. Some used both kinds of medicine bags. When going on a war expedition they carried the rawhide case containing those objects or parts of objects considered most potent in war. The remainder of the charms were left at home in the other medicine bag. If a man were killed in battle and his medicine case taken, the "medicine" therein was believed to be of no value to the person obtaining them, and might even do him harm if he tried to use it in any way.

The rawhide medicine case came into use about the time when the people began to go to the plains, and may have been adopted from the Flathead or the Plains tribes, all of whom used it. Probably it came into use among all the tribes only after the introduction of the horse, since it is especially adapted for travel by horse.

Men painted images or representations or symbols of their guardian spirits and pictures of their most important dreams on their clothes, robes, shields, and weapons.

Pictographs of battles, and of important events or experiences in a person's life, were also painted on robes, which in consequence were treated with great care. Pictures and symbols of guardian spirits were also often painted or tattooed on the body. It was believed that these pictures had offensive or defensive power derived directly from the guardian spirit. (See p. 169.) Thus a man who had an arrow tattooed or painted on his arm, if the arrow was

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<sup>331</sup> See *Nez Percé, b*, fig. 5, No. 3.

one of his guardians, believed that his arm was made more efficient for shooting. In the same way a mountain tattooed or painted on the arm rendered it strong, provided the mountain was a guardian of the person. Likewise the reproduction of a bear or deer on the arm gave the person skill in bear and deer hunting, provided these animals were the guardians of the hunter. Most of the painted designs on shields had a protective meaning. Some of the common figures were mountains, arrows, sun, eagle, hawk, and owl. War horses were often painted with representations of guardians and dreams, and the horse itself was a guardian of some men. Tents also were painted with pictures and symbols of guardians and dreams, or with geometrical designs.<sup>332</sup>

ROCK PAINTINGS.—Rock paintings were common in some parts of the country, but I did not hear of any petroglyphs. The nearest rock paintings to the present location of the Coeur d'Alène are said to be at Chatcolat. There was no belief that spirits or "land mysteries" made certain rock paintings. All were made by people. Besides being records of dreams, objects seen in dreams, guardian spirits, battles, and exploits, they were supposed to transmit power from the object depicted to the person making the pictures. Young men during their puberty ceremonials made rock paintings, but girls very seldom did. From time to time older men also painted dreams on cliffs.

IMAGES OF GUARDIAN SPIRITS.—Men formerly carved images of their guardian spirits. These were generally stone figures of animals, birds, and men, or parts of them. Usually they were small and kept in the medicine bag. Occasionally they were kept in view in the lodge. Most figures were of human form, not because the men who made them had guardians of human form, but because almost all guardian spirits could assume human form; and most men preferred to represent them in manlike form. Sometimes a guardian spirit would appear in dreams to his protégé in human form only and, were not he himself to reveal his identity, his protégé would not know what he was and what his name. He might say, "I am the coyote," "I am the grizzly bear that runs," "I am the grizzly bear that walks," and so on. Sometimes he might say, "I am the one who helps you," and then add some description of himself as an animal, so that his protégé knew him.

Some stone images did not resemble any known animals, because they were representations of beings, or of parts of beings seen in dreams. Some resembled mythical beings, "mysteries," and animals, which Indians had never seen alive, but only in dreams and visions.

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<sup>332</sup> Compare also war dress (p. 118).



Some were even of a composite character, such as half animal and half human. Human figures were made full size; arms and legs, also busts, consisting of head and neck, or head and upper part of body. Most figures were made in an erect posture, but some in other attitudes. Many were made nude, and some were carved clothed. Others, not made this way, were clothed by painting and by adding decorations such as feathers. Usually the image was made to correspond to the figure and dress of the guardian spirit as he usually appeared. These stone images were regarded with considerable reverence, and were thought to possess a mystic power beneficial to the owner, but sometimes injurious to others. Therefore these figures were never bought or sold, or treated as mere ornaments or works of art. In fact, they were seldom or never handled except by the owner, and when he died they were placed in his grave or deposited near by. They were inherited only in a few cases—for instance, when son and father had the same guardian. Then the image would be of some service to the son as he would “know” the guardian it represented. A long time ago these images were common. They were not generally carried around on hunting expeditions, but were left at home in the lodge.

Other images were made rather for ornament. They were generally set up in view in the lodge, and may have been house ornaments. It is doubtful, however, if this was their only purpose. It seems, at any rate, that they were not considered real images of guardian spirits, although some people thought they were connected with them. It is said that even they were considered “mystery,” and never sold. In rare instances some of them were given to friends who were not afraid of them. As a rule, they were larger than the images of guardian spirits, perhaps about 12 or 15 cm. in height. No images of any kind were treated as family property; they were the sole property of the person who made them, in the same way as the medicine bag. If the owner died in a distant place without his medicine bag and without the image of his guardian, his relatives placed these objects in the forest or burned them. In a few similar cases the image was kept and placed in or by the grave of the next one of his family who died, even if it was a mere child. A few images of both kinds were carved of wood or antler; but most of them were of stone.

SHAMANISM.—Shamans were about the same in character as among the Thompson.<sup>332</sup> Almost the only difference between them and other men was that they made a profession of curing people who were sick. They received payment for their services. If the person they treated died, they received no payment; and no payments were made except

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<sup>332</sup> See Thompson, *a*, p. 376 and fig. 297; Shuswap, *e*, p. 603; *f*, pp. 173, 191.

in cases of what seemed to be complete cures. Many men had quite as much power as most shamans, but did not use it professionally. On the whole, however, shamans were supposed to have more powerful guardians than most other men; and they were credited with having greater knowledge of the dead and of disease than other people. Their process of treatment was chiefly by incantations. They sang their individual shaman's songs which had been obtained from their guardians, and they blew on their patients and made passes over them. It seems that they never danced when treating people, or put on masks and looked for souls, as among the Thompson. Some shamans occasionally prescribed herb medicines to be drunk, or salves to be applied, but this was usually only when their guardians advised them to use these. They also occasionally prescribed painting in certain colors on certain parts of the body of the patient. Rarely did these paintings take special forms, but usually consisted of just a simple application of some paint. As a rule, the painting was done according to instructions received in dreams. Sometimes, too, shamans prescribed certain foods. Horses and dogs were treated by shamans in just the same way as people. Most shamans had the power of driving away ghosts, and some of them could bewitch people and in this way cause their death. Occasionally they were killed for doing this. Shamans were generally men, but some were women. A few of the latter were as skillful as the men or even more so. There were no differences in the methods employed by men and women shamans.

**ETHICAL CONCEPTS.**—Ethical concepts<sup>333</sup> and ideas of beauty appear to have been about the same as among the Thompson.

**CHARMS AND BELIEFS.**—I did not learn much about these matters. Charms or fetishes were in common use. Generally they were small smooth stones which had been picked up and kept because they showed some peculiarity in shape or color. Some had natural or artificial holes, others were inclosed in skin and suspended around the neck. Usually they were worn out of sight. Some were considered very lucky and were transmitted from generation to generation. Besides stones, claws and teeth of animals were used, and also roots and plants of various kinds. Some of the latter helped persons to obtain wealth or success in love. Some stones were picked up and used as charms because they bore a resemblance in shape to an animal or bird. To make the resemblance more striking, they were sometimes carved or filed a little. It seems that there were no charms for locating game, as among the Thompson; neither were beliefs held like those of the Thompson—that throwing stones at certain lakes would cause wind; that burning beaver hair or killing frogs would make rain;

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<sup>333</sup> *a*, pp. 366, 367.

that telling coyote stories would make snow or cold; and burning lightning wood would make cold weather. However, wood of trees struck by lightning was never burned except by accident, as it was believed that one of the people who burned it or used it as firewood would die. Some people believed that toads had the power of making rain at will.

MEDICINES.—As among the Thompson, a number of medicines made from herbs were used as tonics, or salves, but I did not have opportunity to inquire into this subject. The scent root called *çasças* was dried and powdered fine, then mixed with animal grease and used as a salve on sores. As among the Thompson, mother's milk was used occasionally to anoint sore eyes.

## THE OKANAGON

### I. HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL

TRIBES OF THE GROUP.—The tribes of the Okanagon group are (1) Okanagon, (2) Sanpoil, (3) Colville, (4) Lake.

TRIBAL NAMES.—The names "Okanagon," or "Okinagan," "Okanagon Lake," "Okanagon River," are derived from the Indian name of the tribe. The name "Sans Poil," given to the tribe by the fur traders, seems to be simply a French adaptation of their Indian name, and does not originate from any peculiarity of the tribe in being "without hair." They were also called Sanpoil and Sinpoe, corruptions of their own name. The Colville are named from the Colville River and Fort Colville, places in their territory; but formerly they were generally called "Chaudière" or "Les Chaudières" by the fur traders. They were also known by translations of this term; such as "Kettle Indians," "Pot Indians," "Bucket Indians," and "Cauldrons." The origin of the name is not clear; but evidently it has some connection with Kettle Falls and Kettle River, places in their territory. They were also sometimes called "Shuyelpée," which is a corruption of their own name. The Lake tribe were often called "Sinijixtee" and "Sinatcheggs," corruptions of their own name. The name "Lake" was applied to the tribe because of their habitat on the lakes to the north, viz, Arrow Lakes, Kootenai Lake, and Slocan Lake, in British Columbia.

The tribes call themselves as follows:

1. *Okanā'qēn*, or *Okanāqē'nix*, or *Ōkinā'qēn*.<sup>1</sup>
2. *Snpoī'l*, or *Snpoī'lix*, *Snpoi'lexex*.
3. *Sxoiē'lpix*, or *Sxuiē'ylpix*, *Sxwei'lpex*.
4. *Snai'tekst*, *Snrai'tekstex*, *Snāi'tekstex*.

The suffix *-ix*, *-ex*, stands for "people" (equivalent to *-ic* of some tribes and dialects). "*Okanā'qēn*" is said to be derived from the name of a place on Okanagon River, somewhere near the Falls, so named because it was the "head" of the river; at least, in so far as the ascent of salmon was concerned, very few salmon being able to reach above this point. According to tradition this place represents the ancient headquarters of the tribe. Some Okanagon and Sanpoil informants stated that the name is that of a place at or near Okanagon

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<sup>1</sup> Other forms of the name used by Sanpoil and Lake are *Ōkanāqai'n* and *.sōkēnāqai'nex*.

Falls, where there was at one time an important salmon fishery, the place of their origin. On the other hand, the head chief of the Canadian Okanagon told me that the name is the former name of a place on the Okanagon River, near the mouth of the Similkameen, where at one time were located the headquarters of a large band of the tribe, most of whom in later times spread farther north. During a period of wars the people there constructed breastworks of stones, and with reference to this the place became known as *salilx*<sup>u</sup> and the old name dropped out of use.<sup>2</sup> According to the same informant, the old dividing line between the Okanagon and Sanpoil people was about Okanagon Falls. From there north the real Okanagon dialect was spoken. The original center from which the Okanagon people spread was the country between Okanagon Falls and the mouth of the Similkameen. The suffix *-qēn*, *-qain*, etc., means "head," probably with reference to some physical feature of the country.

*Snpoī'l* or *Snpoī'lix* is said to be the old name of a place on Sans Poil River or in its neighborhood, the original home of the Sanpoil tribe.

*Sxoi'e'lp* is said to be the name of a place near or a little below Kettle Falls, which was considered to be the original home of the tribe. According to some, the name means "hollowed out," with reference to rocks there.

*Snai'tekst* is from *ai'tekst*, the name of a fish, said to be the lake trout (*Salvelinus namaycush?*). The Lake people are said to have been named after this fish, on account of its importance, in contrast to the Colville people below them on the Columbia, who had salmon in abundance. Some salmon reached the Lake country, and the people caught a considerable number in some places; but they were fewer in number and inferior in quality to those in the Colville country. The Okanagon tribes call themselves collectively "*Nsi'lixtcen*" or "*Nse'lixtcen*," which means "Salish-speaking" (from *Sa'liḡ*, *Se'liḡ*, or *Si'liḡ*, "Salish or Flathead tribes;" and *-tcin*, *-tcen*, "language").

NAMES GIVEN TO THE OKANAGON TRIBES BY OTHER TRIBES.—The names applied to the Okanagon tribes by other tribes and the symbols used in sign language to designate them are the following:

<sup>2</sup> See p. 264.

	Similkameen	Okanagon	Sanpoil	Colville	Lake
Thompson	<i>Smel'qemux</i> <sup>1</sup>	{ <i>Tcutrwā'ut, Tcūtrūā'ut,</i> <i>Tsawā'nemux</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>Okēnā.qai'n</i> <sup>4</sup>	{ <i>Snpōi'ls</i> <sup>10</sup>	<i>Szoié'lp</i> <sup>8</sup>	<i>Snai'icekst.</i> <sup>5,9</sup>
Columbia	{ <i>Smelkēmī'x,</i> <i>Smelkamī'x</i>	<i>.Soqenāqai'mex</i>	<i>Nesilepētē'n</i> <sup>7</sup>	<i>Szuielpemex</i> <sup>8</sup>	<i>Snaiicekst.</i> <sup>9</sup>
Flathead group	<i>Semilkamī'</i>	{ <i>Otcenāke'</i> <i>Otcenā.qai'n</i> <i>Utcenā.qai'n</i>	{ <i>Npo'i'lee</i> <sup>10</sup> <i>Snpōi'lexec.</i>	<i>Szōēē'ipi.</i> <i>Szoié'ipe</i>	<i>Snai'iceiste.</i> <i>Surai'iceiste.</i>
Coeur d'Alène.	<i>Smelkamī'cēn.</i>	<i>Welic.nāqē'n</i>	<i>SEmpoē'</i>	<i>Szoié'ipems.</i>	
Klickitat (Tobacco Plains band).	<i>Xwayama'pam</i> <sup>11</sup>	<i>Kēnāke'n</i> <sup>11</sup>			
Kutenai		{ <i>Akēnuq'la'la'm.</i> <i>Kōkēnu'k'kē</i> <sup>13</sup>		<i>Kxopple'niki</i> <sup>12</sup>	
Upper Kutenai		<i>Okanaka'n</i> <sup>11</sup>	<i>SEmpoē'ls</i> <sup>11</sup>	{ <i>Hap.kē'n</i> <sup>12</sup> <i>Khapple'niki</i>	<i>Tsēlenō'niki</i> <sup>13</sup>
Yakima			{ <i>Haiāi'nīma.</i> <i>Ipoilq</i> <sup>11</sup>		
Sign-language names	"Eagle people"	Something called "Flat side of head on stream to west" (viz, Flathead of Okanagon River).		"Salmon fishers at falls" (viz, Kettle Falls).	"Lake-trout people."

<sup>1</sup> Meaning "people of *Smel'k, Smel'kem, Smel'ekemī'u, or Smel'ekemī,*" said to be the name of a locality in the Lower Similkameen valley (see also Similkameen villages, p. 205).  
<sup>2</sup> Meaning uncertain. It is applied to the Okanagon in particular, but is also a general name for the southern Salish, in the same way as "*Tsawā'nemux.*" The same term is used by the Shuswap for the Lower Lillooet.  
<sup>3</sup> Also the Shuswap name for the Okanagon. The term probably means "people at the back or behind," "back-country people." It is applied particularly to the Okanagon, but is also a general name for the southern Salish.  
<sup>4</sup> A special name for the Okanagon of Okanagon River. Said to be from the name of a place on Okanagon River.  
<sup>5</sup> The suffix *-muz* ("people") may be, and occasionally is, added to the Thompson terms for the Sanpoil, Colville, and Lake.

<sup>6</sup> Said to be the name of the district around the mouth of the Similkameen.

<sup>7</sup> Means "Salish-speaking" or "having Salish speech."

<sup>8</sup> The names for the Colville are said to be derived from a place name near Kettle Falls. They mean "hollowed out" according to some, and "stone skin-grainer" according to some Flathead informants.

<sup>9</sup> "Trout people." All names refer to a variety of trout—lake trout according to some, and salmon trout according to others.

<sup>10</sup> All the names for the Sanpoil are said to be from the name of a place in their country.

<sup>11</sup> Derived through the Salish languages.

<sup>12</sup> Said to mean "Falls people."

<sup>13</sup> Probably from a place name. Meaning uncertain.

<sup>14</sup> "Eagle people." Klickitat say they think the name was applied to a tribe east of the Spokan; but Salish and other informants say it is the Klickitat or Yakima name for the Similkameen. The form here given corrected from Teit's *Xotamb'pat* by Melville Jacobs.

NAMES GIVEN TO OTHER TRIBES BY THE OKANAGON.—The terms in the following list were all collected from Sanpoil (Nespelim), Lake, and Okanagon. I obtained none from the Colville.

Lower Fraser.....	<i>Tlemsiū'ēx.</i>
Lillooet.....	<i>Nxelamī'ncx</i> ("ax people").
Shuswap.....	<i>Sexwa'pmux, Sexwā'pmēx.</i>
Thompson.....	<i>Luketēmē'x<sup>4</sup>, Le<sup>4</sup>ketēmū'x, Nēketēmē'x<sup>4</sup>.</i>
Wenatchi.....	<i>Snpekwa'uzēx.</i>
Wenatchi (Chelan division).....	<i>Stcelē'ne<sup>4</sup>x</i> ("Chelan people," possibly literally "Lake people").
Columbia.....	<i>Snkaā'usemēx, Snqē'us.</i>
Bands along Columbia River below the <i>Tskowa'xtsenux</i> or Moses- Columbia band.	} <i>Naiā'q<sup>4</sup>tcen, Niā'q<sup>4</sup>tcen.</i>
Old Salish tribe at The Dalles....	
Spokan.....	<i>Spoqai'ne<sup>4</sup>x, Spōqei'ne<sup>4</sup>x.</i>
Kalispel.....	<i>Skalespi'le<sup>4</sup>x, Kalspī'lem, Skalespe'lem.</i>
Pend d'Oreilles.....	<i>Sniā'lemēn.</i>
Flathead.....	<i>Sa'lex, Sā'lix.</i>
Coeur d'Alêne.....	<i>Skī'isō<sup>4</sup>x, Skī'tco<sup>4</sup>x, S'ki'tcu.x.</i>
Paloos.....	<i>Steqa.mci'ne<sup>4</sup>x</i> ("people of the confluence"). <sup>3</sup>
Yakima.....	<i>Sīā'kema<sup>4</sup>x.</i>
Klickitat <sup>4</sup> .....	Called by the same name as the Yakima, and also by the name of The Dalles tribes.
Wallawalla.....	} <i>Skeiū'ēs<sup>4</sup>x.</i>
Umatilla.....	
Nez Percés.....	<i>Saha'plene<sup>4</sup>x, Saā'plene<sup>4</sup>x.</i>
Cayuse.....	Same as Wallawalla and Umatilla.
Wishram.....	Same as The Dalles tribes.
The Dalles tribes in general.....	<i>Swei'ēmpame<sup>4</sup>x.</i> <sup>5</sup>
Wasco.....	<i>Swei'ēmpame<sup>4</sup>x, Swāsaō'pa<sup>4</sup>x.</i>
Chinook.....	<i>Tsenū'k.</i>
Shoshoni or Snake.....	<i>Snazqe'ntxemo<sup>4</sup>x, Snaskī'nt</i> ("snake people").
Upper Kutenai.....	<i>Skalsi'ulk.</i> <sup>6</sup>
Lower Kutenai.....	<i>Sloqale'q<sup>4</sup>a<sup>4</sup>x, Ste'lllē<sup>4</sup>x.</i> <sup>7</sup>
Blackfoot.....	<i>Stekwai'xene<sup>4</sup>x</i> ("black-footed people").
Sioux, Cree, and Plains tribes in general.	<i>Yno<sup>4</sup>x'tu'sem</i> ("cut-throats," "cut heads off").

<sup>3</sup> Either the confluence of the Palouse with the Snake or the latter with the Columbia, probably the latter.

<sup>4</sup> The Handbook of American Indians gives "*tlakā'itat*" as an Okanagon name for Klickitat.

<sup>5</sup> Compare *Xwa'tzwaipam*, a Klickitat name for themselves.

<sup>6</sup> Said to be named from the Upper Kootenai River. By some the name is thought to mean "upper water" or "water above," with reference to the position of the Kootenai River above the Pend d'Oreilles, Kalispel, and Lake tribes (from *skalt*, "above" or "at the top;" and *si'ulk*, "water"), thought by others to have some connection with *skal* or *skalis* (as in the name Kalispel), derived from a word for "young camas" (according to Revais), and thus may mean "camas water." The term *skelsa'ulk* ("water-people") is given in the Handbook of American Indians. (Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 1, p. 742.) The interpretation is probably derived from *skelux* or *skalux* ("man," also "people," "Indian") and *sa'ulk* ("water"); i. e., "man's water" or "people's water" or "Indian water." The Indians do not favor this interpretation. (It would mean: "human water."—F. B.) They claim that the name of the people is from the river, and not the river from the people.

<sup>7</sup> Said to be named from Kootenai Lake and River (all the Lower Kootenai, from Bonner's Ferry down).



DIALECTS.—The differences in speech between the four tribes are very slight. The variation in pronunciation and vocabulary is sufficiently marked to identify the division to which a speaker belongs. The chief differences between Colville and Lake consists in the slower utterance of the latter.<sup>8</sup>

The Colville use the term *Salix̄tc̄i'n* for all the Salishan languages of the interior, including Coeur d' Alêne, Shuswap, and Thompson.

HABITAT AND BOUNDARIES.—In climate, natural features, flora, and fauna, the territories inhabited by the Okanagon, Sanpoil, and Colville are very similar to those of the Upper Thompson and neighboring Shuswap bands. The climate is slightly moister (rain-fall 25 to 37 centimeters in most places), the valleys are wider, and the surrounding country less mountainous. The territory of the Lake tribe has much more precipitation. It is heavily forested and very rough and mountainous, occupying the heart of the Selkirk Range. There are long stretches of lake and river waterways, smooth, and well adapted for fishing and canoeing. Large falls and rough water also occur in places. As may be expected, the flora and fauna differ considerably from the drier, less mountainous, and more open country inhabited by the other tribes.

The Okanagon tribes were surrounded by other tribes of the interior Salish, except on that part of the eastern confines of the Lake tribe where they bordered on the Lower Kutenai. Formerly the Okanagon had for their western neighbors the *Stuw̄i'x* or *Stew̄i'x̄emux* (an Athapasean tribe). The international boundary line cut the territories of the Okanagon and Lake at points which divided the populations of these tribes in about halves. The territories of the Sanpoil and Colville were entirely in what is now eastern Washington.

DIVISIONS, BANDS, VILLAGES, PLACE-NAMES.—The Okanagon had at least two recognized divisions; under present conditions the Similkameen may be considered as a third division.

1. The Upper Okanagon or Lake<sup>9</sup> Okanagon, occupying the country around Okanagon Lake, Long Lake, and Dog Lake (or Lac du Chien). The Nicola Okanagon, with headquarters at Douglas Lake, belong to this division. At the present day whites often class the latter people as a separate division of the Okanagon, or still more frequently class them erroneously as part of the Nicola Indians (the *Tcawa'x̄amux* or Nicola division of the Thompson).

2. The Lower Okanagon, or River Okanagon, in the country along Okanagon River below the former division. These people were often called "Real Okanagon" by the Thompson and also by other Okana-

<sup>8</sup> A similar difference prevails between the eastern and western Shuswap. Like the Lake tribe, the former were largely a canoe people. They occupied a country very similar in climate and natural features, contiguous to the Lake tribe and just north of them.

<sup>9</sup> This division is called *Sti'qut̄emux* ("Lake people") by the Thompson; and they often call themselves, in distinction from other Okanagon, *Sälti'qut*, Lake people.

gon. It seems that the Okanagon below the Falls did not constitute a separate division.

3. The Similkameen of Similkameen River. This is a modern division only very lately beginning to be recognized. For this reason, and also because of the growing ascendancy of the Okanagon language and blood in this part of the country, I have included the Similkameen among the Okanagon. The Thompson still claim the Similkameen valley down as far as between Hedley and Keremeous, and there is no doubt that the Thompson language has predominated throughout all the Upper Similkameen up to the present time, and Thompson blood is probably predominant there yet. However, the Similkameen country originally belonged to neither tribe. In olden days it was occupied by the *Stuwī'x* or Nicola-Similkameen Athapaskan tribe. When describing the Thompson Indians I have included in their territory the Nicola valley, which is dominantly under Thompson influence. The other part, nowadays under strong Okanagon influence, I include in the Okanagon territory.

At the present day the Okanagon of British Columbia include seven bands, with as many chiefs. Of these bands, four belong to the Okanagon and three to the Similkameen.

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|--|---|--|
| 1. <i>Spā'xamen</i> or <i>Spā'xemen</i> , or<br>Douglas Lake band.       | { | Headquarters at <i>Spā'xamen</i> <sup>10</sup> or Douglas<br>Lake, on the Upper Nicola River.  |
| 2. <i>Nkama'peleks</i> , or Komaplix<br>band. <sup>11</sup>              | { | Headquarters <i>Nkama'peleks</i> , at the head of<br>Okanagon Lake.  |
| 3. <i>Pentū'kten</i> , or Penticton band.                                | { | Headquarters at the foot of Okanagon Lake,<br>near Penticton.  |
| 4. <i>Nkamī'p</i> , or Osoyoos band <sup>12</sup>                        | { | Headquarters <i>Nkamī'p</i> , on the east side of<br>Okanagon River and head of Osoyoos Lake.  |
| 5. <i>Keremyē'us</i> , or Lower Similka-<br>meen band.                   | { | Having a number of small settlements be-<br>tween the boundary line and Keremeous.<br>Probably the chief settlement formerly was<br>near the latter place. |
| 6. <i>Acnū'lox</i> , or Ashnola band----                                 | { | Headquarters near Ashnola, south side of the<br>Similkameen.   |
| 7. <i>Snāzāi'st</i> , <i>Tcutcuwī'xa</i> , or<br>Upper Similkameen band. | { | Main settlement close to Hedley.   |

It seems that in the early half of the past century there were more bands. Some of these may have been subdivisions without chiefs. One of these divisions was farther up the Similkameen River, with headquarters around Graveyard Creek, Princeton, and the mouth of the Tulameen. It was called the *Zu'tsamēn* ("red paint") band, from the name of a place called Vermilion or Vermilion Forks by the whites.<sup>13</sup> In the Okanagon Lake country there were probably at

<sup>10</sup> For explanations of place-names see under villages, No. 1, p. 206.

<sup>11</sup> Sometimes called "Head of the Lake band" and "Vernon band."

<sup>12</sup> Sometimes called "Fairview band."

<sup>13</sup> This band was called the Vermilion band by the traders. They were nearly all Thompson, and numbered at one time one hundred or more people. Some descendants are now living in the village *Nkai'xlox*.

least two or three other bands. One of these seems to have been located near the middle of the west side of Okanagon Lake. The headquarters of another band was probably on the east side of the lake, with headquarters around Mission and Kelowna. Formerly many people lived around Long Lake and Duck Lake; but it is not clear whether they were a separate band. The people living there at present belong to the *Nkama'pELEks* band. The Lower or River Okanagon had also several bands. The main winter camps of most of them seem to have been on the west side of Okanagon River. I obtained no list of ancient villages of the Okanagon within the United States, and only incomplete lists of ancient and modern villages in British Columbia.

The following were the inhabited villages of the Similkameen people in 1904. Detached single houses are not included. I visited most of them, and found groups of log cabins at all the places. Most of the villages, perhaps all of them, are built on or near old camp sites.

Upper Similkameen Band:

1. *Nlkai'xElôx*<sup>14</sup>----- About 11 miles below Princeton, north side of Similkameen River; 3 houses.<sup>15</sup>
2. *Snāzāi'st* ("striped rock")<sup>16</sup> -- On the north side of the river, a little east of Twenty-mile Creek and the town of Hedley; <sup>17</sup> 10 houses.
3. *Tcutcuwī'xa* or *Tcutcawī'xa*<sup>18</sup> } On same side of river, a little below No. 2; ("creek" or "little creek"). } 3 houses.

Ashnola Band:

4. *Acnū'lôx* ("— ground") ---- { On the south side of the river, near the mouth of Ashnola Creek; 3 houses and the chief's house a little above.
5. *Nsre'pus a sxa'neŋ*<sup>19</sup> ("where the stone sticks up or is planted"). } A little below No. 4, but on the north side of the river; 2 houses. (See also No. 18.)

Lower Similkameen Band:

6. *Keremyē'us* ("crossing or swimming place" [for horses]). } On the north side of the river, near Keremycous; several houses.
7. *Kekeremyē'aus* ("little swimming place" [or crossing for horses]). } Across the river from No. 6; 1 or 2 houses.
8. *Nkurau'lôx* ("— ground") --- On the same side, about 4 miles below No. 6.
9. *Smela'loŋ*----- On the same side, about 10 miles below No. 5.

<sup>14</sup> Said to be a Thompson name.

<sup>15</sup> The number of houses given in each case is the number recorded in my notes.

<sup>16</sup> A Thompson name (from *snaz*, "a goat's-wool blanket" [these were generally ornamented with stripes], and *-āist* "rock," from the appearance of a big stratified rock bluff behind the village, often called "Striped Mountain" by the whites).

<sup>17</sup> There were 6 houses and a church at *Snāzāist* proper, 2 houses west of Twenty-mile Creek, 1 across the river, and the chief's house—10 houses in all.

<sup>18</sup> This is an Okanagon name. It is often used by Okanagon-speaking people as a general name for the Hedley district or vicinity. The Thompson-speaking people use the name of No. 2 in the same way.

<sup>19</sup> Also *n.sre'pus l.sza'nez*. So named from a large boulder which protrudes from the ground near the trail at this place. The name is Thompson.

10. *Skemqai'n* ("source" or "head") } Short distance below No. 8, on same side of river.
11. *Nlleuḡta'n* ----- On south side of river, opposite No. 10.  
Old Similkameen village  
sites in Washington:<sup>20</sup>
12. *Nāsi'tok* ----- Just across the international boundary in Washington.
13. *Xe'pulôx* ("— ground") ----- A little below No. 12, near a lake.
14. *Kwaḡalô's* ----- A little back from Similkameen River, below No. 13.
15. *Tseltsalô's* ----- Below No. 14.
16. *Skwa'nnl* ----- Below No. 14.
17. *Ko'nkonclp* ----- Near the mouth of Similkameen River.
18. *Tsakei'sḡENEMUx*<sup>21</sup> ----- On a creek along the trail between Keremeous and Penticton; 1 or 2 houses.

The following were the chief villages of the Upper Lake Okanagon division at the same date, and some others which are old villages not now occupied:

Douglas Lake Band:

1. *Spā'ḡamen* or *Spā'ḡEMEN* ("a shaving," "paring,"<sup>22</sup> or "shaved," "bare," "smooth"). } At Douglas Lake on the Upper Nicola River. A large village.
2. *Komkona'tko* or *Komkena'tku*<sup>23</sup> ("head water"). } At Fish Lake on the headwaters of the Upper Nicola River. A small settlement.
3. *Kā'tEMĭx* ("bushes," or "willow bushes").<sup>24</sup> } Near Guichons, at the mouth of the Upper Nicola River, where it falls into Nicola Lake. A fairly large village.
4. *Kwiltca'na* ("red —").<sup>25</sup> ----- At the mouth of Quilchena Creek.  
Komaplix or Head of the Lake Band:
5. *Nkama'pELEks* or *Nkoma'pELEks* ("bottom, root, or neck end").<sup>26</sup> } Near the head of Okanagon Lake, about 8 miles north of Vernon.<sup>27</sup>
6. *SnlEMUḡte'n* ("place where slaughtered").<sup>28</sup> } Black Town, a little north of the head of Okanagon Lake.
7. *Tse'ketku* ("— lake") ----- At a small lake a little north of Black Town.
8. *NkekeMa'pELEks* ("little end or head of the lake"). } At the head of Long Lake, a little over a mile from Vernon.
9. *Tselo'tsus* ("where drawn together"). } At the narrows of Long Lake. No permanent camps now.

<sup>20</sup> There are no permanent camps at any of these places now.

<sup>21</sup> Said by some to belong to the Ashnola band.

<sup>22</sup> With reference to the open rolling country devoid of trees.

<sup>23</sup> The Thompson and Okanagon names respectively.

<sup>24</sup> So called because of dense patches of willow, cottonwood, and other deciduous trees along the river, near this place.

<sup>25</sup> Said to be so named because of red bluffs on the side of the valley a short distance up the creek. The Thompson name of the village up the creek means "red face or bluffs." This small village is counted as belonging to the Douglas Lake band, but the Thompson claim the country all along the creek, and the people are mostly of the Thompson tribe.

<sup>26</sup> With reference to the end or head of the lake.

<sup>27</sup> There were several old camps at *Nkama'pELEks*. This name was frequently used in a general sense for the district around the head of Okanagon Lake.

<sup>28</sup> So named because a number of people were massacred here many years ago by a Shuswap (?) war party.

10. *Stekatelxenē'ut* ("lake on side")—Little above Mission ? on opposite side.
11. *Tselho'qem*<sup>29</sup> (with reference to a little lake at side of big one). } Near the lower end of Long Lake about 19 miles south of Vernon.
12. *Nxoko'sten* ("arrow-smoother").<sup>30</sup> } Place near Kelowna, and also general name for the district around there and Mission. No permanent camps now.
13. *Skelā'un.na* ("grizzly bear")—Kelowua, near the present town. No permanent camps now.

## Penticton Band:

14. *Stekatkolxenē'ut* or *Stekatelxenē'ut* ("lake at the side"). } On the opposite side of the lake from Mission.
15. *Pentī'kten* ("place at end of lake" or "place where the lake is gathered in"). } Penticton, near the foot of Okanagon Lake.

## Nkamip Band:

16. *Sxoxenē'tku* ("swift rough water or rapids"). } Lower end of Dog Lake. No permanent camps now.
17. *Nkamī'p*<sup>31</sup> ("at the base or bottom"). } On the east side of the upper end of Osoyoos Lake.
18. *Soi'yus* ("gathered together" or "meeting"). } Near Haynes or the old customhouse just north of the American line. No permanent camps now.

The main camps of the tribe in the Okanagon Valley (within British Columbia) are said to have numbered at one time about 18. In Mr. Hill-Tout's list<sup>32</sup> of Okanagon villages the Enderby village (No. 1 of his list) is included. This village is Shuswap and has never been Okanagon. The present-day villages are situated on small scattered reserves. The upper Okanagon have some 15 reserves under the Okanagon Agency and eight (belonging to the Douglas Lake band) under the Kamloops Agency. The Similkameen have 17 under the Okanagon Agency. I collected no list of old villages from the Lower Okanagon. These people are nearly all on the Colville Reservation in Washington, where they have received allotments.

I obtained the following names of old village sites on Okanagon River south of the Canadian line:

*Milkemaxi'tuk* or *Milkemixi'tuk*<sup>33</sup> A name for the district around the mouth ("—— water") of Similkameen River and of the river.

<sup>29</sup> The people of this place are counted as belonging to the *Nkama'peleks* band, but originally, with Nos. 9, 12, 13, and possibly others, they composed a band by themselves.

<sup>30</sup> Said to be so called because of a hill where people obtained stone for making arrow smoothers.

<sup>31</sup> See Gibbs, "Konekonep" Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 1, p. 724), probably either *Nkamī'p* or *Ko'nkonep* (see No. 17, p. 206).

<sup>32</sup> Hill-Tout, "Report on the Ethnology of the Okana'k' en." (Journ. Roy. Anthropol. Inst., vol. 41, p. 130.)

<sup>33</sup> See Gibbs, "Milakitekwa" (Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 1, p. 861). The other band name given by Gibbs (Kluchhaitkwu, *ibid.*, 715) the Indians think is *Stexai'tku* or *Slexai'tku* the name for a district and river east of the Spokane (?) or east of the Okanagon. The Intietook band mentioned by Ross (Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 1, p. 611) is with little doubt a corruption of the Indian name for the Okanagon Lake division, from the name of Okanagon Lake. The word means "lake."

<i>Smelkammī'n</i> .....	Probably at the mouth of Similkameen River.
<i>Sāli'l̥x</i> <sup>34</sup> ("heaped house" <sup>35</sup> )...	Near the mouth of Similkameen River.
<i>Tekwora'tem</i> <sup>36</sup> .....	On Okanagan River, close to <i>.sāli'l̥x</i> .
<i>Ōkinā'qēn</i> <sup>37</sup> ("— head").....	An old name for <i>.sāli'l̥x</i> .

The Sanpoil are in two divisions: (1) *Snpōi'l̥x̥x̥* (Sanpoil or Sanpoil proper); (2) *Snespī'l̥x̥* (Nespehim). The name of the former division is said to be derived from that of the district around Sans Poil River; and the name of the latter, from *Nespī'lem* ("having prairies or flat open country"), the name of the country around Nespehim River. Possibly the names were also applicable to main camps in these districts. By some the two divisions are looked upon as separate tribes, and the Sanpoil considered the head tribe. It seems, however, that the Nespehim are only a branch of the Sanpoil. I obtained no lists of bands and camps of this tribe. It seems that most of their settlements were north of Columbia River, the main ones being along the Sans Poil and Nespehim Rivers. Some were on Okanagan River, but very few on Columbia River. The Sanpoil country south of Columbia River was chiefly a hunting ground. It seems that the tribe refused to make treaty or sell their lands to the United States Government, although willing to abide by its regulations and accept its protection. The reasons for this attitude appear to have been that the tribe did not want to be under any obligations to the whites by accepting compensation entailing supervision, or payments that might be construed as charity; and further that they revolted against the idea of selling their country. Their country was the same to them as their mother.

I did not learn if there were any divisions of the Colville, nor have I any lists of their former bands and camps. A leading band located at Kettle Falls or near the mouth of the Kettle River is said to have been called *Snoxiētpi'tuk*,<sup>38</sup> which also appears to be the name of Kettle River. The Colville are said to have had several very large camps along the Columbia and on the Lower Colville River. It is uncertain whether there was any grouping of bands into divisions among the Lake. My informants did not know of any. I obtained what is probably a full list of the old villages and main camps of this tribe within British Columbia. These were from north to south along Columbia River and Arrow Lakes as follows:

<sup>34</sup> See Genealogy of Douglas Lake Chiefs, p. 267.

<sup>35</sup> Said to be so named from breastworks of heaps of stones erected at this place.

<sup>36</sup> See Gibbs, "Tkwuratum" (Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 761).

<sup>37</sup> See Gibbs, "Kinakanes" (Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 115).

<sup>38</sup> Compare the tribal name.

1. *Skexi'kenen*----- On the creek opposite the present town of Revelstoke. This place is said to have been the headquarters of a rather large band, which was reenforced at certain seasons by people from lower down the Columbia. It was noted as a trading, trapping, hunting, berrying, and salmon-fishing center.
2. *Nkema'peleks* ("base or bottom end," with reference to the end of the lake)----- } At the head of the bight in Upper Arrow Lake, above Arrowhead, near the mouth of Fish River. Called "Comaplix" by the whites. Said to have had a large population. It was a specially important center for fishing, berrying (especially huckleberries), and root digging.
3. *Kospi'tsa* ("buffalo robe")----- At the upper end of Arrow Lakes, where the town of Arrowhead now is. This also was a salmon-fishing place, and a noted center for digging roots of *Lilium columbianum*.
4. *Ku'sxena'ks*----- Now called Kooskanax. On Upper Arrow Lake, a little above Nakusp.
5. *Ncgo'sp* ("having buffalo")<sup>39</sup>--- Now Nakusp, near the lower end of Upper Arrow Lake, on the east side. A noted fishing place for salmon and lake trout.
6. *Tci'uken*----- A little below Nakusp; a center for hunting. Some fine caribou grounds were near this place.
7. *Snezai'tsketsem*----- Near the lower end of Upper Arrow Lake, opposite Burton City. This was a great berrying center, especially for huckleberries.
8. *Xai'e'ken*----- At a creek below Burton City. A center for the catching of land-locked salmon or little red fish.
9. *Qepi'ules*----- At the mouth of Kootenai River, just above the junction with the Columbia. A great many people lived here formerly, most of them on the north bank of the Kootenai, within sight of the Columbia. Some old and modern burial grounds may be seen in the neighborhood.
10. *SnskekEle'um*----- At a creek on the west side of Columbia River, close to Trail. This was a center for gathering service berries.
11. *Nkoli'la*----- Close to Waneta, on the east side of Columbia River, just above the mouth of the Pend d'Oreilles River. Many people are said to have lived here formerly, and there are some very old burial grounds near by.

<sup>39</sup> There is no tradition of buffaloes occurring here.

The following were old villages and camps along Slocan River and other places within British Columbia:

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 12. <i>Sukemi'p</i> ("base, root, or bottom," with reference to the head of the lake).                             | } At upper end of Slocan Lake.   |
| 13. <i>TakeLEXaitceks</i> ("trout ascend"? [from <i>aitceks</i> , a variety of large trout, probably lake trout]). |  |
| 14. <i>Sihwī'lex</i> .....   | On the lower part of Slocan Lake.  |
| 15. <i>Kā'ntcā'k</i> .....   | On Slocan River, below the lake.   |
| 16. <i>Nkueio'xten</i> .....   | On Slocan River, below No. 15.   |
| 17. <i>Sketu'kelôx</i> .....   | On Slocan River, below No. 16.   |
| 18. <i>Sntekeli'tk<sup>u</sup></i> .....   | Near the junction of Slocan and Kootenai Rivers. This was a noted salmon-fishing place. Salmon ran up the Slocan River, but could not ascend the Kootenai because of the great Bonnington Falls. Salmon were formerly plentiful throughout the Slocan district, and many people lived at all the villages. |
| 19. <i>Kali'so</i> .....   | On Trout Lake. Its waters drain into the north end of Kootenai Lake.   |
| 20. <i>Nemī'mellem</i> .....   | On Caribou Lake, to the west of the narrows between the Arrow Lakes. The country around here was famous as a caribou-hunting ground.   |

Besides the above, there were a number of smaller villages or camps, all more or less permanent. It seems that there was an old village near the site of old Fort Shepherd, on the west side of the Columbia, a little north of the international line, and old burials are reported near here. Some informants, however, had no knowledge of a village having been here. I did not obtain a full list of the Lake villages in Washington. There appear to have been about eight main villages on the Columbia, all very populous. Three of the chief ones were—

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 21. <i>Ntseltselē'tuk</i> <sup>40</sup> ..... | At or very near Marcus, Columbia River. |
| 22. <i>Stce'xellk<sup>u</sup></i> .....       | On the Columbia, below Northport.       |
| 23. <i>Ntseltserrī'sem</i> .....              | At or very near Northport.              |

The other villages were chiefly near Northport, Bossburg, and Marcus. The last-named place was considered the southern boundary of the tribe. There were also some people on the Lower Kettle River. The Lake also had important temporary camps within British Columbia at Christina Lake, *Keluwī'sst* (now Rosslund), and *Tceaulexçi'xtsa* (now Trail), all west of the Columbia, and at *Kaia'melep* (now Nelson) on Kootenai Lake. The Lake division claim that their eastern boundary was at a point on the lake some

<sup>40</sup> Compare Kutenai name for the Lake, p. 200.



seven or eight miles east of Nelson. They sometimes had a berrying camp here.

I collected a few place names from the Lake division, which are given below.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. <i>Ti'k'ut</i> ("lake" or "large lake").  | Arrow Lakes.  |
| 2. <i>Ntoṛē'utk°</i> ("straight or smooth water").   | Columbia River below the Arrow Lakes.   |
| 3. <i>Szone'tk<sup>u</sup></i> ("swift, rapid, or rough water").   |   |
| 4. <i>Nia'lltEXi'tk°</i> (" <i>ia'lltEX</i> <sup>41</sup> or <i>te'lltEX</i> water," "water of the <i>stallt</i> people [?]"). | Kootenai River below Kootenai Lake.   |
| 5. <i>Ntsa'kulawi'tx<sup>u</sup></i> ("portage or carrying place for canoes"). <sup>42</sup>                                   |   |
| 6. <i>Skalesi'ulk<sup>u</sup></i> <sup>43</sup> -----  | Kootenai River above Kootenai Lake, especially the part in Idaho next to the Kalispel tribe, between Bonner Ferry and Jennings; but the term is also extended to include the Upper Kootenai River in general. |
| 7. <i>Sloke'n</i> -----  | General name for the Slocan River and Slocan Lake district. Probably from the name of a locality within the district.   |
| 8. <i>Nkolē'lak<sup>u</sup></i> -----  | Lower Pend d'Oreilles River (from the name of a place at the mouth).  |
| 9. <i>Slaṛa'tk<sup>u</sup></i> or <i>StlEXai'tk<sup>u</sup></i> -----  | Spokane Falls, and in a general sense also Spokane River. Some Okanagon claim that this is the name of Pend d'Oreilles River, or a river east of the Spokane.   |

POPULATION.—According to the Indians, the population of the tribes long ago was at least about four times greater than it is at the present day. Probably the Lake tribe alone must have numbered 2,000 or more. A conservative estimate of their 20 village communities in British Columbia, allowing an average of 50 persons to each, would give 1,000; but this is probably a very low estimate, as some winter camps are credited with a population of from 100 to 200 people. The villages in Washington are said to have been larger than those farther north, although fewer in number. The lower part of the tribe, although occupying a small area in comparison with the tribal territory in British Columbia, is said to have numbered as many people as the whole 20 villages in British Columbia. This would give the numbers of the tribe as at least 2,000. According to the Indians, the Colville tribe numbered more than the Lake, and may be safely estimated at, say, 2,500. This tribe is said to have had

<sup>41</sup> Compare Lake name for the Lower Kutenai, p. 202, said to be so named because the water came from the Lower Kutenai country.

<sup>42</sup> The Lake portaged canoes and goods at this place, the river being unnavigable.

<sup>43</sup> Compare *si'ulko*, etc. (name for "water" in some Salish languages), and place names in *skal*, *skales* (see No. 19, p. 210), etc.; Kalispel Lake, name of Kalispel tribe, and interpretations of *skal si'ulk* as "water above" (from *skali* "above or at top," or from a word for "young camas").

the densest population. The Okanagon are said to have been a large tribe, probably outnumbering the Colville. Their population may have been from 2,500 to 3,000. The Sanpoil were the smallest tribe of the four, and may have numbered about 1,500. This would give an estimated population of from 8,500 to 9,000 for the Okanagon group; but probably their real number at one time was greater, possibly 10,000 or more. The late population of the tribes, taken from the returns of the Canadian Department of Indian Affairs for 1903 and from the American Report of the Department of the Interior (Indian Affairs), 1905, was as follows:

Okanagon:	
Upper Nicola or Spahamin band.....	192
Okanagon or Nkamaplix band.....	239
Penticton band.....	147
Osoyoos or Nkamip band.....	65
Similkameen, Lower and Upper bands (Chnchuwayha, Ashnola, and Shennosquankin).....	181
Total under Okanagon and Kamloops Agencies, British Columbia.....	
	824
Okinagan (north half).....	548
Okinagan (south half).....	144
Total on Colville Reservation, Washington.....	
	692
Total of Okanagon tribe.....	
	1, 516
Sanpoil:	
Sanpoil.....	350
Nespelim.....	41
Total Sanpoil on Colville Reservation, Washington.....	
	391
Colville on the Colville Reservation, Washington.....	330
Lake on the Colville Reservation, Washington.....	305
Arrow Lake band under the Kutenai Agency, British Colum- bia (on a small reserve near Burton City).....	26
Mouth of Kootenai band, etc. (not on reserves).....	11
342	
Total population of the Okanagon group <sup>44</sup> .....	
	2, 579

According to all accounts, the decrease in the population of these tribes has been much greater, and began at an earlier date, than among the Shuswap and Thompson. About 1800 the Colville and Lake were decimated by smallpox, which reached the Sanpoil, but spared the Okanagon. About 1832 all the tribes were decimated by an epidemic, probably smallpox. The Okanagon suffered almost as severely as the others. It appears that the Shuswap and Thompson

<sup>44</sup> It seems that there are a few Okanagon, and possibly also Colville, not on reservations, who are not included in the Canadian and American Indian returns. The 11 people at the mouth of the Kootenai, here enumerated, are not included in the Canadian report. I counted 11 people living here in 1908 and 1909, the remnants of the old band of this place. Since then I hear that some of them have died, and others, owing to nonrecognition of their rights by the Canadian Government and to recent pressure of white settlement at this point, have followed the example of other members of their band (previous to 1908), and have gone to the United States, where they have been granted land on the Colville Reservation. See for later statistics, p.315.

escaped all the epidemics until 1857 and 1862. The Indians ascribe the great decrease in their numbers to these epidemics and, to a less extent, to other diseases brought in by the whites at a later date.

MIGRATIONS AND MOVEMENTS OF TRIBES.<sup>45</sup>—It seems that there has been a gradual extension of the Okanagon northward and north-westward during the last two centuries. The original home of the tribe is said to have been the Okanagon River in Washington (according to some, near Okanagon Falls).<sup>46</sup> Long ago the Okanagon Lake country was chiefly a hunting ground for the tribe. Deer, elk, and sheep were abundant. Caribou were plentiful in the hills to the east, and a few moose and possibly antelope were to be had. Bear and most kinds of fur-bearing animals were also plentiful. Fish could be procured in the lake all the year round. The main winter villages were located farther to the south.

It seems that about 1750 the Shuswap controlled the country right to the head of Okanagon Lake, where they met the Okanagon. They also hunted in the country east of Okanagon Lake south to a point due east of Penticton, including a large part of the headwaters of Kettle River. They crossed the Gold Range to near the Arrow Lakes, claiming the country as far east as the head of Caribou Lake and the middle of Fire Valley, where they met the Lake tribe. In the country west of the Lake they hunted on a strip of the higher grounds from Stump Lake and the head of Salmon River, extending almost as far south as Penticton, across the heads of all the streams falling into Okanagon Lake and Similkameen River, including Chapperon and Douglas Lakes.<sup>47</sup> They had no permanent villages in this region, but lived near Kamloops Lake, on South Thompson River, and on Salmon Arm.

The Thompson hunted south and west of this region, as far as the upper and middle Similkameen, and beyond to the south.

The Okanagon had some villages along Okanagon Lake, but it seems that the tribe used only the country contiguous to the lake on both sides, and did not range back more than a few miles. They had no foothold in the Nicola, and none in the Similkameen except below Keremeous. The people who lived at the head of Okanagon Lake were of Okanagon and Shuswap descent, with slight Thompson and *Stuwix* admixture. The Nicola-Similkameen country west and south of the Shuswap hunting grounds was at this time still held by *Stuwix*, who, later on, became strongly mixed with Thompson. They were the permanent inhabitants of the Nicola-Similkameen

<sup>45</sup> In regard to this subject consult James H. Teit, *The Middle Columbia Salish*, edited by Franz Boas, University of Washington Publication in Anthropology, vol. 2, no. 4, pp. 83-128; and maps by Franz Boas, territorial distribution of Salish Tribes, accompanying 41st Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn.

<sup>46</sup> See p. 199; also *Genealogy of the Douglas Lake Chiefs*, p. 265; and Dawson, *Shuswap People of British Columbia*, p. 6. The early fur traders claimed that the original home of the Okanagon was in Washington.

<sup>47</sup> See *Genealogy of Douglas Lake Chiefs*, pp. 265 et seq.

valley, but parties of Thompson from Thompson River traveled and hunted all over the *Stuwí'x* country, and made it their home for parts of the year. Some of them occasionally wintered there, either alone or in the *Stuwí'x* villages.

After the introduction of the horse there seems to have been considerable drifting of Okanagon from farther south into the Okanagon Lake country. Toward the end of the eighteenth century the Okanagon from the upper part of Okanagon Lake (who were considered close relatives by Shuswap, Thompson, and *Stuwí'x* through intermarriage) began to invade the Shuswap hunting grounds to the west. They already had free access to these grounds through their blood relationship, but now they settled there, attracted by the fine grazing for horses, good elk hunting, and facilities for trading. By this time they must have attained considerable prestige as traders and as wealthiest in horses. Very soon they made a large permanent settlement at Douglas Lake, and thereafter the Shuswap, it seems by agreement,<sup>48</sup> retired from the country around Douglas Lake and south. When the Okanagon settled there the country around Nicola Lake was inhabited by one or two small bands of *Stuwí'x*. It seems that one of these had headquarters at the outlet of the lake and the other at the mouth of Upper Nicola River near Guichons. The upper band may have numbered about 50 or 60 persons and the lower band about the same or less. The country of the upper band especially was used by large bands of Thompson at certain seasons for hunting elk and deer, and for fishing. Sometime in the very early part of the nineteenth century the upper band was practically exterminated by a large war party of Shuswap.<sup>49</sup> Thereafter the Douglas Lake Okanagon began to take their place. Some Thompson parties continued to come there hunting and fishing, until about 1870; and the people of this place (*Ka'temí'x*) are considerably mixed Thompson. No doubt they contain also slight *Stuwí'x* and Shuswap elements. The *Stuwí'x* tribe is said to have extended to the region near the mouth of the Similkameen River, but they were driven out by the Okanagon. This may have happened about 1700.<sup>50</sup> Later the Okanagon gradually extended up the Similkameen to Keremeous, but above that point the *Stuwí'x* and Thompson held the country.

I did not hear of any movements resulting in extension of boundaries among the other tribes, except perhaps the Nespelim. According to tradition, the Nespelim were a part of the Sanpoil. It seems likely that they originated as an extension of the Sanpoil westward.

The Lake tribe seem to have been a long time in their present habitat. It is possible, however, that they may have been a northern

<sup>48</sup> See Genealogy of Douglas Lake Chiefs, pp. 265, 266.

<sup>49</sup> See Smith, Archaeology of the Thompson River Region, pp. 406, 407.

<sup>50</sup> See Genealogy of Douglas Lake Chiefs, p. 264.

offshoot of the Colville, whom they regard as their nearest of kin. Some of them even say that they were originally one people whose home was at Marcus. An Okanagon chief told me he believed the Spokane were of Flathead ancestry, and that the Okanagon probably came from the Flathead country long ago, as their language was closely related to the Flathead, and was called by the same name as the Flathead language.

INTERCOURSE AND INTERMARRIAGE.—The Lake tribe had most intercourse with the Colville and intermarried mostly with them. They also had a considerable amount of intercourse with the Shuswap and some with the Lower Kutenai. There was, however, much less intermarriage with Shuswap and still less with the Lower Kutenai, the Okanagon, and hardly any with other tribes.

The Colville had a great deal of intercourse with all the neighboring tribes, particularly with the Lake and Kalispel. They intermarried more or less with all the tribes—Lake, Okanagon, Sanpoil, Spokane, and Kalispel, and even others farther away. It seems, however, that there was no intermarriage with non-Salishan people until after the arrival of the fur traders, when some intermarriage took place, chiefly with Iroquois and French.

The Sanpoil had most intercourse with the Okanagon and Colville and intermarried principally with the former, only slightly with the Spokane and Columbia. Although for about 35 years Joseph's band of Nez Percé has been living on the Colville Reserve in close association with Nespelim, Columbia, and others, there appears to have been little intermarriage between these tribes. Some of these Nez Percé are partly of Wallawalla, Umatilla, and Cayuse blood. A few people of Yakima descent are on the reservation, descendants of refugees among the Salishan tribes after the Yakima and Spokane wars with the whites. Among these are some sons and descendants of Chief Kamiakin.

The Okanagon had much intercourse with the Sanpoil and considerable with Columbia, Wenatchi, Shuswap, and Thompson. They also intermarried with all these tribes, and sometimes also with Lake, Colville, and Spokane. As stated before, the northern portion of the tribe intermarried with the Shuswap and Thompson, and no doubt also to some degree with the *Stuwi'x*. There has been a slow permeation of Okanagon blood and language into the Similkameen and Nicola districts by way of Similkameen River and Douglas Lake, and to a less extent into the Spallumcheen valley (Shuswap) from the head of Okanagon Lake. Some of this blood, through intermarriage, has reached as far as Kamloops, Spences Bridge, and even Lytton. The Okanagon may have supplanted the *Stuwi'x* on the Lower Similkameen River; they may also have absorbed some remnants of the latter; above Keremeous the process has been that of absorption.

The opinion generally held seems to be that some time previous to the introduction of the horse the *Stuwī'x* were driven away from the Lower Similkameen entirely. Afterwards the lowest point held by them was around Keremeous. At some later date those living near this place retired farther up the river, died out, or were absorbed by the Okanagon. Anyway, they disappeared, and henceforth the *Stuwī'x*, along with the Thompson, occupied the river only above this point.

During the first part of the nineteenth century the *Stuwī'x* and Thompson languages were used exclusively above Keremeous, the Thompson preponderating. Later the *Stuwī'x* became extinct and Thompson alone was spoken. Through continued intercourse and intermarriage with the neighboring people of the Lower Similkameen and of Okanagon Lake, Okanagon is now gradually pushing out the Thompson language, and is liable to supplant it in the whole valley. The infiltration of Okanagon blood has been very gradual and does not keep pace with the spread of the language, which is making rapid headway. The *Stuwī'x*-Thompson inhabitants are becoming Okanagonized more through contact than through intermarriage. This process has been facilitated by the changed mode of life of the Thompson, whose habits have become more sedentary and who do not often visit their friends in Similkameen and seldom intermarry there. On the other hand, the Okanagon are in closer proximity to the Upper Similkameen people and, therefore, in constant contact with them. As already stated, the people of the upper end of Okanagon Lake are mixed with Shuswap, and also slightly with Thompson and probably with *Stuwī'x*. The Douglas Lake Band, in all their settlements, intermarried with the Okanagon Lake people, on the one hand, and with the Thompson-*Stuwī'x*, on the other. They have therefore considerable Thompson and some Nicola, *Stuwī'x*, Shuswap, and Similkameen blood.

As all the Okanagon bands intermarried a great deal, foreign blood received at one end of the tribe was often transmitted to the other end, and thus there is a little Thompson and Shuswap blood through almost all the tribe.

A few instances of intermarriage with distant tribes have been reported. About three generations ago a Similkameen man married a woman who came from a tribe in the far south. Some of her manners and some of the food she ate were considered peculiar. For instance, she was fond of grasshoppers. She may have been a Paiute or a member of a Californian tribe, probably a slave who had been sold. Another instance is that of a Similkameen young man, who while on a trading trip to Hope, married a young woman there belonging to the Lower Fraser tribe. The following year he took her

back because she was unacquainted with the mode of life of his tribe and quite unable to adapt herself to it.

## II. MANUFACTURES

WORK IN STONE, BONE, ETC.—The tools used by the central tribes for working stone and wood appear to have been the same as those employed by the Thompson.<sup>1</sup> Arrow-flaking tools, sandstone arrow smoothers, adzes of flaked arrowstone, of greenstone, and of iron,<sup>2</sup> chisels and scrapers made of antler, bone, and stone, awls of bone and later of iron, fire drills, were of the same style as those of the Thompson. Greenstone or jade celts, some of them long, were used. They were most abundant in the western part of the country, and some people claim that they were made by the Columbia, who procured the stone along Columbia River. Some of them may have come from the Thompson, and others may have been of local manufacture. Stone hammers and pestles were made by all the tribes and were used a great deal. The long pestle,<sup>3</sup> for use with both hands, was more common than among the Thompson. Some of the stone hammers were well made. The shapes appear to have been similar to those of the Thompson and neighboring tribes. One kind had a large deep base. The handle narrowed gradually toward the top, which was pointed. Another kind was similar, but the top was small and rounded and had a knob. Another form had a shallower base and a rather wide flat top.<sup>4</sup> Some rough hammers consisted merely of river boulders as near the desired shape and size as obtainable. They were pecked a little around the handhold to give a grip, and the base was flattened. Small hammers<sup>5</sup> were made for fine work and for use by girls. Stone mortars of various sizes were used by the Lake tribe, and probably also by other tribes. Wooden mortars were also employed. Both kinds were round. Some mortars had much larger pits than others; some were deep, and others shallow. Flat stones were used as anvils. According to information received in Similkameen, stone mortars were not used there, and it is said that none have been found by Indians in that district. Stone pestles and hammers are also seldom found, and it is believed were rarely made there. Those formerly in use are said to have been procured from Thompson Indians, or to have been brought in by them. If this is correct, it shows a difference between the old Similkameen Indians and the Thompson and Okanagon.<sup>6</sup> Arrow smoothers are said to have been

<sup>1</sup> *a*, pp. 182-184.

<sup>2</sup> See Thompson, *a*, p. 183, fig. 123.

<sup>3</sup> *i*, figs. 30, 35, 36.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Nez Percé, *b*, pl. 8.

<sup>5</sup> See specimen No. 222 in the Teit collection at the Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Mass.

<sup>6</sup> This would agree with their Athapascan origin. The people of this stock, at least in the north, had few stone utensils of this class.

rarely used in Similkameen, except by Thompson Indians resident there. Instead a flaked stone, with a notch at one end and a thumb hold at the other, was employed for scraping arrow shafts. A few of them appear to have been hafted with a small piece of wood for a hand grip, after the manner of the slate fish knives of the coast. I have not learned of the use of this tool (fig. 15)<sup>7</sup> by other tribes. Heavy chisels of antler, preferably the butt parts of elk's antler (Pl. 1), were used for felling and splitting trees. Wedges of hard wood, and occasionally of stone, were also used for splitting wood. They were driven with hammers, mauls, and mallets of stone, antler, and wood. Black soapstone for pipes was obtained in the Similkameen Valley, below Keremeous.

PAINTS AND DYES.—As far as I was able to learn, the principal paints, dyes, and stains were the same as those of the Thompson.

Red, black, white, blue, yellow, and green were the colors used, red especially being very common. Flowers of *Delphinium*, roots of *Lithospermum*, roots of Oregon grape, alder bark, and wolf moss were all employed.

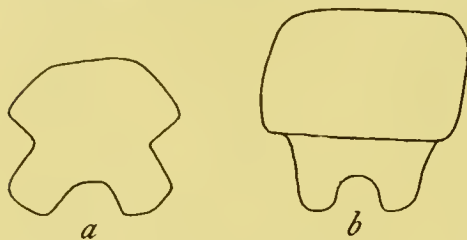


FIGURE 15.—Arrow smoother

Cactus gum was used for smearing over paint. It seems that the Okanagon, Sanpoil, and Colville did more painting than the Lake tribe, who lived in a moister climate. Large quantities of good red paint were obtained at Vermilion, in the Upper Similkameen Valley. It formed an article of export, and the place was much visited by Thompson Indians. It seems that the Similkameen people in early times did not do as much painting and dyeing as their neighbors.

DRESSING OF SKINS.—The method of skin dressing and the tools used were the same as those of the Thompson and Shuswap. Small chisel-like scrapers of stone, bone, and antler were used for small skins and for certain kinds of work. None of them had serrated points. Long straight scrapers with stone heads were employed for rubbing large skins.<sup>8</sup> Most skins were smoked. Those intended for moccasins were always smoked.

MATS.—The varieties of rush and tule mats in vogue among the Thompson<sup>9</sup> appear to have been made in considerable numbers by all the tribes. As among the Thompson, sewed tule mats<sup>10</sup> were used as lodge covers and also occasionally berries were spread and dried on

<sup>7</sup> Some of the rounded notched arrowstones in archeological finds on the Thompson may have been scrapers of this kind.

<sup>8</sup> See Thompson, *a*, p. 185, fig. 127.

<sup>9</sup> See Thompson, *a*, pp. 188-190.

<sup>10</sup> See Thompson, *a*, p. 189, fig. 131, *c*.





CHISEL OF ELK HORN

Thompson River Salish.



BIRCH-BARK BASKETS

Interior Salish.

them. Mats were used as seats and bedding;<sup>11</sup> others as food plates and for wrapping around goods.<sup>12</sup> They were like those of the Thompson. Mats were seldom made of willow bark, elaeagnus bark, and sage bark. Cedar bark was not used for mats, it seems, not even by the Lake tribe. The Similkameen people made a great many mats of dry rushes, and sewed tule mats as well. At the present day mats are seldom made.

Ornamentation on mats was effected in the same way as among the Thompson. Different natural colors of the material were sorted out and woven into the mat in alternate stripes. Mats were also made of composite materials of different natural colors.<sup>13</sup> Sometimes dyed material was used, the common colors being different shades of red, brown, and blue.<sup>14</sup> An overlay of dyed material was also occasionally employed, laid on either straight<sup>15</sup> or in zigzags. The twine in the weaving of some mats was arranged in zigzags instead of straight lines, a form of ornamentation frequent among the Thompson.<sup>16</sup>

WEAVING.—It is said that the Lake tribe made woven rabbit skin blankets and that also goat hair blankets were woven on a loom. (See also p. 328).

WOVEN BAGS.—All the varieties of woven sacks used by the Thompson were also made by the Okanagon. The materials used were rushes, young tules, willow bark, elaeagnus bark, elematis bark, and Indian-hemp twine. A great many bags of different shapes were made of twine. The Similkameen people obtained their Indian hemp at a place below Keremeous; but it grew abundantly in many low places in the territories of the several tribes. Bags were made in close and open weaving. Common methods of weaving were the same as those of the Thompson.<sup>17</sup> Bags made in plain twining were also common. A few were decorated by the methods employed in mat ornamentation. Sometimes strips of braiding were introduced at intervals in the weaving;<sup>18</sup> and a few bags were made entirely of braids woven together, or, more rarely, sewed together.

Braids were of vegetal material and of hair.

There was almost, if not quite, as great a variety of shapes and styles of bags as among the Thompson. All the forms used by the Thompson about which I inquired were known to one or another of my informants. Oblong bags made of various kinds of matting, with ends inclosed in skin, were common. The mouths were laced or tied.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>11</sup> See Thompson, *a*, p. 189, fig. 131, *d*.

<sup>12</sup> See Thompson, *a*, p. 189, fig. 131, *c* and *f*.

<sup>13</sup> See specimen in Ottawa collection, VI. M. 78.

<sup>14</sup> See *ibid.*, VI. M. 78.

<sup>15</sup> For straight overlay, see Ottawa collection, VI. M. 73.

<sup>16</sup> See Ottawa collection, VI. M. 76.

<sup>17</sup> *a*, p. 189, fig. 131, *d*, *h*, *i*.

<sup>18</sup> See Ottawa collection, Cat. No. 90.

<sup>19</sup> See Thompson, *a*, p. 202, fig. 149.

Other common bags had the backs longer than the fronts, the extension of the former making a cover.<sup>20</sup> Rush and twine bags for drying and storing berries and roots, especially service berries and huckleberries, were also common.<sup>21</sup> Some of these were round and had narrow mouths.<sup>22</sup> Rush bags and creels for holding small fish and fishing material were in use. Some of them had hoops around the mouths. Two shapes of stiff woven bags were used as mortar bags for crushing seeds. One was just like the Thompson bag used for the same purpose, while the other was much wider mouthed. Both had stiff rawhide bottoms, and were used in place of stone and wooden mortars, which were hard to transport. Woven bags were made in great numbers by the Sanpoil, the chief materials being Indian-hemp twine, rushes, the inside bark of the willow, and elaeagnus bark where obtainable. Elaeagnus bushes are said to have been much scarcer in their country than in the territories of the Okanagon and Thompson, and therefore this bark was seldom employed. The chief materials used by the Lake tribe in making woven bags seem to have been Indian-hemp twine and the inner bark of the cedar. Some cedar-bark bags were of very large size. A few bags are still made by most tribes.

FLAT BAGS—Bags of the so-called "Nez Percé" type,<sup>23</sup> made of Indian-hemp twine, were manufactured by all the tribes. The Lake tribe claim that they made them formerly in considerable numbers, and state that they were made also by the Lower Kutenai. They were seldom ornamented in any way. Ornamentation on these bags was introduced from the south over a century ago, but was never fully adopted by the Lake tribe, who continued to make almost all their flat bags plain until they discontinued making them, about 1870 or 1875. The Lower Kutenai are said to make a few still. The Colville, Sanpoil, and Okanagon made a great many bags, and ornamented them with bulrush in natural green, yellow, and white colors, and also with flattened porcupine quills. Sometimes the rushes and quills were dyed. The ornamentation was generally in the nature of an overlay, showing only on the outside. Designs of different kinds were executed in these materials. The other tribes, especially the Okanagon, made some of their flat bags plain, like the Lake tribe. The Similkameen people made almost all their flat bags plain and obtained ornamented ones from the tribes to the south and east. A few of these bags are still made by the Nespelim and Sanpoil, but the other tribes no longer make them. Most of the flat bags used by the northern and central tribes nowadays are procured in trade, and are of Shahaptian make.

<sup>20</sup> See Thompson, *a*, p. 203, fig. 152.

<sup>21</sup> See Ottawa collection, VI. M. 80.

<sup>22</sup> See Thompson, *a*, p. 202, fig. 150.

<sup>23</sup> See Thompson, *a*, p. 190, fig. 132, and Shuswap, *e*, p. 497, fig. 219.

SKIN BAGS.—The tribes made skin bags in all the styles in vogue among the Thompson. Most of them were ornamented with fringes and porcupine quillwork. It is doubtful if the square tobacco bag with eight bottom pendants was made. This type appears to be confined chiefly to the region along Fraser River, and was generally made of cloth.<sup>24</sup> The Coeur d'Alêne, however, claim to have made this style in cloth. As cloth could not be cut in fine fringes like buckskin, eight or ten coarse fringes were made, and their edges bound with ribbon.

RAWHIDE BAGS AND PARFLÊCHES.—The square, stiff hide bag with long side fringes<sup>25</sup> was common among all the tribes. The Colville, Sanpoil, and some of the Okanagon made and painted these bags in considerable numbers, but they also procured some in trade from the Kalispel and other tribes. The Lake and Similkameen people made only a few, and seldom painted them. The latter obtained their painted ones from the Okanagon and Columbia, and the Lake obtained theirs chiefly from the Kutenai. Very few are now made by these tribes; but the Kutenai, Kalispel, and Nez Percé are said to make a great many still. A few mortar bags for crushing seeds were made entirely of rawhide and were like the woven ones in shape. Parflêches of buffalo, horse, and other hide were made and used to a great extent by all the tribes except the Lake. They came into use shortly after the introduction of the horse. The Lake tribe used them very little, because they were almost entirely a canoe people. The Similkameen people did not paint parflêches, and made many of them without removing the hair. Most parflêches made by the Okanagon and Sanpoil were painted, as were all those procured in trade.

Another kind of parflêche was used sparingly by the Okanagon and perhaps by other tribes. It was square in shape, made of the entire skin of an animal doubled over. The tail part formed the cover, and separate pieces were sewed on for side pieces. The parflêche was made of scraped rawhide, except the tail or the point of the tail, which had the hair left on for ornament. Usually they were unpainted; but sometimes red lines were made along the seams and borders, and rarely also a few figures were painted on the front. They were used for packing on horses, in the same way as the common parflêches. Possibly they may be a modification of an old type of bag used for storing dried meat and fat, which antedated the introduction of the horse. The loops and holding stick inside may have been a later adaptation for horse travel. Before the days of horse packing, the sticks and loops would have been unnecessary in the common envelope parflêche also.

<sup>24</sup> See Shuswap, *e*, pl. 13, fig. 1.

<sup>25</sup> See Shuswap, *e*, p. 498, fig. 220, and Thompson, *a*, p. 203, fig. 151.

**BARK BASKETRY.**—Baskets of birch bark were made by all the tribes. A few rough temporary vessels of bark of juniper, cedar, willow, spruce, balsam, and white pine were occasionally used. These were folded of one piece, and the mouth was kept open by hoops. The birch-bark baskets of the Okanagon and Sanpoil appear to have been made and shaped like those of the Thompson. Hoops were placed both inside and outside of the rim, or only on the inside. Birch-bark trays somewhat oblong in shape were also made occasionally, as well as birch-bark cups. Possibly the birch-bark baskets of the Lake tribe differed a little in form. The baskets were of all sizes, from a cup to that of a large bucket. The best ones are said to have been sewed very regularly at the ends and rims. Quills were occasionally used in stitching the latter. A zigzag sewing of splint was common on the poorer baskets.<sup>26</sup> Among the baskets which I saw among the Lake tribe the grain of the bark was generally at right

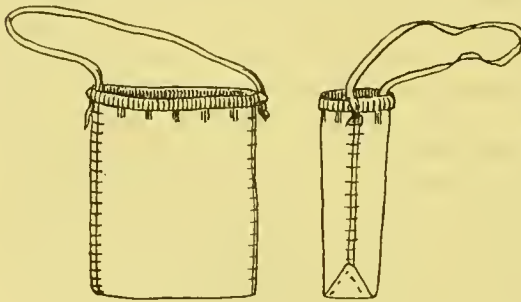


FIGURE 16.—Birch-bark basket

angles to the rim instead of parallel, as usual among the Thompson, Shuswap, and Okanagon.<sup>27</sup> The sewing was of splint (cedar, spruce, etc.), and sometimes of bark and bark twine. The Lake baskets which I saw had overlapping side flaps, each being sewn separately, so that there were two parallel seams on the side of the basket. The rimrod was notched and sewed with a zigzag stitch, while the side seams were made of straight stitching. (Pl. 2.) The *Stuwi'x* of Similkameen made many birch-bark vessels of good workmanship. They seem to have been the same in details as those of the Thompson, but some people claim that they were made more neatly than most baskets of the Thompson and Okanagon.

A deep, flat-sided basket, generally of birch bark, was sometimes made by the Lake tribe, and used for carrying berries, etc. The back and front were wide and the two sides were very narrow. Rods extended up each side and around the rim. (Fig. 16.) The Kutenai commonly used such baskets, the Colville and perhaps the Kalispel more rarely. Most baskets were plain. A few had designs formed by scraping off the outer layer of bark, and others had designs made by scorching and painting.

<sup>26</sup> See Field Mus., Nos. 111859-111862.

<sup>27</sup> The few Kutenai birch-bark baskets that I have seen all had the bark parallel to the rim, like the Thompson baskets.

COILED BASKETRY.<sup>b</sup>—Coiled basketry was made by all the tribes long ago. All the bands of the Lake made coiled basketry; and many individuals of nearly all bands of other tribes. Certain bands of some tribes in whose territory basketry material was scarce made little or no coiled basketry, but procured baskets from neighboring bands or tribes, who lived in a country where good basketry materials abounded. Thus the Okanagon made comparatively few baskets and procured a good many from the Thompson and Columbia. The Athapascan *Stuw'x* were the only people who made no coiled baskets but procured them from the Thompson. Some Thompson who intermarried and lived with them made baskets. The Sanpoil made a good many baskets, but probably not sufficient for their requirements, as they also procured some from the Columbia. The Colville made baskets and also procured some from the Lake. As among the Thompson, cedar roots were preferred for baskets, and most were of this material. In places where good cedar roots were difficult to obtain spruce roots and juniper roots were used instead. The Sanpoil claim that good basketry material was scarce in their country, and they depended on collecting the rootlets of uprooted cedar, spruce, and juniper brought down the Columbia by the freshets, and which happened to strand on the shores of the river within their country. All the Lake coiled basketry was made of cedar and spruce roots, as there was an abundance of these trees in their country. The Sanpoil say that long ago there was no imbrication on baskets and that the process was introduced among them about the beginning of the last century. As imbrication commenced to be general about the time the first whites (fur traders) appeared, some Indians think the art has been learned from the whites, but this seems quite unlikely. It seems grass in its natural color was principally used in imbrication. Grass was also dyed, and simple designs were made. Other materials used in imbrication were the inside bark of the willow, cherry bark, stems of tule, and rarely cedar bark. The materials used by the Okanagon and Colville appear to have been the same as those in vogue among the Sanpoil. The Lake say that very long ago there was no imbrication, and they do not know exactly how or when it developed. Most people think it came from the south, and some think it must have been learned from the Lower Kutenai, but this again is quite unlikely. Imbrication, they say, has been used by themselves and the Lower Kutenai for at least three generations, but was never fully adopted. About 1860 when the making of coiled basketry had almost ceased, most baskets were plain. The Lake appear to have used grass entirely for imbrication. The grass stems were collected in the high mountains. Occasionally they were dyed. They say patterns

<sup>b</sup> See *o*, pp. 140-142.

were made entirely or almost entirely in black and white. The former color was dyed grass, according to some, and a different material according to others. (My informant had forgotten exactly what it was.) The same materials are said to have been used by the Lower Kutenai, Colville, and perhaps other tribes. The Lake say that an old woman residing in 1909 near Burton City is the only Lake they know of still living who has made coiled baskets; but all the other old women have seen their mothers and grandmothers making baskets. With the passing away of the past generation of old women basket making ceased excepting among a very few, such as the old woman mentioned. At the present day, as far as I could learn, no coiled baskets are made by any of these tribes. Baskets, however, are still used in some places; but they are almost altogether of Thompson, Columbia, and Klickitat makes. The Lake say their baskets were of some six or seven shapes and of many sizes. All were more or less circular, excepting one kind, which was oblong with rounded ends. They were long and rather low, and used for storing of provisions, clothes, small tools, etc., in the lodges. Angular forms were never known until quite lately. From descriptions by two women and a sketch made it seems they resembled the smaller of the older "*stlūq*" type or storage basket made by the Thompson. (*a*, fig. 143.) It is claimed that this type was in use about 1800. Burden baskets usually were not very large, and were shaped somewhat like a pail or kettle (*o*, fig. 26 *f*). Some had straight sides like a birch-bark basket (*o*, fig. 26 *e*), while others were smaller at the bottom and larger at the mouth (*o*, fig. 26 *a*). Some were made almost completely circular, but those most used for carrying purposes were a little flatter on two sides to prevent rolling. Some appear to have resembled a very old style of burden basket among the Thompson, which was quite similar to a kind still used by the Wenatchi. The baskets used as kettles were quite circular and somewhat basin-shaped, the mouth being much wider than the bottom. They were no doubt the same as the basket kettles of the Thompson, but possibly did not average as large in size, and they also appear to have been shallower (*o*, pl. 41 *j*). Cup and bowl shaped baskets (*o*, figs. 27 *e*, 28 *b*) were also made, and varied in size from that of an ordinary cup to others about as large as the kettle baskets. They were used as cups, bowls, water receptacles, storage baskets, kettle baskets, etc. Another kind was almost jar-shaped, the mouth being contracted slightly and the bottom comparatively large (similar to *o*, pl. 68 *a*, *b*.) The sides of some converged all the way up, but none had very small mouths. Some of them were used as workbaskets. They may also have been used as water baskets and for various purposes. The Lower Kutenai and perhaps some other neighboring tribes also used these shapes.



Another shape of basket used was that called "nut-shaped" by the Thompson. It was usually small, and bulged out in the middle of the sides, the mouth and bottom being of about equal diameter. (*a*, fig. 145.) They were used by women as work and trinket baskets, etc. The Sanpoil say their burden baskets are similar to some of those made by the Wenatchi and Klickitat at the present day, while others resembled more some of those made by Thompson. None had square corners. All were very much rounded, but two sides were flatter and straighter to prevent rolling on the back. They were used for transportation of roots, berries, etc., and also for boiling. Some completely circular baskets were also used as kettles. They were almost barrel-shaped, and some were of large size. (*o*, pl. 68, *i*.) Small cup and bowl shaped baskets, it seems, were also made. I got no definite information as to other shapes, excepting that a basketry tray was much used, probably similar to that of the Thompson. Some were circular and others oblong. They were used for holding berries, etc., in the house, also as food platters and for passing around food. Their sides were from 10 to 12 cm. high, and generally flared a little. Some of the oblong ones were very long and used as fish dishes, being capable of holding a large roasted salmon at full length.

ROPES, THREAD, AND NETS.—Ropes were made of twisted Indian hemp of various lengths and thicknesses. Temporary ropes of grass were also made, chiefly of timber grass. Withes of willow were much used. Other ropes were made of strips cut out of rawhide, twisted or plaited. Softer ropes of twisted or braided dressed skin were also in use. After the introduction of the horse, ropes of horse hair twisted and plaited were much used. Fishing lines and sewing thread were made almost altogether of Indian-hemp twine. This was also the material for all kinds of nets. Twine was sometimes made of hair of buffalo, bear, and in some places possibly also of goat, but I could not learn for what particular uses. Sinew was employed for sewing. An arrowstone with notches was used for scraping rawhide thongs.

WOVEN CLOTHING.—Women's caps of the so-called "Nez Percé" type<sup>28</sup> were made by all the tribes except the Lake and the Similkameen. The Lake did not use them and the Similkameen obtained them in trade. The Lower Similkameen people may have made a very few. The Sanpoil made frequent use of them, and the Nespelim still make a few. Originally they were woven of Indian hemp, and fine bulrushes covered the outside. Ornamentation was usually effected by arranging the natural green and yellow shades of the rushes. Sometimes the rushes were dyed, reds and browns being the

<sup>28</sup> See Nez Percé, *b*, pl. 6, nos. 15, 16.

predominant colors. Flattened porcupine quills instead of rushes were also employed in the ornamentation of these caps. A few of the Sanpoil, Okanagon, and possibly the Colville, also made conical caps woven of the inside bark of the willow, rarely of other kinds of bark. These appear to have been the same as those used by some poor people among the Thompson.<sup>29</sup> In Similkameen they were woven entirely of rushes. Blankets woven of strips of rabbit skins were made by all the tribes. The Lake tribe also made woven goat's-wool and rabbit-skin robes; and they say that they made both these on the same kind of loom, which consisted of four plain sticks. Small blankets or cloaks of rushes were made occasionally by the Similkameen. In later days at least some of these had strips of fur and wool woven with the rushes, and some were edged with fur, buckskin, and cloth.

DESIGNS ON BAGS.—I had little opportunity to obtain information regarding designs on bags. It seems that very little is remembered about them, and there were but few specimens at hand for examination. The Okanagon appear to give about the same interpretations of designs as the Thompson. The Lake tribe claim that they did not ornament their woven bags. The Nespelim and Colville say that designs were wrought in with grasses in natural colors—green, white, and yellow—and also with dyes and with porcupine quills.

DESIGNS ON BASKETS.—I tried to procure some information on coiled basketry designs from the Lake tribe, but could get nothing very definite. They said that checks and short lines in black and white in various combinations constituted the bulk of the early designs, and these they think were only rarely given names. It seems that "beading" was done in lines.

### III. HOUSE AND HOUSEHOLD

UNDERGROUND LODGE.—The underground house of the Thompson and Shuswap was used more or less by all the tribes as a winter lodge, except by the Colville. Several informants said that the Colville never used them. The Lake say that they were used to a considerable extent by them long ago, and were called "earth lodges" or "earth-covered lodges." They say that none of the oldest Lake people now living ever used them; but they have been described by their parents, some of whom lived in them. They say that most of them were quite small, intended only for the use of one or two families. The entrance to all of them was through the top. The whole construction was similar to that of the underground house of the Thompson.<sup>1</sup> They were dug out to a depth of from 1 to 2 meters.

<sup>29</sup> See Peabody Museum, Teit Collection, No. 491.

<sup>1</sup> *a*, pp. 192-194, and figs. 135, 136; also pl. 15, figs. 1 and 2.

Sandy ground, where digging was easy and the soil dry, was chosen for sites. The Similkameen say that the underground winter lodge of the Thompson was used by them, but many people preferred to live in mat lodges during winter. Among the Okanagon the house with entrance from the top was used chiefly in the northern part of their country. The Sanpoil used very few, and most of the people wintered in mat lodges. A few underground houses with entrance on the side, but otherwise of the same construction, were used by Okanagon and Sanpoil. This style was common among the tribes on Columbia River to the south. The distribution of the underground house was mainly in a line following the east side of the Cascades, through the arid belt of the country, from the northern Shuswap, south along Fraser River, across the Thompson, Nicola, Similkameen, and Okanagon, to the Columbia, and from there south into Oregon.

**CONICAL LODGE.**—All the tribes used summer lodges made of tule mats laid on a framework of poles. These lodges were of two main types—circular and oblong. The circular mat tent was most common, and was looked upon as the family house.<sup>2</sup> As a rule, they were not very large, and the poles were arranged on a three-pole foundation. They were also used a great deal in the wintertime, when they were covered with from two to four layers of mats instead of one, as in the summer. They were usually occupied by one or two families, and when well covered were warm and quite snow and rain proof.

**SQUARE OR SQUARE-TOPPED LODGE.**—The Lake also used a type of lodge the poles of which did not meet in the center, as in a tent.<sup>3</sup> The four main poles converged somewhat, like the rafters of an underground lodge, forming a square or slightly oblong smoke hole. The base of the lodge was generally quite circular, but in some may have been inclined to squareness. In some lodges the smoke hole was oblong rather than square. I did not learn whether all the tribes used these lodges, but the Okanagon did to a slight extent. I have called these lodges "square-topped lodges," although the ground plan is circular. Some are constructed almost exactly like the underground house, but above ground and with much lighter materials.

**LONG LODGE.**—The long or oblong lodge was a single lean-to, and some of them were of great length. The fires were along the open front. This lodge was usually covered with but a single layer of mats, and was a temporary shelter made to accommodate people assembled at fishing places or at other gatherings. If more comfort were required, another lean-to was erected facing it; and the ends were

<sup>2</sup> For the common style of framework of the conical lodge, see Thompson, *a*, pl. 16, fig. 2, and Ottawa photo No. 27072; for a mat-covered conical lodge, see Ottawa photo no. 26623; for a poor type, where poles are scarce, see Thompson, *a*, pl. 16, fig. 1.

<sup>3</sup> See Thompson, *a*, p. 197, figs. 138, 139, and pl. 16, fig. 3.

rounded off and filled in with poles, over which mats or brush were laid.<sup>4</sup> The double lean-to lodge was used at any season of the year for the accommodation of large numbers of visitors, at feasts, and for dancing. People did not usually live in them in the winter, except a few young men and other people temporarily. The Lake tribe say that this type of lodge went out of use among them a long time ago, but that formerly it was in use for the accommodation of strangers, visitors, and when communities camped together temporarily, as at fishing and other resorts in the fair season. They were in favor because they could accommodate many people, and required a lesser number of mats than tents. They were used by parties when traveling, who when they returned home always lived in tents. The mat tent or circular lodge was the family house of the tribe.

**BARK AND OTHER LODGES.**—Among the Lake tribe all shapes of lodges, including the conical lodge or tent and the square-topped lodge, were often covered with bark instead of mats. Cedar bark peeled in spring was mostly used. The strips were generally arranged up and down, with the inside of the bark out. In a few cases the bark may have been placed horizontally and overlapping, being kept in place by tying and with poles laid against the outside. It seems that the Sanpoil and Colville used no bark-covered lodges and the Okanagon only very few. In places where good bark was scarce, lodges, especially circular ones, were covered with brush and hay or a mixture of poles, bark, brush, and hay. Brush houses and shelters were used by parties of all the tribes when hunting or trapping in the high mountains. Some of them were slightly oblong, with square or oblong smoke holes; and others had a smoke hole like that of the tent. Some were covered entirely with brush, while others had a covering of brush, grass, bark, and poles mixed.<sup>5</sup> Among the Okanagon they were often banked up around the outside with earth to a height of about 1 meter.<sup>6</sup> Often snow was used instead in the winter. The inside of winter lodges was excavated to a depth of about 15 centimeters or more below the surface of the ground. The floor was smoothed. The earth from the excavation was used for banking around the bottom of the lodge on the outside. Pieces of bark were placed between the mats and the earth. Women's lodges consisted of small mat tents,<sup>7</sup> half-tents, open in front, and small lean-to shelters, generally under trees. They were covered with old mats and, in the mountains, with brush. The lodges of adolescent girls were always conical, generally well made, and quite small. They were usually made of fir brush,<sup>8</sup> but sometimes of mats. Among the Lake tribe, many were covered with

<sup>4</sup> See Thompson, *a*, p. 197, figs. 137 and 142. Also used by the Coeur d'Aléne.

<sup>5</sup> See Ottawa photos nos. 23165, 23166.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, nos. 26260, 26261.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 27097.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, nos. 26976, 26977, 27073.

bark. The floors of lodges in the higher hills were covered with fir boughs or balsam boughs. Among the Lake tribe cedar boughs and hemlock boughs were also used. In the lower country, where fir was not handy, the dead needles of yellow pine were used for this purpose. Occasionally grass or swamp hay and rushes were used as floor covering. Bed places were further covered with mats or skins, which were rolled up at the head of the bed when not in use. In the daytime this roll of bedding and added clothes formed a back rest. No regular back rests, as among the Blackfoot, were used. Skin tents were used by the Okanagon tribes after the neighboring tribes had begun to hunt on the plains. Before that, only rarely was a skin lodge obtained in trade. Later on they became common among the Colville and to a less extent among the Sanpoil. The Lake and Similkameen never used them. The Okanagon adopted them to a limited extent only. After the extinction of the buffalo they were replaced by tents made of canvas, duck, and drilling. Several styles of the white man's tent, and also the canvas tipi, are used by these tribes at the present day. The canvas tipi is employed more in the southern part of the country and tents in the north. A few mat, bark, and brush lodges are still used occasionally among the Lake tribe. The permanent home nowadays is usually a log cabin or a board house modeled after the pattern of the houses of the whites.

**SWEAT HOUSES.**—Sweat houses were everywhere of the same kind as among the Thompson. Some of those near permanent dwellings were earth-covered.<sup>9</sup>

**CELLARS.**—Caches and cellars were the same as those of the Thompson. Tree caches, scaffold caches, and circular cellars or pits in the ground were all used.

**HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS.**—Household utensils consisted principally of baskets built up by coiling or made of birch bark, woven mats, and bags of various kinds. The materials and structure of all these have already been described. Beds consisted of a thick layer of the same materials as those used for lodge floors. They were covered with mats, which were often further covered with skins of bear, buffalo, sheep, deer, or other animals. Bed covering consisted of various kinds of robes. The head of the bed was elevated a little with a heap of brush or grass underneath the bedding. Some pillows were also used, made of small bags of dressed skin stuffed with bulrush down or with small feathers. I did not learn with certainty about the use of hammocks. Possibly some were used for babies. The methods of boiling and roasting, and of cooking, storing food and water were in no way different from those which obtained among the Thompson.

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<sup>9</sup> See Thompson, *a*, pl. 17, figs. 1-3.

It seems that wooden dishes were not used, except small bowls and cups hollowed out of knots. Some bowls and dishes and many spoons<sup>11</sup> were made of mountain sheep's horn, especially by the Okanagon. A few spoons of goat and buffalo horn were also in use, and in later days those of cow's horn. Wooden spoons were made occasionally,<sup>12</sup> chiefly of poplar and birch. Spoons were also made of stiff bark.<sup>13</sup> In the main camps boiling was done with hot stones in coiled baskets. In temporary camps and on hunting expeditions bark kettles were used when bark was obtainable, else paunches of animals were made to serve. Temporary kettles were made of the bark of cedar, willow, spruce, balsam, white pine, etc., whichever was most easily obtained in the locality where they camped. Holes dug in hard clay and natural cavities in rocks were sometimes utilized.

#### IV. CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

**DRESS.**—The clothing of the Okanagon tribes was much like that of the Upper Thompson. The full dress generally consisted of moccasins, long leggings, belt, breechclout or apron, shirt, and cap or headband for the men; and moccasins, short leggings, long dress, and cap or headband for the women. Belts were also worn by many of the latter. Extra clothing, consisting of robes, was used when necessary by both sexes. People never went barefoot, except within and near the lodge or when at leisure around the camp. In warm weather around the camps many men and children went partly nude. Clothes were made of dressed skins of deer, elk, buffalo, antelope, caribou, and moose. Sheepskins were seldom dressed, because considered too fragile; and goatskins were not even used for bedding. Most skins were dressed without the hair, except those intended for robes. The Thompson considered the Okanagon a well-dressed people; meaning that their dress was nearly always of the best quality and style. They nearly all dressed alike, using the same cuts and styles of clothes, ornamented in the same way. This was taken as an indication of wealth and good taste. On the other hand, it is said that the Thompson were not as uniform in their dress, there being much greater variety in quality and style. Also some individuals were careless or peculiar in their dress, and some others were too poor to dress correctly. Possibly, however, the chief reason may have been that the Thompson were more under different influences than the Okanagon, styles from west, north, east, and south all reaching them to some extent.

**ROBES AND CAPES.**—Every one had one or more robes to wear, as conditions required, and to sleep in. Probably the most common

<sup>11</sup> See Ottawa collection, Nos. 135, 137.

<sup>12</sup> See Thompson, *a*, p. 204, fig. 156.

<sup>13</sup> See Ottawa collection, No. 136, a juniper-bark spoon.

robes were those made of skins of deer, fawn, antelope, buffalo, beaver, otter, marmot, coyote, and lynx, all dressed in the hair. Robes woven of twisted strips of rabbit skin were made and worn by all the tribes. Probably a few of twisted strips of muskrat were also in use. Robes or blankets woven of goat's wool were made and used only by the Lake tribe. Probably a few of these blankets were procured from the Wenatchi, and used by Okanagon as bedcovers. Dogskin robes were not worn, except by the Similkameen. A few robes of dressed buckskin, painted and embroidered, were used, especially in fine weather and at festivals. Small robes or cloaks were worn by a few people of both sexes, but probably mostly by women and children. Some woven ones were used by the Similkameen.<sup>1</sup> Cloaks were tied or pinned in front. Capes of a small size, and made to fit the shoulders, were used in a few places by women and children, rarely by men. Most cloaks and capes were made of skins of small animals, dressed in the hair and sewed together—marmot, skunk, squirrel, ground squirrel, muskrat, mink, marten, weasel, and young fawn. A few were made of woven rabbit skin, and some were of dressed buckskin edged with fur. Some combined shirts and capes were used by the Lake tribe. The underpart of the garment was a sleeveless shirt of buckskin, sewed at the sides from the armpits to the waist or belt. The bottom was pinked or fringed and ornamented with a band of embroidery or painting. The upper part, or cape, was attached to the back of the neck of the shirt and was of buckskin edged with fur. The neck part was ornamented with a collar of skin, sometimes of leather pinked and embroidered, sometimes of the fur of fox, wolf, otter, etc. Some capes had long, fine-cut fringes along the bottom, and were further ornamented with pendent feathers of eagles or hawks, or with tassels of hair, weasel skins, and the like. Sometimes the whole cape was profusely covered with rows of ermine skins put on flat or cut and twisted into long pendants. Tufts of hair and feathers were also used, and some capes were punctured all over with rows of small holes. Usually the shirt was provided with a belt of stiff skin, which was set with pendants of deer's hoofs, beads, hair tassels, feathers, or strips of ermine skins. Sometimes both large and small robes were worn poncho style.

**MEN'S CLOTHING.**—Men's shirts and leggings were similar to some of the styles used by the Thompson. A common shirt was made of two doeskins sewed together heads up. Sometimes the shoulders only were sewed together, the sides being provided with lacings, or merely held together with a few stitches of thong. The neck pieces of the skins were folded down at the back and front, where they were stitched or sewed to the body of the shirt. Usually they were shaped into circular or triangular forms and ornamented with embroidery

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 235.

and fringing. A few shirts retained the tails, or at least the one at the back, and the parts of the leg skins shaped into points or cut square, a little of the deer's-leg hair being left on for tufts at the ends. The seams of these shirts were embroidered and fringed. These shirts, in both cut and style of ornamentation, appear to have been almost the same as the Nez Percé shirt figured by Wissler.<sup>2</sup> Another common shirt was made of a single large skin folded over and sewed at the sides, and sometimes stitched here and there under the arms. A hole was cut and shaped in the middle for the head to pass through. There was no breast cut. The fringes along the sides and under the arm pieces were sometimes very long. Separate pieces of skin, triangular in shape and covered with embroidery in quills or beads, or punctured and painted, were sewed to the shirt at the front and back of the neck.<sup>3</sup> Neither of these kinds had true sleeves. In more modern times many men's shirts had sleeves, and they were of different styles. (Fig. 17.)



FIGURE 17.—Sketch illustrating cut of modern clothing

The one shown in the illustration is a leather shirt seen by me among the Lake tribe. Each sleeve was of two pieces, and the back and front each of two pieces. The shirt was cut low on the breast, and over this opening a separate piece of white unsmoked skin was fastened to the shirt with metal buttons. This piece of skin was triangular in shape and embroidered with flower designs in colored silk. The sleeves were smaller at the wrists, just large enough to admit the hands. All the seams were fringed.

Some men wore, instead of the regular shirts, a kind of vest. In most cases this reached only to the hips and was made generally of buffalo and other skin dressed in the hair. This kind of poncho shirt or vest was tied or laced at the sides with thongs.<sup>4</sup> In later days some of them opened a short distance down the breast.<sup>5</sup> Breast cuts on vests and shirts are considered comparatively modern. A similar garment, but much longer, reaching generally to the knees, was in use. Most garments of this style were made of two entire deerskins and were fastened around the waist with a belt.<sup>6</sup> Perhaps they may be

<sup>2</sup> *d.* fig. 1.

<sup>3</sup> See Thompson, *a*, p. 207, fig. 163; and Ottawa collection, VI. M. 389.

<sup>4</sup> See Ottawa collection, VI. M. 398; Peabody Museum, Teit collection nos. 281, 282, 283.

<sup>5</sup> See Thompson, *a*, p. 206, fig. 162. Both the collar and breast cut are said to have been introduced within 120 years.

<sup>6</sup> See Ottawa collection, VI. M. 399; Peabody Museum, Teit collection no. 280.



better classed as ponchos. Some boys of the Sanpoil wore shirts of an entire case-skinned coyote skin with the head part cut off. The shirt (or skin) slipped over the head and was fastened with strings on the shoulder. The tail hung at the back. There was no sewing on this kind of shirt, except that the shoulders were sometimes edged with buckskin to prevent tearing where the tie strings were. Some Sanpoil men wore shirts made of four backs of coyote skins sewed together. The tails were often retained for ornament. In some cases two coyote skins were used, forming back and front, the sides consisting of dressed buckskin. The tails were generally retained, particularly the back one.<sup>7</sup> Shirts of this kind were probably also worn to some extent by men of the other tribes.

Small ponchos serving the purpose of neck wraps and covering the opening of shirts on the shoulders were worn by some men over their shirts. They consisted of single skins (in the fur) of coyote, wolf, fox, lynx cat, bear cub. The tail was retained and hung down the back.<sup>8</sup> Some neck wraps of entire rabbit skins sewed together were used in the winter by both sexes.

Breechelouts were of soft dressed buckskin and were of styles similar to those of the Thompson. Long ago those made of a single long piece drawn under the belt, the ends hanging like long aprons before and behind, were most rare. Some people think this style was adopted after Hudson's Bay cloth and blankets came into use. Old men and boys might wear simple aprons of dressed skin and fur, sometimes quite long, without breechelouts. Sometimes the long shirts worn by old men reached nearly to the knees. With these they wore neither breechelouts nor aprons, but with short shirts they were always worn. The usual skin leggings generally had long fringes cut in various ways. Cloth leggings had wide uncut side flaps.

WOMEN'S CLOTHING.—Women's dresses reached to the calves of the legs, and some almost touched the feet. The style of dress most common had an extension of the cape or shoulder part, which hung down over the arms almost to the wrists, and served as sleeves.<sup>9</sup> In some the extension was short, reaching to the elbow. The arm extensions were often quite loose, while in other dresses they were fastened under the arms with thongs here and there. These dresses were generally made of two large buckskins or two cow-elk skins sewed together heads down. Unlike the Shahaptian custom, the tails of the deer were cut off instead of being retained for ornament. According to the description these dresses agreed, except for the retaining of the tails, with the Yakima specimen figured by Wissler.<sup>10</sup> In

<sup>7</sup> See Ottawa collection, VI. M. 400.

<sup>8</sup> See Thompson, a, pl. 18.

<sup>9</sup> See d, fig. 18.

<sup>10</sup> See d, fig. 18.

place of the tails the Okanagon generally inserted a triangular piece of beading or other ornamentation. A few dresses with full-length sleeves sewed on<sup>11</sup> were worn. A few dresses had no sleeves at all, the arms being bare to the shoulders. A very few young girls and old women wore no dresses, but instead fringed bodices or skirts of skin reaching to the knees or below. Some of these had high bodies which were fastened at the shoulders, but the bodies of others extended hardly above the waist. The low-bodied kind were worn also by nearly all well-dressed women under their dresses. A bodice alone was not considered a complete dress. Narrow breechclouts were worn by some girls, and also by women, during menstruation. Women's leggings were like those of the Thompson. When traveling in deep snow some women wore long leggings nearly like those of the men. A very few poor people of the Similkameen wore short leggings woven of tule or rushes.

FOOTWEAR.—Moccasins were of dressed buckskin, elk skin, etc., cut in two styles that were about equally common. One consisted of a single piece folded and sewed around the toe, the outside of the foot, and at the heel.<sup>12</sup> The other style had a separate small tongue piece, a seam extending from the latter to the toe, and a seam down the heel.<sup>13</sup> In a few the ends of the toe and the heel seams were puckered. Therefore they had no trailers.<sup>14</sup> All moccasins had gaiters or uppers of a separate piece.

The trailers of moccasins were cut in styles similar to those of the Thompson.

The Lake were not familiar with the cut shown in *a*, Figure 170 (Thompson), although a form similar to it, with tongue piece brought to a point at the toe, is often used by the Kutenai.

In Similkameen the common cuts were seamed down the instep and open at the heel.<sup>15</sup> Some trailers were cut in a fringe. Summer moccasins were more pointed and made to fit the foot. Those for winter use were much looser to give room for heavy foot wraps. These consisted of pieces of skin in the hair wrapped round the foot or sewed like a duffle. The Similkameen used a few socks,<sup>16</sup> made like the sage-bark socks of the Thompson, and possibly boots woven of tule. Moccasins were often padded with dry teased bark and grass. In the wintertime some people wore moccasins made of deer, caribou, buffalo, and other skins, hair side in. No moccasins of the long-tongued round-toed type<sup>17</sup> were used long ago. This style was introduced by the Iroquois and French. Moccasins with a wide crosscut at the toe<sup>18</sup> seem to have been confined to Similkameen. Sandals were used by some poor people in the summertime. They

<sup>11</sup> See Thompson *a*, p. 215, fig. 184.

<sup>12</sup> See Thompson, *a*, p. 210, fig. 169.

<sup>13</sup> See Thompson, *a*, p. 211, fig. 171.

<sup>14</sup> See Thompson, *a*, p. 211, fig. 172.

<sup>15</sup> See Thompson, *a*, p. 211, fig. 173, Nos. 1, 2.

<sup>16</sup> See Thompson, *a*, p. 212, fig. 174.

<sup>17</sup> See Thompson, *a*, p. 210, fig. 170.

<sup>18</sup> See Tshltan specimens, Ottawa, VI. 11. 48.

were made of skin or of rawhide, and sometimes the soles were thickened with a coat of glue and sand.

**HAND WEAR.**—Gloves were unknown long ago; but mittens, both long and short, were used in cold weather. Most of them were made of coyote and other skins in the fur.

**MEN'S HEADWEAR.**—Men's caps and headbands were made of dressed skin and of skins in the fur of almost all kinds of animals. Some were also made of bird skins. The styles were the same as those of the Thompson, including caps of animals' headskins, and those set with antlers of deer, or horns of antelope, goat, and buffalo.

Headdresses of tail feathers of eagles, hawks, and owls were common, and similar to those of the Thompson. Eagle-feather bonnets of the style used on the plains were common during the past century, and are still worn to some extent at dances. This style differed in some details from the oldest styles of eagle-feather headdresses of the Thompson and Okanagon. Feather "tails" both of the Thompson and plains styles were in vogue.

**WOMEN'S HEADWEAR.**—Women's headbands and most caps were of dressed skin. The caps were more or less conical in shape, and in details were like those of the Thompson.<sup>19</sup> Flat-topped caps were not used. Woven caps, called by many whites "grass caps," of the so-called "Nez-Percé" style, were in common use, except among the Lake and Similkameen.<sup>20</sup> Caps of willow bark were used a little by Similkameen, Okanagon, and Sanpoil, but it seems were not known to the Lake, and may not have been used by the Colville either. The Similkameen probably also used a few caps woven of tule or rushes.<sup>21</sup>

**OVERCLOTHES, ETC.**—Robes, ponchos, and cloaks were worn as overclothes in cold weather. It seems that no rain cloaks and short ponchos of woven vegetal material were used, except among the Similkameen. The cloaks worn by them have been described.<sup>22</sup> Some people put ordinary woven mats over their heads, shoulders, and backs in heavy rains. It appears that no clothing of vegetal material, except women's caps, were used by any of the other tribes. The Lake, who used cedar bark extensively for a number of purposes, did not use it for clothing. Before the advent of the fur traders, jackets, coats, and trousers were probably not made, and some say there were no sleeves to shirts and dresses. Possibly short buckskin trousers were used by Similkameen and Nicola in early times.

After many of the western Indians began to hunt on the plains buffalo robes and skins became quite common, and largely supplanted other robes, cloaks, and ponchos. For a time buffalo skin was so plentiful that even as far north as Similkameen it was cheaper than ordinary buckskin.

<sup>19</sup> a, p. 217, fig. 191.

<sup>20</sup> See p. 225.

<sup>21</sup> See also Shuswap, p. 506, e, fig. 228.

<sup>22</sup> See p. 231.

Belts were worn by almost all the men and by many women. Garters were much used by both sexes, and, to a less extent, armlets.

Some double-pointed brooches of bone, antler, and wood—similar in type to a clothes pin with pointed ends—are said to have been used by the Similkameen. It seems that some of these had carved heads.

ORNAMENTATION OF CLOTHING.—Ornamentation of clothing was the same as among the Thompson, and consisted chiefly of fringing, pinking, puncturing, painting, and embroidering with porcupine quills, seeds, hoofs, shells, and elk's teeth. In later days glass beads and silk thread displaced entirely the quill and other embroidery. Hair and skin were used for tassels and fringes. Ermine skins were often attached to garments and headdresses. Some capes were entirely covered with rows of them. Capes and clothes were often ornamented with feathers, bird skins, tufts of bird skin and fur, and deer's tails. Deerskin robes had the hair cut in stripes, as among the Thompson.<sup>23</sup>

PERSONAL ADORNMENT.—In personal adornment these tribes appear to have differed very little, if it all, from the Thompson. The same styles of necklaces, earrings, and hair ribbons were used; and the styles of hairdressing and face and body painting were about the same. Nose-pins of shell and bone were used by a few people of both sexes. They went out of style soon after the arrival of the fur traders. Combs were of fan shape, like those of the Thompson,<sup>24</sup> and, when obtainable, were made of syringa wood. Tweezers were like those of the Thompson.<sup>25</sup> Tattooing was in vogue to a slight extent in both sexes, most marks being made on the wrists and forearms. A very few tattooed the face and other parts of the body. On the whole, women tattooed more than men. Face and body painting was the same, or almost the same, as among the Thompson. The same colors and styles were in vogue. The various styles of hairdressing appear to have been about the same as among the Thompson. Since about 1900 or 1906 almost all the Lake, Colville, Upper Okanagon, and Similkameen men cut their hair short. Most of the young men crop their hair quite as closely as the whites, while many of the elderly men cut it square across the neck. Among the Lower Okanagon, Nespelim, and Sanpoil, the majority of the men, both young and old, still wear<sup>26</sup> their hair long and in braids. A few old men of the Colville and Upper Okanagon also wear their hair long in two or three styles. Nearly all the people of all the tribes now wear white man's clothing. A few old people (especially men) of the Lower Okanagon and Sanpoil wear old-style clothing, such as leggings, more or less modified. Moccasins are generally worn in all the tribes. Many Indians have old-style costumes and ornaments, which they will rarely part with and which they use occasionally at celebrations.

<sup>23</sup> a, pl. 18.<sup>24</sup> a, p. 224, figs. 201-203.<sup>25</sup> a, p. 227, fig. 210.<sup>26</sup> This refers to 1909.

## V. SUBSISTENCE

FOOD.—The food of the Okanagon tribes differed but little from that of the Thompson. The proportions of the different foods used were about the same, as well as the methods of collection. Nearly all the families moved about a good deal from one place to another, within their respective tribal territories, fishing, hunting, root digging, and berrying, according to the season at which each principal item of food supply was at its best. Usually each band was able to procure a sufficiency of all kinds of food on its own particular grounds; but some families occasionally, and others regularly, went farther afield into the remotest parts of the tribal territory, hunting and trapping. Some other families who did more or less trading made regular trips to certain tribal and intertribal rendezvous, passing through parts of the territories of other tribes. If conditions were favorable, hunting was engaged in going and returning from these places, generally within their own territory, but sometimes on grounds of the tribes visited. Sometimes young men of other families accompanied these parties for love of adventure and to see the country. Thus there were few Okanagon who had not at some time been within the countries of the Sanpoil, Colville, Spokane, Wenatchi, Columbia, Thompson, and Shuswap, and a few had been to other tribes beyond. In some parts of the country the chief means of sustenance was hunting, in other parts fishing, while in many places these two were of about equal importance. Flesh of horses was eaten a great deal at one time, but it seems that no dogs were eaten.<sup>1</sup>

*Vegetal food.*—Root digging and berrying were important everywhere. All the edible berries used by the Thompson were gathered in localities where they grew. The berries considered most important for curing, and therefore collected in largest quantities, were service berries (*Amelanchier*), soapberries (*Shepherdia*), huckleberries (*Vaccinium*), and in some places cherries (*Prunus*). Huckleberries were very plentiful in the Lake country, where in great measure they took the place of service berries, which were most important to the other tribes.

Most of the roots used by the Thompson were used also by the Okanagon tribes, and a few others that do not grow in the Thompson country. The importance of various roots varied according to locality. On the whole, the roots considered most important were *Camassia esculenta*, *Lewisia rediviva*, *Balsamorhiza sagittata*, *Lilium columbianum*, *Erythronium grandiflorum*, and *Fritillaria lanceolata*. Hazelnuts were utilized a great deal, especially by the Colville, in whose country they were plentiful. Nutlets of two or three kinds of pine, and seeds of *Balsamorhiza* and two or three other unidentified plants, were used extensively in many places.

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<sup>1</sup> According to some, dogs were eaten occasionally by old Similkameen people.

Oak did not grow in the territories of these tribes. It was confined to Columbia River and some of its tributaries farther south. Different kinds of tree saps and sprouts of growing plants were used in season, as among the Thompson. Following is a list of the principal vegetal foods of the Okanagon. I give both the Okanagon and the Thompson names for comparison.

	Okanagon name	Thompson name
ROOTS		
<i>Camassia esculenta</i> (camas) ..	<i>ē'txwa, ī'txwa</i>	<i>ē'txwa</i>
<i>Lewisia rediviva</i> Pursh (bit-terroot).	<i>sp'ltam</i>	<i>tl'kū'pen</i>
<i>Allium cernuum</i> .....	<i>xalū'wa, xalē'ua</i>	<i>kala'ua</i>
<i>Claytonia sessilifolia</i> .....	<i>skwenkūwī'nen, skwen- kūwī'nem</i>	<i>tatū'en</i>
<i>Fritillaria pudica</i> .....	<i>ā'tamen</i>	<i>xala'uxoza</i>
<i>Sium lineare</i> .....	<i>cxēi'ken</i>	<i>wetsama't</i>
<i>Lilium columbianum</i> .....	<i>stoxtē'n</i>	<i>tcā'wek</i>
<i>Ferula dissoluta</i> .....	<i>ai.yu'</i>	<i>taxqa'i'n</i>
<i>Balsamorhiza sagittata</i> Nutt.	<i>tsa'ltaleken</i>	{ <i>snī'ken</i> (root) <i>tskā'nelp</i> (plant)
<i>Peucedanum macrocarpum</i> Nutt.	<i>smitsenā'lk<sup>u</sup></i>	<i>kokwē'la</i>
<i>Calochortus macrocarpus</i> Dougl.	<i>yckiyu'keps</i>	<i>maqāō'za</i>
<i>Cycopus uniflorus</i> .....	<i>xā'nexon</i>	<i>xenexai'n</i>
<i>Erythronium grandiflorum</i> .....	<i>s-hwē'ux<sup>u</sup></i>	<i>skā'metc</i>
<i>Fritillaria lanceolata</i> .....	<i>smē'ta</i>	<i>nū'la</i>
<i>Potentilla anserina</i> .....	<i>xī'laxil</i>	<i>xī'lexil</i>
<i>Hydrophyllum occidentale</i> <sup>1</sup> ..	<i>stlenqai'n tlaka'n</i>	<i>stlenqai'n me.sā'i, metsā'i</i>
<i>Cnicus undulatus</i> Gray .....	<i>sntekwalkwalū'sten</i>	{ <i>skalis'po'</i> (plant) <sup>2</sup> <i>n'po'poqxen</i> (root) <i>sxwī'pis</i> (?). <i>tsep'as</i>
— .....	<i>sxexhī'lem</i>	<i>rātcē'us, hātcei'us</i>
— .....	<i>arātca'ks, nhātca'ks</i>	
BERRIES		
<i>Amelanchier alnifolia</i> Nutt. ....	<i>sī'a</i>	<i>stsa'qum, stcoqom</i>
<i>Amelanchier</i> sp. ....	<i>skikisē'loq</i>	<i>spēkpék.</i>
<i>Prunus demissa</i> Walpers. ....	<i>xlo'x.lox</i>	<i>sōlkū', zōlkū'.</i>
<i>Sambucus</i> sp. ....	<i>tsakwī'k<sup>u</sup></i>	<i>tsē'kuk</i>
<i>Crataegus rivalaris</i> Nutt. ....	<i>sxwanī'k</i>	<i>ā'luska</i>
<i>Cornus pubescens</i> Nutt. ....	<i>sti'ksx<sup>u</sup></i>	<i>taxpā'e</i>
<i>Rubus</i> sp. (raspberry) .....	<i>xlā'la</i>	<i>sā'itsq<sup>a</sup></i>
<i>Rubus leucodermis</i> Dougl. ....	<i>metcā'ek</i>	<i>mē'tcuk, mē'tcak</i>

<sup>1</sup> Said not to grow in the Okanagon country.

<sup>2</sup> Compare *kalispo'*, *kalispe'lem* (*kalispe'.m*, *kalispe'*), according to Revais, names among Flathead tribes for sprouting camas.

	Okanagon name	Thompson name
BERRIES—continued		
<i>Ribes</i> sp. (red gooseberry)---	.nte'txEmelps	sxe'tsi'n
<i>Ribes lacustre</i> Poir (black gooseberry).	epeapū's	sōpū's, sōEpu's
<i>Ribes cereum</i> (wild currant)---	iō'rEKEN	lāā'za
<i>Shepherdia canadensis</i> Nutt.---	sxō'sEM	sxō'sEM, .s-ho'zEM
<i>Fragaria californica</i> C and S.---	tekei'm kem	skokié'p.
<i>Vaccinium membranaceum</i> Dougl.	stéxé'llk	tsaltsā'la
<i>Vaccinium myrtillus</i> (small blueberry), var. <i>microphyllum</i> Hook.	s.sē'pt	ā'meux "
<i>Berberis</i> sp. (Oregon grape)---	sstsé'res <sup>3</sup>	tsa'lza, tsé'lsa
<i>Arctostaphylos uva-ursi</i> Spreng.	skwolī's	ā'iek, ā'ik, ei'ek.
<i>Rosa</i> sp.-----	skwékwe'u	stsaka'pEL, skókwa'u (var. of rose)
SEEDS AND OTHER VEGETAL FOODS		
Hazelnuts-----	qe'puza	qapū'x
<i>Pinus ponderosa</i> (yellow pine) nutlets or seeds, also of other pines.	sqa'uku	s'tsi'q.
<i>Balsamorhiza sagittata</i> , seeds.	mī'kto	mī'kto
<i>Comandra pallida</i> , seeds or nuts.	qepux(e'llp)	qapuxé'lp
<i>Pinus contorta</i> , cambium layer.	ska'kuluk	n'tū.
<i>Pinus ponderosa</i> , cambium layer.	tse'xwe, tsū'xe	tsc'xwe
<i>Heracleum lanatum</i> , growing stalks.	xoxī'lp	hā'qo
<i>Peucedanum</i> sp., growing stalks.	kwo'xkwaɣ "	llā'qo
<i>Alectoria jubata</i> (black moss)---	skolē'p <sup>4</sup>	a.wī'.a,
<i>Opuntia</i> sp. (cactus)-----	sxwī'na	s'qE'qE'rz
Tree-sugar <sup>5</sup> -----	skamé'llk <sup>6</sup>	skamé'llk
<i>Elæagnus argentea</i> , seeds <sup>7</sup> ---	npokiā'Ep	kwoiskai'neEEN
Snowberries <sup>8</sup> -----	stEMEMEnie'la	sca'kEMS asnaiyī'

<sup>3</sup> Compare Coeur d'Alène for wild currant.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Lilloet for black moss.

<sup>5</sup> A very sweet, sugary exudence which forms in cakes on the needles and branches of fir, and occasionally pine, in mid and late summer in the driest parts of the country.

<sup>6</sup> Means "tree milk."

<sup>7</sup> Seeds of this and of the cactus were probably never eaten; but they were used extensively as beads for necklaces and in the ornamentation of clothing, as among the Thompson.

<sup>8</sup> These were not eaten.

*Root diggers.*—Root diggers were of service berry and other hard woods. The points were often charred to harden them. Handles were chiefly of birch; but horns of sheep and goats and antlers of elk and deer were also used. The shapes and ornamentation of root diggers, at least among the Okanagon, were like those of the Thompson. The "bow-shaped" root-digger handle of ram's horn was not used except among the Similkameen and possibly a few of the Okanagon. The Similkameen claim that this style of handle was invented by the Thompson and introduced by them. Berries were gathered in woven baskets, bark baskets, and bark trays.

*Preparation and preservation of staple foods.*—The methods of preparing and preserving staple foods were practically the same as among the Thompson. Circular earth ovens or pits were used for cooking roots. Oblong and square scaffolds of poles were used for drying meat and fish. Dried meat and fat were stored in rawhide bags, and oil and melted fat in bladders. Salmon and other fish were split and dried in the sun and wind. Some people preferred to dry them in windy shady places or under the shade of screens of brush, leaves, and mats. Meat and fish were also dried with the assistance of fire and smoke. Berries were usually dried, spread thinly on tulle mats laid on dry gravelly ground facing the sun, or on mats on scaffolds. Some salmon pemmican was made, and a little meat pemmican. Cooked roots of certain kinds were mashed in mortars, made into cakes, and dried. Sometimes the mashed roots were mixed with dry service berries. Seeds of *Balsamorhiza sagittata* were roasted in baskets with hot stones. The seeds were turned over and over and fresh stones added until the seeds were done. They were then transferred to a mortar bag and pounded with stone pestles until they became a coarse flour. Nowadays they are heated in frying pans over a fire.

A common kind of scaffold for drying meat used by the Okanagon, Similkameen, and probably also the Sanpoil and Colville, was made of long willow rods bent over to form a half circle, as in a sweat house, and crossed with others at right angles. (Fig. 18.) Some were made completely round, like a large sweat house. This type of meat-drying frames was not much used by the Thompson. Both Okanagon and Thompson used the frames of ordinary sweat houses when the quantity of meat was small and they wanted to dry it quickly.

*HUNTING. Weapons of the chase.*—The weapons employed in the pursuit of game were chiefly bows and arrows for shooting, and knives for stabbing wounded animals and for cutting up the quarry. Clubs and spears were not important in hunting, and were used only occasionally. Arrows were of the same kinds as among the Thompson.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> a, p. 242, fig. 222.



Arrow-heads were generally of flaked stone, but some of bone, notched and unnotched, were in use. The bow in most common use by all the tribes was that with double curve.<sup>3</sup> The Okanagon, Sanpoil, and Colville employed it exclusively. The Lake say that two kinds of bows were used by them; the double-curved and the flat bow.<sup>4</sup> The former was that chiefly used by themselves and by all the surrounding Salishan tribes, while the latter was the only kind used by the Lower

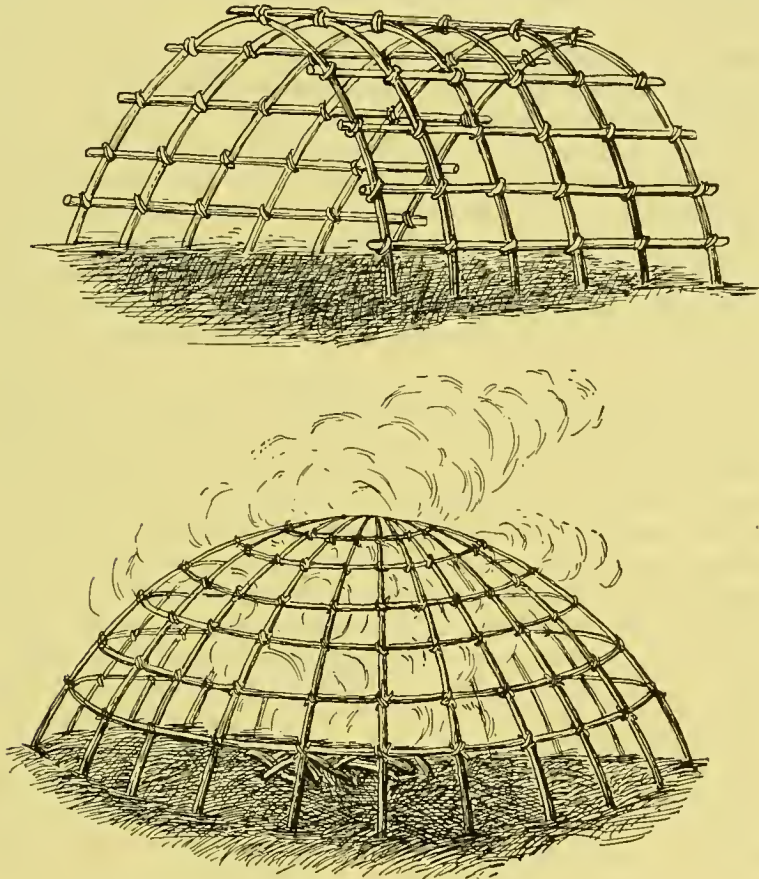


FIGURE 18.—Structure for drying meat

Kutenai. The Similkameen say that their common bow was of the double-curved type, but all the styles of bow made by the Thompson were employed to some extent by them. Bows were generally a meter long or a little more; and all the best ones were sinew-backed and covered with snake skin. In most parts of the country juniper was the common bowwood, and service berry and rose woods were most used for arrows. Short bows of mountain-ram's horn were

<sup>3</sup> a, p. 240, fig. 218.

<sup>4</sup> a, p. 240, fig. 217.

made. The ridged part of the horn formed the belly of the bow. They were sinew-backed, like wooden bows. Hand or wrist guards of skin were used by nearly every bowman.

In shooting the flat bow was held horizontally, the double-curved bow vertically.

Quivers were made of skins of wolverene and fisher, in the hair. Skins of otter, cougar, and fawn were employed occasionally. Some rawhide quivers,<sup>5</sup> generally painted, were in use, but none of woven material.

Spears for hunting beaver were used by the Similkameen and Okanagon and possibly by the other tribes. They were like those of the Thompson and Shuswap.<sup>6</sup>

*Game and methods of hunting.*—The chief large game hunted by the Okanagon were three species of deer, elk, big-horn sheep, caribou, and black and grizzly bear. Antelope were scarce and goats were uncommon. Sheep and deer were abundant in the Similkameen country, but caribou and antelope were absent. Goats were not much hunted. The Sanpoil hunted deer, elk, antelope, and bear. Sheep were scarce. The Sanpoil country was well provided with several kinds of game. Antelope especially were abundant south of the big bend of Columbia River. A famous place for hunting them was around Grand Coulée. Spokane and Columbia also came to hunt at this place. The Colville hunted the same large game as the Sanpoil, but were restricted more to deer. The Lake tribe hunted deer, caribou, goat, and bear. Deer were not so plentiful as in the territories of the other tribes. Elk and sheep were very scarce, and antelope were not found. On the other hand, caribou, goat, and bear were more plentiful than in the countries of the other tribes. Moose, it seems, were occasionally met with. In later days some of the Okanagon, Sanpoil, and Colville joined other Salishan parties for hunting buffalo east of the Rocky Mountains.

The principal smaller kinds of game hunted for food were rabbits, marmots, and beaver. Ground squirrels and tree squirrels were hunted by boys for sport, and their flesh was sometimes eaten. The Similkameen often hunted marmots. Animals such as the cougar, wolf, coyote, fox, lynx, lynx cat, otter, marten, mink, fisher, weasel, and wolverene were hunted and snared for their skins only.

The flesh of dogs was eaten only by the old Similkameen people.

The methods of hunting large game appear to have been quite like those of the Thompson, and require no detailed description. They were ordinary still hunting; approaching game in disguise of the game itself and by imitating its actions, or by approaching in disguise of some animal familiar to it; driving into ambushes or to

<sup>5</sup> a, p. 244, fig. 225.

<sup>6</sup> e, p. 523, fig. 240.

places such as passes, where hunters were concealed; driving into corrals of nets or entanglements; driving over cliffs; driving deer with dogs to bay in creeks and bears into trees; driving (generally with dogs) to crossing places of rivers and lakes, where hunters lay in wait; encircling; shooting from pits, trees, and ambushes at certain favorite watering places or salt licks; riding down on horseback in open country; watching for deer, caribou, and bear at swimming places and overtaking them with canoes; calling was also practiced to some extent.

It seems that the Okanagon and Similkameen used dogs more extensively in hunting than the other tribes. The Similkameen people, who had no salmon in their country, depended largely on hunting.

Besides hunting by individuals and small parties, which went on almost incessantly, most bands had four great hunts every year: A spring hunt for deer and sheep, which usually was not very far afield and comparatively short in duration; a late fall hunt for deer, sheep, elk, and bear, the parties sometimes going far away and remaining out for about two months; a midwinter hunt for deer, and a late winter hunt for sheep. During the spring and late fall hunts the women busied themselves digging roots; and during the summer and early fall, when individual hunting only was carried on, they attended to the gathering and curing of berries and roots. Skins were dressed more or less all the year round, but probably chiefly in the wintertime. In the winter sheep hunt mostly ewes were killed and the rams were let go. The latter were hunted on their summering grounds when fat by small parties in the late summer and early fall, either by still hunting (the chief object being to catch them in their lairs on hot days), or with dogs. Women helped in the driving of game, and some of them also did shooting.

The following is the story of a rather famous winter sheep hunt in the early part of the past century:

Sheep were formerly very plentiful in the *Acnū'lox* (Ashnola) district, and the people of the band there decided to have a great sheep hunt one winter, partly so that they might have an abundance of meat for a festival they were going to hold, and partly to show their guests what a fine sheep-hunting ground they had, and give them a chance of some exciting sport. This was in our grandmothers' days. The *Acnū'lox* people invited the neighboring Similkameen bands, and they invited their friends from the neighboring tribes; so a great many came from Thompson and Nicola Rivers, Okanagon Lake, and Columbia River. Among them were some Shuswap. All gathered at Keremeous, and from there they proceeded to the hunting ground. Many women joined the party to act as drivers, and all were provided with snowshoes. When they neared the place

where they were going to drive, the hunting chief took off his cap, made of the skin of a ewe's head, and, waving it toward the cliffs where the sheep were, prayed to them as follows: "Please, sheep, go your usual way, and follow each other, so that we may eat your flesh and thus increase or lengthen our breath (life)! Pity us, and be driven easily to the place where we shall shoot you!" He then sent many men around to sit at the heads of two gulches on top of the mountain and shoot the sheep with arrows as they came up. The men picked were the best shots, and included most of the strangers. He then directed the drivers, a great many men and all the women, mostly Similkameen people, how to proceed and where to go. Most of them, in driving and following the sheep, had to pass a place where they had to jump over a cliff about 3 or 4 meters in height, alighting on a bank of snow. All the men jumped, but some of the women were afraid, turned back and went around by a longer route. The drivers saw and started great numbers of sheep, but they failed to get them to take the top of the mountain. Instead the sheep congregated on a steep, inaccessible cliff below the top, out of range from above or below, and stayed there. The people shouted at them lustily, but they remained there, knowing that it was a secure place. The great drive came to a standstill, and the hunting chief could see no way to get the sheep out.

Among the drivers was an Upper Thompson woman, the grandmother of the narrator of the story, who was married to a Similkameen man. She lived in Similkameen and was known to be resourceful and to have shamanistic powers. The mountain sheep was one of her guardian spirits, and on this occasion she was wearing a cap made of the headskin of an old ewe with horns attached, similar to that worn by the hunting chief. The leading Similkameen people held a consultation. They said, "All our friends will laugh at us if we can not get sheep for them." The Thompson woman said, "Yes; they certainly will." The chief then said to her, "Well, you may know something. I will give the leadership of this hunt to you; you shall be hunting chief." She answered, "Very well, but one thing you must promise." Then, pointing to the dog close to her side (a rather small and vicious-looking animal, that all the people hated), she said, "You must promise never again to abuse my dog. I will drive the sheep alone with my dog, and you may sit down and watch me." She approached the sheep, pointing first at them, then at the four points of the compass, but no one could hear what she said. Presently she gave a sharp call, and the sheep ran into a bunch, which she now pointed out to the dog. She said to it, "Friend, go and drive your friends so that they will all go up where the people want them." The dog rushed off and drove the sheep fiercely. When any of them scattered, he rounded them up again.

He was very intelligent, courageous, fleet of foot, and long-winded. The woman followed as fast as she could, encouraging him. The dog drove all the sheep up, and the men in waiting killed a great number.

Sheep killed in the winter in a big hunt were usually temporarily buried in the snow. Then the people made a good snowshoe road to the main cache by walking back and forth on it repeatedly. When the snow was well packed they dragged the carcasses down to the valley as near their homes as possible. When dragging the loads became too difficult, they cut up the game and divided it, the different families making separate caches in the snow, from which they carried the meat on their backs to their lodges from time to time, as they required it. Horses were employed in later days for this purpose wherever the nature of the ground and snow conditions permitted. Meat not needed immediately was dried, except in the winter, when it could often be kept frozen.

Dog halters of Indian hemp with bone toggles were used.<sup>7</sup>

Hunting parties often carried nets for corralling deer in bushy parts of the country. Nets were also employed near the main camps for capturing any deer which might come around. If fresh tracks were seen entering a clump of bushes, nets were set in the surrounding woods in the form of a half-moon, or sometimes, if it could be managed, in a circle. The shape and size of the corral varied according to the size of the area to be set, the arrangement of the bush patches, and the number of nets at hand. They were stretched across the open glades, the ends being fastened to trees and bushes. In places where the open ground was wide, and the net could not be drawn tight enough, the middle parts where the net sagged were held up and kept taut with light poles placed at intervals. Any space left open, owing to shortage of nets or because too inconvenient to be closed, was guarded by two men with bows and arrows, concealed one at each side. If no men were available, a woman lay down in the center of the opening, and if the deer approached, she jumped up and shouted, thus driving them back. The places where deer were most likely to run were netted first. When all was ready, one or two hunters entered the corral and started the deer out of the bushes. Sometimes this was done with dogs. The hunter let them loose on the fresh scent, and followed them on the run; or he simply let them go and remained at the opening of the corral. The other people hid here and there a short distance away. As soon as a deer was caught in the nets, they clubbed, speared, or shot it. In daylight, and when not too much rushed, deer sometimes did not attempt to pass through the nets, but ran around the corral until they came to the opening, where they were shot by the hunters. Often nets were set overnight in places to which the deer repaired during the night, with the opening of the corral

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<sup>7</sup> a, p. 245 fig. 227.

toward the side from which the hunters expected the game to approach. At daybreak the people formed a half-moon, the ends of which extended toward the wings of the corral, and advanced rapidly, shouting at the same time. The startled deer ran ahead. In the semidarkness they did not notice the nets and became entangled in them. The people followed close behind and slaughtered them. This method of catching game was most successful for white-tailed deer, partly because they were generally most plentiful in bushy country and partly because they could not jump as high as mule deer. Nets were made of twine of Indian hemp (*Apocynum cannabinum*). They were about 2 to 3 meters high, and varied in length from 15 to 50 or 60 meters. Fences and snares similar to those of the Thompson<sup>8</sup> were used in many parts of the country for deer. Similar fences were employed in some places for caribou; but I can not say if the snares were of the same style.

Deadfalls were used for bear and some other animals, and small animals and grouse were caught in snares.

The eggs of waterfowl were gathered in the spring at all large nesting resorts.

The same stories are told in Okanagon and Similkameen as among the Thompson, of certain men hunting grizzly with a double-pointed bone dirk and a stone club.<sup>9</sup>

FISHING.—I did not obtain detailed information regarding fishing utensils and methods of fishing; but these appear to have been the same as among the Thompson Indians. The Lake Indians, who fished a great deal, may have had methods of fishing in lakes similar to those of the Shuswap.<sup>10</sup> It seems that seine nets were used in some places. In the main rivers salmon were caught in dip nets.

Floats and sinkers were much used with nets by the Okanagon and Lake. Some sinkers were perforated at the end and provided with a groove passing over the end for tying. Two of these were found on Arrow Lake; one was made of a flat, elongated waterworn beach stone, 12 centimeters long, 7 centimeters at the widest part, and 2.5 centimeters thick. The hole had been drilled from both sides, and a worked groove extended from the perforation on each side to the small end of the stone.

Fish were also speared from the shore and in shallows with single and double pointed<sup>11</sup> spears with detachable heads. The single-pointed spear seems to have been by far most commonly used, while the reverse was the case among the Thompson. Fish, large and small, were speared with various sizes of the three-pronged spears.<sup>12</sup> These were generally used from canoes, but also from the ice and

<sup>8</sup> *a*, p. 247, fig. 228.    <sup>9</sup> *a*, p. 249.    <sup>10</sup> See *e*, pp. 525-530.    <sup>11</sup> See *a*, p. 251, fig. 231.    <sup>12</sup> *a*, p. 252, fig. 232.

from rocks overlooking the water. Spearing by torchlight was in vogue on lakes and on some of the rivers.

Small fish were caught with hooks and lines.

Weirs and traps of the same kinds as those used by the Thompson were employed in shallow streams and at the outlets and inlets of lakes. Where weirs were used, and salmon packed close together below the obstruction, spears and also some gaff hooks were employed for catching them. The latter had bone points and wooden handles.

Many Okanagon from Okanagon Lake and the upper part of Okanagon River, where salmon were scarce, went to fish salmon on the Lower Okanagon River. A few of the Similkameen people went to the Thompson and Nicola to fish. In like manner many Lake went down to near Marcus, Kettle Falls, and other places along the Columbia on the confines of the Colville. The chief salmon-fishing places in the territories of the Okanagon tribes appear to have been in the vicinity of Kettle Falls and Okanagon Falls. The Colville fished more salmon than any of the other inland tribes of this group. The Lake used canoes most extensively. The Similkameen and, next to them, the Sanpoil, fished less than any of the other tribes.

The importance of sheep hunting by Similkameen and Okanagon, antelope hunting among the Sanpoil, caribou and goat hunting among the Lake, like the difference in fishing and the use of canoes, were caused by the different types of environment of the tribes. Other slight differences between north, south, east, and west were caused by trade influences and contact with border tribes. Hunting, especially of deer, was exceedingly important to all the tribes.

SEASONS.—Among the Okanagon the year was divided into four seasons embracing 10 moons, and a fifth season embracing the rest of the year. The 10 moons were generally called by numbers, as among the Thompson, but most of them had descriptive names besides. The remaining moons were called collectively by the seasonal name of *peskaai'* ("late fall"). The names of the seasons, and their Thompson equivalents, are—

	Okanagon	Thompson
Spring.....	<i>peske'pts</i>	<i>ska'pts.</i>
Summer.....	<i>spa'nntck</i>	<i>spa'nntck</i>
Early fall.....	<i>stemēl'k</i>	<i>temēl'k</i>
Late fall.....	<i>peskaa'i</i>	<i>stlēi'st</i>
Winter.....	<i>pesiū'stek</i>	<i>sii'stek</i>

## VI. TRAVEL, TRANSPORTATION, TRADE

CANOES.—Canoes were used more or less by all the tribes. Bands that had few canoes depended more on rafts. The Lake had an abundance of good bark in their country, and therefore used bark canoes entirely. They were all of the "sturgeon-nose" type. Most of them were made of white-pine bark. The Lower Kutenai employed the same style of canoe. At the present day most Lake canoes are covered with oiled canvas instead of bark. The Colville were not as well supplied with canoes as the Lake, and in fact procured most of their canoes from the latter. The Sanpoil had no canoes formerly. All they had were a few small, poorly made dugouts; and they say that probably long ago they had not even these. Good wood and good bark were scarce in their country, so they depended chiefly on rafts pointed at both ends and made of poles. Rafts made of bundles of tules were also employed, especially on lakes. They were pointed at the ends like the pole rafts. Pole and tule rafts were used also by the Okanagon and all the surrounding tribes, particularly on the small mountain lakes. The Okanagon also used bark canoes of the same shape as those of the Lake. Balsam was the common bark used by them. It seems that they seldom made dugout canoes until after the advent of iron tools. The Similkameen people depended chiefly on rafts. They also made, at least during the past century, small dugouts of yellow pine, balsam, poplar, and cedar. In shape they were like one of those used by the Thompson Indians,<sup>1</sup> but usually shallower, and rather longer snouted. Dugout canoes had no ornamentation or painting. A common style of paddle among the Lake is about 1.2 meters long, nearly half the length being blade. The latter is very broad, with rounded end; and the handle is widened out at the end to a flat knob of round cross section. The knob forms a hand grip and the part where the points of the fingers cling just under the knob is slightly hollowed out, as in many eastern paddles. This type was used more or less by the different interior Salishan tribes; but paddle blades of the more northern Salish tribes were generally narrower.

Bark canoes were floored inside with loose strips of various kinds of bark, such as birch, cedar, spruce, and balsam, or instead of bark a flooring of brush or of long, light straight poles was used. For sitting or kneeling on, bunches of fir or balsam twigs and dry swamp grass were used. Small leaks were calked in the same way as knot holes; but large ones were patched with a strong piece of birch, balsam, or other bark cut out larger than the hole and sewed on, the arrangement of the stiches being similar to those on birch-bark baskets (a long and a short stitch), but not so close together. Afterwards the sewing and edges were daubed with pitch.

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<sup>1</sup> *a*, p. 255, fig. 237.



**CARRYING.**—Tump lines were made of rawhide, heavy buckskin, and of lighter skin doubled together. The ends consisted of long stout strings. Short double strings at each end, used by some Athapascan tribes, were not in vogue. Occasionally the leg skins of elk and caribou were used for the head strap. I did not hear of any woven tump lines. Dogs were not used for hauling purposes, either with travois or with sleigh. It seems also that dogs were not employed for carrying burdens, except in a few places. The Similkameen people claim to have used their dogs for carrying loads.

**SNOWSHOES.**—Snowshoes were used by all the tribes, and were the same as those of the Thompson. The types with cross sticks, like those of the Shuswap and Athapascan, were not used. The common snowshoe worn by the Lake was similar to one used by the Thompson.<sup>2</sup> The Lake snowshoes appear to have been slightly shorter than most of those used by the Thompson, and more turned up in front. In this way they were better adapted to climbing steep mountains. The Lower Thompson snowshoes also have these peculiarities. The common kind used by the Similkameen people was like the one illustrated in Figure 241<sup>3</sup> of the work here referred to. Snowshoes like those shown in Figures 239 and 242 of the same publication<sup>4</sup> are called by the Similkameen "lower-country snowshoes," whether with reference to the Lower Thompson, or to the tribes below on Columbia River, or to both, is not quite clear, but it seems that the Wenatchi and Columbia tribes are meant.

**HORSES.**—Horses were introduced probably early in the eighteenth century. For a time they remained scarce, as only a few were introduced at first, and for a long time they were much used as food. Horse stealing and horse trading probably also helped to keep their numbers down. However, by the end of the century they were numerous in some parts, and nearly all the Indians were mounted. Many people who were old or elderly when they were introduced, particularly women, never acquired the habit of using them. The Lake people, except a few in the south, never adopted horses, as their country was unsuited to them. The Lake tribe had no chance to become a horse people as long as they occupied their own territories. The few horses they employed were procured from the Colville. The latter, it seems, obtained their horses from the Kalispel, and occasionally from the Spokane. The Sanpoil got theirs from the Spokane, Colville, and Columbia. The Okanagon obtained their horses from the Sanpoil, Columbia, and Colville. The Similkameen say they saw horses first among the Okanagon, and got their horses chiefly from them. The Sanpoil have a story regarding their first horse, but do not state where it came from. They say that the

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<sup>2</sup> a, p. 256, fig. 239.<sup>3</sup> a, p. 257, fig. 241.<sup>4</sup> a, pp. 256, 257, figs. 239, 242.

earliest horses were all very small; and yet at first people were afraid to ride them, for fear of falling off. The first horse obtained was very gentle. The first person who mounted it rode with two long sticks, one in each hand, to steady himself. Another man led the horse slowly, and the rider shifted the sticks (as one does with walking sticks) as they went along.

**HORSE EQUIPMENT.**—The Indians soon learned to make saddles and all necessary horse equipment. The same styles prevailed, from the Shuswap and Thompson, south into Oregon, and east to the plains. However, materials and saddle blankets varied a little from place to place. Horses soon became generally used for riding and packing; and distant visiting, trading, and hunting journeys were made easy. Horses also constituted a new source of wealth. A great impetus was given to intertribal trade, visiting, and even intermarriage; also new methods of hunting became possible, and transportation of large quantities of meat and fish could now be effected over long distances in a short time and with little labor.

**TRADING AND TRADE ROUTES.**—Before the arrival of the horse, trading journeys were made on foot, except among the Lake and in part among the Okanagon, who used canoes, as they had extensive waterways easy of navigation. As everything had to be transported on the back, trading was naturally confined to light and valuable articles, and trading trips were not so frequent as they were after horses came into use. Neither did as many people take part in them. It seems that formerly trade was in the nature of a gradual filtering through of articles from one end of a large expanse of country to the other. In some places a few people occasionally made special trading trips across mountain ranges and through uninhabited country to distant neighbors. After horses had come into use these trips developed into important affairs, undertaken regularly by large parties.

The two greatest salmon-fishing places were also the two greatest trading places—Okanagon Falls and Kettle Falls. The former was in the territory of the Okanagon, the latter in that of the Colville. Both were important trading points before as well as after the introduction of the horse. Before its advent, trade went north via Okanagon River and Okanagon Lake to the Shuswap. The journey was easy, being accomplished almost entirely by water. From the head of Okanagon Lake the Shuswap had only a short distance to carry their goods to the navigable waters of Spellumcheen River, Shuswap Lake, and South Thompson River, to Kamloops, which was a central point. Trade followed navigable waters from here west to Savona, and north by the North Thompson, at least 100 miles. This seems to have been an important route. No doubt, also, some trade went overland, by routes later used by horses, such as the Similkameen River; but it seems that these were of little importance in early times.

In like manner from Kettle Falls trade went north, following the Columbia to Arrow Lakes and Revelstoke, where the Shuswap were met. Practically all this journey was by canoe, and most of it was quite easy.

It seems that in early times trade from the east flowed chiefly to Colville by way of the Pend d'Oreilles route, and trade from the south to Okanagon by way of Columbia River. These points, being under different influences, would differ to some extent in the character of their trade. No doubt there was always some cross-country trade between the Colville and Okanagon through the Sanpoil country, so that eastern, western, northern, and southern objects would be exchanged between these places. Some trade from the Columbia River would also reach Colville more directly by way of the Spokane tribe. It seems likely, however, that goods from Columbia River were carried north from Okanagon, while objects of barter obtained from the east were unimportant. In like manner it might be expected that the Colville traded more in eastern goods, less in those from Columbia River. Thus possibly the most direct route for eastern influences to reach the Shuswap would be from the Colville by way of the Lake, and for southern influences from Okanagon River, between the mouth and the falls, by way of the Lower and Upper Okanagon.

It seems that the Shuswap came into touch with the Lake by two main routes—by way of the Fire Valley and Caribou Lake to the upper end of Lower Arrow Lake, and farther north to the Columbia River at Revelstoke. Some people often traversed the river and the lakes between these two points, fishing and hunting with the Lake tribe. Occasionally some of their parties tarried several months on these visits, especially some of those who came by way of Fire Valley. Those who came to Revelstoke fished with the Lake tribe there. Some of them returned the way they came, after the fishing season was over; and others ascended the Columbia for hunting and trapping. Some of the latter met other Shuswap parties who reached the Columbia farther up, by way of Canoe River, and they frequently wintered at points on the Columbia.

As all the Shuswap reaching the Columbia came from as far west and north as Spelluncheon River, Shuswap Lake, and the Upper North Thompson, they traversed a long distance through mostly rough country, which would hamper any extensive trade development in this direction. Even in later days horses could not be used on those Shuswap trails, except by the southern, the Fire Valley, route. The contact here between Lake and Shuswap was between the poorest bands of both tribes. On the other hand, the head of Okanagon Lake was close to large centers of population. The homes of the Shuswap were only a little distance to the north, and the intervening

country was easily traversed. It seems, therefore, that the bulk of the trade from the south must have come by the Okanagon route; and, as this trade route was rather from the southern Columbia than from the east, the Shuswap would be subjected to influences from the southern Columbia, The Dalles, and southward, rather than from the southeast and the plains. The Shuswap, being at the northerly end of the trade routes from the south, would act as distributors, in the same way as the Okanagon and Colville farther south; and, Kamloops being the nearest central point in their country, trade would gravitate to that place. It thus seems likely that trade from the south would reach the Thompson down Thompson River from Kamloops rather than by the cross-country routes from Okanagon to the head of Nicola River, and from Okanagon to the Thompson by way of the Similkameen and Nicola. The *Stuwix* tribe would also to some extent form a barrier to trade reaching the Thompson by the last-named routes, owing to the hostility that existed between them and the Okanagon immediately before the introduction of the horse. Their culture points to Thompson rather than Okanagon influence.

Following the introduction of the horse, trade conditions changed rather suddenly, and the old trade routes became of minor importance. Trade now passed across country with the greatest ease. The new main trade routes followed across the rolling, lightly timbered grassy plateaus, and through the open valleys, in almost straight lines from one place to another. A great cross-country trade sprang up between Okanagon and Colville. The latter place became of greatest importance as a trading center for a large area of the Plateau country. In fact, it became the great trade emporium of the interior Salishan tribes. Trade from The Dalles and Columbia River going east, and a great deal of that going north, came here by way of the Spokan and Okanagon. The eastern trade from as far as the plains came here by way of Pend d'Oreille River, and passed south, west, and north. The old Lake route to the north, being impossible for horses, was practically neglected. The great trade route to the north was now across country from Colville to Okanagon River; thence it branched off, about half of the volume of trade going up the Similkameen to the Thompson, and the rest passing on to Okanagon Lake. The volume of trade that passed north to the Shuswap and Thompson became very great. The routes traversed were natural ones for horses, through open, well-grassed country, without any physical barriers. Goods were transported up Okanagon Valley by horses, although no doubt some went by canoe, as before. From Okanagon Lake a number of branch routes came into use, leading to the Thompson and Shuswap. Trade to the latter tribe went on to the head of the lake, as before. From there one route was to Spellumcheen River

and thence to Shuswap Lake. As already stated, this was probably the most important route before the advent of the horse. A second route led to Shuswap Lake by way of Salmon River. This route was now more important than formerly. The third route, now much the most important one, was across the Upper Salmon River, by way of Grand Prairie, directly to Kamloops. A branch of this trail went from Grand Prairie to Douglas Lake and to the Nicola and Thompson. A minor trail went from the west side of Okanagon Lake, across a narrow piece of intervening plateau, to Nicola and Thompson Rivers; and another one, from Penticton, at the foot of the lake, joined the main Similkameen trail to the Nicola and Thompson.

Thus it seems that before the introduction of the horse the Shuswap and Thompson tribes were exposed to less influence through trade from the southeast and the plains and to more from the south and Oregon country. As the old trade routes led more directly to the Shuswap than to the Thompson, the former tribe would be more influenced by whatever cultural influences followed them. After the introduction of the horse, conditions were reversed; and these tribes came under a considerably greater influence from the southeast, which before long was further augmented by the great annual movements of the more eastern of the Plateau tribes to the plains for buffalo hunting. The trade routes which now came into vogue led rather to the Thompson than to the Shuswap, and therefore the former tribe now became subject to influences brought in by trade.

In early times some trade was carried on between the Lower Kutenai and the Lake tribe. Parties of the former frequently came to the mouth of Slocan River, and occasionally to the mouth of the Kootenai, to buy salmon. They left their canoes above Bonnington Falls; and after living a couple of weeks with the Lake tribe, and eating plenty of fresh salmon, they departed, carrying their fish over the portage. Sometimes parties of the Lake tribe visited the Kutenai on Kootenai Lake, occasionally going as far as Creston, where they engaged with them in games and did a little trading. Trade between the Lake tribe and the Kutenai was not increased by the introduction of the horse, but rather the reverse was the case.

The chief articles obtained in trade from the Thompson appear to have been dried salmon, salmon oil, salmon pemmican, coiled basketry, dentalia, some stone celts, and the like. The principal goods exchanged for these were horses, dressed buffalo skins and robes, dressed moose skin (rarely caribou skin), painted buffalo hide bags and par-fêches and woven bags of the Nez Percé type.

As stated already, there was not much direct trade between the Okanagon and Thompson before the days of the horse, and what there was seems to have been confined chiefly to salmon pemmican and dentalia, which were exchanged for Indian hemp and dressed

skins. The Okanagon traded the same commodities to the Shuswap and to the Thompson. The Okanagon procured dentalia from the Shuswap, and it is probable that before the introduction of the horse most of these shells were obtained from them.

In July and August, when the route was open, Similkameen and Okanagon sometimes crossed the Cascade Mountains and visited the people of Hope on Lower Fraser River. After horses became common this trade became important and was followed annually. Large packs of dried fish and oil, and in later days even salted salmon, were transported over this trail.

They sold to the Lower Fraser people Indian-hemp bark and twine, dried service berries, and dressed buckskin, in exchange for the best kinds of dried salmon, salmon oil, dentalia, and other shells.

From the Columbia it seems that marine shells, bags of the Nez Percé style, products from The Dalles country, some horses, salmon, coiled basketry, and probably some stone implements and woven robes, were procured in exchange for articles common to all the tribes, such as Indian hemp, robes, clothes, dressed skins, etc.

Some horses and buffalo skin were procured from the Spokane chiefly by the Sanpoil; but there was not much direct trade with this tribe, although Sanpoil visited the Lower Spokane. The Sanpoil appear to have done most of their trading with the Colville on the one hand and the Okanagon on the other.

The Colville procured horses, painted bags and parflèches, buffalo robes, etc., from the Kalispel, in exchange for dried salmon, and some articles reaching them from the west and north, such as shells.

The Lower Kutenai sometimes traded painted bags, parflèches and deer-skin robes to the Lake for dried salmon, and the Lake sold some bark canoes to the Colville. They also sold some products obtained at Colville to the Shuswap, receiving in return chiefly marmot robes and dentalia.

It seems that slaves were procured chiefly from the Columbia tribe. Tobacco and certain kinds of roots were trade articles to some extent. Camas roots, for instance, were often sold to the Thompson, and the latter sometimes sold one or two kinds of roots to the Okanagon. Red paint was sold by the Similkameen people to both the Okanagon and Thompson, and parties of these tribes also came to the Tulameen Forks or Vermilion to gather it themselves. Pipes and pipestone of red, brown, green, mottled, yellowish, bluish, and gray colors were interchanged. The bright-red catlinite came from the east, chiefly through the Kalispel. Green soapstone came chiefly from the Thompson. I learned nothing regarding early trading in copper and iron. It would seem that these metals were not in use to any great extent before the advent of the horse. Buffalo-skin tents reached the Thompson. Small, flat, disk-shaped beads of shell and

bone, used very much by the Thompson and all the tribes for necklaces, may have been made by some or possibly by all of the tribes, but there is evidence that most of them came in trade from the Columbia tribe and The Dalles. Robes of all kinds were valuable, and were exchanged between all the tribes; as were the best kinds of clothes, good weapons, and good tools.

Everything in use had more or less of a set value, which varied in different parts of the country, according to the demand and supply of the commodity.

Families in the same tribe and even the same band, and even individuals who were comrades or next-door neighbors, often traded among themselves. Indian hemp, Indian-hemp twine, and dressed skins, chiefly deerskins, were staples, and although almost equally common to all the tribes of the interior, were in demand constantly because they were so much required for manufactures and clothing. All commodities could be bought with them. The Coast Indians never carried goods inland, as they did in Alaska and in the north, where Athapascan tribes inhabited the interior.

The Okanagon and Colville appear to have been the chief traders among the central tribes, both before and after the introduction of the horse. The Okanagon traded from one end of their country to the other, north and south, and the Sanpoil and Lake tribes did the same east and west. The Colville did no carrying, or hardly any. Their country was small and the surrounding tribes all came to them. Before the introduction of the horse hardly any tribe went beyond the borders of their own country for trading; but afterwards, in times of peace, some parties of the chief trading tribes, such as the Okanagon, for instance, went to the adjoining tribes, and sometimes into the territory of other tribes beyond. The Okanagon occasionally came to Lytton and Kamloops, and they have been known to go to La Fontaine and Lillooet.

## VII. WARFARE

WEAPONS OF OFFENSE AND DEFENSE.—The weapons of the central tribes appear to have been almost the same as those of the Thompson. Spears about 2 meters in length were common. Their points were of flaked stone, bone, and antler. In shape, some were long and narrow, and others somewhat leaf-shaped. War knives were of the same shapes and materials as spearheads. After the arrival of the fur traders iron took the place of other materials for spearheads and knives, and long double-edged war knives were made like those of the Thompson.<sup>1</sup> Tomahawk clubs with stone and antler heads were in use. In later days these were replaced by the trader's tomahawks

<sup>1</sup> *a*, p. 263, fig. 246.

of iron, including the pipe tomahawk. Bows and arrows have already been mentioned.

A number of different types of war clubs were in use. The three kinds with round stone heads used by all the Thompson were common. One kind had a rigid head with rawhide shrunk over it;<sup>2</sup> another kind had a flexible head consisting of a stone enclosed in a bag of dressed skin;<sup>3</sup> and the third kind consisted of a stone enclosed in rawhide, with a short flexible handle of twisted rawhide or a loop of heavy thong. Some of these appear to have been grooved, but most of them were enclosed in hide. War clubs in a single piece were also common. Some of these were of hard wood.<sup>4</sup> Shorter stone clubs, probably of jade and serpentine, of nearly the same shape<sup>5</sup> as the wooden ones, were used principally by the Okanagon. Possibly most of them were obtained in trade from Wenatchi and Columbia. Clubs made of a single piece of elk antler were common. Usually the sharpened stub of a tine at the head formed a spike. The Similkameen claim that his was the most common war club among them. A crooked club of stone and wood, or entirely of either material, was in use. It resembled somewhat the crooked war club of eastern tribes, but had no ball or spike. This style may have been introduced from the plains, but quite possibly it may have been modeled after some of the elk-antler clubs which were of this shape naturally. The crooked club with ball and spike was introduced in later days by the fur traders. Straight wooden clubs set with from one to eight spikes of stone or antler were also in use. Iron clubs came into use after the traders came. They were shaped somewhat like a machete. I did not learn the exact distribution of the various kinds of clubs among the four tribes, but it seems that all kinds were more or less used everywhere. A club with elongated head of rounded stone<sup>6</sup> may have been introduced from the plains. A club with elongated head of flat stone was indigenous.

Cuirasses of rods of wood and of slats of wood were in use among the Okanagon and Sanpoil, and some of heavy hide were also employed. Some of the latter were low, and only encircled the waist. Tunics of thick elk hide were worn by a few men. I did not hear of helmets of any kind, nor of long hide shields.<sup>7</sup> Small shields were universal. Most of them were made of thick hide sewed to a wooden hoop. From one to three thicknesses of hide were used.<sup>8</sup> Some of those of a single piece of hide were rendered arrow proof by a thick coat of glue and sand on one side. Some shields had no hoops. One kind was exactly like the shields used on the plains. All the hide

<sup>2</sup> *a*, p. 264, fig. 247.

<sup>3</sup> See Thompson, *a*, p. 264, fig. 248.

<sup>4</sup> See Thompson, *a*, 265, fig. 251.

<sup>5</sup> See Yakima, *i*, figs. 62, 63.

<sup>6</sup> Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 1, p. 313.

<sup>7</sup> See Thompson, *a* p. 266, fig. 255.

<sup>8</sup> Field Museum, 111941.



shields were circular or nearly circular. A few oval-shaped shields of slats of wood were used.<sup>9</sup>

Breastworks were used in warfare. Some were made of loose stones and earth. They were made in lines in several ways, according to the position to be defended. Some were in tiers, some in straight lines, others were semicircular, and a few entirely circular. I did not obtain any detailed information regarding stockades and fortified houses.

WARS. *Wars between the Stuwī'x, Thompson, Okanagon, and Shuswap.*—Long ago the *Stuwī'x* (the Athapasean Nicola-Similkameen tribe) had frequent wars with the Thompson. This was at a time before the latter had intermarried much with them. The Lytton band of the Thompson were the people who attacked the *Stuwī'x* most frequently. The Shuswap and Okanagon also attacked them. The latter drove them away from near the mouth of Similkameen River, and occupied their territory there; and the same may have been done by the Thompson near the mouth of the Nicola River. The Thompson ceased to attack the *Stuwī'x* after they had intermarried considerably with them, as they were afraid of killing their own kin, or, as they say, of "spilling their own blood." The Okanagon, for the same reason and also because they made fast friends with the Thompson and became their allies, also ceased to attack the *Stuwī'x*. During all of the past century at least, the Thompson, *Stuwī'x*, and Okanagon never fought one another. The Thompson became friendly with the *Stuwī'x* first. The Shuswap, however, continued to attack them throughout the first half of the past century, and sometimes also attacked individuals and parties of Thompson and Okanagon who happened to be camping with the *Stuwī'x*. Most of the Shuswap war parties came from Savona and Kamloops. In some raids they were successful, while in others they were defeated and most of them killed. In some fights, Thompson and Okanagon helped the *Stuwī'x*. In all these wars the other tribes were the aggressors; for the *Stuwī'x* acted only on the defensive, and never sent any parties into the territories of their enemies.

When hunting in the Cascades, Similkameen parties often met Lower Thompson in the country back of Hope and Chilliwack, but they were always friendly. They never met Coast Indians, nor Klickitat, in the Cascades. The former never hunted far back in the mountains, and the latter did not go so far north. They say that Thompson hunting and war parties sometimes went a long way south along the Cascades, but the Similkameen people did not go far.

I did not hear of wars of any Okanagon tribes against Columbia, Wenatchi, Spokane, Kalispel, and other southern and eastern Salish tribes. Long ago, about 1700, the Shuswap had wars with the

<sup>9</sup> Field Museum, 111942.

Okanagon. Once a large Shuswap war party from Savona and neighborhood was defeated at *Namtū'sTEN* ("place of ambush") and nearly all of them were killed. Another Shuswap war party had many men killed by falling over a cliff below Penticton. It seems that this war party came over the plateau to the bluffs above the valley, which they reached in the evening. Here they halted to observe some camps in the valley below. They were noticed by some Okanagon scouts, and in the night time were surrounded by a strong party of Okanagon, who shortly before daybreak attacked them suddenly. Many of the Shuswap, not knowing the locality, fell over the precipice in the dark. Some others escaped to isolated rocks, where their retreat was cut off by the steep cliffs, and they were shot there after daylight. A number of others escaped through the Okanagon in the dark, and reached home. Their war chief was killed.

*Wars with Kutenai.*—The Lake say that they had no wars with the Shuswap, nor with any other tribe except the Kutenai. With the Lower Kutenai they had some small fights and one great war. It is not remembered exactly how it started; but the Kutenai tried to drive the Lake away from Lower Kootenai River, and to take possession of the salmon fisheries at the mouth of Sloean River. A number of fights occurred, with advantage sometimes to one side, sometimes to the other. At last the Lake held a council, and said, "We better kill all the Kutenai, and then there will be no more trouble." At this time the Lake tribe was very numerous, and men came from all parts of the tribe. A large expedition went up Kootenai Lake and attacked the Lower Kutenai of Creston. They killed a great many people, and after that the Kutenai ceased to attack them. In some expeditions Shuswap helped the Lake against the Kutenai. The Lake say that sometimes independent war parties of Shuswap appeared in the Lake country on their way to attack the Kutenai. The Lake tribe sometimes gave them assistance in crossing the Columbia. It seems that there has been no war between the Lake and the Kutenai since about the beginning of the past century.

*Wars with the Nez Percé and Yakima.*—The Sanpoil say that according to traditions the Sanpoil and Nespelim led very peaceful lives, sometimes for decades at a time, neither attacking nor being attacked, although meanwhile they heard of many wars among other tribes. Their chiefs always favored peace, although all bands had war chiefs and a certain number of trained warriors. Once, sometime in the latter part of the eighteenth century, or at least previous to the coming of the white traders, a large war party of Nez Percé attacked the main camp of the Sanpoil, at a time when most of the able-bodied men were away on a hunting expedition in the mountains. Nearly 200 women, children, and old people were killed. The Sanpoil asked the assistance of the Okanagon and Colville to revenge the

massacre; and two years afterwards the warriors of the three tribes had congregated in the Sanpoil country, preparatory to starting on the great war expedition, when a large war party of Nez Percé and Yakima appeared. Having had such an easy victory before, and two years having passed without any reprisals by the Sanpoil, they thought the latter were easy marks. The Yakima, probably including Paloos, had heard of the easy victory of the Nez Percé, and a number of them had joined the Nez Percé to have a share in the next victory. The Sanpoil and their allies hid their strength from the enemy, and let them attack. In the battle which followed the Sanpoil and their allies completely routed the enemy and chased them for many miles. All the enemy were killed except four men, who managed to escape. After this severe defeat the Nez Percé and the Yakima never attacked the Sanpoil again.

*Wars with the whites.*—The Okanagon tribes remained neutral during the Spokane and Yakima wars against the whites, except a few men, chiefly Okanagon (and Sanpoil?), who individually joined the Spokane and Coeur d'Aléne. Some of the overland parties of whites who proceeded from California and Oregon to the Fraser River gold-diggings in 1858–1860, when passing through the Okanagon country, were attacked and harassed by the natives, who opposed their passage at some points by erecting breastworks and shooting from them, setting fire to the grass, stampeding horses, picking off stragglers, and even attacking camps. In one instance a large white party was driven to the river and forced to cross. A number of whites were killed in these skirmishes. About 1875, owing to strong feeling engendered by the failure of the Government to provide reservations and make treaty with the Indians, the Okanagon and Shuswap tribes made a compact to attack the whites and drive them out of their territories. This was frustrated by the strong influence of Chief *Teelahitsa* of the Douglas Lake band.

*FEUDS.*—Feuds between families occurred, although it is said not as frequently as among the Thompson. They were sometimes settled by intervention of chiefs and leading men, who acted as arbitrators. Often blood money had to be paid. Michel Revais told me the following regarding a feud among the Nicola Okanagon:

Chief Nicolas,<sup>10</sup> who lived at Douglas Lake and the head of Okanagon Lake, was considered head chief of the Okanagon on the Canadian side of the line. He had a son called *KEsaskai'lex*, a tall, very fine-looking man, and a daughter Marie,<sup>11</sup> who married William Peone, near Colville. She was tall and good-looking, like her brother, and had tattoo marks at the corners of her mouth. *KEsaskai'*-

<sup>10</sup> See Genealogy of Douglas Lake Chiefs, p. 267 (4.9).

<sup>11</sup> According to the genealogy, the woman was the second wife of Peone, and no relative of *KEsaskai'lex*. Peone's first wife was a sister of *KEsaskai'lex*.

*lex* killed his wife and her paramour near Douglas Lake, and then took refuge on the American side with his sister Marie and her husband. Much ill feeling was caused among the Indians of the band, who took sides in the matter. The relatives of the people killed were warlike and of a revengeful disposition. They threatened to kill members of the chief's family, and it seemed likely that much blood would flow if the affair were not settled quickly. Chief Nicolas called the people together and considered the case. He then paid for his son's deed "blood money" consisting of a lot of horses, some cattle, and a number of robes, and settled the case. Some time after this, in 1862, Michel Revais, Peone, and two or three others came through from Fort Colville with a drove of cattle. *Kesaskai'lex* joined them. When they reached the open ground near where Chief Nicolas and many of his people were camped at Douglas Lake, *Kesaskai'lex* withdrew to a clump of trees with his gun and two pistols, saying that he would remain there and fight, as he expected to be attacked. The others went on, and entered the chief's lodge. Nicolas asked for his son, and they told him where he was. He said, "Bring him in! He need not be afraid. I have paid his debt in full measure, and no one will harm him now." *Kesaskai'lex* then came in to his father's lodge. About 1860 Nicolas was an old man. He owned a great many horses and a number of cattle at that time. A few small plots of land were also cultivated by him and his people.

#### VIII. GAMES AND PASTIMES

I did not learn much about games. The dice game, played by women with marked teeth of beaver and marmot, was common. It seems to have been played in the same way as among the Thompson, and the marks on the dice were the same, or nearly the same.<sup>1</sup> The guessing-stick game of the Thompson was in vogue at least among the Similkameen and Okanagon.<sup>2</sup> The ring-and-lance game was a favorite among all the tribes.<sup>3</sup> The ring-and-dart game<sup>4</sup> and the pin-and-ball game were in vogue among all of them, and seem to have differed little, if any, from the same games among the Thompson. Lehal, or the hand game, was universal, and played by both sexes. Ball games were played by both sexes. They appear to have been similar to those of the Thompson.<sup>5</sup> Several arrow games were played, including one of shooting arrows at a rolling ring of grass. It seems a ring with meshes was also used in one game, which may have been similar to a game among the Cœur d'Alêne.<sup>6</sup> Cat's cradles were common to all the tribes. Foot racing, and in later days horse racing, were much in vogue. A famous rendezvous of

<sup>1</sup> a, p. 272, fig. 256.

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

<sup>5</sup> a, pp. 277, 278.

<sup>2</sup> a, pp. 272, 273.

<sup>4</sup> a, pp. 274, 275.

<sup>6</sup> See p. 133.

the Upper Okanagon for athletic sports, racing, shooting, and other games was at a place a little below Penticton. Parties of Thompson and Shuswap and others from the south went there to compete.

### IX. SIGN LANGUAGE

A sign language was in use, but little is now remembered of it. Some of it is still employed as an adjunct to speech and in giving signals when hunting. The signs are said to have been similar to those formerly used by the Thompson and Shuswap. Probably it was not as well developed or perfected as the sign language which in later days came in from the east. Many of the Sanpoil and Colville became adepts in the use of the later sign language, and it is still employed to some extent by them in talking with strangers. Some of the signs in both types were the same or only slightly different; others were quite distinct. After the coming of the fur traders the Indians learned more or less French, especially those living near the trading posts. The Colville especially learned to speak a great deal of French. It seems that Chinook jargon did not come into use until about 1840, being introduced first by employees of the fur companies who had lived on the lower Columbia.

### X. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

ORGANIZATION.—The social organization of the tribes was practically the same as that found among the Upper Thompson and eastern Shuswap. There was no hereditary nobility;<sup>a</sup> and there were no clans, phratries, or societies that I could learn of. It seems that long ago animals and birds were imitated in dances (other than in the guardian spirit dance), but the dancers did not belong to any societies or groups. The person who introduced and led the dance had generally received it or the inspiration of the dance in a dream or vision, and other Indians joined in helping him. No society was formed to control the dance and the song belonging to it.

Each tribe was divided into bands, which consisted of varying numbers of loosely connected families, who made their headquarters in a certain district and under a single chief. Some families, however, would winter with one band and summer with another. It seems that long ago the number of bands, and therefore also the number of chiefs, was less than lately. The area controlled by each band and the population of each were, on the other hand, greater and some bands had several villages or camps all under one chief who lived at the main village.

CHIEFS.—Later on, it would seem, people of some of the minor villages began to consider themselves as distinct bands, with chiefs

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<sup>a</sup> I presume this means that, although there were hereditary chiefs, their families did not form a nobility, that the prestige was connected with the chieftaincy alone.—F. B.

of their own. Often these chiefs were not of chiefs' descent. For instance, it is said that in the early part of the past century there were only three or four real chiefs in the Nicola-Similkameen country—Nicolas, at Douglas Lake, Upper Nicola (he had Spokane, Okanagon, and some *Stuwi'x* blood<sup>1</sup>); *Soṛkokwa's* ("Sun"), in the central part of Nicola Valley (he was half *Stuwi'x* and half Thompson); and Martinus<sup>2</sup> (also of mixed descent), in Similkameen. Later *Nawi'sesqen* ("raised high head" or "able to be high head") became recognized chief in the central part of Nicola. He was pure Thompson, and leader of the Thompson people who settled in the Nicola Valley. At his death he owned about 1,000 head of horses. Some say that at the same time *Skeū's* was chief of the Upper Similkameen. At the present day and for some time past there have been three chiefs in Similkameen, one at Douglas Lake besides the head chief, and five in Nicola Valley. Of these, at least six are of almost pure Thompson blood. It seems that during the last 35 years the church and the Indian Department have fostered the tendency, if in many cases they have not actually created it, to recognize as chief a leading man of each little community.

There were two classes of chiefs—hereditary chiefs of bands, and others who became chiefs through their ability. The latter might become recognized chiefs through prowess in war; by accumulation of wealth and distributing it in feasts, as presents to their own people and in entertainment of strangers; through wisdom in council, especially if combined with a gift for oratory. Chieftainship of the second class was not hereditary.

All war parties and hunting parties had temporary chiefs, as among the Thompson, and most bands had regular war chiefs. Besides the war chief, almost all the larger war parties had a war shaman, who was supposed to advise as to the disposition of the enemy, to help secure victory and prevent surprise or defeat. Large hunting parties often took with them a shaman or a man who had special power over the game to be hunted. These men were believed to have the power of placating the animals, drawing them to the hunters, making them tame, telling the whereabouts of game, and, if shamans, preventing the bewitching of the party or of the game by other people. Some of these men and shamans were also believed to have power over the weather.

There were also dance chiefs, whose office was more or less temporary; but it seems that the chiefs of the religious dances were permanent. They were leaders in public praying at the dances. The hereditary chiefs of bands were looked upon as fathers of the people, and gave advice on all internal matters of the band. They exhorted the people to good conduct, and announced news personally or through criers. To some extent they regulated the seasonal pursuits of the

<sup>1</sup> See "Genealogy of the Douglas Lake Chiefs," p. 267 (4.9).

<sup>2</sup> Nicolas and Martinus were names said to have been given them by the first fur traders.

people. They looked after the maturing of the berries, personally or by deputy, in their respective districts. They kept time by notching sticks, and occasionally made records of notable events. They were often referred to, in case of dispute, regarding dates, the name of the month, etc. They gave decisions and admonitions in petty disputes and quarrels, and sometimes, when asked to arbitrate, they settled feuds between families. They had little power to enforce any decrees. This was done by public opinion. Some of them had messengers or helpers, who acted generally in a persuasive way as peace officers.

There were no female chiefs. Children of all kinds of chiefs, both male and female, had a certain prominence because of their ancestry and training; and strangers generally preferred to camp with them rather than with people less known, where they might not be as safe nor as well entertained.

There were no permanent councils. A chief or prominent man might call for a council of the chiefs or of the people at any time, if he had important news. As a rule, the band chief called the councils in his band. The councils and meetings were generally open, and all people had a right to attend and speak, if they wished. Announcements of councils were generally made by criers, of whom there was one or more in each band. Dances were also often announced by the public erier, but sometimes the drummers simply went to the dance place and began to sing, and then people knew there would be a dance.

It seems that there was one recognized head chief of all the tribes, except possibly the Lake. Although this tribe were canoe people, some families were nomadic. It appears that their bands averaged less people than those of the other tribes. After part of the Okanagon territory had come under American jurisdiction and the other part under Canadian, there were two head chiefs of the tribe—one on each side of the line.

It was considered the duty of all chiefs, particularly of peace chiefs, to be hospitable, help the poor, show a good example, and give small feasts or presents to the people from time to time.

#### GENEALOGY OF THE OKANAGON CHIEFS

The following genealogy was collected by Mr. Teit from Chief Alexander Chelahitsa and several other Indian informants. Only the important chiefs' families have been followed out in detail and the genealogy does not contain all the individuals who are known to be descendants of the first *Pelkamū'lōx*. The genealogy embraces six generations and a few individuals of the seventh generation.

1.1. *Pelkamū'lōx* (*Pilekemū'laux*), "Rolls-over-the-Earth," a chief of the *SENxom'nuux* or *SENxomé'nic*, "salmon people"; Upper Spokan; the principal branch of the Spokan. Married presumably a Spokan woman. He was born presumably between 1675 and 1680.

2.1. *PElkamū'lōx*, a chief in the same tribe. He was born presumably between 1705 and 1710. For some reason he left his own tribe and lived chiefly among the Sanpoil, Okanagon, and Shuswap. He had other children besides the four sons here mentioned. Since they were not prominent their names have been forgotten. He died at an advanced age at *Sāli'lx<sup>u</sup>* "heaped-up stone house," an ancient Okanagon stronghold near the junction of the Similkameen and Okanagon Rivers. It is said that when he was young he went several times on buffalo hunting expeditions to the plains. During his lifetime there was a period of severe warfare in the Okanagon region. The Indians believe that at this time the *Stuwi'x* were driven out of the lower Similkameen region. He married first a Spokane woman (2.1 *a*); second, a Shuswap woman at Kamloops (2.1 *b*); third, a Sanpoil woman (2.1 *c*); fourth, an Okanagon woman, daughter of the chief at *Sātilx<sup>u</sup>* (2.1 *d*).

3.1. A son of 2.1 and 2.1*a*, whose name is not remembered, married a Spokane woman. The order of the four children of 3.1 is uncertain. According to some the daughter was the eldest; according to others, the youngest child. The three sons all married and left descendants among the Spokane. He became chief of the *SENxomé'níc* and was the ancestor of several Lower and Upper Spokane, including *Nlwislpo'* (Walking-Outside) and his brother *Koti'teko'* (Big-Star) or *Nkeaskvê'lox*, commonly known as Oliver Lot, late chief of the Lower Spokane on the Spokane Reservation.

3.2. *Kwolī'la*, chief of the Kamloops Band of the Shuswap; married a Kamloops woman (3.2 *a*). He was known also as *Tōkē'n* (possibly a corruption of Duncan as he was called by the traders). He had more children than those mentioned here. His half-niece (4.8) was adopted by him. (See under 3.4.)

It is said that the Kamloops chief preceding *Kwolī'la* was *Talexan* who was killed on a war expedition in which the Sekanai were driven out of the upper North Thompson and Yellowhead districts. He was also engaged in wars with the Cree and is said to have been wounded in a fight with them.<sup>3</sup> The Kamloops chieftaincy did not descend in *Kwolī'la's* family. His successor was *Kwī'mtsxEN* (a name also used by the Thompson), who was not related to *Kwolī'la*. His successor was Jean Baptiste Lolo, commonly known as St. Paul. About 1864 he was succeeded by Louis *Nlexle'xkEN*, not a relative of St. Paul, who held the chieftaincy until his death in 1915 at the age of 87 years. The present chief is a young man, Elie La Rue, chosen by Chief Louis before his death, and confirmed by election by the tribe. Some informants say that *Kwolī'la* was succeeded by *Telākā'n* or *Stākān* (male grizzly bear), whence the Indian surname Logan.

<sup>3</sup> *ε*, pp. 546-554; and Franz Boas, Report on Northwestern Tribes of Canada, British Assoc. Adv. of Science, 1890, pp. 86, 87 (reprint).



Baptiste Logan, a chief at the head of Okanagon Lake, lately deposed by the agent, is a grandson of this man. The same informant claims that a chief named *Patsa* preceded Louis as chief.

3.3. *Sixwī'leḡken*, chief of the Sanpoil. He married a Sanpoil woman. He had more children than those mentioned here. It is said that most of the later Sanpoil and Nespelim chiefs are his descendants.

3.4. *PElkamū'lōx*, head chief of the Okanagon. He married first, an Okanagon woman from *Nkama'pELEks* (3.4a), at the head of Okanagon Lake; and second, a *Stuwī'ḡ* woman from Similkameen, perhaps partly of Thompson descent. The order of birth of his children is uncertain.

*PElkamū'lōx* became a noted chief and was known far and wide. During his early life he was much engaged in war. These wars commenced in his father's time or before and continued for many years—many Okanagon as well as people of other tribes being killed. *Sālī'lx<sup>u</sup>* where he made his headquarters was considered the chief seat of the Okanagon tribe (or at least of the northern division). The old name of the place is said to have been *Okanā'qen*. *PElkamū'lōx* built a fort here of stone and afterwards the place became generally known as *Satī'lx<sup>u</sup>*, "heaped-up (stone) house," with reference to the fortifications of stone. It is said there was also a cave near there, the approach to which was defended with breastworks of stones. In case of necessity the people took refuge in it, and from there no party could approach, except under cover of night, without being observed. This place is said to have been impregnable and war parties of Thompson, Shuswap, Kutenai, and others who assaulted it were easily beaten off. *Kwolī'la* (3.2), the Kamloops chief, had heard of the many attacks by enemy war parties on *PElkamū'lōx* and determined to go and see him. His people tried to dissuade him, telling him it was very dangerous for any one to visit him, for his people had been attacked so often that they trusted no one and attacked all strangers on sight who approached their place. Seeing that *Kwolī'la* was determined to go, the Shuswap and the people of *Nkama'pELEks*, who at that time were a mixture of Shuswap and Okanagon, offered to accompany him in an armed body, but he refused their offer, saying he would go alone. As he was leaving, his people told him, "*PElkamū'lōx's* people will kill you before they know who you are, and even if they know, they may kill you." *Kwolī'la* answered, "I am *PElkamū'lōx's* brother, and will go and see him alone." Arriving on the open ground before *PElkamū'lōx's* house, the people ran out to meet him in battle array. *PElkamū'lōx* recognized him and was glad to see him. He took him to his house and kept him as his guest for a long time. *Kwolī'la* advised *PElkamū'lōx* to forsake *Satī'lx<sup>u</sup>* and go

north with him. He told him, "*Satī'lx*<sup>u</sup> is a bad place to live in. You will always have trouble as long as you stay there." *PElkamū'lōx* was persuaded. It was early summer, and he and his people traveled north with the *Kwōlī'la* to *Komkēna'tko*, "headwaters," now called Fish Lake, in the Nicola country. This place was at that time in Shuswap territory, for the Shuswap claimed the country south of Kamloops around the head of the Nicola River. Stump Lake, Douglas Lake, Fish Lake, and Chaperon Lake were all in Shuswap country. This country at that time was full of elk and deer, and there were also many sheep, bear, and other game. Prairie chicken, grouse of all kinds, and water fowl were plentiful, and the lakes teemed with fish. Here at Fish Lake *Kwōlī'la* made a lasting agreement with *PElkamū'lōx*, giving him the perpetual use over all the Shuswap territory of the upper Nicola Valley, south, east, and west of Chaperon Lake, comprising Douglas Lake and Fish Lake. The *Stuwī'xEMUX*<sup>u</sup> and *Ntakyā'pāmux* held the country west and south around Nicola Lake and Minnie Lake to the Similkameen. *Kwōlī'la* said, "You will have the country for yourself and your people as your own. I will live as your neighbor at *Toḡoḡoi'tcēn* (Chaperon Lake) and will retain all the country from there north. You will make Fish Lake your headquarters in the summer and I will summer at Chaperon Lake so that we may be close neighbors part of each year. You will give me your daughter, *Kokoimālks* (4.8), to be my foster child and she will always live with me, but your son (4.9) you will keep with yourself." *PElkamū'lōx* had only two children at this time, both of them very young. After this *PElkamū'lōx* and most of his people spent their summers in their new country with headquarters around Fish Lake and Douglas Lake, and in the wintertime lived at *Nkama'pELEks*. Henceforth *Satī'lx*<sup>u</sup> was deserted of permanent inhabitants and was no longer the main village of the Okanagon. Those people who did not go with *PElkamū'lōx* moved north to different parts of the Okanagon Lake country and especially to the head of the lake around *Nkama'pELEks*. The latter place became an important Okanagon center. Not many years after this, owing to its fine grazing, many of the people of the old *Satī'lx*<sup>u</sup> band, and others of the *Nkama'pELEks* band, who were now much mixed with them, began to winter around Douglas Lake and Fish Lake, forming as it were a new band. However, even up to the present day they look upon themselves as merely an offshoot of the *Nkama'pELEks* and Okanagon people and as really one with them. Each year when *PElkamū'lōx* left for his winter quarters at *Nkama'pELEks*, *Kwōlī'la* at the same time left to winter at Kamloops. Being head chief of the Okanagon, *PElkamū'lōx* often traveled to all the bands of the tribe, visiting first here and then there. He also traveled extensively among the neighboring tribes, visiting the *Stuwī'x*, Upper Thompson,

Shuswap of Kamloops, and it is said, the Wenatchi, Columbia, Saupoil, Spokane, and Kalispel. He went a number of times buffalo hunting to the plains, by way of the Flathead country, and was therefore well acquainted with chiefs and people of all the tribes to the south and east as far as the Cœur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, Wallawalla, Yakima, Kutenai, Shoshoni, and Blackfoot. On his last trip to the plains his party met near Helena, Mont., the first white men they had seen (viz, Legace and MacDonald, explorers and trappers of the Northwest Co.). On the return trip these men accompanied the party as far west as the Columbia River, where they wintered with the Colville chief. After this *PElkaṃū'lōx* traveled around in his own country and within the borders of the neighboring tribes, telling of the wonderful men he had seen on his recent trip. *Kwōt'la* invited him to Kamloops to tell of the event. He accompanied the Shuswap to their salmon-fishing and trading rendezvous at Pavilion and Fountain, on Fraser River. Here he was mortally wounded by an arrow, in an altercation with a Lillooet chief. When dying he charged *Kwōt'la* with the guardianship of his son, *Hwistesmerē'qen* (4.9), and asked him to see that he avenged his death. (For full particulars of this part of the history of *PElkaṃū'lōx*, see Dawson, "The Shuswap People," pp. 26, 27; and Wade, "The Thompson Country," pp. 13-15.)

4.1. *Āli'*, married Donald McLean (4.1a), in charge of the Hudson Bay Co. post at Kamloops; born 1801, killed in the Chilcotin war 1864. (See Father A. G. Morice, History of Northern British Columbia, pp. 264-270, 279, 307-313.) He had a second wife who was half Shuswap. With her he had three sons, Alan, Charles, and Archibald, who along with Alexander Hare (whose mother was Lower Thompson from Boston Bar), were hanged in 1881 for the murder of whites in the Kamloops district. By a third wife, partly Carrier, he had several children, John and others.

4.2. *Skwa'lkweł* }  
 4.3. *Tcemā'wia* } Left descendants among the Spokane.  
 4.4. *Nekeeskwa'* }

4.5. *Tak.lē'sqet* (rain cloud, or descending cloud?), married a Shuswap woman (4.5a), died at Kamloops, very old. He had other children besides those noted here.

4.6. *Tahwū'lkēnem*, married.

4.7. *Yenamusi'tsa*, "surrounded robe." He had other children besides the one recorded here.

4.8. *Kokoimāłks* or *Koimā'łks*, married. She was adopted by *Kwōt'la* (3.2).

4.9. Nicolas *Hwistesmetxē'qen*, "Walking Grizzly Bear" born 1780-1785, died about 1865. This name is said to be of Spokane origin and was inherited. The name Nicolas was given to him by the traders.

The Indians pronounced it, *Nkwala'*. He married 15 wives (according to other informants 17) from the Okanagon, Sanpoil, Colville, Spokane, Shuswap, *Stuwí'x*, Thompson, and perhaps others. His children who grew up numbered about 50 and many of their descendants are now living on the Colville, Spokane, and Coeur d'Aléne Reservations as well as in southern British Columbia among the Okanagon, Shuswap, and Thompson. One of his daughters, Mary *Sukomé'lks* (5.7), married one of the Peones (Pion<sup>4</sup>) in the Colville or Spokane country. One of his sons, *KESEKA'lux* (*KESASKAI'LEX*) (5.8), "Bad Man," was well known. I did not try to get a list of Chief Nicolas's wives and children as the head chieftainship did not descend to them, but instead to his adopted son and nephew *TSELAXI'tsa* (5.10), the son of his sister *SAPXENÁ'lks* (4.11). Charles *Teere'pqEN*, a Spokane from the Coeur d'Aléne Reservation and a descendant of Chief Nicolas, visited his friends at Kamloops, Nicola, and Spencees Bridge in 1912.

This man became even a more famous chief than his father and the Nicola Valley, Nicola River, and Nicola Lake are named after him. The fur traders called the region of the upper Nicola, "Nicolas's country," and the river which flowed through it "Nicolas's River." Later the lake and valley were given the names from the river. Nicolas was given his name Nicolas by the French Canadian traders who conducted the temporary trading post at the head of Okanagon Lake. When a young man, Nicolas was placed in charge of this post by the trader, who had to leave for a winter. On his return the trader found everything at the post in good order and many valuable skins collected by Nicolas. In reward he gave the latter a present of 10 guns with plenty of ammunition. About this time the Kamloops chief, *Kwoli'la*, visited him and reminded him of his duty to avenge the death of his father. Nicolas at once prepared himself for the warpath and sent invitations to the neighboring tribes to join him in his war expedition against the Lillooet. It is said about 500 warriors of the Okanagon, Upper Thompson, *Stuwí'x*, and Shuswap assisted Nicolas in this expedition, which swept through most of the Lillooet country. They killed about 300 or 400 Lillooet and took many young women and children captive. On this expedition some of the Lower Lillooet are said to have seen the first horse and heard the first gun—a number of the war party being armed with guns and some of them being mounted on horses. Most of the Lillooet, however, had seen horses on Fraser River long before this date and some of the upper division may have owned horses. Guns, however, were still unknown among them at this time. Both before and after this war expedition the hundreds of warriors made several elk drives in the upper Nicola country on a grand scale, driving great numbers

<sup>4</sup> The Peones are descended from a French Canadian Píon (?) who was in the service of the Northwest Co. Peone Prairie in the Spokane country, is named after one of them.

of these animals into inclosures and over cliffs, thus hastening the extermination of elk in that country. (For fuller particulars of this war expedition see McKay in Dawson, "The Shuswap people," pp. 27, 28; Wade, "The Thompson country," pp. 16-19; Teit, "The Lillooet Indians," p. 246.)

Chief Nicolas, it is said, was quite as widely known as his father and made several trips to the plains buffalo hunting. According to some, on one of these trips he had a fight with the Blackfoot in which the latter were defeated. He was also the chief who came down to Nicola Lake and buried the Thompson and *Stuwix* victims of the Shuswap raid at Guichon. (For a mention of this see Smith, "Archaeology of the Thompson River Region," p. 432.) An interesting account of Chief Nicolas's scheme to outwit Tod (who was in charge of the Hudson's Bay post at Kamloops) and take the trading post (about 1846) is mentioned in Bancroft's History of British Columbia and a fuller account is given by Wade. ("The Thompson Country," pp. 63-66.) The fur traders recognized Nicolas as the most powerful and influential chief in the interior of British Columbia. He was noted for his sagacity, prudence, honesty, and fair dealing, and was rather a peacemaker than a fighting man. He was greatly respected by the Indians and his word was law among his own people and even among the neighboring tribes. He overshadowed all the other chiefs of his time in power and influence. Like other head chiefs, he usually had a bodyguard of young warriors who did his bidding and accompanied him on all important trips and visits to neighboring chiefs. During his lifetime the Okanagon and neighboring tribes became acquainted with the white man; first with the fur traders in the very early years of the last century, and then about 50 years later (about 1856-1864) with the first gold miners and settlers. On the advent of the latter, Nicolas used his great influence for their protection and in preventing the Indians making war on them. During the Fraser River trouble between the Thompson and whites (1858-59) he advocated peace although preparing for war, and had the affair not been settled when it was, he might have joined the Thompson against the miners. Although repeatedly asked to join in the Spokane war against the whites, he refused to embroil his people, claiming that he was with King George and the Queen. He was an ally of the latter and wore the medals the Queen and King had presented to him. Having his territory controlled by the Queen, he expected to be dealt fairly with, for the Queen and her subjects, the fur traders, had always been fair with the Indians. He was sorry that the country of the Spokane had come under the control of the Americans. It seems this attitude of Nicolas and the fact that the southern part of the Okanagon country became American territory and the northern part Canadian (the international boundary passing

through it a little south of the middle) brought it about that the American Okanagon, after Nicolas's death, recognized a different head chief. According to some his name was *Tōnā'sqet*. He was not of chief's descent and, it is said, secured his reputation through war and horse raiding. Chief Nicolas was also noted as a very wealthy man. He had numbers of fine robes and other wealth, large bands of horses, and before 1858 or 1860, had a good many cattle, the first of which he had obtained some years before from Indians and whites or half-breeds in the Colville and Spokane countries. He also cultivated some patches of corn, potatoes, and probably tobacco before 1860. He obtained the seed from traders at Kamloops or from traders and others in the south. Nicolas died at Grand Prairie about 1865, in the fall of the year. His body was taken to Kamloops by a great cortege of Indians and temporarily buried near the Hudson Bay fort. During the winter a large number of Indians remained with the body, and either the traders or the Indians or both kept a guard of honor over it in military style during the winter. In the spring it was exhumed and carried on horses to *Nkama'peleks*, where it was finally buried. Chief Nicolas generally (or at least very often) wintered at *Nkama'peleks*, as his father *Pełkamū'lôx* had done, and he considered this place his real winter quarters.

An Okanagon informant gave me the following names as those of leading chiefs in various tribes about 1850, or in the latter days of Chief Nicolas. Adam, at Shuswap Lake, leading chief of the "real Shuswap"; William, at Williams Lake, and *Lo'xsem*, at Soda Creek, leading chiefs of the Northern or Fraser River at Shuswap; *Cexpe'ntlem*, at Lytton, head chief of the Thompson; *Pā'lak*, at Spuzzum, leading chief of the Lower Thompson; *Kirkwa'* or *Kescwī'lex*, "become bad," at Fort Shepherd, leading chief of the Lake; *Yēlemexstū'lex*, at Kettle Falls, leading chief of the Colville. Gregor *Yokumtiken* was chief of the Nkamip band of the Okanagon when they talked with Commissioner Sproat.

One informant told me the following about *Tōnā'sqet*.

"*Tōnā'sqet* was not a chief nor descended from any chiefs. He first became prominent in the following manner. In 1858 some of the Okanagon were fighting the whites who came overland with pack trains and horses via the Okanagon route to the newly discovered gold diggings in British Columbia. Many of the white parties were killed. Horses were also stampeded and stolen from them. Most of the fighting took place near the British Columbia line. In all there were never more than 70 or 80 Okanagon fighting and most of them had no guns. *Tōnā'sqet* was one of their number. Once they fought a large party of whites and stopped them from passing through. They had to retreat and change their direction. Then a still larger party of whites came on the scene. The Indians set fires in the grass on the

flanks of the party, and another large fire ahead of them which spread into the trees. They separated and fired shots from behind the fires. The white party came to a halt and made ready for an attack. There were probably less than 20 Indians at this time while the whites must have numbered about 150. *Tōnā'sqet* made himself leader of the Indians. He left half of his men here and there at the sides and front to shoot off their guns while he with the others rode down on the camp of the whites. The latter thought the Indians were going to attack them and prepared to shoot. *Tōnā'sqet*, who was ahead, held his gun above his head and called out, "Don't shoot, we are friends." He said to the whites, "I have great numbers of my warriors all around, to the sides, and in front and behind you. They are waiting behind these fires. At my call they will come out and overwhelm you, but I do not want to do this. I want to be your friend and treat you well, but I am chief of all this country and I want you to recognize me by paying some tribute for using and passing through my country." The whites believed him; they wrote down his name and gave him many presents. He and his following then allowed them to pass on, gave them directions, and did not molest them any further. After this, other white parties recognized him as chief, not knowing any better, and always gave him presents. In this way *Tōnā'sqet* gained considerable influence and came to be called chief, but he was really no chief, although later the American Okanagon recognized him as such to some extent. *Tōnā'sqet* himself, after Nicolas's death, claimed to be head chief of the Okanagon who lived on the American side of the line.

4.10. *Sukomē'ls*, married a Hudson Bay Co. employee in the Okanagon or Colville country. According to some informants she was a daughter, not a sister, of Chief Nicolas (4.9). There may have been two individuals of the same name. She had more children than those here recorded.

4.11. *Sapxēna'ls*, married *Xalekskwai'lōx* of *Tutekskū'lōx* (4.11 a), a little below Keremeous, Similkameen. She was the favorite sister of Chief Nicolas. She died giving birth to her first child, who became Chief *Tselax'tsa* (5.10). Her husband was almost pure Okanagon.

5.1. Donald McLean, married *Julienne* (5.1 a), daughter of Chief Jean Paul, of Kamloops. Donald McLean was famous as fiddler and Government scout. He was living at Kamloops, 1916, aged over 80 years. He had more children than enumerated here.

5.2. Duncan McLean.

5.3. Alexander McLean, living near Kamloops, 1916. He had more children living than enumerated here.

5.4. A daughter, married Donald(?) Manson, Lac La Hache, a Hudson Bay employee or son of a Hudson Bay employee, of Scotch descent.

5.5. *N̄x̄o'mq̄en*, "Painted Head," married a Shuswap woman (5.5 a.) He died at Kamloops, 1913, as an old man. He had more children besides Julia (6.8).

5.6. *Ratcā'x̄en*, "Tied Arms." He died among the Sanpoil about 1900, a very old man. He had more children besides *Ratcā'x̄en* (6.9).

5.7. Mary *Sukomē'lks*. See 4.9.

5.8. *K̄es̄eska'lux̄* (*K̄esaskai'lex̄*). See 4.9.

5.9. Julie. Married William Peone (5.9 a) in the Spokane country.

5.10. *T̄selax̄ī'tsa*, adopted by Chief Nicolas (4.9). He had 12 wives. Best known among them were (1st) an Okanagan woman from *Nkama'p̄el̄eks* (5.10 a); (2d) *Panā'llks*, "Folded Dress," from *Nkamtc̄ī'n̄emux̄* (Spences Bridge) (5.10 b); (3d) Marie *MEM̄ī'xtsa*, "Hanging-loose Robe," a Kamloops (5.10 c); (4th) Sophie, from Spences Bridge, a younger sister of *Panā'llks* (5.10 d); (5th) *Tik̄umt̄ī-n̄ek*, "Smooth Bow," an Okanagan mixed with Colville (5.10 e); (6th) *Seisi'tko*, or *Sisi'n̄tko*, "Two Waters," of *Ka'lem̄ix* (Guichon), Nicola Valley (5.10 f); (7th) a woman whose name is not remembered (5.10 g); (8th) *Kan̄ī'sta*, of *Ka'lem̄ix*, Nicola Valley (5.10 h).

*T̄selax̄ī'tsa* was the most prominent chief in the interior of British Columbia in his day, and was noted as an all-round good man. He was the recognized head chief of the Okanagan tribe on the Canadian side of the line and the only chief of the Okanagan in the Nicola country. He was the chief who carried on the negotiations with Government Commissioner Sproat regarding the tribal territory and hunting and fishing rights of the Okanagan, and the laying off of reservations for the people at Douglas Lake, Fish Lake, Quilchena, Guichon, and around the head of Okanagan Lake (*Nkama'p̄el̄eks*, etc.). Like his uncle, Chief Nicolas, he had great faith in the Queen and the Queen's laws, and expected his people to be dealt with by the Government in the fairest manner regarding all the rights that they claimed in the territories inherited from their forefathers. About 1875 and 1876, when there was great dissatisfaction among the interior Salishan tribes in British Columbia because of white settlement on their lands and the failure of the Government to make treaties and proper agreements with them regarding their land and hunting rights, etc., *T̄selax̄ī'tsa* calmed the other chiefs and repressed the people, telling them the Queen would eventually see to it that the Indians would be dealt with fairly. He was friendly to the settlers and did not try to run them off. He simply asked them questions and let them understand that they were trespassing on land still possessed by the Indians. About this time an alliance was formed by most of the Shuswap and Okanagan chiefs for the purpose of a combined attack upon all white settlers, and there only remained the word of Chief *T̄selax̄ī'tsa* to set the country aflame. He stood out against all the others and advocated a peaceful policy. Through his efforts a



serious Indian war was avoided. The Indians were appeased shortly afterwards by the arrival of Mr. Sproat and the apparent desire of the Government to acknowledge the rights of the Indians. However, considerable dissatisfaction remained among many. *Tselaxī'tsa* was considered a wealthy chief and a good speaker. He died about 1884, after having chosen his son Alexander *Xwistesmex'e'qEN* to succeed him as head chief of the tribe. After his death two of his other sons became local chiefs of subbands, and another a church chief (so called). *Tselaxī'tsa* survived most of his wives.

6.1. John McLean.

6.2. Rosie McLean.

6.3. Alick McLean, about 1885. In wild excitement, he ran into the Indian village at Kamloops and shot some Indians. When he did the same a second time he was shot by the Indians.

6.4. Charles McLean, lately of Edmonton, Alberta.

6.5. Duncan McLean.

6.6. Alfred McLean.

6.7. John McLean.

6.8. Julie, living 1916 at Kamloops.

6.9. *Ratcā'xEN*, living 1911 among the Sanpoil on the Colville Reservation.

6.10. *Nkeaskwai'lex*.

6.11. A daughter, who married an Okanagon man and has a family.

6.12. *ELemelpōseman* or *Iamelpō'sEMEN* (good heart); married *Xaikwa'tko* (— water) (6.12 a) and *Sixwé'tsa* (6.12 b), both Thompson from Nicola. He had several children living in 1915. He inherited his father's medals, two of which had belonged to Chief Nicolas, one of them a King George III medal. Shortly after his father's death he became chief of the band at *Kalemēx* or Guichon. This band was originally *Stuwī'x* and later Thompson and *Stuwī'x*, and not at all in the territory of the Okanagon. Owing to the slaughter of most members of the original band by the Shuswap (see Smith, *Archaeology of the Thompson River Region*), followed by the settlement of many people of Okanagon origin at the place, the Okanagon element outweighed the Thompson and *Stuwī'x*, and the Douglas Lake chiefs assumed control. *Iamelpō'sEMEN* died about 1901 and his half brother *Tselaxī'tsa* (6.16) became chief of the band as well as of that of Douglas Lake.

6.13. George, married, but without issue.

6.14. *Kwoitpī'tsa*, married an Okanagon man and had a family living in 1915.

6.15. Alexander Nicolas (Nicola), *Xwistesmex'e'qEN*, "Walking Grizzly Bear," and *SEkelepke'qEN*, "Little Coyote Head"; married *Swa:ɛpī'nek*, "Surviving Bow," of the upper Thompson (6.15 a),

who died in 1914. He was hereditary chief of the Okanagon. All his children died young. His adopted son, Tommy Alexander, lives at Fish Lake.

6.16 John Celestin (*Salista'*), *Tselaxī'tsa*, "Standing Robe," married a woman from the Upper Thompson, partly of *Stuwī'x* descent (6.16 *a*). In 1915 he had an only married daughter who lived with her parents. He was chosen by his father to succeed him as head chief of the Okanagon, which title he held by hereditary right and gift. He lives at *Nkama'pELEks* and at Fish Lake, as his fathers before him. He was living in 1916, aged about 74 or 75. Like his father and grand uncle, he is a shrewd man. After his father's death he became church chief by appointment by the priests. After the death of his half brothers, *Iamelpō'sEMEN* (6.12) and Basil (6.19), he became chief of the Douglas Lake and Guichon bands. He is said to be the wealthiest chief in British Columbia. He made one trip to Europe, visiting England, France, Belgium, Germany, and Italy. He has been several times in Okanagon representing his tribe.

6.17. Saul, died a number of years ago.

6.18. François, died a number of years ago.

6.19. Basil. Became chief of the Douglas Lake band after his father's death, as his half brother Chief Alexander, the head chief, did not wish to act as a band chief. He was shot and killed, in a brawl among Indians on the Granite Creek Trail, by Charles *SEpSEpsā'xEN*, "Striped (?) Arms," of *Nsē'sket*, Nicola division of the Upper Thompson, about 1885. He was succeeded as chief by his half brother, John *Tselaxī'tsa*.

6.20. Narcisse, died a number of years ago.

6.21. Michel, married Therèse (6.21 *a*), of the Upper Thompson, mixed with the Colville. She is a younger sister of the shaman Baptiste *Ululamé'llst*, "Iron Stone," who lived at Potato Gardens, on Nicola River, 16 miles from Spences Bridge. The family were half Upper Thompson and half Colville mixed with Okanagon.

6.22. *Kopkopé'llst*, married *Tsalutā'llks* (6.22 *a*), of Douglas Lake, a daughter of *Tsexī'nek*, "Standing Bow," a sister to *Kaxpē'tsa*, "sticking out bottom of robe," of the Spences Bridge band. This family is half Upper Thompson and half Okanagon in blood.

6.23. *Sapxenā'llks*, married Napoleon, of the Nicola Thompson. He died a number of years ago.

6.24. A woman whose name is not remembered. She was shot and killed by her husband, who shortly afterwards was shot and killed by her (?) relatives.

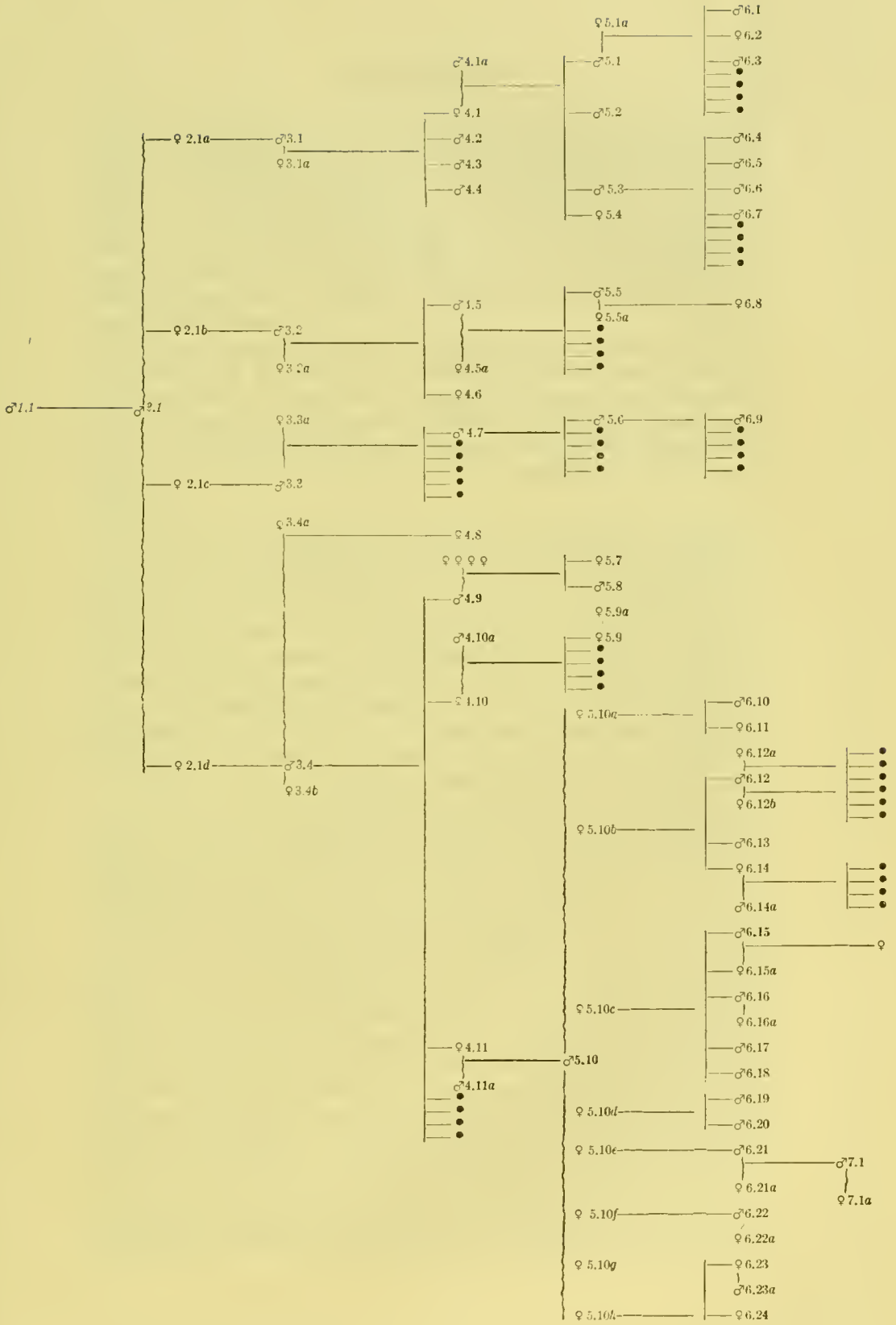
7.1. James Michel, married Maggie, a Thompson woman from Lytton. She was reared on the Colville Reservation in Washington, being fostered by a sister of his mother, who was married there. He received some education in the American schools and when he grew to manhood came back to his native place, where he received a share

in the reservation at Guichon. He died near 1903 aged about 40 years. He had no children. After his death his wife went to the Quilchena Creek Reserve, Upper Thompson tribe, where she was living, 1916.

## INDIVIDUALS IN OKANAGON GENEALOGY

- 1.1. *PElkamū'lôx* (Upper Spokan); born about 1675. See p. 263.
- 2.1. *PElkamū'lôx* (Upper Spokan); born about 1705. See p. 264.
- 2.1a. A Spokan woman. See p. 264.
- 2.1b. A Shuswap woman, Kamloops. See p. 264.
- 2.1c. A Sanpoil woman. See p. 264.
- 2.1d. An Okanagon woman, daughter of the chief of *Salil'lxu*. See p. 264.
- 3.1. Man, name unknown. See p. 264.
- 3.1a. A Spokan woman. See p. 264.
- 3.2. *Kwolil'la*. Shuswap chief, Kamloops. See pp. 264, 265, 268.
- 3.2a. A Kamloops woman. See p. 264.
- 3.3. *Sixwī'lexken*. Sanpoil chief. See p. 265.
- 3.3a. A Sanpoil woman. See p. 265.
- 3.4. *Pelkamū'lôx*. Head chief of the Okanagon. See p. 265.
- 3.4a. An Okanagon woman from *Nkama'peleks*. See p. 265.
- 3.4b. A *Stuwī'x* woman, perhaps partly Thompson. See p. 265.
- 4.1. *Āli'*. See p. 267.
- 4.1a. Donald McLean. A Scotchman. See p. 267.
- 4.2. *Skwa'lkwel*. See p. 267.
- 4.3. *Tcemā'wia*. See p. 267.
- 4.4. *NEkeeskwa'*. See p. 267.
- 4.5. *Tak.lé'sqet*. See p. 267.
- 4.5a. A Shuswap woman. See p. 267.
- 4.6. *Tahwū'lkenem*. See p. 267.
- 4.7. *Yenamusi'tsa*. See p. 267.
- 4.8. *Kokoimā'lks* or *Koimā'lks*. See pp. 264, 266, 267.
- 4.9. Nicolas *Xwistesmexeqen*. Born about 1780. See pp. 266, 267-270, 271, 272.
- 4.10. *Sukomē'lks*. See p. 271.
- 4.10a. An employee of the Hudson Bay Company. See p. 271.
- 4.11. *Sapxena'lks*. See pp. 268, 271.
- 4.11a. *Xalekskwai'lôx*. See p. 271.
- 5.1. Donald McLean. See p. 271.
- 5.1a. Julianne, daughter of Chief Jean Paul, Kamloops. See p. 271.
- 5.2. Duncan McLean. See p. 271.
- 5.3. Alexander McLean. See p. 271.
- 5.4. A daughter, married Donald Manson, of Scotch descent. See p. 271.
- 5.5. *Nxo'mqen*. See p. 272.
- 5.5a. A Shuswap woman. See p. 272.
- 5.6. *Ratcā'xen*. See p. 272.

- 5.7. Mary *Sukomé'uks*. See pp. 268, 272.  
 5.8. *KESEKA'tux* (*Kesaskai'lex*). See pp. 259, 260, 268, 272.  
 5.9. Julie. See p. 272.  
 5.9a. William Peone. See p. 272.  
 5.10. *Tselaxi'tsa*. See pp. 268, 271-273.  
 5.10a. An Okanagon woman from *Nkamā'pELEks*. See p. 272.  
 5.10b. *Panā'uks*, a Spences Bridge woman. See p. 272.  
 5.10c. *Marie MEMī'xtsa*, a Kamloops woman. See p. 272.  
 5.10d. Sophie, younger sister of 5.10b. See p. 272.  
 5.10e. *Tikumtī'nek*, an Okanagon-Colville woman. See p. 272.  
 5.10f. *Seisi'tko*, *Sisi'ntko*, a Nicola woman. See p. 272.  
 5.10g. A woman whose name is not remembered. See p. 272.  
 5.10h. *Kanī'tsa*, a Nicola woman. See p. 272.  
 6.1. John McLean. See p. 273.  
 6.2. Rosie McLean. See p. 273.  
 6.3. Aliék McLean. See p. 273.  
 6.4. Charles McLean. See p. 273.  
 6.5. Duncan McLean. See p. 273.  
 6.6. Alfred McLean. See p. 273.  
 6.7. John McLean. See p. 273.  
 6.8. Julie. Kamloops. See pp. 272, 273.  
 6.9. *Ratcā'xen*. Colville. See pp. 272, 273.  
 6.10. *Nkaskai'lex*. See p. 273.  
 6.11. A woman of unknown name. See p. 273.  
 6.12. *ELEMelpōSEMEN* (*IamelpōSEMEN*). Guichon. See pp. 273, 274.  
 6.13. George. See p. 273.  
 6.14. *Kvoitpī'tsa*. See p. 273.  
 6.15. Alexander Nicolas *XwistesmeXe'qen*. Head chief of the Okanagon. See p. 273.  
 6.15a. *SwaXepī'nek*. Upper Thompson. See p. 273.  
 6.16. John Celestin. *Tselaxi'tsa*. See pp. 273, 274.  
 6.16a. Upper Thompson woman. See p. 274.  
 6.17. Saul. See p. 274.  
 6.18. François. See p. 274.  
 6.19. Basil. See p. 274.  
 6.20. Narcisse. See p. 274.  
 6.21. Michel. See p. 274.  
 6.21a. Thérèse. Upper Thompson woman. See p. 274.  
 6.22. *Kopkopéllst*. See p. 274.  
 6.22a. *Tsalutā'uks*. Douglas Lake. See p. 274.  
 6.23. *SapXenā'uks*. See p. 274.  
 6.23a. Napoleon. Nicola Thompson. See p. 274.  
 6.24. A woman, name forgotten. See p. 274.  
 7.1. James Michel. See p. 274.  
 7.2. Maggie, a Lytton woman. See p. 274.





SLAVES.—Slaves, for the most part, were young women made captive in war; but a few were procured in trade from the south. A few of the Okanagon slaves came from as far away as the Snake country in Oregon, and Rogue River and Shasta, by way of The Dalles. A few Lillooet and Coast slaves were procured by Okanagon from the Thompson tribe. The Lake tribe had hardly any slaves. Captive women were generally well treated, and their children were considered members of the tribe. Only in quarrels were they sometimes called "slaves."

NAMES.—The naming system was almost the same as that of the Thompson, and the majority of male and female names had the same name suffixes as those found among the Thompson and Shuswap. In a few places irregular names taken from animals, plants,<sup>5</sup> and dreams, corresponding somewhat to names common among the lower Thompson, were more common than the regular names with name suffixes.<sup>6</sup>

PROPERTY.—The tribal territory was common property, and free to all the people for hunting and fishing, berrying, and root digging, but people of one band did not, as a rule, pick berries or dig roots in the grounds near the headquarters of another band without first obtaining the consent of the chief in charge of the territory, and then only at the proper season. Some grounds were tribal and not under the authority of any particular chief. Game was divided and shared among all the people who hunted; the one who killed it had no special rights. On the return of a hunting party some meat was given to the people who had not hunted, although they had no claim to it. Presents of meat, fish, berries, roots, seeds, etc., were given from one family to another, especially during the winter; and these presents were not necessarily repaid, although they generally were by an exchange of food. It seems that snares, deer fences, and deer nets were private property, the same as traps, weapons, dogs, and horses. Eagle cliffs were the property of bands in most cases.

FESTIVALS.—The Okanagon tribes appear to have had even less festivals and social ceremonies than the Thompson. No "letting-down" (*ntēixā'nk* or *ntsehā'nk* or *toxtō'xEM*) customs were in vogue; and there were hardly any potlatches (*wau'EM*). The latter custom was introduced from the Thompson to the Similkameen and Okanagon, but never took a strong hold. Only about six men are known to have given potlatches, and now the custom seems quite dead. A kind of supper given by one family to another was common in the winter-time among neighbors. The family feasted gave a return feast. As stated already, chiefs and leading people gave feasts and presents

<sup>5</sup> For instance, *Ā'tamen* (root of *Fritillaria pudica*). There is a shaman of this name.

<sup>6</sup> For examples of Okanagon names see "Genealogy of Douglas Lake Chiefs," on pp. 263 to 276. The names *Skeū's*, *Wēte'pken*, and others, used by men in Similkameen, are also employed by the Thompson.

from time to time. Singing and dancing were indulged in at nearly all entertainments and gatherings.

**MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.**—Drums used to beat time for singing and dancing were exactly like those of the Thompson. Rattles were also used in singing and dancing. They consisted of pebbles inclosed in wood, horn, or hide. Deer-hoof rattles attached to the ankles, knees, waist, elbows, and wrists were used. Others were attached to the end of a short stick. Beating of sticks on a hide or a board was also common in some kinds of dancing and singing. Rasps of notched sticks were also in vogue. In a few dances, such as the praying dance, there was no accompaniment to the singing. Flutes and whistles of several kinds were in use for serenading, but they were not used at dances.

**PIPES AND SMOKING.**—Smoking was indulged in by nearly all the adult men and by some of the women. Ceremonial smoking was practiced, especially at the beginning of serious undertakings, such as councils. Long ago the tubular pipe was in use. Some of these had figures of animals carved along the top and others were carved like an animal's mouth.<sup>8</sup> The simple bowl pipe was also in use, and the elbow pipe, which in later days supplanted all others. A disk-shaped stone pipe<sup>9</sup> was fairly common among the Okanagon, but I have not heard of its use among the Thompson. It may have been introduced from the south. Pipes were sometimes made of knots of wood. The tobacco smoked was the same kind as that used by the Thompson, and the kinnikinnick was also the same. It is said that a kind of clay pipe was sometimes made long ago.

## XI. BIRTH, CHILDHOOD, PUBERTY, MARRIAGE, DEATH

**PREGNANCY.**—Numerous restrictions were put on a pregnant woman, especially during her first pregnancy. The object was to insure health and strength to the woman and her child, an easy delivery, and safety from supernatural harm for both mother and child. Pregnancy, especially the first time, was considered "mystery" in almost the same degree as adolescence and menstruation. The restrictions were almost the same as among the Thompson. The most important during the first pregnancy were the following: The woman had to wash and bathe regularly in cold water. She prayed to the Day Dawn. She had to avoid all bad smells, quarreling, agitation, and anything that might surprise or shock her. She must not eat any flesh of large game, but only that of birds and fish. She must not eat turtle. All flesh that she ate must be at least a day old. Her husband had to bathe often and to pray and purify in the sweat house.

**BIRTH.**—Women at childbirth were attended by an older woman, generally the mother, aunt, or grandmother, sometimes by more than

<sup>8</sup> See *g*, fig. 113; Field Mus. 111743.

<sup>9</sup> See *i*, figs. 107-109.



one. The afterbirth was treated in the same way as among the Thompson.<sup>1</sup>

TWINS.—Restrictions regarding twins were not as strict as among the Thompson. They resembled more those of the Shuswap. Many families had no special observances for twins. Some of the Similkameen who had twins lived apart from other people, and went through all the "twin" ceremonies customary among the Thompson.<sup>2</sup>

CARRIERS.—The board carrier and the carrying bag were universally used. Board carriers were of the same general types as those of the Thompson. Some boards were low or short, not much, if any, longer than the height of the infant; while some others were high, from about a quarter to a third of the board being above the child's head. Board carriers were of three general shapes at the head. One kind was rounded;<sup>3</sup> a second kind had an angular top;<sup>4</sup> and the third kind had an extension above the top, sometimes called a "head," from 15 to 30 cm. high, which served as a handle. This projection was carved in different shapes, round forms predominating.<sup>5</sup> Board carriers with square or almost square tops are said to have been common only among the Lake tribe. The bags attached to the boards were of dressed skin, and of the same styles as those used by the Thompson. The most common kind was loose except at the shoulders or head, where it was fastened to the board. The lacing was not in the bag itself, but consisted of a wide strap passing through loops in the side of the board.<sup>6</sup> Carriers with a narrow headboard projecting outward from near the head of the backboard were common except among the Lake, who, it seems, did not use this style. Hoops on board carriers were universal, at least during the last three or four generations. As a rule, the hoop was separate from the bag and was adjusted with strings, as among the Thompson. Most Thompson carriers had two strings stretching from the top of the board to the hoop around which they were twisted, the opposite ends being fastened near the foot of the carrier. By manipulation of these strings the hoop was lowered or raised as required. An old style, sometimes used by Okanagon and Lake, had the hood or upper part of the bag stitched to the hoop, doing away with the necessity of head strings, foot strings only being required. (Fig. 19.) The Lake tribe say that long ago some of their carriers had low hoops to which the hood of the bag was stitched or fastened, other carriers had very high hoops unattached to the hood, and some carriers had no hoops at all. Boards with handholes at the sides were in use, and in later times this kind almost entirely superseded those with handles at the top. They are said to be more convenient for lifting and carrying. Babies were wrapped

<sup>1</sup> *a*, p. 304.

<sup>2</sup> *a*, pp. 310, 311.

<sup>3</sup> See Thompson, *a*, fig. 281; Shuswap, *e*, fig. 251 *a*.

<sup>4</sup> See Shuswap, *e*, fig. 251 *b*, *d*.

<sup>5</sup> See Thompson, *a*, fig. 281 *b*.

<sup>6</sup> See Thompson, *a*, fig. 281.

in soft robes of fawn skin, rabbit skin, lynx skin, etc. Bedding consisted of shredded bark, grass, and occasionally down of plants. Among the Sanpoil the bedding for bark carriers consisted generally of bulrush down or duck's down; but dry grass and finely teased bark were sometimes used. The Similkameen, Lake, and Colville claim that they used only boards; no bark carriers. The Okanagon say that they have always used board carriers, but that long ago a few families also used bark carriers for very young infants. These were simply beds used in the lodge, and not for carrying purposes. When the child had to be carried a board was used. The Nespelim and Sanpoil say that very long ago bark carriers were used entirely, or almost entirely, by them. The shapes of these were similar to the

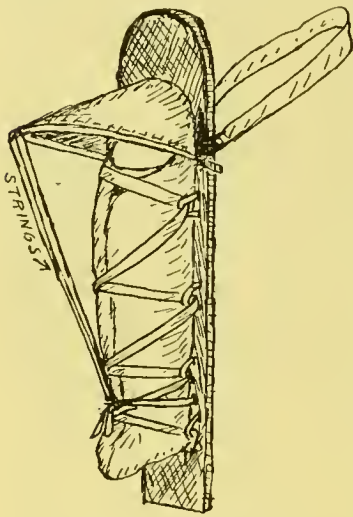


FIGURE 19.—Cradle board

forms of bark carriers of the Thompson. The most ancient kind were very deep and had no lacings and hoops. The baby was fastened in with a long band of dressed skin, or sometimes a rope, which was lashed round the carrier. A few had large loops on the sides, through which the lashing passed, as in some board carriers;<sup>7</sup> but this is thought to be more modern than the simple lashing around the outside of the carrier. Later, shallow bark carriers with hoops were often used. The deep carriers did not require hoops. About six or seven generations ago boards came into use and within a short time became quite common. The first kind adopted consisted of a simple board, in most cases reaching to the neck of the infant. The child, wrapped in a fur robe which came over its head, was strapped on the board by a lashing round and round, as in the oldest bark carriers. Later it became common to fasten flaps of skin to the sides of the board, which laced in front over the infant. Infants were also placed in skin bags and lashed to the board. Later the backs of these bags were frequently stitched to the board, and thus became a permanent attachment of the latter. The front of the bag was fastened with a lacing. Still later, hoops came into use to spread the hood of the bag or to hold the carrier covering—a small, light robe or a skin—off the child's face. This top covering was used to shade the child's face when it slept, to cover it when mosquitoes and flies were abundant, and to protect it against cold and wind when traveling. For a long

<sup>7</sup> See Thompson, *a*, p. 307, fig. 281.

time after board carriers had come into full use bark carriers were retained by many families as beds for young babies in the lodges. When the mother returned from a journey the baby was taken off the board and placed in the bark basket. Drains made of various kinds of bark, sometimes of hide and rarely of wood, were used with bark carriers, especially for male infants. Shorter drains were also common with board carriers. I did not learn whether hammocks were used. It seems that no carriers made of rods woven together, and none of basketry, were made by any of the tribes. A few were made of stiff hide, when bark or boards were difficult to obtain. When a child had outgrown the bark and board carriers, carrying bags similar to those of the Thompson were used by all the tribes. It seems that the kind most common among the Sanpoil was of dressed skin, fawn skin, and sometimes bear skin. It opened at the shoulders or sides, had two straps which passed between the infant's legs, and an attached carrying-strap.<sup>8</sup> A kind used by the Similkameen, and also to a slight extent by the Okanagon, but probably not by the other tribes, was like the bags attached to board carriers. All had a lacing up the front, and an attached tump line. Some were stiffened at the back with a piece of hide or stiff dressed skin the full length of the bag. The foot parts of many bags were gathered up like the toe of a round-toed moccasin, either by stitching or with a draw string. The hood, or upper part of the bag above the lacing, was sometimes fixed in the same way. Occasionally the hood was stiffened or expanded with a light hoop sewed to the edge. The hood parts of some bags were large and projected forward considerably over the child's head.

Navel-string pouches were used by all the tribes, and were generally attached to the carrier. Instead of making a navel-string pouch and attaching it to the carrier the mother might also wrap up the navel string and hide it in a bag which she kept herself. Some of the Okanagon attached the pouch to the head of the carrier.

HEAD DEFORMATION.—No head flattening was practiced, but some people think that the carrier board had the effect of shortening the heads of infants, as infants were always laid on their backs and hard pillows were often used. Soft pillows of skin stuffed with feathers or down were used by all careful mothers.

FOSTERING OF CHILDREN.—Fostering of children was quite common. People who had many children gave some to friends and relatives to rear as their own children. Some of these children later returned to their parents, while others remained forever with their foster parents.

EDUCATION.—Much attention was paid to the education of children. They were seldom beaten by their parents. Generally the

<sup>8</sup> Ottawa Museum, Nos. 147, 149-151.

elders of each family admonished and instructed the children. The father, uncles, and grandfathers instructed the boys, and the mother, aunts, and grandmothers, the girls. Elder brothers and sisters also helped in the instruction of the juniors.

The ordeal of whipping the children was practiced in the winter-time, at least by the Okanagon and Similkameen. It was particularly common among the latter.

PUBERTY.—At puberty both sexes underwent a training similar to that customary among the Thompson, but seemingly less full. They washed and bathed in running water at least once a day. Girls prayed to the Day Dawn each morning, and rubbed their bodies with fir boughs when bathing to make themselves strong. The ceremonies performed by girls for making their bodies pure and clean, and those connected with fir branches and bathing, at least among the Similkameen and Okanagon, were the same as among the Thompson. A story is related in Similkameen of a poor orphan girl who performed no ceremonies of purification. She was devoured by lice near a little creek below Ashnola, and the place takes its name from this incident. Some people point out a little mound there as her grave. A common practice of girls was to make circles of stones. Sometimes other figures were made, such as squares, oblongs, diamonds, and crosses. Some circles were quite small, while others were from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 meters in diameter. In some circles the stones were put quite close together and in others some distance apart. Most stones were rather flat, light-colored, smooth, waterworn boulders, weighing from 3 to 6 pounds; but different circles varied considerably in the size of the stones used. The circles were made on the ground or on the tops of flat boulders, and often the girls carried the stones from a considerable distance, meanwhile praying that in after years their bodies might be strong and capable of carrying heavy burdens with ease. It is said that each stone represented a wish or prayer of the girl. Stones placed in the center or in pairs inside the circle represented special prayers. Some Similkameen say that the stones represented wishes, prayers, and offerings. Those representing prayers were generally placed down in the eastern part of the ring. Sometimes the girl sat down in the middle, and placed the stones down one at a time all round her, following the sun's course. As she placed each one down she made a prayer, stating what each was a token of.<sup>9</sup> As a rule a circle was not completed in one night, but the girl added stones from time to time. The hard and enduring nature of the stones was sometimes mentioned in prayers, the girls asking that their bodies be as strong and enduring as

<sup>9</sup> Compare custom of Thompson, Okanagon, Shuswap, Kutenai, and probably other tribes, of making offerings of stones at certain places. Prayers were made at the same time to the deity of the place, asking for good luck in hunting, good weather, prevention from harm. Each person placed down a stone, and passers-by did the same, so that heaps of small stones were formed.

these stones. As a rule the circles were made within sight of trails. Occasionally some of the stones were painted red all over or with figures in red paint. In 1907 I saw in the canyon of Similkameen River many remains of stone circles made by girls on the top of flat boulders, which are very numerous along parts of the trail. The sides of many boulders at this place are painted.

It seems that adolescents of some families in all the tribes used scratchers, paint scratchers, drinking tubes, and whistles, as among the Thompson, while those of other families did not use them.

Boys went through a prolonged period of sweat bathing and training, for the acquisition of guardian spirits, for increasing the

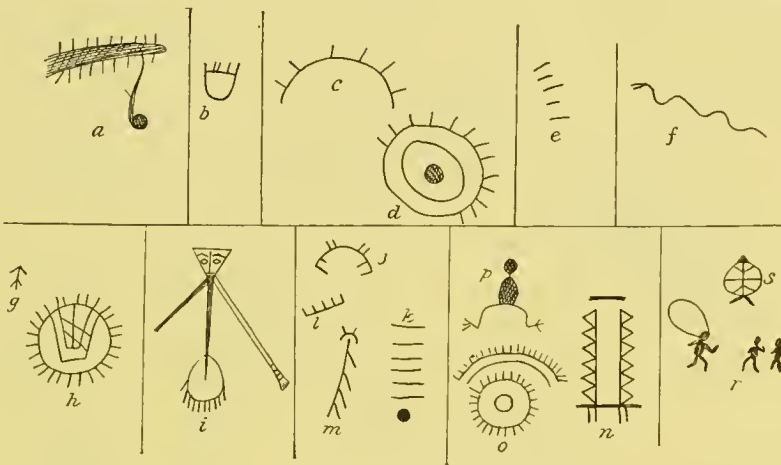


FIGURE 20.—Rock paintings

*a, b.* From a boulder near Ashnola; *a*, said to represent some natural feature of the country; *b*, black bear; *c, d*, said to represent some natural feature of the country; short lines, trees; *e*, probably a count of fir needles; *f*, snake. *g, h.* From Tilin near Keremeous; *g*, fir branch; *h*, said to be the sun or a lake surrounded by trees with a projecting bluff. *i-p.* On a cliff at the Forks (explanations uncertain); *i*, a guardian spirit; *k*, probably a count of fir branches; *l, m*, fir branch with needles plucked from one side; *n*, ranges of mountains with valley in between; *o*, sun or lake surrounded by trees; *p*, toad. *r, s.* On a cliff on the east side of Okanagon Lake, Penticton and Mission; *r*, meeting of several persons, the one with a circle a guardian spirit; *s*, unknown.

litheness and strength of the body, and gaining proficiency in marksmanship, games, hunting, and other occupations. Songs were generally acquired in conjunction with the guardian spirit.

In connection with the training period, adolescents of both sexes made records of remarkable dreams, pictures of what they desired or what they had seen, and events connected with their training. These records were made with red paint on boulders or cliffs, wherever the surface was suitable. (Figs. 20-24.) Rock paintings in their territory are plentiful; but I heard of no petroglyphs, except that sometimes figures of various kinds were incised in hard clay. Rock paintings were made also by adults as records of notable dreams, and more

rarely of incidents in their lives. Pictures were also cut into the bark of trees, and some were burned into the wood of trees. (Fig. 25.)

Flutes of wood and long bone whistles were worn on a string around the neck, and were used by young men at puberty, and later, for

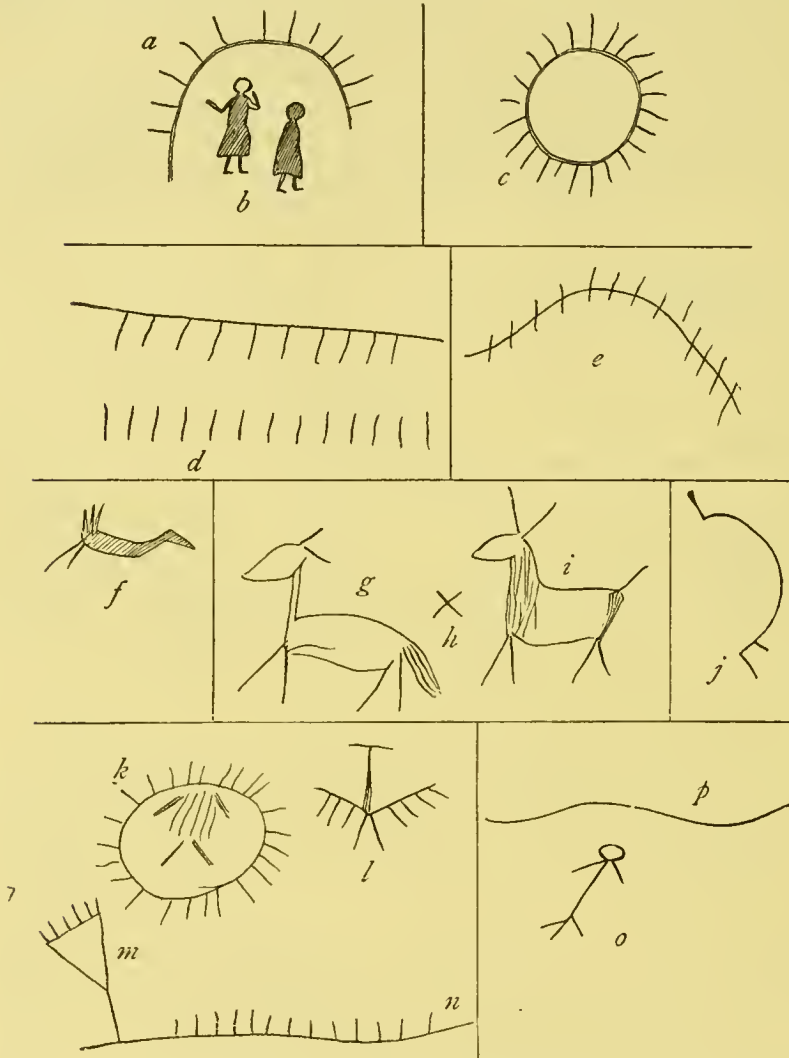


FIGURE 21.—Rock paintings, Similkameen Valley

*a-d*, On boulders 17½ and 18 miles below Princeton; *a*, sun on hill with trees; *b*, people; *c*, the sun; *d*, a count of fir needles; *e*, a hill with trees; *f*, a bird; *g*, a horse; *h*, horse trails; *i*, deer; *j*, rainbow; *k*, sun or earth with trees, *l*, *m*, *n*, visions of an adolescent, meaning doubtful; *o*, *p*, an animal near a trail.

imitating the notes of birds and for serenading girls to whom they took a fancy.

At a place called "Standing Rock" (or "where the stone sticks out") in Similkameen Valley, youths undergoing their training con-

gregated to test themselves. A large, steep rock about 7 meters high rises abruptly near the trail at this place. The young men tried to run up to the top along the sloping side and then slide down. A man



FIGURE 22.—Rock paintings on a cliff near Teutcawī'xa, Similkameen Valley  
*a*, Stars; *b*, sun; *c*, lake with trees, island with trees in the middle; *d*, grizzly bear; *e*, men; *f*, eagle;  
*g*, dogs or other animals with open mouths; *h*, people; *i*, men on horseback; *j*, star; *k*, *l*, men with  
 feather headdresses; *m*, unfinished matting; *n*, a bird; *o*, stream running out of a lake with an  
 island.

called *Kwēltē'sqet* ("red cloud" or "emptying cloud") is the only one now living who has accomplished this feat.

Throwing, lifting, and carrying heavy stones were practiced to gain strength. Boys prayed that they might become strong. Boys



FIGURE 23.—Rock paintings near Princeton

*a-e.* On a cliff 19 miles below Princeton; *a*, man; *b*, doubtful; *c*, an animal running; *d*, three men walking; *e*, grizzly bear. *f-o.* On bowlders near the preceding; *f-w*, on a cliff near the preceding; *f*, men walking; *g*, grizzly bear; *h*, beaver in his house; *i*, rising sun and earth line; *k*, man; *l*, *m*, doubtful; *n*, probably eagle and stars; *o*, deer or sheep; *p*, probably a corral for game; *q*, animals at the entrance; *r*, bird, probably guardian spirit of the man; *s*, man; *t*, bear; *u*, deer; *v*, an animal, head and forelegs; *w*, doubtful.



at puberty are said to have practiced throwing stones to make their arms strong. Small stones were thrown at marks, and some lads became so expert that they seldom missed. They could kill small game with stones almost every time they tried.

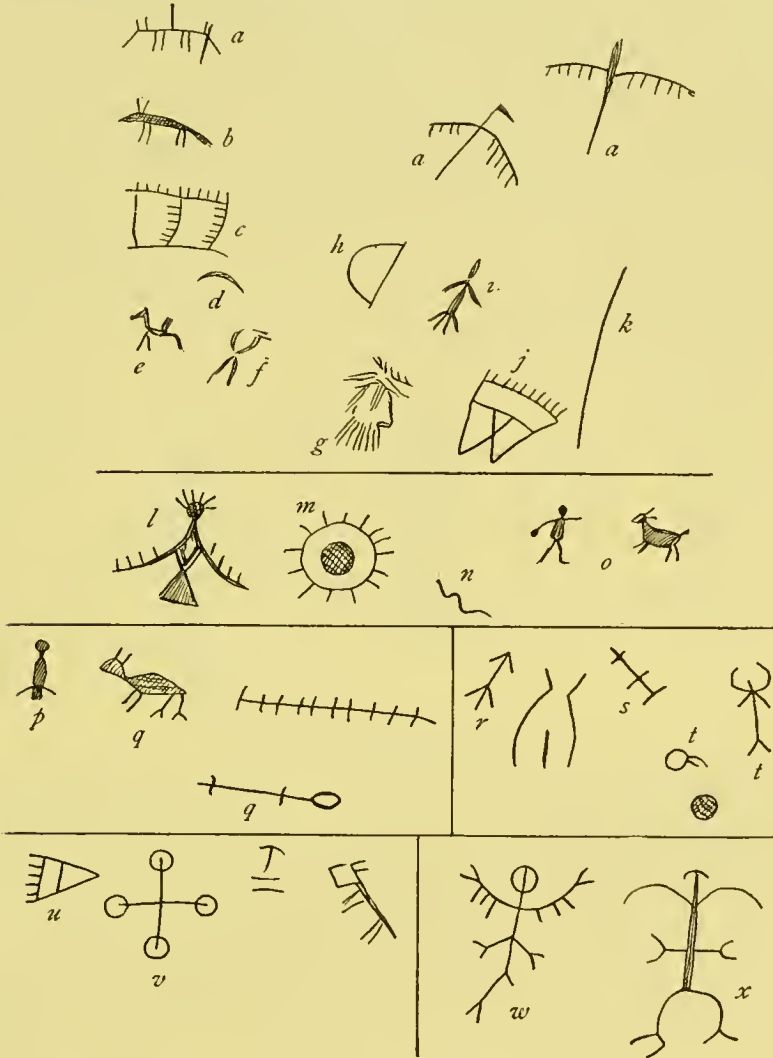


FIGURE 24.—Rock paintings

*a-k.* Found on boulder 18 miles below Princeton; *a* eagles; *b*, wolf or coyote; *c*, bear's tracks; *d*, moon; *e*, person on horseback; *f*, person; *g*, doubtful; *h*, moon; *i*, animal; *j*, grizzly bear tracks; *k*, trail. *l-o.* On a boulder about 19 miles below Princeton; *l*, eagle; *m*, sun or pond surrounded by trees; *n*, snake; *o*, man meeting a deer. *p-x.* On a cliff and in a cave near Teut'awí'xa, Similkameen Valley; *p*, man; *q*, animals; *r*, fir branch; *s*, animal; *t*, insects; *u*, grizzly bear; *v*, four quarters; *w*, eagle; *x*, an insect or a vision.

**MARRIAGE.**—As among the Thompson, there were marriages by betrothal, placing down of gifts, and by touching. Elopements also occurred. Many marriages were arranged by “go-betweens,”

generally relatives of one or both families; sometimes by one or more of the parents directly, and occasionally by the chief of the band. A direct form of proposal appears to have been fairly common among the Similkameen and Okanagon, the young man going directly to the girl in her lodge and, in the presence of her father, saying to her, "I take you for my wife." The girl's parents and relatives then considered the proposition, and the girl was also asked what she thought about it. If she herself or the parents refused, the suitor was generally rejected. If all agreed, he was accepted, and when next he or his parents called they were informed of the decision. His relatives then announced what presents were to be given to the girl's parents, and if they were satisfied the match was arranged.

There appears to have been no "conducting" ceremony (*okawá'it*),<sup>10</sup> and, on the whole, marriage ceremonies seem to have been simpler than those of the Thompson.

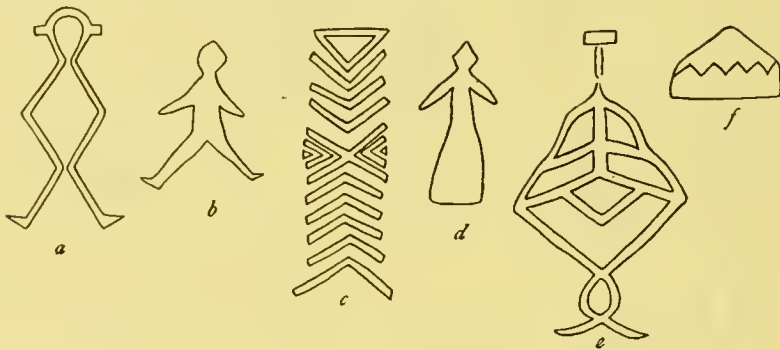


FIGURE 25.—Figures incised in bark of trees

a, Girl; b, man; c, perhaps ribs; d, woman; e, perhaps an animal; f, perhaps a woman's cap.

**CUSTOMS REGARDING WOMEN.**—The same restrictions were imposed upon menstruating women as among the Thompson. During menstruation women lived apart from the other people, occupying a semi-underground lodge in the winter and a rude shelter or a half tent<sup>11</sup> of mats in the summer. In the mountains, when people were hunting, a shelter of brush and bark under a large tree had to suffice.

**DEATH AND BURIAL.**—Bodies were generally interred, graves being dug in sandy places. Edges of benches, terraces, and sandy mounds were usually chosen. Rock-slide burials were common in places where slopes of slide rock abounded. Heaps of rocks were placed over graves, especially over shallow graves. Deeper graves were often surrounded by a circle of rocks. A slender pole was generally erected at the head of the grave. Among the Okanagon canoes were sometimes hauled up on top of the grave. In 1904 I saw fragments of canoes lying on old graves near Ashnola, Similkameen.

<sup>10</sup> See Thompson, *a*, p. 323.

<sup>11</sup> See p. 228.

A few grave effigies were used in Similkameen, especially from Keremeous down, and among the Lower Okanagon. It seems that the custom of erecting effigies and depositing canoes was more or less common in the western part of the interior Salishan country, as far east as a line following Columbia River from The Dalles north to the Thompson and Lillooet. The custom may be due to Coast or Lower Columbia influence. It seems that no tents or houses were erected over graves. Fences and crosses at graves are quite modern. Bodies were flexed, wrapped in matting or occasionally in robes, and generally buried on the side. I did not hear of tying bodies to the trunks of trees—a custom which has been reported for the Lower Okanagon. Bodies were never burned.

There were fewer restrictions on handling corpses than among the Thompson. In Okanagon and Similkameen there is a "paying" ceremony, as among the Thompson. This takes place about a year after death. The burial expenses and all debts of the deceased are then paid. It is not certain that this custom is ancient. The property of a deceased person was divided among the relatives shortly after death. Widows and widowers cut their hair and were subject to the same restrictions as among the Thompson. They washed and prayed and wore old clothes.

A noted Similkameen chief called *Skeū's* is buried near the "Standing Rock," mentioned on page 284. When dying, he told the people to bury him near the trail at this place, so that his children might see him as they passed to and fro.

## XII. RELIGION

CONCEPT OF THE WORLD.—The ideas of the Okanagon tribes regarding the world, the creation, and all their religious beliefs agree very closely with those of the Thompson. The Okanagon claim that the earth was made by the "father mystery" or "great mystery"—a mysterious power with masculine attributes, who seems to be the same personage as the "Old One" or "Ancient One" of mythology. When he traveled on earth he assumed the form of a venerable-looking old man. Some people say that he was light skinned and had a long white beard. This deity was also called "Chief," "Chief Above," "Great Chief," and "Mystery Above." According to some, the power of the "Great Mystery" was everywhere and pervaded everything. Thus he was near and far and all around; but the main source of power came from above, and therefore it was believed that he lived in the upper world or in the sun. Others say that the "Great Mystery" or "Chief" was like a man, but that he had unlimited power, and lived in the heavens or on the highest mountains, or beyond the earth. He was the creator and arranger of the world. He had always been and always would be. All life sprang from him.

His influence was always good and unselfish. He was not a god that afflicted people. The world we live in was made by him for his pleasure and satisfaction, and to fill a gap in the great waters. It was like a woman. The "Great Mystery" fructified the earth in some way; and from this union sprang the first people and everything on earth that has life. He said that everything on earth should be subordinate to the people, and everything would be for their use, as they were his children; and all the people should have equal rights in everything, and would share alike. This is why all food was shared among the people, and no one thought of debarring any one else from access to anything required for life. Later some things in the world became detrimental to the welfare of the people, who therefore could neither increase nor progress. Thereupon the "Great Mystery" sent Coyote to teach the people certain arts, to introduce salmon, to make fishing places on the main river, to transform into rocks and into animals with minor powers certain powerful semihuman beings who preyed on the people. According to some, Coyote also established the seasons. He reduced the powers of the game and gave it its habitat so that people were able to obtain food.

MYTHOLOGY.—The mythology of all the Okanagon tribes centers around Coyote, who is their great culture hero. Many Okanagon and Thompson mythological tales are almost identical.<sup>1</sup> Some mythological traditions are localized. Certain places are named from transformations related in myths. Thus there is a place called "Coyote's Penis" near Penticton; and a little farther to the south, near the head of Lac du Chien, is a mound called "Coyote's Underground Lodge." A pyramid of clay and stone near the Forks of Keremeous Creek is also called "Coyote's Penis."

VARIOUS SUPERNATURAL BEINGS.—Dwarfs, giants, and ghosts were believed in, as among the Thompson, and the same kinds of stories are related regarding them. There were also many "land and water mysteries." As among the Thompson, some of them were propitiated by offerings. If a stranger bathes or swims in a lake for the first time without propitiating it, the lake will resent it. If a good lake, it will merely show its displeasure by a squall. If a bad lake, it will bewitch the person, so that he will become sick or die.

Thunder is made by a bird; and the sun, moon, and stars are transformed mythical beings.

PRAYERS AND OBSERVANCES.—The prayers and observances of the Okanagon seem to have corresponded almost exactly to those of the Thompson. Beliefs regarding the mysterious powers inherent in animals, plants, and stones, also were the same. As among the Thompson, a "first-fruits" ceremony was observed in every band

<sup>1</sup> See Folk Tales of Salishan and Sahaptin Tribes, *Memoirs Amer. Folk-lore Society*, vol. 11, pp. 65-100; also Hill-Tout, *Ethnology of the Okanaken*, *Anthrop. Institute*, vol. 41, pp. 135, 141-161.

before the berries were to be picked. An offering of ripe berries on a bark tray was made by the chief of the band to the "Great Mystery" who dwelt above everywhere; therefore the tray was held out to the four points of the compass, beginning with the east. After the prayers the people danced, making signs with their hands as if drawing inspiration from above, and giving thanks to above, in very much the same way as they did in the religious dance. In some places an offering of the first roots was made in like manner, and a first tobacco ceremony was also in vogue.<sup>2</sup>

Prayers were offered and dances performed to bring rain or snow and warm winds, and also to cause storms, rain and snow to cease. In some cases these observances and dances were led by the chief and sometimes by shamans who had special powers.

When any sickness was upon the people, or if more deaths had occurred than usual, shamans were asked to "drive the sickness away" and to "clean up the earth."

Animals, especially large game, were treated with great respect, and spoken of deferentially. When a bear was killed a mourning song was sung, called the "bear song." Usually the hunter did not paint his face, as was the custom among the Thompson. Afterwards the bear's skull was elevated on the top of a long pole stuck in the ground either as a mark of respect or to keep off defiling influences. Bears and beavers could always hear what people said.

Game animals, the weather, the earth, the sweat-house spirit, and guardian spirits were prayed to by hunters when on hunting trips. If game were scarce or hard to get, a shaman, or a man who had the particular kind of game as his guardian, was asked to placate the animals. He sang his song and drew the animals near, or he told the people when and where to go hunting. Some men caused snow to fall and the weather to turn cold in order to assist hunting.

Adolescents prayed chiefly to the Day Dawn, and many warriors prayed principally to the sun. Prayers and offerings were made to deities or powers inhabiting certain localities.

The Nespelim chief told me that about 1770, when his grandmother was a very young girl, a shower of dry dust fell over the country. It covered the land to a depth of from 3 to 4 inches and was like a white dust. It is said that this shower of volcanic ash fell over a large area, including part of the Wallawalla country. The people were much alarmed at this phenomenon and were afraid it prognosticated evil. They beat drums and sang, and for a time held the "praying" dance almost day and night. They prayed to the "dry snow," called it "Chief" and "Mystery," and asked it to explain itself and tell why it came. The people danced a great deal all summer, and in large measure neglected their usual work. They

<sup>2</sup> See Thompson, *a*, pp. 349, 350.

put up only small stores of berries, roots, salmon, and dried meat; and consequently the following winter, which happened to be rather long and severe, they ran out of supplies. A few of the old people died of starvation and others became so weak that they could not hunt.

**THE SOUL.**—The Okanagon held the same beliefs regarding the soul as the Thompson. The dead go to a land believed by some to be in the west, beyond the great mountains where the sun sets. Others believed that the land of shades was away south beyond the mouths of the great rivers. The trail of the dead went underground in the darkness for a long distance, then it ascended, and emerged in the spirit world, which was beyond the earth and very light. People lived there, following almost the same pursuits as on earth, but they had an easier and much more pleasant time. According to some, no quarreling, ill feeling, sickness, or warfare existed there.

**GUARDIAN SPIRITS.**—Guardian spirits were the same in character as among the Thompson, and acquired in the same way.

**SHAMANS.**—Shamans appear to have been like those of the Thompson, about the only difference being that when treating the sick as a rule they did not dance or use masks. They sang their "medicine" songs and laid on hands. Painting was also resorted to, advice received in dreams was followed, and names of people were sometimes changed. Witchcraft was practiced almost exclusively by shamans.

I heard of no real prophets, excepting a Thompson woman from Nicola, who traveled in Similkameen and Okanagon, telling the people about the spirit land, and also relating how the coming of whites would result in the destruction of the Indians. She prophesied the stealing of the Indian's lands and the destruction of the game by the whites, and stated that they would destroy the Indian while pretending to benefit him. She invited the Indians to join in a great war against the whites to drive them out. Even if the Indians were all killed in this war it would be better than being reduced to the conditions they would have to endure, once the whites became dominant. She also advised the Indians to retain their old customs and not to adopt any of the white man's ways, which were as poison to the Indians. She claimed to be arrow and bullet proof, like the greatest warriors who led in battle. She did not require to wield weapons herself; but if the Indians would follow her, they would be successful in arms against the whites. Being a woman, her war propaganda secured but little following. She sang war songs at her meetings. A year or two afterwards, about 1850, she died suddenly.

**DANCES.**—Probably the four chief dances among the Okanagon tribes were the war dance, the scalp dance, the guardian-spirit dance, and the religious dance. The last-mentioned was in every way like that of the Thompson. In each place it was under the direction of

one or two chiefs. Prayers were offered to the "Chief Above" and food was distributed at the dances.

The war dance was preparatory to going to war, and sometimes parts of it were like a mimic battle. A dance with special war songs, in vogue among Indians farther south and east, was held by them before going on horse-stealing raids. It was also performed by the Okanagon tribes when individuals and small numbers of young men desired to go on an expedition for adventure, war, or plunder. Young men obtained war practice on these expeditions, and sought for a chance to distinguish themselves. The number of men in these parties varied from 1 to 10 or more.

The scalp dance consisted of a procession and singing, followed by a dance similar to the war dance. At intervals the warriors recounted their exploits. The scalps were given to women, who carried them on the ends of spears and poles in the procession; and women took the most prominent part in the dancing, some of them being dressed like warriors. A feast often followed the scalp dance.

As among the Thompson, the women of the Okanagon, of Okanagon Lake and River, and possibly the tribes farther south, danced while the men were on the warpath.

In the guardian-spirit dance each person sang the song he had received during his puberty training, showed his powers, and imitated his guardian spirit by cry and gesture while dancing.

The "touching" or marriage dance for young people was often held in conjunction with the "praying" dance. It seems to have been the same as among the Thompson.

A sun dance was performed at the solstices, the greatest one being held about midwinter. Among the Okanagon division the women, during the absence of a war party, performed the same dance as that used on such occasions by the Thompson.

The dances called *stlei* by the Thompson were performed at festivals and danced by both sexes. Each person danced by himself and often remained almost stationary. Most of the dance movements were made by the swaying of the body and movements of the hands.

### XIII. MEDICINES AND CURRENT BELIEFS

MEDICINES.—I heard of the use of the following plants (other than food plants) for medicinal and other purposes:

Yarrow (*Achillea millefolium* L.), a decoction used as a medicine for sore eyes and for other purposes, as among the Thompson.

Lupin (*Lupinus polyphyllus?*), a decoction used as a kind of tonic.

Wild geranium (*Geranium incisum* Nutt.), used for sore lips. A leaf is held between the lips for several hours. It is said to cure in one day.

Mullein (*Verbascum thapsus*), a decoction drunk for consumption. The use of the plant is modern.

*Pentstemon douglasii*, a decoction used as a medicine.

Mint (*Mentha borealis*), decoction used as a medicine.

Rock cress (*Arabis drummondii* Gray), decoction drunk for cure of gonorrhoea.

Quaking asp (*Populus tremuloides* Michx.), decoction of rootlets and stems drunk for syphilis.

*Shepherdia canadensis* Nutt., decoction of twigs drunk as a tonic for the stomach and a mild physic.

Hellebore (*Veratrum viride*), known as a poison. The root is dried and powdered and used as a snuff for colds. It produces sneezing. The use of this plant is limited and may be modern.

*Aconitum delphinifolium*, used as a medicine, and the flowers used as a paint.

*Philadelphus lewisii*; Okanagon name *wa'xawaʔelp*; Thompson name, *wā'xaselp*; leaves used as a soap for washing.

*Gilia aggregata*; Okanagon name, *xaxalauhū'ps*; decoction used as an eye wash, also as a head and face wash by adolescent girls to improve the skin and hair, in the same way as *Linum perenne* among the Thompson. *Gilia aggregata* is plentiful in Similkameen but does not grow in the Thompson country proper. It is called "red raven's foot scales" by the Thompson.

*Nicotiana attenuata* Torr., used as a head wash and for dandruff, as among the Thompson; also used for smoking.

Sagebrush (*Artemisia tridentata* Nutt.; Okanagon name, *kolkolēmanī'l*; Thompson name, *kā'uku*), used as a medicine for colds.

Labrador tea (*Ledum groenlandicum*; Okanagon name, *xollemilp*; Thompson name, *ka'tea*), decoction drunk as a tonic.

Juniper (*Juniperus virginiana* L.), used for fumigation.

Wolf moss (*Evernia vulpina*; Okanagon name, *kwarē'uk*; Thompson name, *kolomé'ka*, also *kwalā'uk*), used as a medicine as well as a dye and paint.

Indian hemp (*Apocynum cannabinum*), used as a medicine as well as a plant furnishing fiber.

Dogbane (*Apocynum androsacmifolium*), used as a medicine as well as a plant furnishing fiber.

The Okanagon used a great many plants for medicinal and other purposes, but I had no time to make a collection or to inquire into the subject fully.

CURRENT BELIEFS.—Some of the current beliefs of the Okanagon and Sanpoil are the same as those of the Thompson. Sneezing signifies that a person, probably a woman, is talking of you or mentioning your name.<sup>1</sup> The same belief is held regarding black lizards following persons as among the Thompson. Michel Revais said that this belief was current among the tribes in the interior of Oregon, but not among the Salish east of Columbia River; i. e., the Flathead, Coeur d'Alêne, and Colville.

<sup>1</sup> See Thompson (*a*) p. 373.



## THE FLATHEAD GROUP

### I. HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL

TRIBES OF THE GROUP.—The Flathead group consists of four tribes, and there were two others which are now extinct.

- |                                 |              |            |
|---------------------------------|--------------|------------|
| 1. Flathead (or Têtes plattes). | 4. Spokane.  |            |
| 2. Pend d'Oreilles.             | 5. Səmtē'use | } Extinct. |
| 3. Kalispel.                    | 6. Tunā'xe   |            |

ORIGIN OF TRIBAL NAMES.—The Flathead were also called Salish, Selish, Salees, etc., which terms are derived from their own name. The origin of the name "Flathead" ("Tête platte") is obscure. Some men of the tribe claim that the term was adopted by the early traders from the sign language, the sign for the tribe being often interpreted "pressed side of head" or "pressed head," hence "flat head." The Upper Kutenai claim that the tribe was named "Flat-head" because there once was a people who lived in the Salish country who had "flat" or pressed heads. They say that long ago there were two tribes or people inhabiting the Flathead country. One of these was called "Leg people," and the other "Flat-Head (or Wide-Head) people." The former were the ancestors of the Flathead tribe of to-day. They did not press their heads. The other tribe had heads which looked wide, and it was said that they pressed their heads. The exact location of the two tribes is not known; but it is thought that the Leg people lived farthest east and south, and the Wide-Head people about where the Flathead tribes now live—around Joeko and Bitterroot Valley, west of the main range of the Rocky Mountains. It seems that the Leg people were originally entirely or partly east of the range. In later times the two tribes lived together. The Wide-Head tribe was smaller than the Leg tribe. Finally the former disappeared. Possibly they ceased pressing their heads so that they could no longer be distinguished, or they may have been absorbed by the Leg people. At all events, it seems that none but the Leg people remained in the country where the Wide Head had been, but their name has persisted. Distant Plains tribes had been in the habit of calling all the people of the region "Flat Head" or "Wide Head" in a general way, because of the characteristics of the one tribe, and the name was adopted by the fur traders. The Wide Head tribe were not slaves of the Leg people (or Salish proper).

In the Handbook of American Indians <sup>1</sup> the statement is made that the Flathead tribe received its name from the surrounding people,

<sup>1</sup> Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, under Salish, p. 415; see also *ibid.*, pt. 1, p. 465, under Flathead.

not because they artificially deformed their heads, but because, in contradistinction to most tribes farther west, they left them in their natural condition, flat on top. The Flathead were sometimes called "Flathead proper," in contradistinction to the Pend d'Oreilles (who were sometimes called "Lake Flathead" because many of them formerly had their headquarters around Flathead Lake) and the Kalispel (who were sometimes known as "River Flathead" because they lived on the river below). The Pend d'Oreilles were also called "Earring people," "Ear-Drops," and "Hanging Ears." The name was given to them by the early traders because when first met they nearly all wore large shell earrings. The shells were obtained in Flathead Lake and Pend d'Oreille River, and formed an article of export. The tribe was also known as "Upper Pend d'Oreilles" in contradistinction to the Kalispel, who were sometimes called "Lower Pend d'Oreilles." "Kalispel" is derived from the Indian name of the tribe, which has originated from a place name. The Kalispel were sometimes called "Camas people." "Spokan" is derived from an Indian term for the tribe as a whole, which became general in later days. The Spokan were also sometimes called "Sun people," possibly from a mistranslation of the name "Spokan." Many Indians deny that it has this meaning.

NAMES FOR THEMSELVES.—The Flathead group as a whole is called "*Ssē'lietcen*" by the Kalispel and probably the other tribes of the group. This is the same term as "*Nsī'lietcen*," used by the Okanagon group for themselves, and means "Salish-speaking." Their own tribal names are—

- |   |                        |
|---|------------------------|
| 1. <i>Sēlic</i> or <i>Se'lic</i> (meaning uncertain; <sup>2</sup> the suffix <i>-ic</i> may mean "people").   | } The Flathead.        |
| 2. <i>Silqetkomstcī'(nt)</i> ("people of <i>Silqe'tko</i> , "wide water or lake," the name of Flathead Lake).   |                        |
| <i>Stēkā'letcī'(nt)</i> ("upper people" or "people above or at the top," with reference to their position at the head of Pend d'Oreille River or above the Kalispel. This term seems to be chiefly used by the Kalispel).   | } The Pend d'Oreilles. |
| 3. <i>Ka'lispe'l</i> or <i>Skalispé'</i> (said to mean "camas"). A Pend d'Oreilles informant said <i>Kalispé'lem</i> was the name for young sprouting camas, and it was also the name of the large camas digging ground near Calispel Lake, Washington, which seems to have been the main seat of the Lower Kalispel. |                        |

<sup>2</sup> The Handbook of American Indians (pt. 2, p. 415) gives "Salish" as derived from *sālst* ("people"). If, however, the suffix *-ic* means "people," as seems probable, the term would mean "people people," which makes the derivation unlikely.

4. *Spōqē'in(ic)* (meaning uncertain, but considered to be derived from a place-name).<sup>3</sup> The Spokane appear to have had no name for themselves as a whole, the present tribal name of *Spōqē'i'n* being probably less than a hundred years old. It appears to have originated with the Coeur d'Alêne or some other neighboring Salish tribe, at first as a name for a band that occupied an important fishing place. I was unable to determine the exact band and place. Some Indians say that this band lived on the Little Spokane, while others think *Spōqē'in* was originally the name of a band and place near Spokane Falls. The suffix *-qēin* has reference to "head." Before the tribal name of "Spokan" came into use it seems that the tribe was known by what are considered now as divisional names only (cf. p. 298). } The Spokane.
5. *Semtē'use* (meaning uncertain; some Indians declare that the name means "foolish" with reference to the characteristics of the people, while others think the name may be derived from an old place-name). } The *Semtē'use*.
6. *Tuna'xē* (also called "Sun River people") (meaning uncertain; some people think that the name may be derived from a characteristic of the people because they were great traders, while others think it is merely that of their country or place).<sup>4</sup> } The *Tuna'xē*.

NAMES BY WHICH KNOWN TO OTHER TRIBES; NAMES GIVEN TO THEM BY SALISH TRIBES.—All the interior Salish tribes call the Flathead *Sa'lix* or *Sa'lic*. Variations of the name are *Sā'lix*, *Sa'lis*, *Sa'lēx*, *Sē'lix*, *Se'lic*, and *Sī'lix*. The Coeur d'Alêne often call them *Se'dlemic*, and the Columbia and Wenatchi frequently call them *Sa'lemux*, which are variations of the same name.<sup>5</sup> The name may possibly be derived from some old place name.<sup>6</sup> The Pend d'Oreilles were called *Silkatkomstē'nt* by the Coeur d'Alêne and most other Salish tribes. Variations of the name are *SLqa'tkomstē'nt*, *SLqatkomstē'nt*, and *Stlqatkomskī'nt*. Some tribes more generally called them *Snia'LEMEN* or *Snia'LEMENic* or *Snia'LEMENEX*, "people of *Snia'LEMEN*," the name of a place at the Mission where a leading band had their village. In later times this place was the main winter quarters of the tribe.

The Kalispel are called *Skalispē'lem* or *Skalispē'l* by all the other Salish tribes. Variations of these terms are *Kalspī'lem*, *Kalispā'lem*, *Skalespī'LEX*. The name is derived from *Kalispē'lem*, the name of

<sup>3</sup> Compare p. 296.

<sup>4</sup> Possibly this is the Kutenai name for Kutenai: *Ktuna'xa*, which may mean "those going out of the mountains." (F. Boas.) The Salish pronunciation of this name is *Tunā'xe* while the Kutenai pronounced *Tunā'xa*. See also the Salish name for the Assiniboin, p. 302, and note to same.

<sup>5</sup> The suffixes *-ix*, *-ic*, *-is*, *-EX*, *-EC*, *-EX*, *-i*, *-e*, *-EMS*, *-EMEC*, *-EMIC*, *-EMUX*, *-ux*, mean "people"; *-skī'nt*, *-tēnt*, *-tci* means "mouth, language."

<sup>6</sup> Some think that the name may be derived from an old name of their country, or a district in their country, named because situated on the upper Missouri, close to the place where the river emerges from the mountains.

a great camas-digging place at Calispel Lake, Washington. Some, however, think the term implies "camas people"; while, on the other hand, some Okanagon, Thompson, and others translate it as "flat-country people."

The Spokane or *Spōqē'inic* are called *Spōkei'nems* or *Spōqē'enemc* by the Coeur d'Alène, *Spōkei'mux* by the Columbia, *Spoqai'nex* by the Sanpoil, *Spōqē'inex* and *Spōkē'n* by the Lake and most other Salish tribes, all of which terms mean "*Spōkē'n* or *Spōqē'in* people." As stated already, some people translate the name as meaning "Sun people." They were also, as a whole, sometimes called *Senoxamī'naex* by tribes of the Okanagon group, the name of their principal division. It seems that at one time the tribe had no general name of their own, and they were usually called by the names of what later came to be considered divisions of the tribe. These divisions were looked upon as independent groups or tribes by some. Other Indians considered them merely divisions, saying that they were parts of a single people who had their villages at different places. The names of these divisions of tribes were—

1. *Stsēkasti'*, *Stkastsī'ten*, or *Stkāstsī'tenic* (= the Lower Spokane). The name is derived from a place called *Stkastsī'ten*, near the mouth of Spokane River. Some translate the name as "running fast," probably with reference to the river. Another, less-accepted translation of the name is "bad food,"<sup>7</sup> "bad eaters," or "poor feeders" (according to some, with reference to the people; according to others, derived from a place-name).

2. *Sntutuū'li* or *Sntutu'ū'*. (= the South or Middle Spokane). This name is translated "living together" by some, and "pounding" or "pounders" (of meat or fish) by others. Most people think the term is derived from a place name derived from the sound of pounding.

3. *Snxo'mē'*, *Senxomē'*, *Senxomē'nic* (= the Upper or Little Spokane). This name is almost invariably translated as "salmon-trout" or "salmon-trout people" (from *xome'na*, "salmon-trout" or "steelhead," a fish said to have been very plentiful in the country of the tribe, and hence the tribal name). Some think the term may originally have been the name of a locality in their country where these fish were abundant. Another translation of the name is "using red paint,"<sup>8</sup> but this is probably incorrect.

NAMES GIVEN TO THEM BY NON-SALISH TRIBES.—Following is a list of names given by alien tribes to the Flathead group. The names followed by an asterisk are from the Handbook of American Indians.

<sup>7</sup> Compare Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, under "Spokan," where the Okanagon name for the Lower Spokane, *sāst srāstsi'tlini*, is translated "people with had heads."

<sup>8</sup> Compare Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, under "Spokan," where the name *Sin-hu* is translated "people wearing red paint on their cheeks."

	Flathead	Pend d'Oreilles	Kalispel	Spokan
Upper Kutenai..	{ <i>A'kīnuqlā'lām</i> <sup>1</sup> ("Flatheaded".)	<i>Meqkwō'qENEk</i> ("Red willow peo- ple").	<i>a'kinamitū'krwa</i> ("river people")	<i>SENzoma'n.</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>SENTutū.</i> <sup>3</sup>
Nez Percés	{ <i>AkkokENO'kra, kōkENōk'e</i> "Leg or leggy ' people".	<i>a'kīnuqlālām</i> <sup>3</sup> .....	<i>a'kīnuqlālām</i> <sup>3</sup> ("compress side of head.")	
Yakima, PalooS, and Klickitat.	-----	<i>sania'lEMEN<sup>2</sup>te'tōkEN.</i>	<i>kamē'spalo</i> ("camas people").	{ <i>Cpōkā'n.</i> <sup>7</sup> <i>Cpoka'n.</i>
Wasco.....	-----	<i>ku'shpēlu*, papsh- pūn'lēma*</i> ("peo- ple of the great fir- trees"). <sup>8</sup>	<i>ku'shpēlu*, papsh- pūn'lēma*</i> ("peo- ple of the great fir- trees").	<i>Lēci.ē'cuks.</i> <sup>9</sup> <i>Spukā'n.</i> <sup>9</sup>
Klamath and Modoc.....	-----	-----	-----	-----
Shoshoni.....	-----	-----	-----	-----
Blackfoot.....	<i>Koh-to'h-spi-tu'p-i-o*</i> .....	-----	<i>ni-he-ta-te-tu'p-i-o*</i>	-----
Gros Ventres.....	<i>Koakaānin</i> <sup>10</sup> ("Flat- head man").	-----	-----	-----
Arapaho.....	<i>Ka-ka-i-thi,*</i> ("Flathead people").	-----	-----	-----
Cheyenne.....	<i>Ka-ko'-is-tsi-a-ta-ni-o*</i> ("people who flatten their heads").	-----	-----	-----
Chippewa.....	<i>Nebaginībe*</i> ("flathead")	-----	-----	-----
Crow.....	<i>Asuha'pe, Ajuhāpe</i> (said to mean "Flatheads").	<i>ak-mi'n-e-shu'-me*, ak-min-e-shu'-me*</i> ("the tribe that uses canoes").	-----	-----
Hidatsa.....	<i>ā-too-hā-pe*</i>	-----	-----	-----
Yankton.....	<i>pavda-ska*, pa-o-bde'-ca*</i> ("head cornered or edged").	-----	-----	-----

<sup>1</sup> The Handbook of American Indians gives a form of this name as a Kutenai term for the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles.

<sup>2</sup> From the Salish name for the Little Spokan.

<sup>3</sup> From the Salish name for the Middle Spokan.

<sup>4</sup> Probably *a'ku'q'nuk*, lake.—F. B.

<sup>5</sup> The same as the Kutenai name for Flathead.

<sup>6</sup> From the name of a headquarters of the Pend d'Oreilles (see pp. 297, 312).

<sup>7</sup> From Salish tongues.

<sup>8</sup> Compare Nez Percé name for the Columbia.

<sup>9</sup> A tribe east of the Columbia, above the Wallawalla, possibly the Spokan.

<sup>10</sup> See Kroeber, Ethnology of the Gros Ventres, *Anthrop. Papers, Am. Mus. Nat. Hist.*, Vol. 1, p. 187.

In the sign language the Flathead were called "flat head" or "pressed side of the head." The Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel were called "Paddlers" because they used bark canoes extensively, while the Spokan are said to have had very few canoes; and the Flathead, *SEMtē'use*, and *Tunā're* had no canoes. The Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel were differentiated by making the additional signs of "above" or "lake" for the former, and "below" or "river" for the latter; i. e. "lake paddlers" and "river paddlers," etc. The Pend d'Oreilles were also called "real paddlers" or simply "paddlers;" and the Kalispel, "camas-eaters," "camas people," or "camas-diggers." It seems

that the last terms were applied to them almost exclusively by the Nez Percé and some other Shahaptian tribes. The Spokane were called "salmon-eaters" because they were the only tribe of the Flathead group who had salmon in their country, and naturally therefore, salmon was consumed a great deal by them.

NAMES GIVEN BY THEM TO OTHER TRIBES.—Following are names given to other tribes by the Flathead:

## SALISH TRIBES

Lower Fraser tribe.....	<i>Temsü'</i> , <i>Lamsiü'</i> (meaning uncertain).
Lillooet.....	<i>Sn̄ɛlamī'ne</i> ("ax people").
Shuswap.....	<i>Sihwē'pe</i> , <i>Sihwē'pi</i> (meaning uncertain, thought to mean "people at the root or bottom," supposed with reference to a low valley).
Thompson or Couteau.....	<i>Nuketeme'x<sup>u</sup></i> , <i>Nko'teme'x<sup>u</sup></i> , <i>Nketemī'</i> , <i>Lü'keteme'</i> (meaning uncertain, thought to be from the name of their country; some think it may mean "other-side country" or "people of the other slope").
Similkameen.....	<i>SEMilkamī'</i> (from the name of their country).
Okanagon.....	<i>Otcenākē'</i> , <i>Otcenāqai'n</i> , <i>Otcenākai'n</i> (from the name of a place on Okanagon River).
Sanpoil.....	<i>Npoi'lce</i> , <i>Snpoi'leɛɛc</i> (meaning uncertain, said to be from the name of a place or district).
Colville or Chaudiere.....	<i>Sɔ̄ōētpi</i> , <i>Sɔ̄oiē'łpi</i> (said to be derived from <i>szoïē'</i> , "stone grainer for dressing hides").
Lake or Sinjextee.....	<i>Snai'tcetste</i> or <i>Snrai'tcetste</i> ("lake-trout people").
Wenatchi.....	<i>Sn̄eskwā'use</i> , or <i>Sn̄eskwē'usi</i> (from the name of a place).
Columbia.....	<i>Snkaiā'use</i> , <i>Snkaiē'use</i> <sup>9</sup> (related to the term "Cayuse").
Coeur d'Alêne.....	<i>Stei'tsui</i> (meaning uncertain).

## WESTERN PLATEAU TRIBES

In general.....	<i>Sutomktske'lix</i> <sup>10</sup> ("down-country people," thought to be from the name of a place in their country).
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## OTHER PLATEAU TRIBES

Upper Kutenai.....	<i>Ska'lsi'</i> , <i>Skalse'</i> (from <i>Skalse'ulk<sup>u</sup></i> , Kootenai River). <sup>11</sup> <i>Qaga'ten</i> by the <i>Tunā'xe</i> .
Lower Kutenai or Flatbow.....	<i>Selkola'</i> , <i>Selkwôla'</i> . (meaning uncertain).
Nez Percé.....	<i>Sēha'pten</i> , <i>Sahā'ptene</i> (meaning uncertain, thought to be from the name of their country).

<sup>9</sup> Compare the terms for Umatilla and Cayuse.

<sup>10</sup> A general name for the tribes west of the Bitterroot Range, and particularly the Salishan and Shahaptian tribes of the Columbia drainage. The tribes of the Okanagon and Columbia groups, the Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, and other Shahaptian tribes, were particularly *Sutomktske'lix*.

<sup>11</sup> The name of the river seems to be derived from *skalt* ("above, up country or to the north") and *se'ulk<sup>u</sup>* ("water or river"). See also Okanagon, p. 202, note 6.

Wallawalla-----	<i>Sulawa'</i> , <i>Suwalwa'le</i> (meaning uncertain, thought to be from the name of a place).
Umatilla-----	<i>Kiē'us</i> , <sup>12</sup> <i>Nkaiē'use</i> , <i>Ohēma</i> <sup>13</sup> (meaning uncertain).
Paloos-----	<i>Stēkamtc'i'ni</i> , <i>Stēqamtc'i'ne</i> ("people of the confluence" with reference to the mouth of the Snake).
Yakima-----	<i>Iā'qima</i> , <i>Ia'keme</i> (meaning uncertain).
Cayuse-----	<i>Kai'us</i> <sup>14</sup> (meaning uncertain, thought by some to be from the name of a place or district).
Wasco-----	<i>Watsqo'pe</i> (thought to be from the name of a place).
Wasco and Dalles tribes-----	<i>SEnkaltu'</i> ("above the falls").
Bannock <sup>a</sup> -----	<i>Āxwe'etsa</i> , <i>Sōxwai'tsa</i> , <i>oꝥhai'tsa</i> , <i>panak</i> <sup>15</sup> (said to mean "bark covering" or "bark lodges" because the tribe formerly used lodges of bark or of bark and grass; some translate the name "striped robes," and others "striped covering," either covering of lodges or covering of the body [robes, for instance]; some Coeur d'Alēne claim that "Bark Lodges" is the old name of the tribe, and "Striped Robes" a later name <sup>16</sup> ).
Tribe unidentified, said to be similar to the Bannock; others say a tribe formerly living east of and near the Rocky Mountains.	<i>pi'liaken</i> (meaning uncertain, supposed to have some connection with "head").
Shoshoni or Snake (in general)----	<i>Snō'wa</i> , <i>Snō'we'</i> ("snake").
Lemhi Shoshoni (a general name)-----	<i>Tcētꝥwoi'stēn</i> <i>Snō'we'</i> (said to mean "mountain snake").
Shoshoni east and south of Lemhi <sup>17</sup> -----	<i>One'x" sno'we</i> ("real snake"). <sup>b</sup>
General name for tribes to the south of the Flathead group, particularly the Shoshonean tribes of the Rocky Mountains, and east of the Rockies, and others beyond to the south, in contradistinction to the tribes of the Columbia drainage or west of the Bitterroots ("down-country people") and the eastern or Plains tribes ("cutthroat" or "sunrise" people).	<i>Tcēsntokain s Tke'liz</i> ("noon people" or "south people").

<sup>12</sup> Compare Columbia and Cayuse.<sup>13</sup> Compare the Coeur d'Alēne name for the Nez Percé.<sup>14</sup> Compare names for Umatilla and Columbia.<sup>a</sup> Called by the Columbia *oꝥhai'tsc*.<sup>15</sup> Probably a modern name.<sup>16</sup> In the sign language it seems that they were called by both names.<sup>b</sup> The Columbia call the Shoshoni of the Mountains *Snaske'ntkoꝥ*; those east of the mountains *Snō'a*.<sup>17</sup> The Ute and several Shoshonean tribes to the south and east are said to have had special names. Nowadays at least the Ute are often called Yū'ta, and the Comanche Kamā'ntsi.

## EASTERN OR PLAINS TRIBES

General name for eastern tribes or all tribes east of the Salish, Shoshoni, and Blackfoot.	{ <i>TcEle'tztin s'ke'lix</i> ("sunrise people" or "eastern people") <i>Noxtu'</i> ("beheaders" or "cutthroats").
Sarsi	<i>Sarsi'</i> . This tribe is said to have been unknown long ago, and the name for them was adopted from the Blackfoot or the white traders.
Blackfoot (proper)	<i>Steqwê', Stekwê'</i> . ("black feet"). <sup>18</sup>
Blood	<i>Senhwulstci'nt, Sxwulstci'nt</i> ("blood people").
Piegan	<i>Tsetsemi'tsa'</i> ("small robes").
Gros Ventres or Atsina	<i>Sukaioskstci'nt</i> (said to mean something like saying "two" or "two [pole] people," probably with reference to tent-poles). <sup>19</sup>
Arapaho	<i>Lapaho', Ala'pho</i> (a corruption of Arapaho).
Cheyenne	<i>Wetckai'u, etckai'u, Tskakai'u, Tcɛɛkai'u, Tsí'kekai'u, Tskwai'u</i> (said to mean "blue [or black] arrows" or "blue arrow people," so named because the feathers of their arrows were striped blue and white, or black and white; according to others because their arrows were painted blue and white). <sup>20</sup>
Cree	<i>Noxtu'</i> ("cutthroat" or "beheader"), <sup>21</sup> <i>Lekrē'</i> (from the word "Cree" by way of the French).
Sioux	<i>Noxtu'</i> ("cutthroat," "beheader"). <sup>22</sup>
Assiniboin	<i>Stkotunuxtú'</i> <sup>23</sup> (said to mean "go on foot" or "people who go on foot or walk," because they had no horses at a time when all the tribes to the south and west of them were mounted).
Crow	<i>Sté'mtci'(nt)</i> ("raven people").
River Crow	<i>Skwais'tci', Skwoistci'nt</i> ("blue [or green] people"). <sup>24</sup>
Ojibway	<i>Ntu'wa', Ntu'a'</i> .
Iroquois	<i>yilikwe'</i> (a corruption of the word "Iroquois").

The Omaha and some other eastern tribes known in later times had names, but my informants had forgotten them. They were not sure of the name for the Kiowa.

<sup>18</sup> Some people think that these people were so named because they used black or dark-colored moccasins. People of the Thompson and several tribes sometimes blackened their moccasins in cold weather.

<sup>19</sup> Called by the Columbia *Stcemi'tsa'*.

<sup>20</sup> In the sign language they were called "tent poles" and "big belly."

<sup>21</sup> In the sign language they were generally designated "arrows striped across," sometimes they were called "cutthroat of the south."

<sup>22</sup> In the sign language sometimes called "cutthroat of the north." A Coeur d'Alène sign language name for them is "striped noses" or "scratched noses."

<sup>23</sup> In the sign language often called "real cutthroat" or "cutthroat of the east."

<sup>24</sup> Compare form and meaning of this word with *tunā'ze* or *kotunā'za*, which I think means "people who walk down a valley." However, there may be no connection.

<sup>25</sup> In the sign language called "people who defecate by the riverside."



DIALECTS.—The Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel speak the same dialect. A branch of the latter living in the Chewelah district are said to have spoken slightly differently. The difference was owing partly to contact with Colville and Spokane. The Flathead spoke a dialect slightly different from that of the Pend d'Oreilles. The difference is very slight at the present day, but was more pronounced formerly. The *SEmtē'use* are said to have spoken like the Pend d'Oreilles, but with a difference in intonation and slight differences in the meaning and pronunciation of certain words. Their utterance is said to have been slower than that of the other tribes. The Spokane divisions are said to have spoken all alike, and their speech varied most from the Flathead. However, all these tribes had little or no difficulty in understanding one another, except the *Tuna'xe* (Salish-*Tuna'xe*). The speech of this tribe is said to have been Salish, but as much removed from the Flathead as the Coeur d'Alêne, or more so.<sup>25</sup>

Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles, it is said, could only partially understand them. Many of them, however, could speak Flathead, especially those living farthest south; while those living farthest north, next the Kutenai-*Tuna'xe*, were practically bilingual, speaking both their own language and Kutenai about equally well. It is said that many Salish-*Tuna'xe* also spoke Blackfoot and Shoshoni as well as Flathead and Kutenai.

HABITAT AND BOUNDARIES.<sup>d</sup> *Flathead Tribe*.—It seems that two Salish tribes lived entirely east of the Continental Divide; the Flathead and the Salish-*Tuna'xe*. According to Flathead and Pend d'Oreille informants, long ago the Flathead tribe lived wholly east of the Rocky Mountains, where they occupied a large tract of country. They were in several large detached bands, who made their headquarters in certain places in the western part of their country, near the mountains, where conditions were best for wintering. Occasionally parties went west of the divide, into what are now the counties of Ravalli and Granite in Montana, but they never crossed the Bitterroot Range. Parties also went a considerable distance east in the summertime, some of them ranging around Bozeman and farther to the north. According to some informants, the former boundaries of the Flathead tribe were the Rocky Mountains on the west and south, and the Gallatin, Crazy Mountain, and Little Belt Ranges on the

<sup>25</sup> According to the Flathead, the last person known to have spoken *Tuna'xe* died in 1870. This was a man of Salish *Tuna'xe* descent, who lived among the Kutenai in the Flathead Agency. Mr. Myers, who carried on linguistic work with Mr. E. S. Curtiss, told me in 1910 that when in Montana he collected about 10 words (all remembered of the *Tuna'xe* language) from an old Kutenai woman, and that these words show distinct relationship to the Salish languages. See also list of *Tuna'xe* words (given in vocabularies) preserved in Flathead and Pend d'Oreille personal names. All these appear to be Salish. Also see list of *Tuna'xe* (Kutenai-*Tuna'xe*) words collected by me at Tobacco Plains, British Columbia. All these appear to be related to Kutenai. The first are with little doubt Salish-*Tuna'xe* words, and the latter Kutenai *Tuna'xe*.

<sup>d</sup> See footnote 29 on p. 305. Compare map in Forty-first Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn.

east. Their approximate northern boundary seems to have cut across the Big Belt Range near its center, following some hilly country north of Helena, between the Rocky Mountains and Little Belt Mountains. The territory claimed by the tribe included practically all of the present counties of Deerlodge, Silver Bow, Beaverhead, Madison, Gallatin, Jefferson, and Broadwater, and parts of Park, Meagher, and Lewis and Clark. This is the country said to have been occupied by the tribe about 1600 (?), when they obtained the first horses. The extreme eastern and southern parts of the territory may have been to some extent neutral ground, and the district east of the Big Belt and Bridger Ranges was possibly not very fully utilized before the introduction of the horse. About the time of the introduction of the horse the Flathead had for neighbors the Pend d'Oreilles, *Semté'use*, and Salish-*Tunā'xe* on the northwest and north, and Shoshonean tribes all around them on the southwest, south, and east. About this time the Crow, Gros Ventres, Arapaho, and Cheyenne were unknown, for they were not in contact with Salish tribes, and originally they lived far to the east. The Sarsi, Cree, and Assiniboin were also unknown. The only tribes on the Western Plains at this time, other than Salish, were Shoshoni, Kutenai,<sup>26</sup> and Blackfoot, all of which were well known. The Blackfoot people were then in three (some say four) divisions, as they are now,<sup>27</sup> all speaking the same language. There were two groups of Shoshoni—those who lived in and west of the Rockies and those who lived east of the Rockies, on the plains. Both of these divisions consisted of several tribes, some of them speaking dialects considerably different from others. Most of them, however, spoke the "real Snake" language. Various Shoshonean bands or tribes occupied the Lemhi country, and the whole area south of the Nez Percé. These western or mountain Shoshoni subsisted to a considerable extent on salmon, like the Nez Percé, Spokane, and western Salish tribes. East of the Rockies, Shoshonean tribes occupied the Upper Yellowstone country, including the National Park, and they are said to have extended east to the Big Horn Mountains or beyond. To the south, both east and west of the Rockies, the Flathead knew of no tribes that were not branches of the "Snake." Most of these people depended chiefly on hunting buffalo, elk, and mountain sheep. Farther north Shoshonean bands occupied the country around Livingston, Lewiston, and Denton. How far east and down the Yellowstone they extended is not known; but they are thought to have at one time held the country around Billings, and most, if not all, of the country where the Crow Indians now have a reservation. Some think they even stretched east almost to the present Northern Cheyenne Reserve. None of the former Shoshoni boundaries were properly known to the Flathead, however, except

<sup>26</sup> Kutenai-*Tunā'xe*.

<sup>27</sup> Blackfoot proper, Blood, and Piegan.

where they were their own neighbors or those of the *Tunā'xe*. A large Shoshoni band lived at one time near Fort Benton and another one is said to have lived still farther north. The Sweet Grass Hills, near the Canadian line, were considered to be the former north-western boundary of the Shoshoni. These hills were also the boundary of the Kutenai, and possibly also of the Blackfoot.<sup>28</sup> Northeastward Shoshoni are thought to have occupied the country to near Fort Assiniboin or Havre. How far they extended down the Missouri is unknown, but they are said to have occupied the region to a considerable distance down on the south side. Although tribes or people were known to live east of the Shoshoni, it seems that long ago there was little contact between them.<sup>29</sup> At this period the western or mountain Shoshoni seldom crossed the Rockies, with the exception of small parties, bent on trading and visiting the Shoshoni in the Yellowstone country, and the Flathead. The Nez Percé and Coeur d'Alène never crossed the Rockies, and seldom the Bitterroot Range. However, small parties visited the southern Pend d'Oreilles, where they were occasionally met by Flathead, who also visited there. Parties of Flathead also visited the mountain Snake, especially the Lemhi, and they also visited Shoshoni bands on the Yellowstone.

After the mountain Shoshoni had obtained horses they began to go east of the Rockies regularly in large numbers for buffalo hunting, sometimes joining forces with other Shoshonean bands who lived east of the range and sometimes hunting by themselves. Many of these parties skirted the mountains on the western side and then crossed into the Yellowstone Park, whence they went east or north. Others crossed the Rockies by passes farther north, and skirting the eastern foothills to the Gallatin Range went north on both sides of it to Livingston and beyond. Some of them went to the Musselshell River, and occasionally as far as Lewiston and Fort Benton; but it seems they did not cross the Missouri. This whole territory belonged to Shoshonean tribes. The Bannock also began to cross the mountains, and some parties occasionally wintered on the east side. Many of them crossed to the north and passed east through the southern and eastern borders of the Flathead country by the Gallatin River and Bozeman. In later days some of them went by Beaver Head River and Dillon. The Bannock generally hunted by themselves, and usually did not go as far east and north as some of the mountain Shoshoni. At a later date the Nez Percé and Coeur d'Alène also began to hunt buffaloes east of the Rockies. The Coeur d'Alène

<sup>28</sup> Some say at a later date the Gros Ventres also reached there.

<sup>29</sup> The disposition of tribes as above stated appears to agree with information obtained from the Blackfoot. (c, p. 17). Wissler says, "The Piegan claim that before the white man dominated their country [an uncertain date, probably 1750-1840] the Blackfoot, Blood and Piegan lived north of Macleod; the Kutenai in the vicinity of the present Blood Reserve; the Gros Ventres and the Assiniboin to the east of the Kootenai; the Snake on the Teton River, and as far north as Two Medicine River; and the Flathead on the Sun River."

probably started at an earlier date than the Nez Percé. Both tribes passed through Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead territories, and went first at the invitation of the Flathead. Before the days of horses the tribes did not hunt so far away from home. They seldom hunted beyond the borders of their respective territories, except in the case of small parties engaged in intertribal visits. In those days peace generally prevailed among the various tribes and there was no continual warfare like that which developed after the introduction of the horse and the migrations of eastern tribes westward and of Blackfoot tribes southward.

*The Tunā'xe (or Salish-Tunā'xe).*—The country of the *Tunā'xe* was also altogether east of the Continental Divide and immediately north of the Flathead. They extended westward to the Rocky Mountains. Their southern limits are rather vague and there may have been no very clear dividing line between them and the nearest bands of Flathead. The dividing line seems to have been somewhere between Marysville and Helena. Their eastern boundary seems to have been along the Big Belt Range, north to Great Falls. Beyond this point it swerved northwestward, apparently excluding the Teton River, or at least its lower part, to a point somewhere near Conrad, whence it struck westerly to the Rockies. It did not extend as far north as the present Blackfoot and Piegan Reservation in Montana. Their territory embraced parts of what are now the counties of Teton, Lewis and Clark, and Cascade. Immediately north of the *Tunā'xe* lived the Kutenai, according to the Flathead, or the tribe called *Tonā'xa* or *Kutonā'xa* by the Upper Kutenai. The *Tunā'xe* of the Flathead were considered Salish by the Kutenai, who often called them "Sun River people" or simply referred to them as "Flathead." The Blackfoot also considered them Salish.<sup>30</sup> It seems strange that the Flathead should call a Salish tribe by the same name as the Kutenai give to a Kutenai tribe, and there may possibly be some confusion among Flathead informants respecting the tribal names.

The Upper Kutenai say there were three tribes of Kutenai people, each speaking slightly different dialects of the Kutenai language—(1) the Lower Kutenai, on Kootenai Lake, and the Kootenai River above the lake; (2) the Upper Kutenai on Upper Kootenai River, north to the head of the Columbia, and extending into the Rockies; (3) the *Kutona'xa*, *Tonā'xa*, or *Tuna'xa*, east of the Rocky Mountains. The last-named at one time occupied a considerable territory in what are now Alberta and Montana, extending east to the Sweet Grass Hills, and including at least the greater portion of the present

<sup>30</sup> See note 29. The names *Tuna'xe* and *Tona'xa* are undoubtedly forms of the name by which the Kutenai designate themselves *Ktun'za*. The derivation may be k-participle; *tun-* (Lower Kutenai) out of the woods; *ax(ē)* to go. According to the present form of the language "those who go out of the woods" would be *Ktuna'zam*.—F. Boas.

Blood Reserve in Alberta and all of the Blackfoot Reservation in Montana. Northward Kutenai territory extended on the east side of the Rockies to a distance about equal to the northern limits of the former hunting grounds of the Upper Kutenai, west of the range or possibly even a little farther north; but it is not clear whether this northeastern strip of country belonged to the Upper Kutenai or to the Kutenai-*Tunā'xa*. Presumably it belonged to the former. It included the country around Banff and probably all the present reservation of the Stony or Assiniboin Indians on the Bow River.<sup>31</sup> On the south their boundaries coincided with the northern limits of the Sun River Salish (the tribe called *Tunā'xe* by my principal Flathead informant). This eastern or Plains Kutenai tribe was composed of several bands, most of whom made their headquarters in the eastern foothills of the Rockies, on both sides of the international boundary; but a large band lived at one time on the present Blood Reservation. The main seat of the tribe was near the place now called Browning, in Montana. To prevent confusion I have named this tribe Kutenai-*Tunā'xe*, and the *Tunā'xe* of Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles informants, Salish-*Tunā'xe*. The latter had for neighbors Kutenai-*Tunā'xe* on the north, the *Semtē'use* on the west, Flathead on the south, and Shoshoni neighbors on the east. It seems that the Kutenai-*Tunā'xe* had Shoshoni on part of their boundary to the southeast, Blackfoot (probably Piegan) on the east and north, Upper Kutenai and Pend d'Oreilles on the west, and Salish-*Tunā'xe* on the south. It is claimed that at this time there were no Sarsi or Assiniboin in that part of the country.<sup>32</sup>

*The Semtē'use or Semtā'use.*—The territory of the *Semtē'use* lay immediately west of the Rocky Mountains, in what is now Powell County, and in parts of Lewis and Clark, Missoula, and Granite Counties. Their southern boundary seems to have run in a line from Garrison or Deerlodge to Missoula, and their western boundary northeasterly to a point in the Rockies in the neighborhood of the northern end of Powell County, their territory thus forming a wedge to the north. The former ownership of the triangular piece of country forming the southern part of Granite County, with Phillipsburg as a center, is uncertain, but it probably belonged to the *Semtē'use*. Some claim it to have been occupied by Flathead. In later times it was occupied chiefly by them. The *Semtē'use* were

<sup>31</sup> According to tradition, the Stony (or Assiniboin) were not in the Rocky Mountains long ago; they were east of the Kutenai-*Tunā'xe* and Blackfoot. Later some of them appeared in the Bow River region, around Banff and Morley. At a still later date Shuswap also appeared in this region. They were allies of the Stony. It seems that the Assiniboin came in along the eastern slopes of the Rockies from the northeast or north.

<sup>32</sup> The Sarsi, it seems, were not known until comparatively late times. Their home is supposed to have been to the north of the Blackfoot, while the original home of the Assiniboin is considered to have been somewhere to the east of the Blackfoot. The Oros Ventres (or Apsina) were also to the east or southeast of the latter.

thus entirely surrounded by Salish tribes—the Salish-*Tunā'xe* on the east, the Flathead on the south, and the Pend d'Oreilles on the west.

*The Pend d'Oreilles.*—The Pend d'Oreilles occupied all the Flathead Lake and Flathead River country, the Little Bitterroot, the Pend d'Oreille River west to about Plains, the Fork and Missoula Rivers to about Missoula. Northward they extended to about the British Columbia line. The original owners of that part of Flathead River that is in British Columbia is uncertain, as some informants of both the Pend d'Oreilles and Upper Kutenai claim it as hunting territory of their respective tribes. In later days it seems to have been used principally by the Upper Kutenai. The Lewis and Clark National Forest and the Flathead Indian Reserve are both in old Pend d'Oreilles territory. To the south they extended as far as the *SEmtē'use* (near Missoula). Thus they occupied the greater part of Flathead and Missoula Counties. According to some informants, all of Ravalli County was also claimed by the Pend d'Oreilles, although the Flathead occupied it a long time ago. It seems not unlikely that the Pend d'Oreilles of this part of the country, the *SEmtē'use* of Granite County, and the nearest Flathead bands were closely related and the boundaries between them not very well defined. Pend d'Oreilles territory narrowed down in the extreme north and south, and was partly bounded by the Rocky Mountains on the east and the Bitterroot Mountains on the west. The tribe had for neighbors the *SEmtē'use*, Salish-*Tunā'xe*, and Kutenai-*Tunā'xe* along the east; Upper Kutenai on the north; Kalispel, Coeur d'Alène, and Nez Percé, along the west; and Shoshoni and Flathead, south. After the extinction of the Salish-*Tunā'xe* the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles, as their nearest relatives, laid claim to their country, and used it as their hunting ground. The Pend d'Oreilles used chiefly the northern part and the Flathead the southern; the approximate dividing line seems to have been across Sun River. Later, after the extinction of the *SEmtē'use*, the Pend d'Oreilles, claiming to be the tribe most closely related to them, occupied their country for hunting and root digging, including their large camas grounds near Missoula. The latter, however, were also used to some extent by the Flathead.

*The Kalispel.*—The Kalispel occupied a rather narrow strip of country following Pend d'Oreille River, up to Plains and thence north, taking in Thompson Lake and Norse Plains. They divided the Kutenai from the Coeur d'Alène. This included most of Sanders County, Montana; the country around Pend d'Oreille Lake and Priests Lake in Idaho; and nearly all of Pend d'Oreille River within the State of Washington. A small corner of their hunting country extended into the Salmon River district in British Columbia. A division speaking a slightly different dialect also occupied the Chewelah district on the confines of the Colville tribe. The Kalispel were thus bounded by

Lower Kutenai on the north, Colville and Lake on the west, Spokane and Coeur d'Alène on the south, and the Pend d'Oreilles on the east.

*The Spokane.*—The Spokane occupied that part of eastern Washington immediately south of the Kalispel and west of the Coeur d'Alène. It seems that the bulk of the tribe was on the Spokane and Little Spokane Rivers. South they claimed the country to Cow Creek, and, according to some, along this creek almost or quite to Palouse River. North their country embraced the present Spokane Reservation, Loon Lake, Deer Park Lake, Peone Prairie, and all the northern feeders of the Spokane. Their western boundary seems to have been approximately a line running about due south from the mouth of Spokane River and passing through Ritzville. The Spokane hardly touched Columbia River at any point. They had for neighbors the Coeur d'Alène on the east, the Kalispel and Colville on the north, the Sanpoil and Columbia on the west, and the Palooos on the south.<sup>33</sup>

**PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE COUNTRY.**—The country formerly inhabited by the Spokane is arid in the lower valleys, but at higher levels very much of it consists of rolling, grass-covered plateaus and prairies with comparatively little timber. Much of the northern part of the Pend d'Oreilles country and most of the Kalispel country are more or less heavily forested. A great deal of it is hilly or mountainous, but there are also many flat open parts and meadows with luxuriant grass. Altogether the territories of the Flathead group of tribes were exceedingly diversified in natural features, rich in food supplies, and had good climatic conditions.

**DIVISIONS, BANDS, AND HEADQUARTERS.** *The Flathead.*—It seems now impossible to get a full list of the bands of the Flathead tribe previous to their change of organization brought about by the introduction of the horse and subsequent prolonged wars with the Blackfoot. It appears that there were at least four distinct bands having their main winter camps in the western parts of the country. Of these, it seems that one was on a river near Helena, one near Butte, another smaller one somewhere east of Butte, and one somewhere in the Big Hole Valley. The Big Hole and Helena bands are said to have been large. There are traditions of two other bands, making probably six in all, but I did not learn the localities in which they had their headquarters. It seems that some of the bands did not always winter in the same locality, while others did. It is said that some parties wintered alternately at widely separate places in the eastern part of the country. The inference is that some were nomadic to a large extent, while others, probably the majority, generally wintered in definite "home" localities. In the fair season it seems that most

<sup>33</sup> If the Palooos are newcomers then they may have had the Nez Percé as southern neighbors; but the main settlements of the two tribes were far apart.

of them, perhaps all, divided into two or more parties, who traveled in different directions from one seasonal ground to another, hunting, root digging, berrying, visiting, and trading. Some of these parties traveled considerable distances on these trips. In the summertime bands of Flathead might be met with in the valleys of the Big Hole, Beaver Head, Madison, and Gallatin Rivers, and in the country north to Helena, as well as at points within the boundaries of their neighbors in the Bitterroot Valley and elsewhere. Parties also frequented the upper portions of Shield Creek and the Musselshell; but this may have been in later days, after the introduction of horses.<sup>34</sup> Changed conditions, wrought by the adoption of the horse, the importance of buffalo hunting, and wars with the Blackfoot appear to have resulted in the breaking up of the old system of geographically localized bands and to have forced the tribe to live together as a unit. In the summer the tribe split into two or three large parties, who came together for the winter in a single large camp or in two camps close together. Sometimes, for protection, the tribe remained united during the whole year. In later times they wintered as far west as possible, according to some, in Pend d'Oreilles territory. *Tlka'lemels*<sup>35</sup> ("thick bushes" or "willow bushes"), now known as Stevensville, in the Bitterroot Valley, was for many years their main winter camp. In the schedule of Indian Reserves<sup>36</sup> the Flathead appear to be divided into three bands—the Bitterroot, Carlos band, and the Flathead.

*The Salish-Tunā'xe.*—The number and locations of the Salish-Tunā'xe bands are not fully remembered. It seems that there were at least four main divisions. The largest band is said to have had their headquarters at a place called *Sensū'kol* (said to mean "ice piled up") on Sun River, near Fort Shaw. This was considered the main seat of the tribe. Another band wintered at *Sensū'skul* (said to mean "little ice piled up"), also on Sun River; a third division had their headquarters on Dearborn River; and a fourth generally made their main camp somewhere near Great Falls, but whether on the main Missouri or at the mouth of a tributary stream is not clear. A fifth band is sometimes spoken of as having lived farther north and west, in the foothills of the Rockies, at the heads of some small streams near some little lakes. The people of this band were mixed with Kutenai and it is not quite certain whether they belonged properly to the Salish-Tunā'xe or to the Kutenai-Tunā'xe.

(In a later communication Mr. Teit sent the following information obtained from the Kutenai.) There were two bands with separate chiefs that lived together near Browning, Mont. (on the present

<sup>34</sup> Some people think that very long ago there were scattered bands located more or less permanently at all those places.

<sup>35</sup> Compare *Ka'lemiz* (list of Okanagon villages, p. 206, No. 3).

<sup>36</sup> Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1905, p. 495.



Blackfoot or South Piegan Reserve), and this place was considered their headquarters. Here their old camp sites may be found, although now covered with earth. When the earth is dug away the tent circles may be seen, and the fireplaces. According to John Star, numbers of these circles of stones have been unearthed in this vicinity. Chief Paul told me that when a young man he had seen the remains of a great *Tuna'xe* camp in the country south of Macleod in the foothills, the circles of stones for their tipis being traceable for a distance of about 5 miles. The *Kakwagemetū'kenik!* lived just north of them. They spoke the same dialect as the Upper Kutenai of Tobacco Plains and Fort Steele(?). They are said to have had their headquarters in the heart of the Rockies in the Crow's Nest Pass near Michel, British Columbia, and to have hunted on both sides of the divide. They are reported to have been killed off by an epidemic and the few survivors scattered. A very few of them settled among other bands of Kutenai as far north as Windermere. As the country around Macleod and south some distance is exposed to violent winds, stones would naturally be requisite for placing against the lodge poles to help steady the lodges.

*The SEMTĒ'USE.*—The *SEMTĒ'USE* also were in several bands, wintering at different places. Before the introduction of the horse the largest band was on Big Blackfoot River, which was considered the headquarters of the tribe. Some people lived on the Little Blackfoot and Salmon-Trout Rivers, but it is not clear whether they formed separate bands. One or two bands occupied the Missoula River country. It seems that one of these had headquarters near a place called *Skalsa'*<sup>37</sup> or *Eplē'thwa*<sup>38</sup> ("possessing camas"), later known as "Big Camas" or "Camas Prairie," between the Missoula and Big Blackfoot. Some think that a smaller band had headquarters near Deer Lodge and maybe Phillipsburg, but some informants assign this place to the Flathead. Anaconda is reckoned to be in old Flathead territory. In later days the tribe became more concentrated, and their main camp seems to have been near Camas Prairie.

*The PEND D'OREILLES.*—It seems that the earliest recognized main seat of the Pend d'Oreilles was at Flathead Lake. According to some informants, there were four main divisions of the tribe,<sup>39</sup> with headquarters in different parts of the country. Of these, probably the Flathead Lake people were the most important. They appear to have had several winter camps in the vicinity of the lake. Whether each camp or village was considered a separate band is not clear. It appears that some people lived north of the lake, with their main

<sup>37</sup> Said to be the *SEMTĒ'USE* name. The name may be connected with camas.

<sup>38</sup> Said to be the Flathead name.

<sup>39</sup> Some say that each tribe of the Flathead group was divided into four bands or divisions, but this seems an attempt at more or less conscious systematization.

camp near Kalispel, and possibly a smaller one near Columbia Falls. Other people lived west of the lake, with headquarters probably at or near Dayton, and there were others near Polson at the foot of the lake. There were also winter camps lower down, near Joeko, Dixon, Ravalli, and at other places. A number of Pend d'Oreilles lived near Camas Prairie and at other places on the Missoula; but this may have been after the extinction of the *SEMtē'use*, as this place was considered to be on the territory of the latter. It seems that Pend d'Oreilles sometimes also wintered on the Bitterroot. A large band wintered at *Snye'LEMEN*<sup>40</sup> or *Snia'LEMEN*, near the present St. Ignatius Mission. Some time after the introduction of the horse this place became the main seat of the tribe, and Flathead Lake lost its importance. The same conditions which forced the Flathead to concentrate affected the Pend d'Oreilles also, but perhaps to not quite the same extent. It is said that about 1810 to 1830 nearly the whole tribe wintered in a single large camp at St. Ignatius Mission, in the same way as the Flathead did at Stevensville. There are some indications that the Pend d'Oreilles at one time may have been in two divisions, a northern and a southern, each comprising a number of bands.

*The Kalispel.*—The Kalispel, it seems, were at one time in three divisions: (1) The Upper Kalispel, sometimes called *Ntsemts̄'ni* ("people of the confluence," from *ntsemts̄n*, "entrance, outlet, or confluence," a place at the outlet of Pend Oreille Lake, where a considerable band of them formerly wintered). (2) The Lower Kalispel, often called "the Kalispel" or "real Kalispel," and sometimes "camas people" and "*Kalipse'm*." They are said to have been so called because they occupied the Kalispel country proper, the district around *Kalipse'LEM* or *Kalipse'm*, the name of the large camas prairie west of the Pend Oreille River, near Calispell Lake, Washington. (3) The Chewelah, generally called *Stātē'use*, and sometimes *Tsent̄'s*. In later days they were often called Chewelah by whites and Indians (from *Tcewi'la* or *Tcuwī'la*, the name of one of their principal winter camps near Chewelah, Wash.). Some people considered these people a tribe different from the Kalispel, as they spoke a slightly different dialect and lived by themselves. However, they recognized their very close relationship to the Kalispel. I did not succeed in getting a full list of Kalispel bands, but it seems that there were several in each division. There were probably at least two bands of the Chewelah, as some people speak of their having had two winter camps. In fair weather some of them camped near Newport and Fool's Prairie, where they often remained many weeks. They also repaired regularly to Calispell Lake, where they dug camas with the Lower Kalispel. They occupied the country west of

<sup>40</sup> Said to mean "encircled" or "surrounded," some say because of groves of bushes and trees forming a circle, and by others because elk used to be surrounded at this place.

the Calispell or Chewelah Mountains in the upper part of the Colville Valley. The Lower Kalispel country was also nearly all in the State of Washington, where they occupied the Lower Pend Oreille River from about Newport down. This division is said to have had their headquarters on the east side of the Pend Oreille River, near Usk and Cusiek, at a little creek called *Tsu'kol* (said to be from the name of the little water ouzel or dipper, because these birds were plentiful at this place). There were other winter camps on the river, most of them on the east side, and all within a radius of about 9 miles of this place. The present-day Lower Kalispel, consisting of Chief Marcellin's band, still live in this neighborhood. They refused to go on the Colville and other reserves, and lately had a strip of land reserved for them here. It appears that a small band formerly wintered at *Stlkamtsi'n* ("confluence"), near the mouth of the Calispell River. Another old camp or village was at *Nyē'yot*, now called Indian Creek, on the east side of the river, about nine miles below Newport, where there is an island in the river. According to some, the main camp of the Lower Kalispel long ago was at a place on Pend Oreille River called *Stsei'a*, in the district where Chief Marcellin's band still live. The Upper Kalispel occupied all the tribal territory now within Idaho and Montana. Besides the band that formerly wintered at the outlet of Pend Oreille Lake, a band had headquarters at *Shwe'wi'* ("portage"), on the east bank of the river, at Albany Falls, and another at *Qapqape'* ("sand"), near Sand Point; and there are said to have been smaller bands at other places. In later times a band called "Camas Prairie" Kalispel, numbering about fifteen lodges, had their headquarters near the confines of the Pend d'Oreilles. A few descendants of this band are now on the Flathead Reserve. In later years the Pend Oreille Lake band often shifted their winter camps to various places within their territory, and occasionally many of them wintered with the Lower Kalispel. It is uncertain whether any band had regular headquarters at Newport, but people occasionally wintered there.

*The Spokane.*—The Spokane were in three main groups:<sup>41</sup> (1) The Lower Spokane, occupying the mouth and lower part of Spokane River, including the present Spokane Indian Reserve. (2) The Upper Spokane, or Little Spokane, occupying the Little Spokane River and all the country east of the Lower Spokane to within the borders of Idaho. Part of their territory formed a wedge between the Coeur d'Alène and Kalispel. The plateau country south of Spokane River, around Davenport and toward Palouse, was used as a summering and hunting ground by both these divisions, and it seems there was no distinct line here between them. (3) The South or Middle

<sup>41</sup> For the Indian names of these divisions, see p. 298.

Spokan occupied the whole Hangmans Creek country, extending south along the borders of the Coeur d'Alêne. It seems that they did not go west of Cheney. There were several bands of these divisions but I did not obtain their names and locations. A band called *Sntsuwé'stsene* lived at the head of the Little Spokane River.

POPULATION.—Informants agree that a long time ago the people of all the Flathead tribes were very numerous, but it is impossible to obtain any definite estimate of what the population was in early times. The oldest estimates I obtained were based on the number of lodges in winter camps about 1850. Most of these vary so much that they are of little value. This may be due partly to the fact that the number of people dwelling at certain points varied in different winters. Thus the number of lodges of the Kalispel in the winter camp or village at the outlet of Pend d'Oreille Lake is stated to have been not over 8 some winters, and in other winters as many as 15, while occasionally there were only 2 or 3, or even none at all. Likewise, at a place on Spokane River there were often 6 lodges, but some winters there were as many as 12, and occasionally 1 or 2 or none at all. At a time before horses were in general use the number of lodges to the winter camp probably did not fluctuate so much, so that many places had nearly the same number of inhabitants every winter, thus corresponding to conditions found formerly among the Coeur d'Alêne and other tribes. Of the Spokan, the upper division is said to have been the most numerous. The Lower Spokan were not so many; while the Middle Spokan were always a small body, numbering only a few hundred. A story is told relating the reason for their small numbers.<sup>42</sup> The whole Spokan tribe is said to have numbered more people than the Coeur d'Alêne, immediately prior to the advent of the fur traders; the Kalispel about the same as the Spokan; and the Pend d'Oreilles more than either. The Flathead numbered less than the Pend d'Oreilles, but it is said that they were much reduced by wars. Some say that tradition relates they were at one time the most populous and important tribe of the Flathead group, being considered the head tribe of the group. The *SEmtē'use* and the Salish-*Tunā'xe* were said to be less in numbers than the Pend d'Oreilles. It thus seems possible that the total population of the Flathead tribes some time after the introduction of the horse, or before the beginning of the wars with the Blackfoot, may have been in the neighborhood of 15,000.<sup>43</sup> The Lewis and Clark estimates<sup>44</sup> around 1805-06, of 600 for the Spokan, 1,600 for the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, and 600 for the Flat-

<sup>42</sup> Folk-Tales of Salishan and Sahaptin Tribes. Memoirs American Folk-lore Society, vol. XI, p. 122.

<sup>43</sup> Revals stated that about 1860, and perhaps later, the traders estimated the Spokan, Kalispel, and Pend d'Oreilles each to have numbered about 1,000. The Flathead were considered to have numbered a little less, making perhaps a total of about 3,500 to 3,800 for the four tribes. The Kutenai on both sides of the line were thought to number less than 2,000; and the Nez Percé, from 3,000 to 3,500.

<sup>44</sup> See Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn.

head, are probably much too low for the time. The present-day population of the tribes, as given by the United States Department of Indian Affairs, is—

	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910
Flathead (Flathead Reservation, Mont.)-----	557	615	623	590	598	-----
Pend d'Oreilles (Flathead Reservation, Mont.)-----	640	627	633	670	665	-----
Kalispel (Flathead Reservation, Mont.)-----	197	199	202	192	182	-----
Kalispel (Colville Agency, Wash.)-----	<sup>1</sup> 98	98	98	98	96	95
Spokan (Flathead Reservation, Mont.) <sup>2</sup> -----	135	133	135	144	138	-----
Spokan (Colville Agency, Wash.):						
Upper and Middle-----	177	191	238	} 573	509	504
Lower-----	277	252	301			
Spokan (Coeur d'Alène Reservation, Idaho)-----	91	91	95	93	104	96
Okanagon (Colville Agency, Wash.):						
Northern half-----	548	} 527	348	557	475	538
Southern half-----	144					
Coeur d'Alène (Coeur d'Alène Reservation, Idaho)-----	494	496	506	492	533	537
Total <sup>3</sup> -----	3, 358	3, 229	3, 179	3, 409	3, 300	-----

<sup>1</sup> It is not clear whether this refers to Kalispel actually on the Colville Reserve or to the nontreaty band of Chief Marcellin living at their old home on Pend Oreille River. If these are not meant, the number of Marcellin's band should be added (about 100). It is said that a number of Chewelah Kalispel have allotments near Chewelah, and it is not clear whether they are included in the Kalispel under the Colville Agency.

<sup>2</sup> According to Michel Revais, the Spokan on the Flathead Reserve are nearly all Upper Spokan. There are a few Middle or Hangman's Spokan.

<sup>3</sup> The single figures and totals show that the census is approximate.

The chief reasons assigned for the great decrease in the population of the tribes are epidemics and wars. Almost the whole Salish-*Tuná'xe* and the greater part of the *Semté'use* are said to have been killed off in wars. The survivors were nearly all swept off by small-pox about 1800. The Flathead are said to have been reduced to nearly half at the same time. The disease is said to have come from the Crow, passed through the Flathead to the *Semté'use*, Pend d'Oreilles, and Kalispel, and on to the Spokan and Colville, eventually dying out among the Salish tribes of the Columbia River. The Shahaptian tribes are said to have escaped or to have been only slightly affected. The Pend d'Oreilles, Kalispel, Spokan, Colville, and Columbia all suffered severely; but the disease is said to have been worst among the Spokan, whole bands of whom were wiped out. Michel Revais told me the following regarding this epidemic: "Small-pox came, it is said, from the Crow. This was in the wintertime about 100 years ago. The people were in their winter camps. My grandmother was a little girl at the time, and living at *Ntsuwé'* ('little

creek'), the first creek below Dixon, Mont. The father of my father-in-law was a little boy, and living at *Kalispé'lem*, eastern Washington. Both of them took the disease, but survived. The Flathead suffered severely. Before this time they had a large population. It spread to the Pend d'Oreilles, then down to the Kalispel, the Colville, and finally down Columbia River. So many people died in some places that the lodges were full of corpses. Some of the 'long lodges' were quite full of dead and dying people. So many people died that they could not be buried, and the dogs ate the bodies." About 1847 measles spread over the country, and many died. The Columbia River tribes did not suffer much, but a great many deaths occurred among the Spokane. Revais said that many of the Spokane tried to cure themselves by sweat bathing and bathing in cold water, and all who did this died. Two white men called Walker and Lee, from Walker's Prairie, went among them and told them to keep dry and warm. After this very few died.

MIGRATIONS AND MOVEMENTS OF TRIBES.—Traditions of migrations refer principally to movements of tribes caused by wars. The most conspicuous changes of location were a southern movement of the Blackfoot and a western movement of the Crow and other Plains tribes. So far as known to the Flathead, the former migration was the earlier. The aggressions of these tribes resulted in forcing a general retirement to the south and west of the tribes occupying the western fringe of the plains, between latitudes 43° and 52°. The Shoshoni were forced south and west. Some bands were permanently, others temporarily, displaced; a few may have been destroyed. The Kutenai-*Tunā'xe*, Salish-*Tunā'xe*, and *SEMtē'use*, and possibly certain small bands of Upper Kutenai were driven west. All the Flathead moved westward. The Mountain Shoshoni and Bannock buffalo-hunting parties were driven west of the mountains. The Pend d'Oreilles and certain Kutenai moved southward and other Kutenai northward. For a time the buffalo hunting of the mountain Shoshoni, Bannock, Flathead, and possibly some Kutenai bands was partially discontinued. The Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles concentrated in large groups. At the instance of the Flathead, the Salish and other western tribes began to cooperate in buffalo hunting, war, and mutual protection. This resulted in the invasion of the plains for hunting and war by the Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, and other plateau tribes; the checking of further invasion and displacement by eastern tribes; the reoccupation of certain territories by the western tribes, and resumption of buffalo hunting.

The incidents of these tribal movements were as follows: At a time about six or seven generations ago (about 1700 or 1750), just before the Blackfoot began to have horses, war parties of Blackfoot attacked the Salish-*Tunā'xe*. At this time the Shoshoni had plenty of horses,

the Salish-*Tunā'xe* and Flathead had them, the Kutenai had none, and the Kutenai-*Tunā'xe* few or none. About this time the bands of Shoshoni living in the country north and east of the Salish-*Tunā'xe* were attacked. Blackfoot parties in great force appeared persistently, and drove the Shoshoni out of the country, killing numbers of them. Finally all the Shoshoni disappeared south of the Missouri, and no Shoshoni came near the Missouri again for many years. The people of some bands were nearly all killed off, while others fled to the south. Some of them migrated a long distance, in order to be out of reach of the Blackfoot, and it is not known where they settled. None of them, except perhaps a few stragglers, went west into the mountains, and none stayed east of the mountains anywhere north of the Yellowstone. They went to a distant country and disappeared. Some of them may have been killed by the Crow.<sup>45</sup> At about the same time, when the Shoshoni were first attacked, the Blackfoot may also have driven out the more northern bands of Kutenai (the Kutenai-*Tunā'xe*) that lived east of the mountains. Information obtained from the Kutenai agrees with this. The attacks of the Blackfoot on the Salish-*Tunā'xe* continued, and for a number of years there existed a constant warfare between these tribes. The Salish-*Tunā'xe* were a strong, wealthy, warlike tribe, and noted for courage. They resisted the Blackfoot stoutly, but at last were reduced to a remnant that lived at one place on Sun River. Here they held out for some time, but finally they were overwhelmed and completely scattered. Some were made slaves by the Blackfoot and others were adopted as members of the tribe. Some escaped and took refuge among western tribes. Most of them crossed the Rockies and settled among the Kutenai and Pend d'Oreilles. A number settled among the Flathead and a few among the Kalispel and even the Colville. Some strayed farther away and settled among the Nez Percé and mountain Shoshoni. A very few took refuge among the Crow, but none among the Coeur d'Aléne. Shortly before the final breaking up of the tribe, a band of them migrated east and nothing further was heard of them. Another band went somewhere south of the Missouri, where after a time they were attacked by either Blackfoot or Crow and most of them were killed. The remnants settled among the mountain Shoshoni and Bannock. Some *Tunā'xe* died of a disease of some kind.

(At a later time Mr. Teit writes, basing his statement on information obtained from the Kutenai): The tribe had no horses and no guns. At some time, long ago, one of the bands living near Brown-  
ing was visited by an epidemic, perhaps smallpox, and all died except

<sup>45</sup> In answer to queries, I gained no information from the Flathead regarding the Comanche and Kiowa having lived in the north on the confines of the Flathead country. If they ever lived there they may have been considered Shoshoni, perhaps included among the Shoshonean bands who migrated south at the beginning of the wars with the Blackfoot. Neither did I get any information as to the Bannock having lived east of the mountains. Some of them occasionally wintered there, but their headquarters were around Fort Hall.

nine, who became well through the ministrations of a young woman (called the younger sister). This girl had an elder sister married to a man of the other band, and lived among them. The nine survivors went to take up their abode with their friends of the other band, but the latter would not let them near for they were afraid of contagion. At last they allowed the girl to join her sister. The other eight then left the country, crossed the mountains to the west and settled among the Pend d'Oreilles. Some years afterwards the remaining large band disappeared, and it is not known whether they were exterminated by the Blackfoot or some other tribe, died of smallpox, or migrated. It is generally believed that they went off in a body to some distant country where their descendants are now living.

After the disruption of the Salish-*Tunā'xe*, Blackfoot parties began to enter the Flathead country and to attack the Flathead who wintered in the northern and eastern parts of the tribal territory. Many were killed. The rest forsook their former homes and retired farther south and west. The Blackfoot raids continued until all the Flathead concentrated for protection and moved west into the mountains.

All the tribes who had formerly inhabited the plains along the eastern side of the Rockies in this region had now disappeared, while the mountain Shoshoni and Bannock, who had for some time been in the habit of going east for buffalo hunting, were now, like the Flathead, obliged to remain west in the mountains and hunt buffalo at short range. The whole country along the eastern foot of the Rockies, north of the Yellowstone, was in possession of the Blackfoot and had become very dangerous ground. The entire Flathead tribe now wintered in the Bitterroot Valley, generally in a single large camp near Stevensville. Here they constantly coralled and guarded the large number of horses they possessed.

About this time the Crow were first heard of as advancing from the east and fighting the Shoshoni, whom they drove out of the Yellowstone River country into the mountains and around the headwaters of the river to the west and south. It seems that the Crow occupied part of the Shoshoni country and stayed there. In the same way the Blackfoot now occupied all the Kutenai-*Tunā'xe* country and part of the northern Shoshoni country, but they did not winter or make any permanent camps in the old Salish-*Tunā'xe* country. Their camps were all north of Sun River and the Missouri. Probably they would have gradually occupied permanently most of the country their war parties had overrun had they not been checked by the alliance of all the western tribes. This may also have checked the further advancement of the Crow westward. Having overrun nearly all the eastern country, the Blackfoot now extended their war expeditions west of the divide, and sometimes appeared at Stevensville, where they attempted several times to run off the Flathead horses, but never



attacked the camp. They also appeared in the Upper Kutenai and Pend d'Oreilles countries, and in somewhat later times their war parties occasionally penetrated into the country of the Kalispel. However, the only ones that suffered much in these raids west of the Rockies were the *Semtē'use*, who are said to have been easy-going and loosely organized. Large war parties of Blackfoot attacked them several times and killed large numbers of people. The remnant of the tribe forsook their old camping places and wintered near Missoula. Here or on the Big Blackfoot River they were attacked again and many were killed. This was about 1800, before the smallpox came and before Lewis and Clark arrived. The remainder of the tribe succumbed to the smallpox and the few survivors settled among the Pend d'Oreilles.

A short time previous to this date the Pend d'Oreilles had combined with the Flathead for hunting on the plains, and in great measure they had forsaken their old style of life. Many of them had evacuated the region around Flathead Lake and the extreme northern part of their territory, at least for a great part of the year, and the bulk of the tribe wintered in one great camp at Mission (*Sniye'LEMEN*). About this time the Blackfoot began to have guns, which made them stronger, and parties often appeared in the northern Pend d'Oreilles country. The Kutenai could not cross the mountains to hunt, and at the invitation of the Pend d'Oreilles some of them had joined the latter for hunting buffalo. These Kutenai belonged to Rexford and Tobacco Plains; but some of them are said to have lived originally east of the mountains, and others at places in the northern part of the Kutenai country. In later times those Kutenai who associated most with the Pend d'Oreilles seldom returned to their own country after their return from buffalo hunting, but made their winter camps in that part of the Pend d'Oreilles country evacuated by the Pend d'Oreilles, chiefly north and west of Flathead Lake. Occasionally camps made west and south of the lake were composed of both Kutenai and Pend d'Oreilles. Some time after the Blackfoot had begun to make expeditions west of the mountains Crow war parties occasionally came into the western part of the Flathead country.

The Flathead now invited the western tribes to join forces with them for hunting buffalo in the old Flathead country east of the mountains. The Coeur d'Alêne and Nez Percé began to come, and about the same time many Kalispel joined the Pend d'Oreilles. Within a short time large parties of Nez Percé and Coeur d'Alêne arrived annually for buffalo hunting. It was not long before these forces were augmented by large numbers of Spokane and Columbia, and by small numbers of people from neighboring tribes farther west. At first the allies combined in two or three large parties. Sometimes Flathead and Nez Percé went together in one party and Pend

d'Oreilles, Kutenai, and Coeur d'Alène in another; but there were often different alignments. The Blackfoot and Crow were not much feared now and seldom appeared, at least in the more western and southern parts of the Flathead country. The allied parties often camped and hunted far afield on the borders of their enemies' territory along the Missouri and Yellowstone, as well as all through the old territory of the Salish-*Tunā'xe* and part of that of the Kutenai-*Tunā'xe*. Usually the great Pend d'Oreilles party hunted east and north and the Flathead party east and south. After the alliance of the northern plateau tribes with the Flathead, the mountain Shoshoni and Bannock began to hunt buffalo again on the plains. Some of their parties, alone or in conjunction with Salish, went as far north as the main Missouri. The strip of old Shoshoni country east of the Salish, from the Yellowstone to the Canadian boundary, became an intertribal hunting ground, and many battles were fought there. The Salish allies claim to have had generally the upper hand in the greater part of this territory. All the tribes now had firearms, the Coeur d'Alène and some Shoshoni being the latest to acquire guns. Conditions continued to improve for the western tribes, who now easily held their own against the eastern tribes. It was no longer necessary to go in large parties. A few hundred people in each party usually sufficed. The Nez Percé, Bannock, Shoshoni, and Flathead often went separately. Most of the Kutenai and western Salish tribes still went with the Pend d'Oreilles, but the Coeur d'Alène sometimes went with the Nez Percé, and the Flathead with the Shoshoni. The southern and western movement of Blackfoot and the western movement of the Crow were checked. The latter began to move north rather than west. After buffalo hunting was resumed by the Flathead they learned of other tribes who had meanwhile migrated west, and soon they came in contact with them. These were the Arapaho and Cheyenne in the southeast, the Gros Ventres or Atsina in the northeast, and the Assiniboin near the Gros Ventres. The Assiniboin are said to have come into the western plains from some place still farther east or northeast. They were enemies of the Blackfoot. The Gros Ventres are thought to have come about 1800 from some place a little east or south of the Crow. At one time the Gros Ventres and the Arapaho may have occupied the country to the east of the northern part of the Plains Shoshoni, and the Crow may have pushed them out. At that time they probably had no horses and were more sedentary. At one time the Gros Ventres, coming from the south, invaded some of the Blackfoot country. A war ensued, in which the Gros Ventres were defeated. Later they became friendly with the Blackfoot and were sometimes their allies in war. The Crow came almost directly from the east and were generally enemies of the Gros Ventres and Blackfoot. About the middle of the last

century some other tribes were met or heard of, such as the Sarsi, who lived among the Blackfoot; the Cree in the north, just beyond the Blackfoot; Stony Assiniboin, in the Rocky Mountains to the north, who are supposed to have broken away from the real Assiniboin farther east; and the River Crow who had separated from the Mountain Crow and migrated north to near the borders of the Gros Ventres. Still other tribes were the Sioux, who came from very far east and were enemies of all the tribes; also the Omaha and others to the southeast. Iroquois and stragglers from various distant tribes came in with the early white traders and explorers. The causes of the southern movement of the Blackfoot and the western movements of the Crow and other tribes are unknown, but it is supposed that they originated in their desire to find a better buffalo country and to obtain supplies of horses. The country of the Salish and Shoshoni, east of the Rockies from about the Canadian line to a little south of the Yellowstone, was probably the best buffalo country. On the other hand, the Blackfoot and some eastern tribes are said to have had comparatively few buffalo in their countries. Also the western tribes are said to have been supplied with horses at an earlier date than those of the east. It is also considered possible that some of the tribes which invaded the western plains may have been forced west by enemies, as nearly all the eastern tribes fought among themselves as well as against the western tribes.<sup>46</sup> There are some vague traditions of other movements of tribes which may indicate migrations in very early times. They are not particularly connected with wars and are as follows:

A vague tradition among some of the Pend d'Oreilles says that their remote ancestors broke away from the main body of the people; that they were attacked by enemies, crossed a lake on the ice, and finally, after a series of migrations, reached their present country. The Thompson have a somewhat similar tradition. Some Pend d'Oreilles consider the Kalispel as an offshoot of themselves.

The *Slat'use* or Chewelah are said to have been a part or a band of the Lower Kalispel, originally inhabiting the Calispell Lake region, who moved into the Colville Valley. They claimed equal rights in the camas digging near Calispell Lake with the Kalispel of Usk and of the east side of the Pend Oreille River.

Although there appear to be no definite traditions on the subject, Revais considered the Kalispel as a branch of the Pend d'Oreilles

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<sup>46</sup> In reply to queries, it was stated that the real or original Blackfoot country was north of Milk River. The Piegan lived here and the Blood and real Blackfoot north of them. At one time the Piegan neighbored with the Kutenai-*Tunná'ze* to the west and Gros Ventres to the east. The Assiniboin were east of the Gros Ventres. Whether the countries of the last two tribes were originally Piegan or Blackfoot is unknown. Kutenai, Piegan, and Shoshoni territories met at the Sweet Grass Hills. The Piegan also occupied the head of Milk and Marias Rivers, but this was old Kutenai-*Tunná'ze* country. It is not known how long the Shoshoni had been in possession of their country between the Missouri and the Sweet Grass Hills before the advent of the horse, but they are thought to have been there a long time.

rather than vice versa. He as well as others considered the Flathead as the parent tribe of the Flathead group. Revais stated that he had heard some vague traditions regarding some movements of tribes in the Spokane and Palooos countries, but he had forgotten them so far that he did not care to make any statement as to what they were.

There was a tradition among the Flathead that a long time ago part of their tribe migrated to the west, and that the descendants of this group are living in a distant country and still speak the Flathead language. This belief is held by several tribes, and is perhaps too general to be taken into account. Some of my informants believed that all related tribes of every language had originated by breaking away from some parent group and migrating here and there in search of better food supply, but the migrations happened so long ago that in most cases the traditions are lost. It seems possible that there have been some early movements of Flathead people westward toward the salmon streams. The Pend Oreille River route is easy of travel, and was the main route of communication between the plains and the western plateaus from the earliest times. Any migrations which may have occurred would have been by way of this route.

INTERCOURSE AND INTERMARRIAGE.—In olden times the Flathead had most intercourse with Salish-*Tunā'xe* and Shoshoni and intermarried chiefly with them. There was also considerable intercourse and intermarriage with the Pend d'Oreilles and *Sēmtē'use*. The Flathead living around Helena are said to have mixed a great deal with the Salish-*Tunā'xe*, and even the Flathead of Butte and neighborhood were mixed with them. Some people say that before the days of horses the Flathead intermarried very little with other tribes; but there was some intermarriage with Shoshoni, and a little with Pend d'Oreilles and Salish-*Tunā'xe*. The Salish-*Tunā'xe* intermarried with Flathead, and also with the Shoshoni of the Lower Teton River. There was slight intermarriage with the Pend d'Oreilles, and possibly some with Blackfoot. Most intermarriage, however, was with the Kutenai-*Tunā'xe*. Some say that there was so much intermarriage with the latter that there was no very distinct dividing line between the two. The people north of Sun River, on the Teton and Marias, south of Browning, were more than half Kutenai in blood and language. It seems that among the inhabitants of the whole strip of country next the mountains and between the Blackfoot and Flathead a great deal of intermarriage had taken place. Probably Salish blood predominated from about Teton River southward and Kutenai northward, the people in the center being the most mixed. The *Sēmtē'use* had most intercourse with the Pend d'Oreilles, and intermarried chiefly with them. Those people who lived on the upper Missoula River intermarried to some extent with

Flathead of Butte or neighborhood. The Pend d'Oreilles had a great deal of intercourse with the Kalispel, and considerable with the Upper Kutenai and *Semtē'use*. Intercourse was rather less with the Flathead, slight with the Salish-*Tunā'xe*, Kutenai-*Tunā'xe*, and Coeur d'Alêne, and least of all with the Nez Percé. Intermarriage occurred in the same relative degree as intercourse. The Kalispel had slight intercourse with the Lake, probably a little more with the Lower Kutenai, very little with the Coeur d'Alêne, considerable with the Upper Spokane and Colville, and a great deal with the Pend d'Oreilles. Intermarriage was chiefly with the last-named tribe. There was some with Spokane and Colville, and hardly any with other tribes. There are a few instances on record of Kalispel marrying Okanagon and Sanpoil. The Spokane probably had most intercourse and intermarriage with the Coeur d'Alêne, considerable with Kalispel, less with Colville and Sanpoil, and very little with other tribes. Some instances are on record of marriages with Okanagon and Columbia. I did not hear of any intermarriage with Palooos and other Shahaptian tribes, and intermarriage between the western tribes and Plains tribes was rare. After the advent of horses and the alliance of the tribes for buffalo hunting intercourse between the allied tribes increased and there were more intertribal marriages. Intermarriage now occurred between Flathead and Nez Percé, but no marriages were made with Crow or other Plains tribes. It seems that a little extraneous blood was introduced by marriage with slave women and captives of war, particularly among the Spokane, where some men had slave women of Snake lineage. A few others were from tribes south of The Dalles and possibly a very few were Shahaptian. The Flathead and Salish-*Tunā'xe* are said to have had a few slave or captive women in early times. It is supposed that they were Cree and Blackfoot or from the northeast. Women of eastern tribes were seldom made captives in war; they were almost invariably killed. After the advent of the whites the Flathead country became a haven for refugees of various tribes, who in many cases married and settled down there. Strange Indians in the service of the fur companies frequently settled among the Flathead. Thus there are a few descendants of many different tribes on the Flathead Reserve now. According to Michel Revais there are on the reserve people descended from Lillooet, Thompson, Shuswap, Columbia, Okanagon, Sanpoil, Colville, Coeur d'Alêne, Spokane, Kalispel, Pend d'Oreilles, *Semtē'use*, *Tunā'xe*, Kutenai, Blackfoot, Shoshoni, Nez Percé, Crow, Delaware (?), Shawnee, Cherokee, Chippewa, Iroquois; and possibly others, besides some half-bloods, mostly of French and Scotch descent. Some cases mentioned by him were as follows: *Xāpa'sqet*, an Upper Thompson; *Sonsā'utken*, a *Stlaxai'ur* from Fraser River, who spoke Thompson, Lillooet, and Shuswap, and was a shaman; Little Charley, a man

from the Fraser Delta, mixed with Lower Thompson; *Tselsémt̓'*, a Colville; Michel Colville, a Colville. These men were all in the employ of the Hudson Bay Co. at Fort Colville, and came to the Flathead together about 1860. They all married on the reserve, but left few descendants; only Michel Colville had two sons and a daughter who grew up. About the same time Michel Camille, half French and half Shuswap, settled on the reserve. He was born at Kamloops. About 1890 there came an Upper Thompson, who married and was living in 1910 on the reserve at Mission. Other cases are Joe McDonald, son of Angus McDonald, former Hudson Bay chief; Billy Irvine, son of another Hudson Bay man, an interpreter at Mission; John Grant, whose mother was Kalispel and whose father was a Hudson Bay man. It is said that John Grant lived at one time in a roundhouse of six rooms near Missoula, and kept his six wives, one in each room. Each wife was of a different tribe. One was Crow and one was Snake. Later he deserted his wives and children and went to Red River, Manitoba, and never returned. His descendants are now on the Flathead Reserve. Another case was that of Jack Demers, of French descent, who married a sister of Michel Revais, and at one time had a business in French Town. He had two sons and four daughters, all of whom are on the reserve. Jim Dalloway, Ben Kaiser, and Tom Hill, Shawnee refugees, settled among the Flathead about the time the early traders arrived. A white man who had a Piegan woman for wife settled in the Bitterroot Valley a long time ago and had a very large family. His children all intermarried with Flathead and some of them and their descendants are now on the reserve. About 1810 a Flathead girl was captured by Piegan or some other tribe from a Flathead camp near Sun River. Later on she married a Chippewa. Some of her descendants came back a few years ago and proved their rights in the Flathead Reserve. Revais claimed that there were 12 persons on the reserve who were half Flathead and half Shoshoni, and 6 men who had Nez Percé wives. Fifteen Iroquois settled among the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles and 19 among the Colville. All were at one time employees of the Hudson Bay Co., and all married women of these tribes. They have some descendants on the Flathead and Colville Reservations to-day. It is said that about 1820-1825 a small party of Iroquois, originally from around Caughnawaga, Quebec, under the leadership of Ignace La Mousse (or Big Ignace), reached the Flathead country, and being well received there, married and became members of the tribe. This party had been migrating westward for several years. Revais stated that when the treaty was made Governor Stevens told the Flathead that the Joeko Reserve was to be for the three tribes of Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, and Kutenai. Some of the Flathead wanted a reserve for themselves, as they did not consider themselves

bound by very strong ties of association with the Pend d'Oreilles and Kutenai. Sub-chief *A'li'*, with 25 lodges, and "Small Chief" Adolphe, agreed to go on the reserve. It seems that these people were very friendly to the Pend d'Oreilles. They may have been more closely related to them by intermarriage than other Flathead, or they may have been descendants of the Flathead who formerly lived next to the Pend d'Oreilles. "Small Chief" Ambrose and Chief Charlos (or Carlos) refused at first to go on the reserve, saying that if they had to share a reserve with other tribes they preferred to go with the Shoshoni. These chiefs and their people probably represented the element of the Flathead tribe long associated with the Shoshoni, and they may have been descendants of the Flathead formerly located next to the Shoshoni in the region of Big Hole Valley. When the treaty was made, the head chief and a majority of the tribe favored going with the Shoshoni rather than with any other people, if a reservation could not be obtained for themselves alone. In later years Kalispel and Spokane were allowed rights on the reserve, along with the Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, and Kutenai.

MENTAL AND PHYSICAL TRAITS OF TRIBES.—The Flathead are of medium stature, well built, and good-looking. The ancient Flathead were noted for courtesy, affability, hospitality, liberality, kindness, honesty, truthfulness, and courage. Lewdness of women is said to have been rare. The Pend d'Oreilles, Kalispel, and Spokane are said to have partaken to a considerable degree of the same characteristics of temperament and physique as the Flathead. In later days there was much less chastity among the women of the last-named tribes. Some of the Shahaptian people considered the Spokane to be of a rather roving disposition, fond of trading, sports, and dancing, bold, and rather revengeful. Some tribes lower down the Columbia considered them as raiders and robbers. The Hangman's Creek Spokane were more serious, reserved, and quieter than the others. The Salish-*Tunā'xe* were fond of trading, warlike, courageous, and sagacious; the *SEMtē'usc*, easy-going, careless, unwarlike, less prudent than their neighbors, and sometimes apt to talk and act foolishly. The Coeur d'Alène were proud, cruel, and of a rather reserved, determined disposition. The Kalispel considered them too cautious and not very bold. The Thompson were thought to be wild and treacherous; the Kutenai, easy-going and not very warlike, rather reserved and cautious, honest, and sincere. The Shoshoni were considered good horsemen, and of a more roving disposition than the Flathead.

All the northern tribes and bands resembled the Flathead in physique and height, and many of the men were tall. The Shoshoni to the south are said to have been small people. The Lemhi, Shoshoni, and Bannock men were of about the same size as the Flathead, or possibly a little larger. The Omaha were big, stout, fleshy people.

The Crow and Cree were tall (slightly taller than the Flathead), and were noted for having good hair. The Piegan were of about the same stature as the Cree and the Crow. They were noted as treacherous and adepts at stealing horses. The Nez Percé and nearest western Salish tribes were considered similar to the Flathead in appearance and size, but there were slight differences in looks between some of the tribes. The Bannock and Cayuse languages are said to have sounded a good deal alike, and were hard to speak correctly. The Coeur d'Aléne was considered a hard language to learn, and the Kutenai still harder.

## II. MANUFACTURES

MATERIAL CULTURE IN GENERAL.—As I spent only about a week among the Flathead, and visited the Lower Kalispel and other tribes merely to obtain vocabularies and information regarding tribal boundaries, my notes on the material culture of all the tribes are very meager. As far as my information goes, it shows the Flathead to have had almost all the traits of a typical Plains tribe for about the last 200 years or more. Previous to the introduction of the horse, however, their material culture resembled more closely that of the plateau area. The Salish-*Tunā'xe* were probably identical in material culture with the Flathead and neighboring Shoshoni, while the Pend d'Oreilles and other tribes remained more like plateau tribes until a much later date. On the whole, the ancient material culture of the area occupied by the Flathead group appears to have formed a link between that of the Salish tribes to the west and northwest and that of the Shoshoni of the mountains and plains to the east and southeast, although the difference between them was not great. The Flathead, and probably the Salish-*Tuna'xe*, appear to have more nearly approximated the eastern Shoshoni, while the other tribes had more leanings toward the culture of the Kutenai, Coeur d'Aléne, and Okanagon. As I have no detailed information on any of the tribes, I have not thought it necessary to treat them separately.

WORK IN STONE, WOOD, ETC.—It seems that work in stone was confined chiefly to the making of arrowheads, spearheads, knives, and pipes. Probably some pestles, hammers, and mauls of stone were made by all the tribes. They were quite common among the Spokane and Kalispel. Mortars of stone or wood were used by all the tribes. The methods of flaking and working stone appear to have been the same as among the Coeur d'Aléne. Work in wood and bone seems to have been weakly developed, and there was little ornamentation by carving. As far as I could learn, no pottery was made.

PAINTING AND DYEING.—Painting and dyeing were practiced to a great extent. Quills were commonly dyed, and sometimes hides. Ornamentation by dyeing was used occasionally in mats. Painting



was common on clothes, bags, etc. Before small beads came in, most ornamentation was in quillwork and painting. The dyes were principally red, blue, and yellow; but green and brown, and possibly black, were also used. Paints were of a great variety of colors. Most of them were obtained from mineral earths.

**DRESSING OF SKINS.**—Skins were dressed almost in the same manner as by the Coeur d'Aléne. In methods of dressing heavy hides, such as buffalo and elk, the grainers and scrapers were like those used by the Blackfoot.<sup>1</sup> Deerskins and other smaller skins were dressed by methods in vogue among the Coeur d'Aléne,<sup>2</sup> Shoshoni,<sup>3</sup> and Blackfoot.<sup>4</sup> Skins were commonly smoked by the same methods as among the Coeur d'Aléne<sup>5</sup> and Shoshoni.<sup>6</sup>

**RAWHIDE WORK.**—Bags of several shapes were made of rawhide. Square and oblong bags made of single pieces of hide folded, the sides sewed and provided with long fringes, and the fronts painted, were used before the advent of the horse, but in those days the fringes were comparatively short. Later, when used on horses, the fringes were lengthened, reaching a maximum of more than a meter. A large hide bag of oblong shape was used for storing fat and meat, and another one is described somewhat like a bucket. The parflèche came into use with the introduction of the horse. Rawhide medicine cases, cylindrical in shape, were made by all the tribes, but their use is probably not very ancient, at least among the Spokane. Rawhide bags and parflèches were made in large numbers and were often sold to neighboring tribes.

**WOVEN AND OTHER BAGS.**—Skin bags of various sizes and shapes were ornamented with fringes and with quill or bead embroidery.

Some soft bags of animal skins in the hair were also used. Woven wallets of the Nez Percé type were made by the Spokane and at least by some of the Kalispel. In later years a few were also made by Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. Bags woven of cedar bark and twine were made by the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, but not by the Flathead, who, according to some, made skin bags only.

**WOVEN MATS.**—Sewed tule mats were made by all the tribes, and are still made by some of the Spokane and Kalispel. Some mats woven of the bark of dead willow trees were made for lying and sitting on. The Flathead made very few of the latter. Some mats woven of rushes were also made and used for spreading food upon.

Some of them are said to have been very gaudy, with stripes dyed red and blue, and occasionally with other colors. Some mats had their

<sup>1</sup> *c*, pp. 67, 69, figs. 33, 34.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 44.

<sup>3</sup> *j*, pp. 175, 176.

<sup>4</sup> See Blackfoot, *c*, p. 65.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 44.

<sup>6</sup> *j*, p. 176, fig. 3.

edges cut in ornamental designs, as among the Lower Kalispel. (Fig. 26.)

**WOVEN CLOTHING.**—No goat's wool blankets were made by any of the tribes. Some robes woven of strips of rabbit skins were made by the Kalispel, and to a slight extent by the Spokane and probably the Pend d'Oreilles, but it seems not by the Flathead. No clothing of vegetal fiber of any kind was made by these tribes, except woven caps of the Nez Percé type, which were made in numbers by the Spokane, and to a less extent by the Kalispel. It is said that the Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, and Upper and Lower Kutenai, did not make these caps. Revais stated that the Nez Percé and several of the tribes bordering on them made many woven caps for women, and woven wallets; but that the Kutenai, Blackfoot, and Shoshoni did not make them. He also claimed that robes woven of strips of skin (generally rabbit or muskrat) were not made by the Nez Percé, and only by some of the Shoshoni; that the Bannock made a good many, and possibly the

Kutenai made a few. The Blackfoot, he said, used them and also made them.

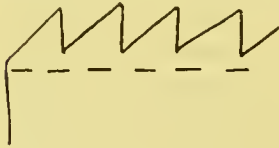


FIGURE 26.—Ornamental edge of a mat

**TWINE, ETC.**—Thread, twine, and rope were made of bark and hide, Indian hemp being chiefly used. Most of the thread for sewing was of sinew taken from the backs of animals, such as buffalo, elk, and deer.

Needles were little used, but sewing was generally done with sharp bone awls. Nets were not much employed. Even the Spokane used traps and spears chiefly in catching salmon. Large nets, however, were used commonly by them in some places. It is likely that nets were employed more extensively by the Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel than the information I collected shows, but it is doubtful if the Flathead used nets to any extent. According to some informants, they were not used at all.

**WOVEN BASKETRY.**—Flexible baskets of the kinds made by the Coeur d'Aléne, Nez Percé, and other tribes to the west and southwest were not made, but at one time coiled basketry was made by all the tribes.

**BARK BASKETRY.**—Some birch-bark baskets were made by all the tribes, although certain bands, especially among the Flathead, made very few. It is said that most of the baskets were like the ordinary shape of those used by the tribes north and west; while some used by the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles were similar to a kind also employed by the Kutenai, and of rectangular shape. Most baskets made by these tribes, including the Lake (see p. 122), had the grain of the bark at right angles to the rim, while Thompson and Shuswap had it parallel to the rim. (See *e*, p. 480 et seq.) A few of the

Lake baskets had the grain also parallel to the rim. Most baskets were devoid of decoration other than that introduced by the arrangement of stitching. (See pp. 52, 222.) Many temporary baskets of cedar bark were used—one made of a flat piece of bark with tied ends (see p. 53), a pail-shaped bucket, and a conical one. Baskets of the last-mentioned style were very much used by the Kalispel and are made yet. It seems that the Spokane and Flathead made the fewest bark baskets, and the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles the most. This may be partly accounted for by environment. Much of the Spokane country was either arid or prairie, with few good trees for bark close to the main camping places; while much of the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles countries are forested with an abundance of trees, including cedar.

COILED BASKETRY.<sup>7</sup>—Flexible baskets of the kinds made by the Coeur d'Alène, Nez Percé, and other tribes to the west and southwest, were not made, but at one time coiled basketry was made by all the tribes. Some of the baskets intended for kettles were of very fine stitch and closely wrought. All the shapes were more or less circular. Some had bulging sides, and others were nearly straight sided. The bottoms of some were quite small, and others had rather large flat bottoms. It seems the "nut-shaped" basket of the Thompson was made. Nearly all baskets were made of split cedar roots. Formerly all baskets were plain. Imbrication seems to have been adopted by the Spokane and Kalispel about 1800, but it never spread to the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. Probably basket-making was on the wane among these tribes before the process had time to reach them fully. Even the Spokane and Kalispel never adopted it fully, many of their baskets being unimbricated. The Spokane still made a few baskets not many years ago. Imbrication seems to have reached the Lower Kutenai about the same time as the Kalispel, but whether it was learned from the latter or reached them by way of the Lake is uncertain. Some baskets were imbricated with bark only. It seems grass and tule were occasionally used.

According to the Salishan, Shahaptian and Wasco, none of the tribes south of the Columbia used imbrication. Coiling and imbrication have been introduced quite recently in the Fraser Delta, among the Squamish and Seshelt; in Fraser Delta by intermarriage with the Thompson, among the other tribes by intermarriage with the Lillooet. This is clearly stated by the Indians and evidenced by the basket forms and decorations. The Shuswap claim that the Chilcotin learned coiling from them. The style of imbrication of the Chilcotin differs, how-

<sup>7</sup> See *o.*, pp. 140-142.

ever, from the known Salish styles (*o*, pp. 344-351). The Carriers and *Stuwí'x* made no coiled basketry.

Some bands, especially among the Flathead, are said to have made very few baskets, while others made a considerable number. Revais stated regarding the distribution of coiled basketry that all the Flathead tribes made coiled baskets a long time ago, including, it is said, the Salish *Tuná'xe*. The Nez Percé and many bands of the Shoshoni made them. The Lower Kutenai made some. The Upper Kutenai and Blackfoot used coiled basketry, but did not make any as far as he had heard. They procured it in trade from neighbors.

From present information it appears that the Salish tribes of the region east of Columbia River made coiled basketry of the round types exclusively, except in the case of some trays. This is true of both their ancient and modern work. They never used imbrication. The Shuwap also made unimbricated coiled basketry. Among the Columbia, the most western of the Salish tribes in Washington, whose territory extended up to the Cascade Mountains, the traditional form of basket was of the angular type without much flare, with rounded corners similar to the common style of the Thompson. They also made round ones which were not very deep, and "nut-"shaped ones, but the common kind of carrying and household basket was angular. They have used imbrication as far back as tradition goes, but some say formerly many baskets were little imbricated. After the introduction of horses the round deep basket with small bottom—often so small that the basket could not stand—superseded the square type, because it is better adapted for packing on horses.

DESIGNS ON BASKETS, BAGS, ETC.—It is said that designs on mats were all in stripes, and most imbricated designs on baskets were in vertical stripes. Painted designs on bags and parflèches were all geometric, and most of the designs had names. Beaded and quilled designs were also for the most part geometric. Realistic designs were very little used. Flower designs, formerly rare but now much more common, have not been able to supplant the geometric designs.

DIVISION OF LABOR.—Women made all the baskets, mats, and bags, and dressed all the skins. They also did all the embroidery, made nearly all the clothes, painted all the bags, parflèches, etc., made the tents and erected them, gathered most of the fuel, did most of the cooking, dug all the roots, and collected and cured all the berries. They also helped the men with the horses and in other ways. Men made all the weapons and most of the tools, painted robes, shields, weapons, and anything connected with their guardian spirits, made the feather bonnets and certain articles of clothing. They also hunted, fought, and looked after the horses.

## III. HOUSE AND HOUSEHOLD

**SEMIUNDERGROUND LODGE.**—The underground house was not used by the tribes of the Flathead group, except possibly a very few by the Kalispel and Lower Spokane. Revais stated, "None of the Flathead tribes used the underground lodge; neither did the Kutenai. The Colville never used them, or at least they have not used them since about 1800, and it is doubtful if they ever had them. The neighboring Sanpoil used only a very few. These lodges were peculiar to the region to the north and were employed along Columbia River down to The Dalles. The northern type had the entrance from the top; and the southern type from the side, on a level with the ground. Otherwise the construction of both was the same, and notched ladders were used in both (?). The two types overlapped in the northern part of the Columbia region, about the mouth of Okanagon River.<sup>1</sup> The Okanagon used both types to some extent, but most people wintered in mat lodges. One Lower Kalispel informant said he thought a few underground lodges with entrance from the side were used very long ago, while another man stated that long ago a partly earth-covered lodge of tent shape and above ground was sometimes used in the winter by the Kalispel, and possibly by others. This kind of lodge was called an earth-covered lodge, whereas the real underground earth-covered lodge was not used.

**LONG LODGE.**—Long lodges of double lean-to type were used at all large winter camps, especially in permanent camp sites. They were the dance and meeting houses of the band and were used for all public gatherings, ceremonies, and the housing of visitors. In large camps there were always two. One was used by the young people (generally men under 30 years of age) for dances, and the other by the older people for meetings. In some very large camps there was besides these a spare house or two of the same type for the accommodation of visitors. All the other houses of the camp consisted of tents, most of them mat covered. It seems, however, that long lodges were also sometimes used as regular dwelling houses. Some informants claimed that in very large camps there were sometimes from two to five dwelling houses of this kind. They were always made for six families, having three fires, with two families to each. There were no partitions. Revais said that a large winter camp would sometimes consist of about 5 long dwelling houses, each for 6 families, 2 long lodges used for dancing and meetings, possibly a spare long lodge for housing

<sup>1</sup> It seems that a few underground houses with entrance from the top were used far south along the Columbia among the Salish, who commonly employed the type with entrance from the side. A few with side entrance also extended as far north as the Thompson. Yakima and Klickitat informants deny ever having used any with entrance from the top, so it may be that this kind was not used by any of the Shapthia tribes. The Molala are said to have used an underground lodge, but I could not get any details of its construction, and do not know whether the entrance was from the top or not. The Klamath, Takelma, and Yana used semiunderground lodges, according to Wasco and Klickitat informants; while, according to Revais, the Kalapuya used no real lodges of any kind, only shelters of brush.

of parties of visitors and from about 40 to 50 conical lodges or tents. Great quantities of firewood were collected late in the fall and piled up where the winter camp was to be. The Kalispel claim that long lodges were used by them long ago in the largest winter camps, but were utilized only for dancing. Long lodges were sunk a foot or more in the ground and were covered with mats. Sometimes a lodge like an elongated tent of elliptical ground plan was used in the wintertime. It accommodated from four to six families, according to size. In the summertime the Spokane used some single lean-to shelters of mats at some of the large fishing places. Oblong or long lodges are said to have been used by all the Shahaptian tribes, some Shoshoni, and the Kutenai. I can not say whether these corresponded in construction to Salish types.

**CONICAL LODGE OR TENT.**—The conical lodge was the common family and living house of all the tribes. It was used by all the people in summer, and by most people also in winter. The three-pole foundation appears to have been generally used. Poles of the black pine (*Pinus contorta*) were preferred. The covering consisted of one or two layers of mats in summer and three or four layers in winter. All the mats were sewed tule mats, similar to those of the Thompson, and they were arranged horizontally and overlapping. These lodges varied in size. Generally two families inhabited each, but some large ones contained three, while many housed only a single family, especially if the family were large. The Flathead name for the conical mat lodge means in the Thompson language "old-style house" or "common old-style house." According to Flathead tradition, previous to the introduction of the horse, mats were used almost entirely as lodge covers. At that time only a few conical lodges, generally small ones, had covers of buffalo, moose, and elk skin. These were not painted. After the introduction of the horse the buffalo-skin tent soon supplanted for all seasons the mat tent among the Flathead and to a large extent among the other tribes as well. It became the only lodge used when traveling and when hunting on the plains. However, it never supplanted entirely the mat lodge among the Spokane and Kalispel, who continued to use some of them when at home. Mat coverings for lodges were not suitable for a horse people, who traveled much. At the present day log cabins are generally used in the wintertime and canvas tents in the summer and when traveling. Conical lodges with square and oblong tops were not used. Revais said, "They were confined to the Yakima and people along Columbia River north to the Okanagon and Thompson." Skin tents were sometimes painted on the outside with pictures of dreams. The sun, moon, and stars were common figures. Geometric designs also occurred.

**BARK LODGE.**—Bark lodges were used long ago among the Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel, but not among the Flathead and seldom among the Spokane. They were erected in spring and summer at

camp where good bark was abundant. They were of the double lean-to or oblong type, and none of them were very large. The strips of bark were of the length of the lodge on one side from one entrance to the other, and as wide as obtainable. Usually there were three or four wide overlapping strips of bark on each side, laid horizontally. The bark was put on outside out. Among the Pend d'Oreilles cedar bark was almost altogether used, but the Kalispel claim to have employed tamarack and white-pine bark about as much as cedar. In some places the Pend d'Oreilles erected bark lodges on platforms of poles and boards on the top of posts, from 2 to 3 meters above the ground. In construction these lodges were the same as other bark lodges, but usually they had only one entrance, which was reached by a ladder consisting of a notched log. In the center of the lodge was a hearth of earth. These elevated lodges were used in places where fleas were numerous.

**OTHER LODGES.**—Shelters of brush were sometimes used by hunters in the mountains. Most of them were of double lean-to and conical forms; but some were of half-tent form, and others were little more than mere windbreaks, sheltering one side of the fire. Sometimes families who happened to stay in the mountains longer than expected, and who were not provided with skin tents and mats, made conical lodges of poles covered with brush, pieces of bark or grass, and further covered with earth to the depth of a few inches on the outside. A circular house of posts, which held up a roof of poles overlaid with brush, was used at some of the large camps in the summer time as a dance house and meeting place. It shaded the people from the sun. The sides were generally open all round. The Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles still use them in Fourth of July celebrations, when great dances are held. These summer dance houses were similar to the dance houses of tribes east of the Flathead, on the plains.

Sweat houses were of the same form as those of the Coeur d'Alène. Scaffolds of poles were used at all permanent camps for storage purposes, and caches in or above the ground were also in use.

**HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS.**—These consisted of baskets, bags, etc. Boiling was done with hot stones, and most kettles were of coiled basketry. Temporary kettles were made of cedar bark by the Pend d'Oreilles, Kalispel, and occasionally by the Flathead. The last-named tribe also used holes lined with rawhide for boiling food. Paunches were used as temporary kettles by all the tribes, and it is said also by the Kutenai. The Upper Kutenai are said to have used some bark kettles and holes in the ground plastered with clay. The latter appear to have been used occasionally by the Pend d'Oreilles, and possibly by other neighboring Salish tribes.

Coiled baskets were used as receptacles for water, and bark baskets were employed for the same purpose by the Kalispel and Pend

d'Oreilles. Mortars and pestles were used. Spoons and ladles were of mountain-sheep horn, and buffalo horn was also used. Some wooden and bark spoons were used by the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles. Skullcap spoons were in vogue. Cups and bowls were made of knots of wood and of bark. Probably some basketry bowls were used. The Flathead especially used shallow dishes and bowls made of sheep's horn. Bark dishes or trays were used by either the Kalispel or Pend d'Oreilles or by both. In most places long ago food was served on mats of rushes. Woven mats were employed to some extent as seats and beds, but buffalo and other skins in the hair were in more common use. Blankets consisted of robes of buffalo, deer, and other animals, dressed in the hair and made very soft. Back rests like those of the Plains tribes were used by the Flathead only, but I can not say to what extent. Fire drills were like those of the Cocur d'Alène and Thompson.

#### IV. CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

CLOTHING (pls. 3, 4).—People generally went fully clad. Clothing was of the northern Plains type. That of the Flathead differed little, if at all, from that of their immediate neighbors. It was entirely of skins. Robes consisted chiefly of buffalo skins dressed in the hair; but some robes of elk, deer, bear, and other skins were also used. Woven robes were seldom worn, except by the Kalispel, who used woven rabbit-skin robes to some extent. They say that the Blackfoot and Bannock made woven rabbit-skin blankets, the Blackfoot also woven muskrat-skin blankets. See, however, the statement made by Wissler (*c*, p. 53). No clothes woven of sagebrush bark or other vegetal materials were used. Capes and cloaks were not worn, nor rain ponchos. The only overclothes used were robes, large and small. Some skin ponchos were in vogue among the Spokane and Kalispel. Mittens were in common use, but no gloves were worn until after the advent of the whites. Moccasins were of dressed skin of elk, deer, etc., and were of two common types. One kind, probably the most common, had the seam around the outside of the foot.<sup>1</sup> The other kind had a separate sole, and was like the common Blackfoot style of moccasin.<sup>2</sup> A moccasin with short tongue and seam down the front of the foot<sup>3</sup> was in vogue among the Spokane, but seems to have been rare among the other tribes.<sup>4</sup> Pieces of buffalo skin and fur were worn inside of moccasins

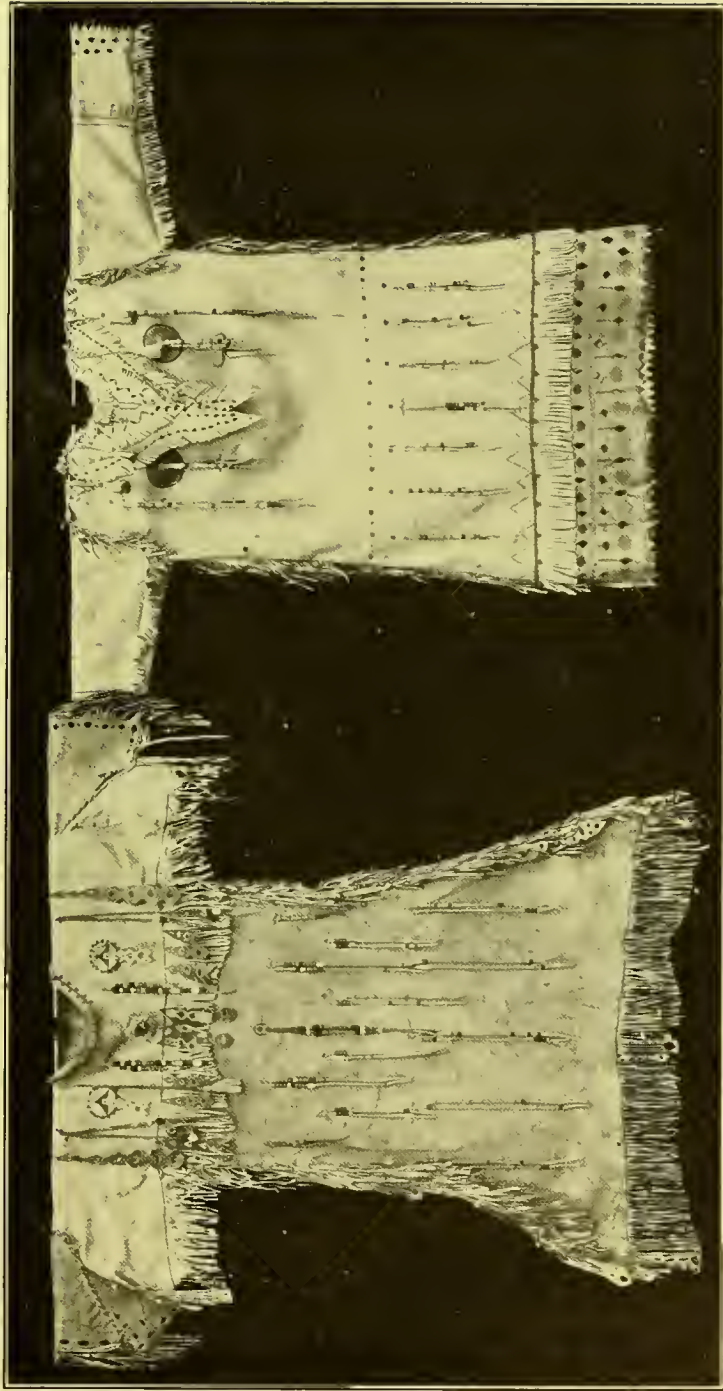
<sup>1</sup> *c*, p. 128, pattern No. 8 (p. 142); Thompson, *a*, p. 210, fig. 169.

<sup>2</sup> *c*, pp. 140, 141, figs. 83, 85; the latter said by Wissler to be "almost peculiar to the Ute".

<sup>3</sup> *c*, p. 144, fig. 91; Thompson, *a*, p. 211, figs. 171, 172. (See also Field Mus. Nos. 111890-111893.)

<sup>4</sup> Of 7 pairs of new bead-embroidered Spokane moccasins that I examined, 3 pairs had the seam round the outside of the foot (*c*, p. 128, style No. 8); 2 pairs had separate soles, and were in cut, as far as I remember, similar to those shown in *c*, fig. 85; 2 pairs had separate tongue, and seam down the front of the foot, similar to those shown in *c*, fig. 91. All had gaiters or uppers of a separate piece of skin, but these were rather lower than the average of uppers on Thompson moccasins. All except 1 pair had trailers similar in cut to fig. 173 of Teit's "Thompson Indians." (*a*, p. 211.)





DRESSES  
Interior Salish.



DRESS

Flathead tribe.

in the wintertime. Some winter moccasins were made of skin, the hair side in. For the methods of lacing moccasins among the Spokane see Figure 27.

Belts were of leather, and generally richly ornamented or embroidered.

**MEN'S CLOTHING.**—Men's costume consisted of a shirt reaching to the hips or a little below, long leggings, belt, breechclout, moccasins, and cap, headband, or feather bonnet. Some leggings had wide uncut flaps, while others had cut fringes along the sides. Long aprons were worn in front, besides the breechclouts. Some breechclouts consisted of a long strip of cloth which passed between the legs and hung down over the belt in front and behind. Garters were much used with leggings. I did not hear of any combination of breechclouts and leggings.

Shirts were of two or three kinds. One kind reached to a little above the knees and had true sleeves. It had a number of seams—one on each side, one underneath each arm, one along the top of the shoulders, and one at each shoulder where the sleeves joined the sides. These, however, may be considered as part of the side seams. All

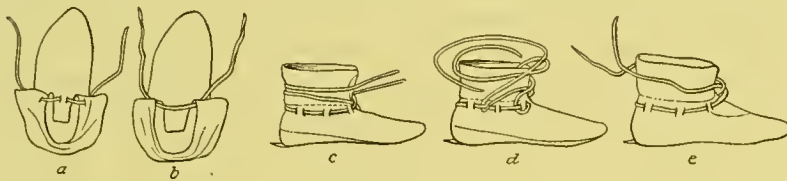


FIGURE 27.—Moccasins, Spokane

the seams were ornamented with long cut fringes of dressed skin. Sometimes fringes were made of ermine skins. The bottom was cut in a long fringe all round. Shirts of the old style all opened at the neck or shoulders, and not on the breast. A common shirt was the so-called "scalp shirt" or "war shirt." It was fringed with hair (often with scalp locks) instead of skin, and appears to have been exactly the same in cut and ornamentation as the poncho shirts described by Wissler.<sup>5</sup> A scalp shirt which I saw among the Spokane had the leg pieces cut short, and this is said to have been customary with some; otherwise it was almost the same in appearance as the one figured by Wissler.<sup>6</sup> Some shirts of the same type were made without hair fringes, and some were made of light buffalo skin with the hair side in. Probably the latter were really short ponchos, and used only in winter. Long ago no coats, vests, jumpers, trousers, or boots were used. After the coming of the whites all of these gar-

<sup>5</sup> *d*, pp. 47, 48, figs. 1, 2.

<sup>6</sup> *d*, p. 47, fig. 1.

ments gradually came into use, including blanket capotes. At the present day skin vests entirely covered with beadwork are very common.

Fur caps were used in winter. Headbands of various kinds were in common use, including those made of buffalo hair and horses' tails.

Feather bonnets of several types were used by men of all the tribes from the earliest times. The particular style of bonnet later known as the "Sioux war-bonnet" was adopted from the Crow. These bonnets were an article of trade on the plains. Earlier the Salish had a somewhat similar bonnet; but the so-called "Sioux bonnet" was considered to be more striking.

**WOMEN'S CLOTHING.**—Women's costume consisted of a long dress reaching nearly to the ankles, short leggings reaching to the knee, moccasins, a belt, and cap or headband. The style of woman's dress that consisted of cape and bodice reaching to the knees or a little below was not used by any of the Flathead tribes. According to Revais, "This kind of costume was used at The Dalles, and from there down to the coast. It was also used along Columbia River by a few people for some distance above The Dalles, and in some parts to the west. It was considered a style belonging to the coast and Lower Columbia." Women's dresses were made of two whole deerskins or small elk skins sewed face to face, heads down. The sides were sewed up to near the armpits. At the upper ends of the skins the edges were folded over and sewed down to the body of the garment. There were no sleeves, the extensions of the shoulders consisting of the hind legs of the skins falling over the arms almost to the wrists. The side seams and all the outer edges were fringed. Generally the tailpieces were cut off and the bottom of the dress was trimmed so that it was longer at the sides. Usually one or two rows of inserted thongs depended from the dress near the bottom. Of the dresses described by Wissler, that shown in his Figure 18<sup>7</sup> appears to be closest to the common style of the Flathead tribes, both in cut and ornamentation. In later days some cloth dresses, generally red and blue, were used instead of skin. They were cut and ornamented in much the same way as the skin dresses.<sup>8</sup>

Women's legging reached up to the knee or a little above, and were of two or three styles. One kind was fastened on the outside of the legs with tie strings; while another kind was made for the foot to pass through, and was held in place by a draw string below the knee.<sup>9</sup> It seems that women's caps and headbands were of dressed skin. Woven caps of the Nez Percé type were used to some extent by women of the Spokane and Kalispel, but not until later years by the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. The women's caps made of skin

<sup>7</sup> *d*, p. 66.

<sup>8</sup> See Flathead specimen, Field Museum, 111909.

<sup>9</sup> See Flathead specimens, Field Museum, 111782, 111783.

were similar in shape to those of the Coeur d'Alène, Thompson, and other tribes.

ORNAMENTATION AND DESIGNS ON CLOTHING.—Ornamentation of clothing was by fringing, pinking, puncturing, dyeing, painting, and by decorating with burnt work, quillwork, and beadwork. Elk teeth and shells were also used. Almost all the designs were geometric, but a few were floral. In later days floral designs partially supplanted the geometric designs, especially in beadwork. However, most of the designs remain geometric, except perhaps among the Spokane. Many of these designs are the same as those found in bead embroidery of the Blackfoot and other eastern tribes. Some, also, are similar to old designs among Salish tribes farther west. Solid beadwork occurs on many bags, moccasins, vests, belts, etc., and is more common than among the western Salish tribes. White is the common ground color, but blue is not infrequent, and red and yellow also occur. Woven beadwork occurs, but it is not common, and may be of recent introduction. Most of the beadwork is flat, but the style sewed so as to give a ridged effect also occurs. Designs on robes were generally painted, but some burnt work and beadwork and quillwork were also used. Generally bands of beadwork or quillwork followed the seams of clothing. When there were no fringes, bands of embroidery covered the seams. When embroidery was not used, seams were generally painted with red lines. Painting sometimes occurred on clothing in conjunction with beadwork. Bands of beadwork and quillwork on men's shirts were often applied in exactly the same manner as on shirts described by Wissler,<sup>10</sup> the triangular piece of breast ornamentation being very common. Circular ornamentations were also in use. The yoke of women's dresses was generally embroidered with horizontal wavy lines in beadwork or quillwork, and often the whole area was covered with solid beadwork. A row of fringing, often strung with beads or other pendants, generally followed the lower lines of the beaded areas across the dress from one side to the other. Also usually one or two lines of beadwork crossed the dress from side to side near the bottom.<sup>11</sup>

Men's leggings often had bands of beadwork following the side seams, and occasionally cross lines near the bottom.

Women's leggings were sometimes crossed with solid beadwork, and sometimes had designs only on the bottom fronts, or a wide band of beadwork around the bottom.

Men's and women's belts were generally richly beaded, and women's caps more or less so.

Ermine skins were often used for fringes and ornamentation on men's clothes, and they were much used as side fringes to war bonnets. Human and horse hair were also used in ornamentation of clothes.

<sup>10</sup> *d.*, pp. 47, 48, figs. 1, 2.

<sup>11</sup> See Flathead dress, Field Museum, 111909.

The colors employed in painting clothing were chiefly red, yellow, and black. Some of the painted designs on men's clothing represented



FIGURE 28.—Moccasin trailers

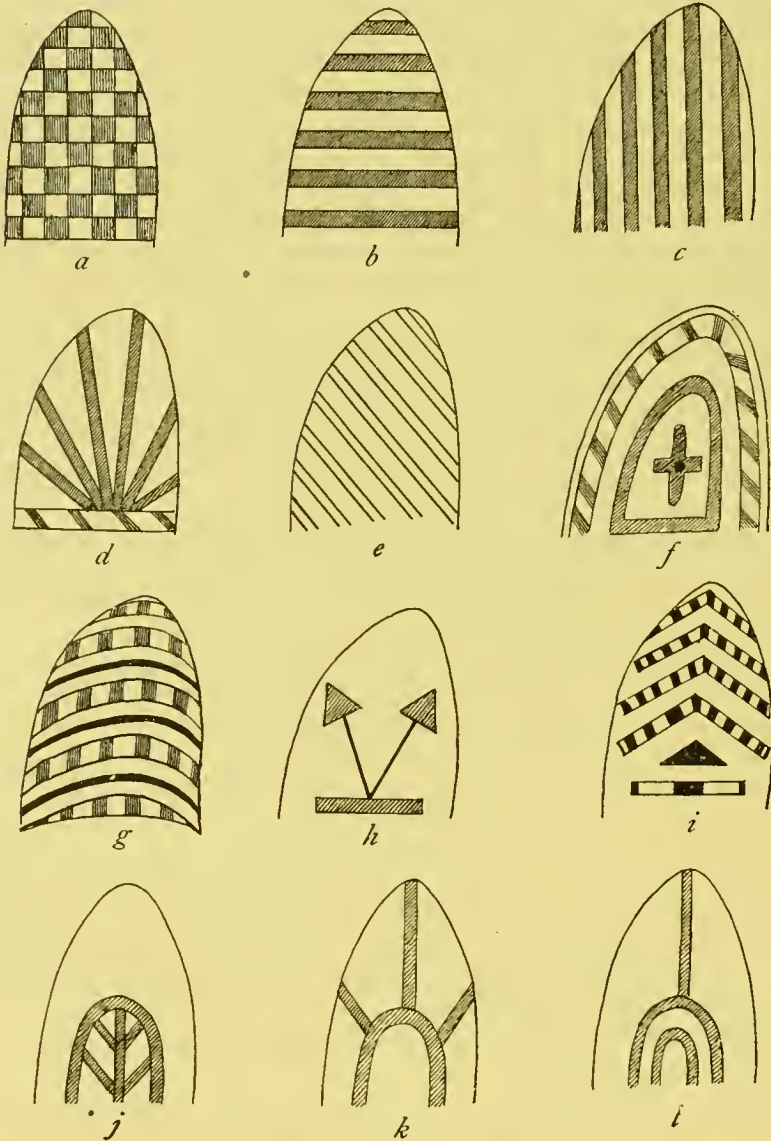


FIGURE 29.—Designs on moccasins

dreams and visions. Some were pictographs connected with the guardian spirit and others incidents of the chase and of war. Some

buffalo robes had broad beaded bands similar to those on robes used by many Plains tribes. Moccasins and shirts were sometimes painted yellow with wolf moss. Moccasin trailers are shown in Figure 28.

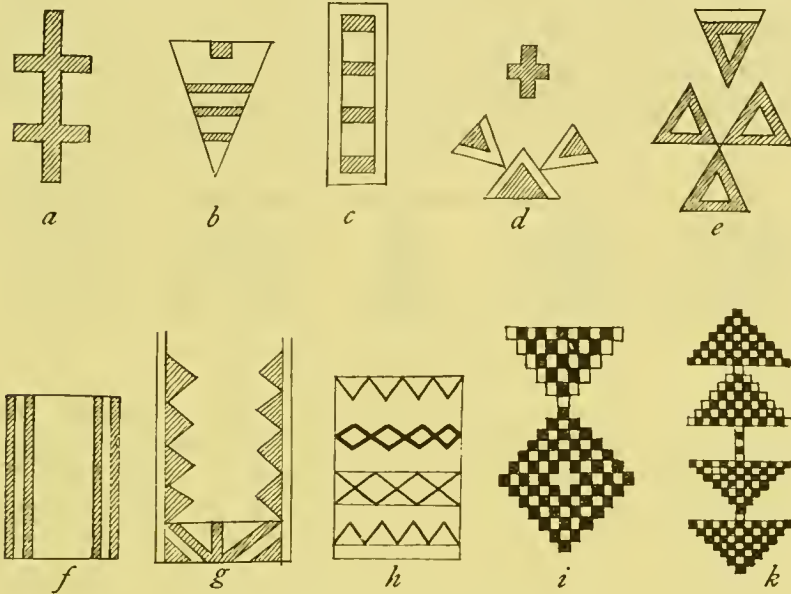


FIGURE 30.—Designs on front of women's leggings

A few of the beaded designs on moccasins, leggings, and dresses<sup>12</sup> that I noted among the Spokan are shown in Figures 29-33.

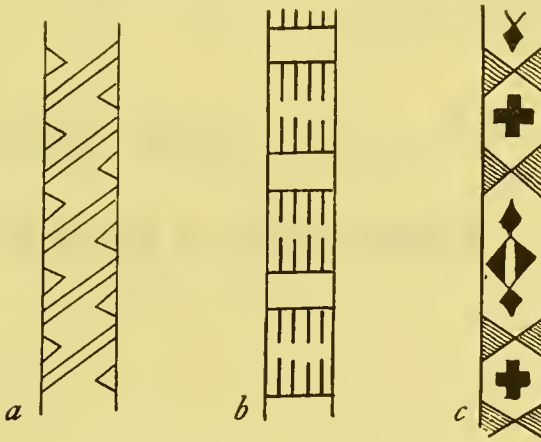


FIGURE 31.—Designs on sides of men's leggings

**PERSONAL ADORNMENT.**—Ear pendants were common in early times. Large shell pendants were especially common among the Pend d'Oreilles, and to a less extent among the Kalispel. Most of

<sup>12</sup> See Field Museum, 111890-111893, 111909, 111782, 111783.

them were fresh-water shells obtained locally. No nose ornaments or nose pins were used by the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles, and they were rare among the Kalispel and Spokan. It is said that they were common among the Nez Percé and all the more western Shahaptian and Salishan tribes. Necklaces were very common and were similar to those used by neighboring tribes both east and west. Face and body painting was universal, the most common colors being red and yellow, but black, white, and blue were also frequently used. A

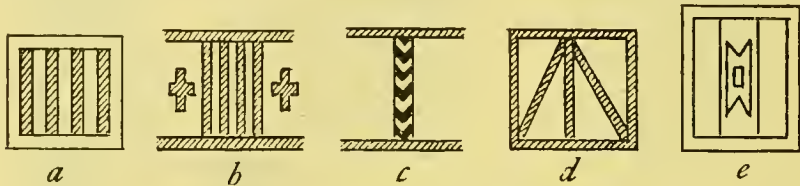


FIGURE 32.—Designs on lower part of men's leggings

famous spot for obtaining red paint in the Flathead country was at *a'pel yu'tsamen* ("possessing red paint"), near Helena. The paint was obtained from a large, long cave under a cliff. As the paint rock was at the head of the cave, and it was quite dark inside, a rope was tied to the waist of the man who went in, so that he might readily find his way back. When the head of the cave was reached the searcher felt with his hands and pulled down blocks of the decomposed rock, returning with as much as he could carry. When he came out he divided the paint among the people, who put it into hide

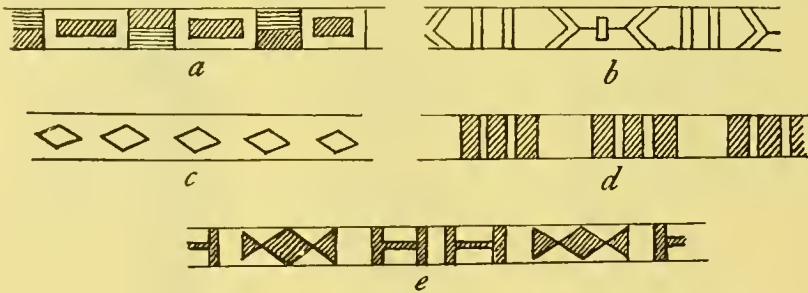


FIGURE 33.—Designs from shoulders of women's dresses

sacks. Long ago the best quality of paint rock from this place was exported by the Helena people to neighboring tribes. After the introduction of horses, parties of Flathead and their allies gathered paint at this place when passing or hunting near there. It is said that several men lost their lives or were injured in this cave by rocks falling on them. There was also a belief that this cave could open and shut at will, and that several men had been killed by it. Much of the body and face painting of men was symbolic in character and connected with war exploits and guardian spirits. At a recent dance



near Jocko, Chief Moise appeared with his lower legs painted yellow, because the war exploit he was about to relate occurred on the Yellowstone River.

Tattoo marks were also in large measure symbolic. Like painting, tattooing was done by both sexes. However, it was not very common. Wrists and forearms were the chief parts tattooed, but some men had tattoo marks on the legs and body as well. The Kalispel and Spokane are said to have tattooed much more than the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. It seems that there was no face tattooing, or that it was exceedingly rare. The Assiniboin are said to be the only eastern tribe that tattooed much. A number of them tattooed the face; and many had tattoo marks on the body, arms, and legs.

I did not learn much of hairdressing, except that the styles are said to have been the same as among the neighboring tribes. At the present day a great many of the men wear their hair in two cues, one on each side. This is said to have been an old as well as a modern style. Formerly some men wore a forelock. Evidently there were a number of different styles of dressing the hair. Women generally wore their hair in two braids tied at the back. Men often attached ornaments and strips of fur to the braids of the hair. The hair was never cut and roached. The headdress of porcupine and deer's hair, in imitation of the headdress of the Osage, now often worn by young men in dances, is of modern introduction. Some men wore long headdresses of human hair woven together, the tresses being joined with gum. I do not know if this style is old or not. The beard was pulled out with tweezers. Pubic and other body hair was not removed.

## V. SUBSISTENCE

**ROOTS AND BERRIES.**—The country occupied by the Flathead tribes is rich in all kinds of food. Roots and berries are abundant, and were used extensively. The Flathead paid less attention to these than the other tribes of the group. Camas and bitterroot were highly valued, and in several places large quantities were dug. The two most famous camas grounds were at Big Camas, or Camas Prairie, about 15 miles above Missoula, Mont., where many Pend d'Oreilles, *Semtē'use*, and Flathead gathered for digging; and Camas Prairie near Calispell Lake, Wash., where Kalispel, Spokane, and Colville gathered. It is said that the Flathead were promised Camas Prairie as a camas reserve by the Government, but did not get it. Besides these places, there were many fine camas grounds in other parts of the tribal habitat. The territory of the Kalispel especially was noted for richness in camas. On the present Flathead reserve there were two much-used camas grounds at Camas Prairie and Crow Creek belonging to the Pend d'Oreilles.

Root diggers were of the same kind as among the Coeur d'Alène. Handles were of wood, horn, and antler. At one time baskets were generally used in the gathering of roots; but as basketry gradually went out of use, woven and hide bags, large ones of the Nez Percé type, and some of soft skin and rawhide, took their place. Baskets were gradually abandoned after the introduction of the horse, owing to the increased amount of traveling and the preeminence given to buffalo hunting. They were too rigid and bulky for constant horse travel, and, besides, the women who traveled long distances on buffalo hunts had no time to make them, and often found themselves in districts where basket materials could not be obtained. Each generation saw fewer baskets made, and with the coming of the whites they were no longer required as kettles. In large measure they also lost their value as articles of trade.

Bark baskets were used extensively in gathering berries. For gathering huckleberries in the higher mountains the Kalispel used conical cedar-bark baskets. At the present day they often dispense with root diggers and use plows instead. A few long furrows are plowed across the camas meadows; the women follow and gather the upturned roots. A large quantity of roots is thus gathered in a short time.

The methods of curing berries and curing and cooking roots appear to have been much the same as among the Coeur d'Alène and other Salishan tribes. There may have been some differences between the Spokane in the extreme west and the Flathead in the extreme east. The Spokane used circular pits for the storage of dried fish, roots, berries, and even meat. These were opened and aired from time to time.

The following is told of the seasonal occupations of the Spokane. The majority of people of most bands scattered over the tribal territory, and even over that of neighbors, for eight or nine months of the year, gathering roots and berries, hunting, fishing, visiting, and trading. The rest of the year was spent in winter camps. Then they lived on the food which had been secured and hunted occasionally on the near-by hunting grounds. In some places they also fished. This was the season of social entertainments and dancing and also of manufacturing. Many of the women made most of their mats, baskets, bags, and clothes at this season, the materials having been gathered previously.

Generally speaking, the people occupied themselves chiefly as follows during the year: In the springtime, digging certain roots, hunting and fishing on the nearer grounds; in early summer, fishing for trout and salmon, hunting, and root digging; in midsummer, root digging and berrying, only a little hunting; in late summer, salmon fishing and berrying, very little hunting or root digging; in early fall (about September), the same occupations as in late summer; in

late fall (October and November), root digging and hunting in the early part, and finally only hunting. In December they went into their winter camps and left them in March. Trading parties to The Dalles and other places left in August and returned for the late fall hunting. They dug roots and hunted, if convenient, on the way going and coming, but chiefly on the way back. Buffalo hunting parties also left in August. Some came back late in the fall, about November, and some did not return until spring.

The following is a list of the principal roots and berries gathered by the Spokane:

## ROOTS

1. *A'thwa, ê'txwa* (*Camassia esculenta*).
2. *Spa'tLEM* (*Lewisia rediviva*).
3. *Pa'íwa* (unidentified [see Coeur d'Aléne, p. 89, No. 3]).
4. *Pó'xpux* (unidentified [see Coeur d'Aléne, p. 89, No. 4]).
5. *Tu'xwa* (unidentified [see Coeur d'Aléne, p. 89, No. 5]).
6. *Sā'te* (*Allium* sp.).
7. *Kola'wal* (*Allium* sp.).
8. *Silōkōm* (unidentified).
9. *MESā'we* (unidentified).
10. *Skwenkwē'nEM* (*Claytonia* sp.).
11. *SES'LEM* (unidentified).
12. *Tsā'wax* (*Fritillaria pudica* [?]).
13. *Sia'EkEN* (unidentified).
14. *Sqa'kertSEN* (unidentified).
15. *Molā'epa* (*Cnicus undulatus* [?]).
16. *To'qwa* (*Balsamorhiza* sp.).

## BERRIES

1. *Slā'k* (*Amelanchier* sp.).
  2. *Ló'xlōx* (*Prunus demissa* Walp.).
  3. *Tsékwi'k<sup>u</sup>* (*Sambucus* sp.).
  4. *Stsa'ts.tx* (*Cornus pubescens* Nutt.).
  5. *Shwa'nate* (*Crataegus* sp.).
  6. *Nwa'wesils* (*Rubus* sp. [raspberry]).
  7. *Pó'lpolqEN* (*Rubus* sp. [thimbleberry?]).
  8. *Ta'ltallaox*<sup>1</sup> (*Rubus* sp. [trailing blackberry?]).
  9. *Sqweikwai'qEN* ("black head," *Rubus leucodermis* Dougl.).
  10. *Nto'LEMelps* (*Ribes* sp. [red gooseberry]).
  11. *Yā'rtca* (*Ribes* sp. [black gooseberry]).
  12. *Tsā'lz*<sup>2</sup> (*Ribes* sp. [currant]).
  13. *Shō'zEM* (*Shepherdia canadensis* Nutt.).
  14. *Qei'tqEM, kei'tkEM* (*Fragaria californica*).
  15. *Stezcā'lk* (*Vaccinium membranaceum*).
  16. *Npokpeka'xEN* (*Vaccinium* sp.).
  17. *Sisī'pt* (*Vaccinium* sp. [small blueberry]).
  18. *Sqo'eyu* (*Berberis* sp.).
  19. *Skole's* (*Arctostaphylos uva-ursi*).
  20. *Shoie'pak* (*Rosa* sp.).
  21. *TEPTepai'Élp* ("black" or "dark," very seldom eaten; unidentified).
- SELEzwai'lepkan* (the snowberry) was not eaten.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Thompson name of this berry.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Thompson name for Oregon grape, *Berberis* sp.

## SOME OTHER VEGETAL FOODS

*Qa'puza* (hazelnuts).

*Swi'stic* (nutlets of *Pinus albicaulis*).

*Stsets'tca* (nutlets of *Pinus ponderosa*).

*Me'tcto* (seeds of *Balsamorhiza*).

*Stsa'xwe* (cambium of *Pinus ponderosa*).

*SEnamoxstci'NEM* (cambium of *Pinus contorta* or of poplar [used a little]).

*Horta'lp* (stalks of *Heracleum lanatum*).

*Skola'pken* (*Alectoria jubata* L.).

*Shwi'ena* (*Opuntia* sp.).

Rib-bone knives and animals' shoulder blades were used as sap scrapers.

AGRICULTURE.—According to some informants, tobacco was raised long ago in some places by the Pend d'Oreilles, Flathead, and probably by the other tribes also. The Spokane are said to have grown wheat as early as 1835.<sup>3</sup>

HUNTING. *Weapons of the chase*.—The double-curved bow was the only kind used by all the Flathead tribes. The only neighboring people who used wide flat bows exclusively, or almost exclusively, were the Lower Kutenai and Coeur d'Alène. For this reason the former were called "Flat Bow" ("Are platte") by the fur traders and the latter "Wide Bows" or "Flat Bows" in the sign language. All the best bows were made of syringa wood and were sinew backed. The Spokane and many men of all the tribes covered their bows with bull-snake skin. Horn bows were used by all the tribes, and especially by the Flathead. Some were made of a single piece and others were joined of two, rarely of three, pieces. Arrows were similar to those of other Salishan tribes.

Long ago rattlesnake poison was sometimes used on arrowheads. No beaver spears were used. Lances were occasionally employed in killing game. Dogs were used in some ways of hunting.

*Hunting before and after the introduction of the horse*.—I obtained the following information from Michel Revais and others regarding the methods of hunting. Long ago the Flathead country was one of the very best countries for game and all kinds of food. On the Great plains, where buffaloes migrated in great herds, little other game was found. In the Flathead country, buffalo were always present, and at times, when they became scarcer than usual, plenty of other game could be procured. On the other hand, in large portions of the plains to the east, when the buffalo left, there was very little other game to be obtained; in many places, at least, not sufficient to feed a large company of people. For this reason, before the advent

<sup>3</sup> E. E. Dye states that the Spokane were growing wheat in 1838, grinding it at the Hudson Bay Co.'s mill at Fort Colville, traveling a distance of 70 miles. (McLoughlin and Old Oregon.)

of the horse, portions of the great open plains were seldom visited. When the buffalo deserted a part of the plains they sometimes traveled long distances and were hard to follow and overtake on foot. People who attempted to live in these places would have to follow the buffalo or starve, and they could not easily travel great distances carrying their children, old people, and baggage. Even dogs with travois could not help them a great deal, for the dogs would require to be fed meat constantly. Prairie fires were also dangerous and often drove game away. Besides this, in those days without horses the common game of the open plains (buffalo and antelope) could not be hunted as successfully as in a more or less broken country. Thus long ago people made their headquarters in diversified country, more or less hilly and wooded, where good shelter, firewood, poles, and water were abundant, and where there was a variety of game and fish, where many kinds of roots and berries were growing, and where materials for manufactures were at hand. As the places having the best conditions were in the more or less hilly and partly wooded country in proximity to the Rocky Mountains, most bands made their headquarters in the country of the foothills. Some bands who lived farther east had their headquarters within valleys in local or isolated ranges of hills. In some cases there were considerable distances between bands, while other bands were comparatively close to one another. In all cases there was a sufficient area of hunting country intervening to allow of good hunting for all. As a rule, people hunted the country halfway over to the next band. Traveling over long distances occurred, but usually not for collecting food supplies but for visiting, trading, or on the warpath. They traveled light and lived on the game of the country as they went along, leaving all surplus meat that they could not carry. Long ago buffalo were not considered much more valuable for meat and skins than some other kinds of large game, such as elk, for instance.

Buffalo were plentiful in the Flathead country and in the country of the Salish-*Tuna'xe*. Elk, antelope, and deer of two or three kinds were also plentiful; moose and mountain sheep abounded in many places. Goats occurred, but they were seldom hunted owing to the abundance of other game easier to obtain and considered much more valuable. Besides large game, small game and game birds were abundant, also roots, berries, fish, and shellfish. The Pend d'Oreilles used shellfish, but it must have been a matter of choice with them, and not necessity, for their country was almost as well stocked with game as that of the Flathead. Buffalo were less abundant, but other kinds of game were probably equally as plentiful as in the Flathead country, if not more so. Besides, at one time caribou abounded in many places north of Pend Oreille River, and both the Pend d'Oreilles

and Kalispel hunted them. All the game common to the Pend d'Oreille country was also found in the Kalispel country, with the exception of buffalo, which penetrated there only occasionally. The Spokane had no caribou, moose, and buffalo in their country, but great numbers of elk, deer, and antelope. Bears were at one time numerous. After the introduction of horses, buffalo hunting, transportation, and traveling long distances became easy. Hunting of other game lost in importance. It was now possible to load great pack trains with meat and skins, and to put up supplies at any place. Great bands of people could travel together. In fact, the larger the parties, the easier the buffalo hunting. Buffalo hides and robes became considerable articles of trade with the more western tribes, who did not go buffalo hunting. For these reasons the old style of life was being given up and the people became almost exclusively buffalo hunters, as this was the easiest way of making a living. Whatever was unsuited to the new mode of life was discarded. Thus the mat tent went out of use and was replaced by the skin tent. Rawhide bags came more and more into use; parflèches were universally used as packing cases. A few baskets and mat lodges continued to be used at the main winter camps and in the most western parts of the country. Fishing, digging of roots, and gathering of berries became of less importance, because these industries could not always be prosecuted when buffalo hunting. Good berrying and root-digging grounds were not usually places best suited for buffalo hunting, and people often found themselves far away at the proper season for berrying and root digging. Thus there arose a tendency to neglect these sources of food supply, as well as the hunting of other game. A certain amount of roots and berries was gathered and cured by old people, who did not go with the regular buffalo-hunting parties. The Flathead believe that the Crow and other tribes were affected by the introduction of the horse in much the same manner as themselves, and gave up their old manner of living to be buffalo hunters on the plains. Revais and others believed that the Crow and all other eastern tribes, before the introduction of the horse, must have lived a semisedentary life, somewhat similar to the old life of the Flathead, and that they must have had headquarters in some semiforested country to the east. They could not have lived continually out on the open plains as buffalo hunters before they had horses. The Flathead did not make the changes necessary to their life of mounted buffalo hunters by copying from the eastern or Plains tribes; for at the time (say, about 1600) they were not in contact with the Plains tribes. Besides, it is known that at least the Blackfoot and the Assiniboin obtained horses at a date much later than the Flathead; and it is believed that all the eastern tribes, such as the Crow, Sionx, and Arapaho, obtained their first horses also at a date later than the Flat-

head and neighboring Shoshoni. It is believed that all tribes, both east and west of the Rocky Mountains, secured their first horses directly or indirectly from or through Shoshoni bands of the western plains; and it is believed that the Kutenai and Blackfoot copied the horse equipment from the Flathead and Shoshoni. This leaves only the Shoshoni, the first to have horses, from whom the Flathead might have copied.

In later years, when there came to be much contact between many tribes on the western plains, the Flathead were influenced by contact with eastern tribes, and also the latter by contact with western tribes.

It is claimed that owing to the abundance of game in the Flathead country before the introduction of the horse, a sufficiency of meat could be obtained by ordinary methods of hunting, such as the still hunt and the surround. Therefore there was no need for the employment of nets, corrals, and pounds for catching game, and these were not used. The Blackfoot, and some other tribes to the north and west, were known to employ some or all of these methods; but it is thought this must have been because game was scarcer in their countries, or harder to hunt. Even snares and deadfalls were very little used in capturing game. Deer fences and deer snares like those of the Thompson were not used. Driving or stampeding elk and buffalo over precipices, and possibly some other methods of driving, were in vogue; but it is not certain that these methods were also used before the advent of the horse.

Before horses were in use, buffaloes were surrounded in small numbers and shot; or the hunter crawled up to stragglers on the edges of the larger herds and shot them. Some were also killed from ambushes at watering places, and occasionally they were caught on slippery ice and when swimming rivers. Disguises were often used in approaching buffalo and other game.

When buffalo hunting was conducted on horseback the common method was for a party of mounted men to charge the herd in a line or in a half circle at a given signal, stampeding the animals, and following them up, shooting and stabbing them. In the later days of buffalo hunting, Salishan parties sometimes hunted within the boundaries of the Blackfoot, Gros Ventres, and Assiniboin tribes. When wars with the Blackfoot ceased, Kutenai and Pend d'Oreilles parties often went to the north, crossing the present Blackfoot Reserve in Montana, sometimes passing Blackfoot parties in that part of the country, and hunted beyond them to the east and north, frequently crossing the Canadian line. It is uncertain how far Salishan parties went beyond their tribal boundaries to the east along the Missouri and Yellowstone, but it seems that the Lower Musselshell and Big Horn were about their limits, and they rarely or

never went east of the mouths of these streams. To the south they went not infrequently as far as Wind River, Sweetwater and Green Rivers; but this was generally on visits to the Shoshoni, although they hunted all the way, going and returning.

In several parts of the Spokan country where there were extensive prairies the Indians surrounded game every fall. Elk, deer, and antelope were killed in this way. A large body of people, including many women and children, made a huge circle, and moved day by day toward a common center. At night they camped in the circle. Thus they moved toward one point a few miles every day. As the circle shortened there became less chance of game getting out and the camps came to be closer together. Any game seen near the edge of the circle, was, if possible, scared in by riders. Many mounted men rode to and fro between the camping parties in the circle, while others, chiefly women, advanced on horseback and on foot, carrying the baggage. In weak parts of the ring fires were lighted, especially at night, and sticks with burnt skin attached were erected here and there. At last, after a few days, or a week or two, according to the size of the ground surrounded, a large number of game animals congregated in the center. Places where game was most liable to break through were then guarded by women and children to scare them back, or sometimes by men in ambush to shoot. Then all the most active mounted men attacked the animals and killed many with arrows and spears. Those that broke away were chased and shot at as they fled. This method of hunting was practiced both before and after the introduction of horses, and it fell into disuse only after the introduction of firearms, when there came to be danger of shooting one another.

Sometimes, instead of a surround, driving was arranged on a great scale, the animals being driven over cliffs, where they were killed by the fall, or into coulees and defiles, where men lay in wait to shoot them. Sometimes drives were made in coulees with steep sides, the animals being driven from one end to the other, where they were met by hunters waiting for them, and between the two parties were nearly all killed.

FISHING.—Fishing was of much less importance to the Flathead tribes than hunting, with the exception possibly of the Spokan. Several kinds of small fish were plentiful in the rivers, creeks, and lakes. No doubt in early times, when the people were more sedentary, fishing was engaged in to a considerable extent by certain bands of the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, especially by the people living around Flathead Lake. It is said that long ago some of the Kalispel spent most of the fair season around Pend Oreille, Priest, and other lakes, hunting, fishing, and gathering roots and berries in the near-by mountains. When winter approached they returned to their regular



winter camping places on the main river, where the snowfall was lighter and the climate milder.

Hooks and lines were used in fishing; but nets were little employed except perhaps on Flathead Lake and at a few other points. However, large nets were used a great deal at the mouth of the Little Spokane for catching various kinds of fish. They were stretched completely across the river, one net being set some distance upstream above the other. Dip nets were seldom or never used. According to Revais, "The dip net for catching salmon on rivers was much used along Columbia River, from the Thompson and Shuswap down to the mouth of the Wallawalla, and to near The Dalles, but it was little used by the tribes to the east of the Columbia. The Nez Percé and Wallawalla used them for catching salmon, but the Spokan did not use them."

In many places weirs and traps were employed. Traps were of two or three kinds, similar to the common fish traps of the Thompson.

Two kinds of spears were in use—the single-pointed gig, for spearing fish from the shore, and the three-pronged spear, for spearing from canoes and ice. No salmon were found in the countries of the Pend d'Oreilles, *Semtē'use*, and Flathead, and in only one small piece of the territory of the Kalispel. The Spokan, however, had some good salmon fisheries along Spokane River. Salmon did not run in the Pend Oreille River. In the salmon season, some Kalispel went down the river to near the canyon (probably Box Canyon), then across country to the head of Salmon River in British Columbia, which was the northeast corner of their tribal territory, and there fished salmon. The salmon at this place were generally spent and poor, and in some years there were not many. A few Kalispel joined the friendly Lake and Colville at their great salmon fishery about Kettle Falls; but most of the tribe procured dried salmon in trade from the Colville and Spokan, probably chiefly from the former. Some of the Flathead obtained dried salmon from the Lemhi Shoshoni. The Pend d'Oreilles, *Semtē'use*, and Salish-*Tuna're* had no chance to fish salmon with neighbors, and were seldom able to obtain much in trade.

## VI. TRAVEL, TRANSPORTATION, AND TRADE

CANOES.—The Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles were noted as canoe people. They had an abundance of good bark in their countries and made many bark canoes. White-pine bark was chiefly used. Ribs were generally made of cedar and black-pine roots were used for sewing. The canoes were swift and light, and were of the same general shape and construction as the bark canoes of many other Salishan tribes and of the Kutenai. They differed, however, in having the bark at their ends cut off square and sewed together, instead of having

long, sharp, rounded, snoutlike ends, like the canoes of all other tribes. This type, with cut-off "snouts" or shortened ends (fig. 34), was peculiar to the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, and may have been adopted under the influence of the eastern bark canoe since the advent of the traders; for it is stated that Iroquois who settled among the Pend d'Oreilles, and others in the employment of the fur traders, sometimes made bark canoes of the eastern or Iroquois shape on Flathead Lake. However, I was unable to make sure of this point. As the "sturgeon-nose" (or snout-ended) canoe is the only type used by neighboring tribes, and is widely distributed over a large area, it would seem to be the older type of the two. The other tribes—the Spokane, *Semtē'use*, Salish-*Tunā'xe*, and Flathead—are said to have had no canoes long ago, only rafts of poles. It seems that tule rafts were used to a slight extent by the Spokane, and possibly by the

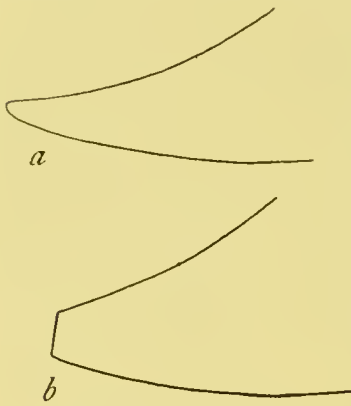


FIGURE 34.—Types of canoe bow  
a, Sturgeon-nose type. b, Kalispel type.

others, but I was unable to make certain of this. In later times, probably with the introduction of the first iron, the Spokane began to make dugout canoes of poplar and other logs, while the Flathead adopted the bull boat of the plains area.

Dogs.—Dogs were common to all the tribes. In color they were gray, yellow, and black of various shades, generally lighter underneath and in front, like coyotes and wolves. Some were somewhat mixed in color, such as yellow and white or brown and white. They were haired like coyotes and wolves, and resembled them in appearance and shape.

None of them had curly, soft fur, and none had long or floppy ears. Most of them were of large size, but some were rather small. The dogs of the Flathead group appear to have been of the same breed as those of the Thompson and other tribes of the plateau and neighboring plains. The hair and skins of dogs were not made use of, nor was their flesh eaten. They were at one time used for hunting purposes, but to what extent is not clear.

HORSES.—The Flathead claim to have obtained horses first about 1600 or a little later from some Shoshoni tribe, who, according to them, were the earliest people to have had horses. All horses came first from the south and southeast, and spread north and northwest.

The Salish-*Tunā'xe* procured their first horses from the Shoshoni at about the same time as the Flathead obtained theirs, but for some reason they had more horses at an early date than the Flathead. Horses increased in numbers rather rapidly for some years after their

first introduction, as there was little or no horse stealing, and horse flesh was seldom eaten, owing to the great abundance of buffalo and other large game. After horses had become plentiful Blackfoot and eastern tribes began to appear in the region bordering the Flathead, and then horse raiding became common, and continued until the last days of the buffalo hunting.

I obtained the following information from Revais and others concerning the introduction of horses into other tribes. "The Pend d'Oreilles and *Semtē'use* obtained their first horses from the Flathead; and the Kalispel from the Pend d'Oreilles. The Coeur d'Alêne got theirs first from the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles; and the Spokane, according to some, theirs also from the Kalispel. The Colville almost certainly obtained their first horses also from the Kalispel." It seems, however, that horses spread simultaneously on both sides of the Rocky Mountains from the Shoshoni, and reached the Moses Columbia tribe only a little later than they reached the Pend d'Oreilles. Thus it is said that most of the Columbia tribes had horses before the Kutenai and Blackfoot. The Cayuse had a large number earlier than any other tribes near the Columbia. It seems that they received them directly from the Shoshoni. The Nez Percé are said to have obtained most of their first horses from the Cayuse and the Shoshoni. From the Cayuse, horses spread rapidly among the Shahaptian and Salishan tribes of Columbia River, and from there north. At the same time horses were reaching the Columbia from the east by way of Pend Oreille River. Horses spread among the Shoshoni from south to north, and it is supposed that they came originally from Mexico. The Shoshoni east of the Salish-*Tunā'xe* and Flathead may have had horses at even an earlier date than they. The Kutenai west of the mountains are said to have obtained their first horses from the Pend d'Oreilles; and those east of the mountains from the Salish-*Tunā'xe* and possibly also from the Shoshoni. Some think that the Blackfoot obtained their first horses in trade from the Salish-*Tunā'xe*, Flathead, and Shoshoni. Others claim that the Blackfoot procured all their first horses by stealing from the Shoshoni and Flathead. It seems that the Kutenai and Blackfoot were slower in adapting themselves to horses than some other tribes, and did not use them extensively for some time after their introduction. The Crow are said to have obtained horses from the Shoshoni and Flathead by stealing, and may have taken their first horses from the former. The Sioux are said to have received horses at a later date than the Crow and Blackfoot; and the Gros Ventres probably a little earlier than the Blackfoot. The Assiniboin and Cree obtained horses later than the Crow and Blackfoot.

The following story is told of the first horse seen by the Lower Kalispel. The first horse that reached the Lower Kalispel country was ridden by an Indian (some say a half-breed) who came from the

Flathead country by way of the Pend d'Oreilles. Some people saw the horse's tracks where it had passed over some sand. They called other people, and discussed what kind of animal had made the tracks, which were strange to them all. Some thought it might have been a horse, as they had heard about them. Other people lower down, near the river bank, saw the man approach on the horse at a lope. They observed that he was smoking, and that he seemed to be quite at his ease. They watched him enter the river and swim across on the horse. They gathered around and examined the animal with much curiosity. The Kalispel and Colville always called horses by the common term for dogs when they were first introduced. Later they adopted the name common to nearly all the Salish tribes for "horse," which is related to a common word for "dog."

TRANSPORTATION AND HORSE EQUIPMENT.—Before the advent of the horse overland transportation was entirely on people's backs. Tump straps of skin, generally passed over the head, were used for carrying loads. It is said that dogs were never employed as draught animals in sleds, toboggans, or travois. The majority of informants declared that dogs were never used for packing or hauling. One or two informants said dogs were occasionally and in some places used for carrying loads, but whether this was in very remote times or just previous to the introduction of the horse is quite uncertain. No toboggans were used, except that sometimes an animal's meat was lashed inside the skin and hauled by hand downhill over the snow, as among the Thompson. Some soft skin and rawhide bags and some baskets were used in the transportation of goods.

Horses were at once adopted for riding and packing. The common method of packing horses appears to have been with light packsaddles of wood, over which rawhide was shrunk. Two parflèches, filled so as to be about equal in weight and bulk, were suspended by loops over the "horns" or crosspieces of the saddle, one on each side, and secured by ropes passing over the load and underneath the horse. Sometimes some light flat or flexible material was placed crosswise on the top of the saddle and parflèches and secured by the same rope. All the horse equipment of packsaddles, riding saddles, cinches, ropes, bridles, whips; and methods of riding, packing, and horse management appear to have been received and adopted along with the horse from the Shoshoni, and were passed on from the Flathead to all the other Salishan tribes to the west and north. Certain kinds of riding saddles were also sometimes used as packsaddles. Most men's saddles were of the "pad" type<sup>1</sup> similar to those of the Thompson, Shoshoni, and surrounding tribes. Usually the four corners of the saddle were covered with solid quill or bead work, or otherwise ornamented. Other saddles were also of the same types as those

<sup>1</sup> *l.*, p. 12, fig. 8.

used by the Thompson and neighboring tribes. Two kinds, chiefly used by men, in some tribes also by women, were somewhat like pack saddles, having wooden sides and "horns" of antler or wood.

Horns were of two kinds—the forked and the curved or bow type. They were the same as specimens described by Wissler.<sup>2</sup> Saddles with high "horns," most of them with a spike in front, were used



FIGURE 35.—Stirrups. *a*, Made of two pieces; *b*, made of one piece

almost altogether by women.<sup>3</sup> Saddles of this kind were generally ornamented with long flaps of skin richly embroidered which hung from both pommels, or sometimes just from the back one.<sup>4</sup> Cinches were of hide and woven horse hair. Stirrups were of one or two pieces of bent wood, and sometimes of mountain sheep horn. Hide was shrunk over the wooden ones, which were of several slightly dif-

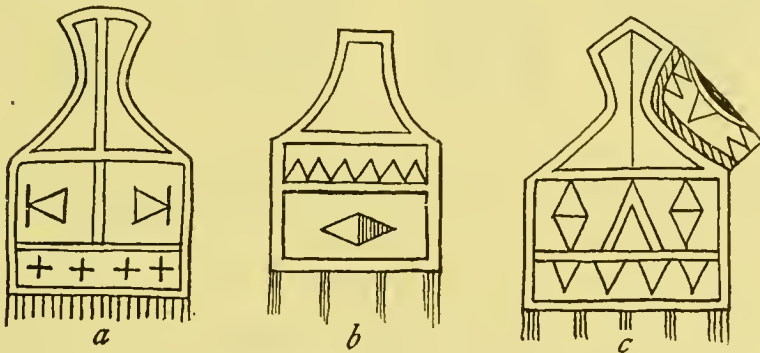


FIGURE 36.—Beaded flaps for stirrups for women's saddles. *a*, Common type. *b*, Less common type. *c*, With headed foot rest

ferent shapes. For a common kind used by the Kalispel see Figure 35.<sup>5</sup> Cruppers were used on many saddles; those on women's saddles were wide and highly ornamented.<sup>6</sup> Beaded pendants<sup>7</sup> (fig. 36) were also much used on the stirrups of women's saddles by the Flathead,

<sup>2</sup> For the first type see *l*, p. 9, fig. 4 and perhaps *l*, p. 24, fig. 20; for the second, *l*, p. 10, fig. 5.

<sup>3</sup> *l*, p. 6, figs. 2; p. 21, fig. 17.

<sup>4</sup> *l*, p. 6, fig. 2.

<sup>5</sup> *l*, p. 16, figs. 11, 13; the former also used by women.

<sup>6</sup> *l*, pp. 18, 19, figs. 14, 15.

<sup>7</sup> *l*, p. 26, fig. 22.

Pend d'Oreilles, and perhaps others. Various kinds of wide, highly ornamented collars, somewhat similar to the wide cruppers, were used on horses ridden by women. (Fig. 37.) Breast pendants of various kinds, ornamental headbands, and even eagle-feather bonnets were also used on horses by men and women. Saddlebags of different kinds were used chiefly by women.<sup>8</sup> Most of them were beaded. (Fig. 38.) Square rawhide bags with long fringes were also much used by women as saddlebags.<sup>9</sup> Saddle blankets were of several types,<sup>10</sup> and some were richly embroidered. Bits consisted simply of a cord of hide hitched around the lower jaw; ropes of straps of hide, or of cords braided of dressed skin, rawhide, or hair. Hobbles were of the same materials. It seems that no spurs were used. Quirts were commonly used by both men and women. There were both the

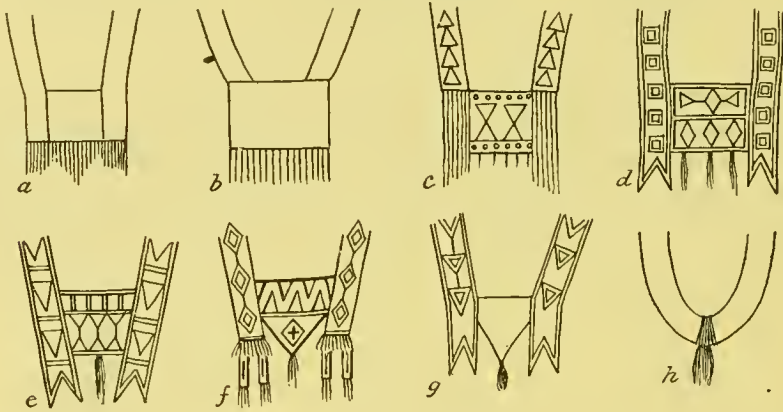


FIGURE 37.—Beaded flaps for horse collars

round and flat types.<sup>11</sup> Handles were of antler and wood, especially the former, and some were ornamented with incised designs.

Horses were often painted and their tails and manes arranged and decorated in various ways. Old-style saddles of some kinds, ornamented cruppers, collars, saddlebags, and quirts are still made and used by the Flathead tribes. Horses were often used for dragging lodge poles in flat open parts of the country, where poles were scarce; but the horse travois was seldom used, even when hunting buffalo on the plains. All the western tribes, including the Shoshoni, carried loads on horseback. The travois was only suited for flat and open country, while packing was feasible everywhere, and, moreover, safer and more expeditious. A sack to be folded and laced was in use before the advent of the horse for carrying purposes; but the real

<sup>8</sup> *l.*, p. 23, fig. 19.

<sup>9</sup> See Thompson, p. 203, a, fig. 151.

<sup>10</sup> See for instance, *l.*, p. 22, fig. 18.

<sup>11</sup> *l.*, p. 28, figs. 23, 24.

parflèche, fitted with loops and supporting stick for packing on horses, came into vogue with the introduction of horses.

Many young men rode bare back or on a saddlecloth fastened down with a cord or cinch. Most people could mount about equally well from either side, but the right side of the horse was the favorite side for mounting, as among all tribes.

SNOWSHOES.—Snowshoes were used by all the tribes, and appear to have been of the plateau type, like those of the Coeur d'Alène. Sticks with mesh at the end for walking in snow were not used.

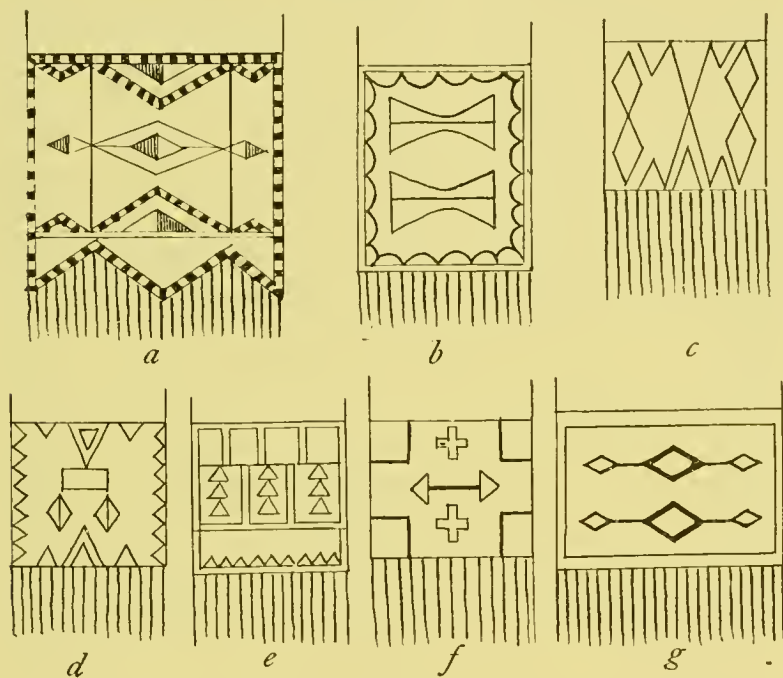


FIGURE 35.—Women's saddlebags

TRADE.—The great trade route between east and west, both before and after the advent of horses, was by way of Pend Oreille River, which was the easiest and the most important gateway through the mountains toward the Columbia River region. The horse and eastern culture reached the Columbia mainly by this route. In early times there was probably a steady filtering through of cultural elements from east to west, and *vice versa*, by this route. Before the advent of the horse there was probably a preponderance of western influence following this route eastward; while after the introduction of horses and the taking up of buffalo hunting by many of the plateau tribes, conditions were reversed, and a strong eastern influence set westward across the plateaus. What may be called the "western gate" of the Pend Oreille route was at a point on the river around

Newport and Usk, in the territory of the Lower Kalispel. Here easy travel by land and water following the river stopped, and trails led directly west to the centers of the Spokane and Colville through easy country. Travel did not follow the Pend Oreille River below this point to its mouth, owing to the northward turn in the river and the roughness of the water and the surrounding country lower down. The main trade route from this point was to Colville, an important trading point and distributing center, only a short distance away. From here one route went up the Columbia to the Lakes, where there were points of contact with Okanagon, Shuswap, and Lower Kutenai; but it seems this was not so important a route as that continuing directly west through an easy, well-populated country to the centers of the Sanpoil and Okanagon, where it joined the Columbia River route, running north to the Shuswap and Thompson, and south to the Wenatchi, Columbia, and Shahaptian tribes. From the Kalispel, Colville, and Spokane a trade route followed the Spokane River to the Coeur d'Alène. Routes of less importance led from the Spokane to the Columbia and Paloos, connecting up with the North and South Columbia River route referred to. The route from the Colville to the Okanagon was by far the most important for the region to the west and north. The Colville occupied a central position for trading and had fine salmon fisheries. Trade came to their doors; they did not have to go after it. Large numbers of Lake, Okanagon, Sanpoil, Spokane, and Kalispel came there for trading and fishing. Although the Spokane were also great traders they were rather more like the Klickitat, in that they roamed in search of it and acted to some extent as carriers. They are said to have made frequent trips to the mouth of the Snake and almost annually to The Dalles. It is also said that in later days they went sometimes in canoes as far as Fort Vancouver on trading and raiding trips, and there is mention of a combined party of Spokane, Nez Percé, Wallawalla, and Cayuse having gone, in 1844, up John Day River, and traveled 800 miles to Sutter's Fort on the Sacramento to trade for cattle.<sup>12</sup> There was not much trade directly north and south across country from the Nez Percé to the Coeur d'Alène, thence to the Kalispel, nor from the Kalispel directly north or south. In early times there was also little intercourse, and therefore very little trade, across the Bitterroot Mountains. At one time the Coeur d'Alène and Nez Percé had practically no direct trade with the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead, therefore whatever eastern or plains influence reached the Nez Percé before the days of their taking up buffalo hunting must have come by the circuitous route by way of the Pend d'Oreilles, and passed on by Spokane, Coeur d'Alène, and Columbia, or by the southern route via the Cayuse; for Indian

<sup>12</sup> E. E. Dye, McLoughlin and Old Oregon (Chicago, McClurg, 1900).



informants say there was little direct trade and intercourse between the Nez Percé and Shoshoni for a long period of time, owing to continued wars. However, war is simply a different kind of contact, and may not have stopped the spread of cultural influences. According to my informants, the Nez Percé, before they began to go to the plains for buffalo hunting, had practically the same material culture as the Coeur d'Alène and the adjoining Columbia River tribes. They differed a great deal from the Flathead group, who in most respects were more like the Shoshoni and Kutenai.

The "eastern gate" of the Pend d'Oreilles route was near Missoula. Another important point of entry was near the mouth of the Flathead River. From these places branches went north to Flathead Lake, and thence to the Upper Kutenai, while a less important branch went to the Kutenai at Jennings. Many Pend d'Oreilles, *Semtē'use*, and possibly Flathead came directly to a rendezvous near Missoula for root digging and trading. From the Missoula district there was a route running south through the Flathead country, by way of the Bitterroot and Big Hole, to the Shoshoni east of the Rocky Mountains, a branch of which went to the Lemhi Shoshoni at the head of Salmon River, Idaho. The other main branch from Missoula went to Helena, and thence to the Salish-*Tunā'xe* or Sun River people, continuing to Great Falls and the Teton River, and then north to the Kutenai-*Tunā'xe* and Blackfoot. However, the exact lines of the trade routes east of the Rockies are not quite clear. Some say there was a main line of travel following rather close to the mountains north and south from the Shoshoni tribes south of the Flathead, through the territory of the latter, and continuing through the Salish-*Tunā'xe* and Kutenai-*Tunā'xe* to the Blackfoot. The Pend d'Oreilles trade route joined this route at one or two points in the Flathead country.

There was an important main trade route east of the Cascades, following Columbia River from The Dalles north to the Thompson and Shuswap, and another route in the east, following the foothills of the Rockies, from the southern Shoshoni country north to the Blackfoot tribes. These two routes were crossed at right angles by the important Pend d'Oreilles route running east and west. Long ago considerable trading was done near Butte. At that time there was very little trade across the mountains between the Pend d'Oreilles and *Tunā'xe*. There was considerable intercourse across the Rockies between the Upper Kutenai and the Kutenai-*Tunā'xe*, probably by the Crow's Nest Pass in British Columbia. This route was of minor importance and affected the Kutenai only. According to some informants the Salish-*Tunā'xe* were the chief traders east of the Rockies. Most of the trade from the west of the Rockies, and that from the Shoshoni and Flathead south of them, passed through their

hands en route to the Kutenai and Blackfoot. Another trading place was at a point about Great Falls. Nothing seems to be known as to trade down the Missouri from this point, nor whether there was any all-Shoshoni trade route running east of the Flathead country to the Blackfoot. In those days there are said to have been no tribes near by to the east with which the Flathead and Shoshoni traded, the inference being that there was a strip of plains country practically uninhabited to the east of the Shoshoni. It is said that trading parties of Flathead visited the Yellowstone, Lemhi, and other Shoshoni, and that Shoshoni parties visited them. Also trading parties of Salish-*Tuna'xe* visited the Flathead, Shoshoni, Kutenai-*Tuna'xe*, and even the Blackfoot. As the time of the trading days before the advent of the horse is so remote, little is now remembered regarding articles of trade. Shells of various kinds for ornamentation of the person and clothing, etc., came from the Far West and were traded to the Plains tribes. Stone and pipes of semitransparent green soapstone, eagle-tail feathers, mountain-sheep horn, and horn spoons, ladles, and bowls, dressed moose skin, plateau-made bows of wood and horn, coiled basketry, woven bags of the Nez Percé or Columbia River type, a little salmon oil, and salmon pemmican, and in later days horses, also came from the plateaus and were traded eastward. Horses were first traded from south to north and east on the plains, also west from the Flathead by way of the Pend Oreille River route, but when all the western tribes took up buffalo hunting horses ceased to be traded westward and went east and north. Goods that passed from east to west were chiefly catlinite and pipes of the same material, certain articles of clothing and ornaments, including polished buffalo-bone beads, horses and occasionally saddles, buffalo skins and buffalo robes, some dressed moose skin, occasionally buffalo horns and buffalo pemmican. The Flathead claim that long ago they sold many water-tight coiled-basket kettles to the Blackfoot, also shells, horses, pipes, pipestone, and probably bows and saddles. The Salish-*Tunā'xe* carried these to the Blackfoot. The Blackfoot also obtained horses from the Shoshoni, and flat wallets of Shahaptian and Salishan make reached them through the Flathead. As already stated, the Lemhi Shoshoni traded dried salmon to the Big Hole and other Flathead and the Colville sold salmon to the Kalispel. Objects common to all the tribes were also articles of trade, such as robes, clothes, dressed skins, paint, pipes, and tools. In later days, after members of the Coeur d'Aléne, Spokane, Columbia, Nez Percé, and other western tribes began to visit the plains for buffalo hunting, trading was carried on directly between them and eastern tribes whenever parties met who were friendly. About 1810 a party of Flathead and Shoshoni were met in the Big Horn Range on their

way to visit the Arapaho on the Nebraska or Platte. (See Washington Irving, *Astoria*, chap. 29.)

After the coming of the fur traders several trading posts were founded within the territory of the Flathead tribes. Two posts within the Pend d'Oreilles country were at Post Creek (near Mission) and at Thompson Falls. The Lower Kalispel and many of the Spokane traded principally at Fort Colville. The old brigade trail of the fur traders from Colville crossed south through the Spokane country to Cow Creek, followed it downward, crossed the Palouse at the mouth, then touched Touchet Creek, passed to Wallawalla, and thence down the south side of the Columbia. According to Revais, some trading among the Indian tribes was done in later days along this route.

## VII. WARFARE

WEAPONS OF OFFENSE AND DEFENSE.—The weapons of the Flathead group were the same as those of the Coeur d'Alêne and surrounding tribes. Bows and arrows have been described under "Hunting." Spears or lances were used, and various kinds of knives, clubs, and tomahawks. Long ago cuirasses of heavy elk skin and rawhide were in use; but they were discarded after the introduction of the horse as cumbersome and inconvenient in mounting and riding. Cuirasses of slats and rods of wood were probably not used. No long hide shields and no wooden shields were employed. Their only shield was circular, made of two thicknesses of skin from the neck of buffalo, moose, or elk bulls. In later days many shields were exactly like those of the Crow and other eastern tribes, but the old-style shield was retained by many men and was considered the most effective. Shield covers were used, but possibly not with all shields. Shields and shield covers had painted designs, and many were ornamented with eagle feathers and scalp locks. Nearly all weapons were painted and ornamented. The coup stick was in common use; and there were some tribal weapons of a ceremonial character, particularly among the Flathead. Some of these were spears, others clubs, wrapped or ornamented with ermine skins, otter skins, and charms.

Guns were introduced later than among the Blackfoot.

Warfare was conducted after the manner of the neighboring Plateau and Plains tribes, at least in so far as tactics were concerned. All the tribes took scalps and counted coup on the enemy. They also had several kinds of war dances and ceremonies in which they related their war exploits.

WARS.—Before the introduction of the horse there were very few wars, and peace generally prevailed among all the tribes. The Flathead are said to have had a few short wars long ago with some of the Shoshoni tribes, but as a rule the two tribes were on the best

of terms. They had no wars with other Salishan tribes, nor with the Nez Percé and Kutenai. Once long ago a war party of Snake attacked the Flathead in Bitterroot Valley, but they were driven off with considerable loss and never came back.

The Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel also had very few wars long ago. Once or twice they had short wars with the Coeur d'Alêne, and once the Kalispel helped the Spokane in a war with the latter. The Kalispel sometimes attacked the Kutenai and once killed a large number of Lower Kutenai, but it seems that the Pend d'Oreilles were always friendly with all the Kutenai. The Spokane very rarely had wars with the Coeur d'Alêne, Kutenai, and Nez Percé; but at one time they warred a great deal with the Yakima-speaking people, and raided down the Columbia to The Dalles, and even below. Spokane parties occasionally crossed the Wenatchi country and raided on the coast, and once or twice war parties of Spokane went as far as the Willamette. The Yakima-speaking people sometimes named the Spokane "robbers" because of their raids against them. There were no wars with the Colville or any tribes of the Okanagon group, nor with the Shuswap and Thompson to the north, nor with the Kutenai-*Tunā'xe*. In very ancient times there were no wars with the Blackfoot. Wars with the latter and with the advancing eastern tribes began about 1700 or 1750 and continued almost constantly until near the end of buffalo hunting (1880-1884). For over 100 years the western tribes—the Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, Kalispel, Spokane, Coeur d'Alêne, Columbia, Kutenai, Nez Percé, Bannock, and Shoshoni, including the Ute—were arrayed in war on the plains against the Blackfoot, Crow, and all the eastern tribes, whom they considered intruders in the western buffalo country. They did not fight the Kiowa and Comanche, however. The Flathead knew of these tribes, but came very little in contact with them. The Comanche were considered as closely related to the Shoshoni, whose language they speak; while the Kiowa were considered somewhat similar to the Bannock. It is also said that the Comanche and Kiowa belonged to the western alignment against the eastern tribes. Besides the great war alignment of tribes (east *versus* west), there was much war among the eastern tribes themselves. Thus Assiniboin, Sioux, and Crow are said to have always fought against the Blackfoot tribes; the Crow against the Sioux, the Cheyenne against both, and so on. Until after the introduction of the horse there were hardly any alliances for war among the western tribes (Flathead, Shoshoni, etc.), each tribe, and sometimes each band, acting independently. Had they been better organized or more united, the Blackfoot and Crow would probably not have been able to encroach upon them. In early times the Spokane and Kalispel were sometimes in alliance, and

again the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, but at other times they were not.

*Wars with the Bannock.*—The Flathead tribes were almost always friendly with the Bannock, but they had misunderstandings two or three times, which led to bloodshed. Once the Crow stole some horses from the Pend d'Oreilles who believed that the Bannock were the guilty party. Therefore they attacked a Bannock camp. This led to a short war and several sharp encounters. Two chiefs arranged a satisfactory peace, and the tribes became friends again, and ever afterwards remained friendly.

The following story may refer to this incident: A large party of allied Salish were camped a little north or northeast of Fort Hall. A large party of Bannock came along and visited the camp for trading of horses, and danced with the Salish. When the trading, dancing, and games were finished, the Bannock moved to a place about 65 miles away. Two days afterwards a horse-raiding party of Crow stole many horses from the Salish. The latter felt sure that some Bannock had returned and stolen the horses. They were incensed at what they considered a treacherous act, as the Bannock only two days before had been entertained by the Salish, had traded and danced with them, and had parted the best of friends. They dispatched a party of about 200 warriors against the Bannock. This war party lay in ambush, and in the early morning, when the people were in the act of turning out their horses to graze, the Salish rushed the camp and captured about 300 horses. The Bannock were taken unawares, but they all ran out to fight, and were surprised to find that their enemies were the Salish from whom they had lately parted as friends. Before the mistake was discovered six Bannock were killed, including their chief, Louis, who had been reared among the Flathead. He was a fast friend of the latter, and spoke their language quite as well as his own. A number of Bannock were wounded; but none of the Salish were killed, and very few were hurt. Afterwards it was proved that the Crow had stolen the Salish horses and that the Bannock were entirely innocent. Peace was at once arranged between the tribes, the Bannock horses were returned, and presents were exchanged.

*Wars with the Blackfoot.*<sup>1</sup>—There were many wars with the Blackfoot, probably many more than with any other tribe. Blackfoot war parties were often large, numbering from 200 to 400 men. Most of the fights were with the Piegan, as they appeared to be the most numerous and aggressive; but sometimes Blackfoot proper and Blood were engaged. As a rule, the Piegan parties were alone, but sometimes they were reenforced by Blackfoot and Blood. Occasionally the three tribes were combined, either purposely or by accident

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 125, 316 et seq.

(meeting one another on the buffalo grounds); and in some instances very large parties were encountered, composed of Blackfoot, Blood, Piegan, Sarsi, and Gros Ventres. Once a fight occurred in the Big Hole Valley between Flathead and Blackfoot at a time when war parties of the latter were constantly appearing in the Flathead country. A party of Flathead numbering about 150 and including many women and children, under Chief Big-Eagle, had separated from the main body of the Flathead, and were traveling south. As they came over the top of a ridge they discovered a Blackfoot party of about 200 warriors. When they saw each other the Flathead drew up on the side of the hill and the Blackfoot did the same at the bottom. The former were all mounted, and the latter were all on foot. Some of the Flathead wanted to hold no parley with them. They thought it best to leave and at once send some men out to inform the main body of the Flathead, with the object of joining forces and cutting off the Blackfoot. Chief Big-Eagle was against this and said he would go and make peace with them. He took with him Bear-Track, who was subchief. They dismounted and went to the Blackfoot on foot. The latter formed a circle, with their chiefs in the middle, and the two Flathead chiefs entered the circle to smoke. Big-Eagle arranged his pipe and the Blackfoot chiefs agreed to smoke it and make peace. While the chiefs were smoking a Blackfoot Indian who was standing behind Big-Eagle pulled his bow out of his quiver without Big-Eagle or his companion noticing it. When they came back to their people some of the latter said to Big-Eagle, "You have no bow." The bow was a specially fine one, and Big-Eagle said he would go back and get it. Some of the people tried to dissuade him, fearing that the Blackfoot might kill him; but he said, "No, we have just finished smoking and have made peace." He walked back unarmed along with Bear-Track and demanded the return of his bow. The Blackfoot told them, "Asking for your bow is equivalent to declaring war on us. Our peace-smoke is now broken." They at once began shooting at them. Big-Eagle fell, pierced with many arrows, and Bear-Track escaped wounded. A fight ensued, the mounted Flathead circling around the Blackfoot, but the latter drove them off, and the Flathead had to retreat. Several were wounded on both sides. The Blackfoot did not manage to capture any horses or scalps, and soon gave up following the mounted Flathead, who now crossed country and overtook the main body of their tribe. As soon as the latter heard the news they held a short war dance. A large force of Flathead warriors returned to look for the Blackfoot; but the Flathead were unable to locate them. This happened toward the end of the eighteenth century.

*Skate'lko*, the father of the late chief Moses of the Columbia, was a noted war chief. He was a tall man, 6 feet or over, and had many war trophies, for he had fought in many battles. He went annually to the plains for buffalo hunting, and had been in fights with almost all the plains tribes. He was able to talk or understand all the interior Salishan languages, Nez Percé, Yakima, Wallawalla, Shoshoni, and Bannock. He could also converse quite freely in Blackfoot, Crow, and several eastern tongues. On his last trip to the plains he was with a united party of Columbia, Kalispel, Pend d'Oreilles, and Flathead, hunting buffalo near Fort Benton, when they were attacked by a large party composed of Piegan, Blackfoot proper, and possibly others. Although the Salish party was large the Blackfoot party outnumbered it considerably. The Salish held their ground for two days, always beating the Blackfoot off. On the third day the Blackfoot made a determined attack on the camp with full force and hand-to-hand fighting ensued. The Salish repulsed them with heavy loss, and, suddenly assuming the offensive, turned the Blackfoot repulse into a rout. They followed the retreating enemy, killing many. *Skate'lko*, although an elderly man, was always in the van of battle, and led the pursuit. Near the end of the fight, just when the Salish were about to quit the pursuit, he was shot. His people buried him on the battlefield and rode all their horses over his grave. He was about 60 years old when killed. This happened about 1840.

The year the first priest came to the Flathead (about 1839 or 1840) a Blackfoot party surprised the horse guard at the big Flathead camp in the Bitterroot Valley and drove away a large number of horses. Very few men on either side were hurt. The Blackfoot did not attempt to attack the camp, as they were not strong enough, but they got away with most of the horses they captured.

A Pend d'Oreilles party was traveling toward a rendezvous in the Flathead country, where they were to join a Flathead party for buffalo hunting. They camped at Finlay Creek. Early the following morning, on a little divide toward Evaro, they met a large Blackfoot party coming over a hill. The two parties exchanged shots, and then the Pend d'Oreilles fell back into the Joeko Valley, as the enemy was much superior in numbers. The Blackfoot surrounded them near where the Indians now hold their dances on the reservation, near the agency at Joeko. The parties kept shooting at each other at long range, the ground being pretty open and level. Some of the Pend d'Oreilles escaped on swift horses to advise the parties who were following behind, and who had camped the previous night not far away, while others rode to the trading post at Thompson Falls to obtain ammunition. The Blackfoot became afraid that they themselves might be surrounded, and gave up the fight, although

most of them had guns, while the Pend d'Oreilles party had only five guns. This was at a time when guns were still scarce among the western Indians. In the fight two Pend d'Oreilles and one Blackfoot were killed and some on both sides were wounded. The Blackfoot were pursued but made good their escape.

Another fight in the Pend d'Oreilles country took place about the same time. A Kanaka called *Gulia'ka* and another Kanaka were carrying goods on horses from the post at Thompson Falls to trade with the Flathead, who had formed a large camp in the Bitterroot Valley. Several Pend d'Oreilles were driving the horses and a few Flathead returning to their own country accompanied them. As they were passing near Evaro a Blackfoot war party watching from a hill sighted them. This party was in charge of a famous Blackfoot war chief named *Sata'*. The Blackfoot descended and attacked the party, killing both the Kanaka. All the Indians escaped and they managed to save all the pack horses and packs. The Blackfoot got nothing except the scalps of the Kanaka, and beat a hasty retreat. The Pend d'Oreilles called reinforcements, followed the Blackfoot, who were all on foot, and overtook them in the mountains. They killed three of them, while they themselves suffered no loss. The rest of the Blackfoot retreated into a rough piece of country and made their escape through the woods in the night. After this, McDonald, who was in charge of the Hudson Bay Co.'s post at Thompson Falls, offered \$200 for *Sata'*'s scalp. At one time there were five Kanaka, cooks and laborers, at the Thompson Falls post. The place where the Kanaka were killed is now called "*Kulia'*," from the name of the Kanaka *Gulia'ka*.

Once a war party of Blackfoot came to Sand Point in the Kalispel country and attacked a camp of people there. The Kalispel drove them off and killed three or four of them without loss to themselves. This was about the farthest west any Blackfoot parties ever came. Another time they came near to this place, but being discovered, retreated without fighting. This happened about 1820.

Once a rather large party of Salish, mostly Flathead, were camped on the Musselshell River. A Blackfoot war party numbering about 130 men, all on foot, discovered their camp. At night they crept up within gun range and erected six small semicircular breastworks of stones at different places commanding the camp. They probably thought they would give the Salish the impression that they were being attacked by a superior party, or that by a heavy gunfire they would make them evacuate their camp. At this time the Salish had very few guns. In the early morning the Blackfoot began firing into the Salish camp, and a battle ensued. The Salish believed the Blackfoot were inferior in numbers, and rather than stay in camp and be shot at, they prepared to attack the enemy. The latter were divided



into six parties at the different breastworks. The Salish concentrated all their men, and riding out into the open rapidly rushed one breastwork after another, attacking from the sides and driving the Blackfoot out on the open plain. In the onslaught their chief, a Piegan, and several others were killed. The Blackfoot managed to get together and rally. The mounted Salish kept them surrounded and a long-range fight ensued. The Blackfoot were much superior to the Salish in guns, but they ran short of ammunition. They moved along slowly all day, the Salish having them surrounded and fighting them all the time. During the night they broke up into several parties and tried to escape; but in the morning the mounted Salish caught up with the largest party, attacked it and killed all the members. Another detached party when overtaken and surrounded began to sing a death chant. The Salish also rode through this party and killed them all. By nightfall all the Blackfoot had been disposed of except a few of those who had escaped the night before and had not been located or overtaken. They may have numbered 15 or 20 men. It is said that a Pend d'Oreilles party came on them later in the country farther north and killed nearly all of them. Probably not one of this party of Blackfoot ever reached their country. During the first night, when the Blackfoot were preparing to attack the Salish camp, they had managed in the dark to steal two very valuable horses. One was a pinto and the other a brown. When next morning the Blackfoot were driven out of their breastworks two unarmed lads mounted these horses and tried to escape with them. A Flathead on a very fleet horse chased them, and after riding about 6 miles killed them both and recovered the horses. During the two days' fighting the Salish lost very few men and had very few horses shot, but a number of horses and men were wounded. The Flathead who led the attack on the breastworks was killed by a ball and another Flathead (a subchief?) was shot and killed by a wounded Blackfoot when only about 2 feet away. A Flathead near by struck the latter down and scalped him at once.

*Wars with the Cheyenne.*—Sometimes the Cheyenne and Salish fought. Once they had a war in which they attacked each other many times and raided each other for horses, but no decisive battle was fought. A number of horses were stolen on both sides, but very few people were killed in either tribe. The most severe engagement was fought a short distance north of the Little Horn; neither side gained an advantage over the other. At the time of the Custer battle, or shortly afterwards, the Cheyenne deserted the country in which they had made their headquarters and moved temporarily into the Crow country, while the Crow moved north to the confines of the Piegan and stayed there for a time. It is said that this migration was due to fear of the Sioux.

*Wars with the Assiniboin.*—About 1865 a Flathead party of considerable strength was camped at Three Buttes, near the confines of the Gros Ventres northeast of the present Blackfoot Reserve in Montana. War was on with the Assiniboin at that time and a war party of them attacked the camp at night. They managed to open a great number of the lodge doors and shot inside, killing in all four men and wounding the Flathead chief and some other people. A woman ran out of one of the tents with a pistol in her hand. The Assiniboin did not kill her as they were waiting for the men to come out. She shot the Assiniboin chief dead and escaped in the dark. The Assiniboin were driven off and at daybreak the Flathead started in pursuit. When they overtook them a running fight ensued and many of the Assiniboin were killed and wounded.

About the same time a large party of Coeur d'Alène, Spokane, Kalispel, Upper Kutenai, and some Pend d'Oreilles were hunting buffalo in the Sweet Grass Hills on the confines of the Piegan country. A large party of Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead were not far away in another direction. Two or more years before this the Assiniboin had boasted that they would drive all the Salish and Kutenai out of the buffalo country. A large war party of Assiniboin came for the purpose of attacking the camp, but when they saw the great strength of the Salish-Kutenai, they immediately made off without risking a battle. The Salish camp had 225 lodges.

*Wars with the Sioux.*—About 1860 a fight took place with Sioux in the country between what is now the Crow Agency and Fort Benton. A Sioux party of 15 or more had gone to steal horses from the Crow, and the latter had killed them all except one man, who escaped. Some other Crow had also killed some Sioux, who were now bent on revenge. A party of 75 or 80 Flathead warriors were traveling near this place, trying to locate buffalo. They had not heard of the recent fighting between the Crow and the Sioux and did not know that the latter were near. They saw a great many tracks which they concluded were made by River Crow, but they were tracks of Mountain Crow fleeing from the Sioux. The Flathead camped for the night. In the early morning they saw several strangers stealing some of their horses and the young men gave chase. These strangers were Sioux, who had discovered the Flathead camp. After a run of about 15 miles the Flathead had killed four of the Sioux and recovered most of their horses, but this had brought them in front of the Sioux camp. The Sioux all came out and the Flathead ran back. The Sioux, being on fresh mounts, caught up with several of the Flathead and killed them. Probably they would have caught up with all of them if their horses had been good, but Sioux horses were generally not as good as Flathead horses. A large number of Sioux took part in the pursuit, and when they reached the Flathead camp they surrounded it.

More and more Sioux came, and when they had all arrived they attacked the camp. There were about 1,500 of them.<sup>2</sup> The Flathead were in a very strong position and were all well armed. The intention of the Sioux was to kill off as many of the Flathead as possible by gunfire and then rush the camp in a sudden charge and kill the survivors. The Flathead fought desperately all day. They lost 18 men killed and the Sioux had 24 killed, including 2 chiefs. At sundown the Sioux made a sign to the Flathead, "We shall kill you all to-morrow." The main body of the Sioux retired to their camp, leaving a sufficiently large number to keep the Flathead surrounded during the night. They knew of no way the Flathead could escape, and the number of men left to guard them far exceeded the number of Flathead. They intended to renew the attack in the morning, and, after some shooting, they were going to charge on the camp and expected they could easily kill the surviving Flathead. The latter, however, knew the country much better than the Sioux, and escaped during the night with their horses and wounded. Early in the morning the Sioux followed them, but could not catch up. When they reached a point near Helena they found that the Flathead had already crossed the river. On the way the Sioux missed a camp of 10 lodges of Flathead on the same side of the river as themselves, a little below Helena, and a second camp in another place near there. They never saw these camps, and the people in them did not know the Sioux were near. Chief *Arli'* was chief of the Flathead party who were out there buffalo hunting at the time of this fight.

*Wars with the whites.*—With the exception of the Spokane and a few Kalispel who joined them, the Flathead tribes had no wars with the whites. The Columbia River wars broke out in 1847 with the massacre of Doctor Whitman and others by the Cayuse. The Indians throughout the region were dissatisfied with the settlement of Americans in their country without treaty with them and recognition of their rights as owners of their respective countries. Some were also impressed with a belief that the Americans intended to destroy them and take possession of their countries, and with this object had already made "medicine" against them in the form of epidemics, such as smallpox and measles, which had killed many of them. If the whites settled among them they would make "medicine" perhaps still more effectively; and, besides, they would interfere with their living by killing off the game and fish, and perhaps they would blight the roots and berries. They knew the fur traders had not tried to hurt them or seize their lands, or interfere with their liberties; but the Americans seemed different, and they looked on them with suspicion and distrust. The Cayuse fought the whites for two or three years,

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<sup>2</sup> It is not clear whether this was the estimated number of warriors or of people in the Sioux camp. The number of both was generally estimated by the number of tents counted.

while all the other tribes remained neutral, because they were of divided opinion. There was a faction in every tribe in favor of the whites and a faction against them. In 1849 or 1850 (?) the Umatilla sided with the whites and defeated the Cayuse in a severe engagement near the head of John Day River (?), which practically ended the Cayuse war. According to Revais, 30 tents of Cayuse did not engage in the war and remained neutral. Feelings of dissatisfaction, distrust, and resentment against the whites continued among many of the Indians until 1855, when Governor Stevens made treaties with most of the tribes in the Columbia area all the way from the coast to the Blackfoot. However, some leading chiefs and large sections of various tribes were not satisfied. They claim that the treaties had been made at too short notice for proper deliberation, and without their full consent.

The same year the Yakima-Wallawalla war broke out. These tribes did not unite, but went to war independently in their respective countries, and during the war they acted and fought in two independent groups—Yakima, Klickitat, and Paloos in one, and Wallawalla, Umatilla, and Cayuse in the other. Many settlers were killed in the early part of the war, especially by the Klickitat. During 1855-56 several sharp engagements were fought between white troops and the Indians of both groups, resulting finally in the subjection of the allied Wallawalla. In this war also a number of Cayuse remained neutral, probably the same ones who were neutral in the Cayuse war; and during hostilities they moved to the Nez Percé. The Yakima, under their chief *Kamiakén*, who, according to some, was part Salish in blood, continued to fight until 1858. In these wars several of the Nez Percé bands and the Wasco furnished many scouts and guides to the soldiers. According to Revais, at the same time the Wallawalla were fighting (about 1856 ?), the Rogue River war broke out. The Indians there felt resentment against the whites, claiming that individual whites at various times had abused and ill-treated them, and the whites were becoming more and more insolent to them. Actual hostilities began in the following manner: Æneas, an Iroquois, at one time an employee of the Hudson Bay Co., had married a Rogue River woman and settled among the tribe. His wife had a child, and some time afterwards the tribe elected him as chief. At this time there were white settlements and stores about every 10 miles along the river, from the head to the sea. Æneas was employed by the whites as mail carrier along the river. On one of his trips a white man shot at him four times and wounded him in the hand. When he arrived home he told the Indians of the affair and advised them to attack the whites. That night the Indians went to war and began to raid all the settlements along the river. Æneas took possession of all the cash part of the loot and buried it in several places. Many whites were killed. At last

the Indians were surrounded and surrendered, but Æneas escaped to friends in the Willamette Valley. His friends told him he would be hanged if caught, and advised him to go north to Fort Colville, where he would be safe, and where he had many friends; but he was anxious to see his wife and child, who had gone to Grande Ronde; so he went there. Shortly after his arrival some Indians reported his presence. He was captured and sentenced to be hung. He sent for his brother, who lived in Willamette, to come and see him; and he told him where he had buried all the money. After his execution his brother went to find the money, but on the way he shot and killed a white man and had to flee. He was caught and hung also. No one then knew where Æneas had hidden the money, and probably it is in the ground to this day. All the Salish tribes remained neutral during these wars. They refused to attack the whites, nor did they give the latter any active aid against the hostile tribes. However, they were gradually becoming more dissatisfied. They had made treaties or agreements in 1855 with Governor Stevens to relinquish parts of their lands; but they claimed that the matter had not been properly settled, and they objected to the land surveys, the building of wagon roads, and to new settlements, as long as their claims were not adjusted. A rush of white gold miners to Colville in 1856 (?) and later, without any regard to Indian authority and rights in the country, made the Spokane and others resentful. They had not yet received any payments for their surrendered lands and no reserves had been set apart for them. They believed that the whites were playing them false and that the treaties and agreements meant nothing. By 1858 they had become strongly of the opinion that the whites did not intend to keep their promises. In that year the Spokane and Coeur d'Alène made an alliance for defense and war. They were to act on the defensive and keep the whites out of their countries until such time as the Government should settle everything fairly with them. They said they must have their reserves and payments before any more whites could enter their country. The Government must not break faith with them. They claimed the right to defend and rule their own countries. The territories of other tribes they would not enter as they had no rights or jurisdiction there. They would not attempt to molest or drive out the whites who were living in the territories of neighboring tribes. That was a matter for the other tribes to decide. The fighting forces of the combined Spokane and Coeur d'Alène are said to have been about 1,000 men. This probably included about 100 men of other tribes who were with them—a few Yakima and Paloos refugees, about twoscore Kalispel, most of them related to the Spokane by descent or marriage, and a few others from various Salish tribes, Colville, Okanagon, Pend d'Oreilles, and two or three from the Thompson country. When Colonel Steptoe's force entered their

country in the spring of 1858 the Indians met them and asked them what they had come there for. They answered that they were going to Colville and had no hostile intentions. The Indians said to them, "Why, then, are you armed, and why have you cannon with you? Your intentions must be hostile, and you had better go back out of our country." Instead of at once returning, the command camped and assumed an attitude of war. Next morning, when there were no signs of their leaving, the Indians attacked them and drove them out. A running fight ensued to near Steptoe Butte, where the soldiers made a stand at evening. The Indians intended to finish the battle at daybreak; but during the darkness of night some Nez Percé scouts who knew the place well guided the survivors out through the enemy's lines, and they escaped. In the morning the Indians followed them right to the Snake, but did not overtake many of them. In this engagement the Indians claim to have taken the soldiers' camp, with all their outfit and provisions, their pack train of over 100 mules and horses, a number of cavalry horses, and arms, including some cannon. They also claim to have killed over half the command of about 200 mounted men. After this the Spokan and most of the Coeur d'Alêne went to Chief Lot's place on the present Spokane Reserve and held war dances. In the fall of the same year Colonel Wright, with artillery and about 1,000 horse and foot soldiers, besides Nez Percé scouts, entered the Spokan country. The Spokan and Coeur d'Alêne met them and fought four engagements with this force inside of a week, but had to retreat after each engagement. However, they managed to take all their women and children, the wounded, and many of their dead with them. In one instance they were unable to take all their lodges and baggage and burned some of them by setting a grass fire behind them. When the command had nearly reached Spokane Falls the Indians held a council, and the Spokan, being out of ammunition and their chiefs at variance, decided to ask for peace. Chief Garry<sup>3</sup> was sent to Colonel Wright's camp to make the arrangements, as he could speak good English. Most of the chiefs surrendered, part of the agreement being that the Indians were to deliver up their horses. The Spokan delivered up most of the horses they had at hand, and it seems that the soldiers at once shot about a thousand of them. The Spokan were now quite unable to continue the war, even if they had wished to, for most of them were without horses and ammunition. Even in the beginning they had little or no chance of winning, being armed with old-fashioned muskets and bows and arrows. They were also short of ammunition at the start, and had no means of replenishing it. On the other hand, the soldiers were equal in numbers

<sup>3</sup> Chief Garry was sent when a boy by the fur traders to the Red River settlements in Manitoba, where he remained several years being educated. He could speak English fluently, and French nearly as well. He was also very proficient in Chinook and in the sign language.

to the Indians, well armed with up-to-date long-range rifles, well supplied with ammunition, and, besides, they had howitzers, before which the Indians could not stand up. In their last council the Indians debated as to whether they should retreat into the mountains and continue the war, whether they should scatter into a number of small parties throughout the country, or whether they should sue for peace and end the war. They decided to sue for peace. It is said that they lost from 15 to 20 men killed in each of the engagements, and quite a number wounded. The losses of the soldiers are not known. Some Indians who would not surrender scattered into various parts of the country and gave up hostilities, while the Coeur d'Aléne retreated into their own country. After Colonel Steptoe's defeat the Spokan knew that a large force of whites would come some time and try to beat them, so they invited the Kalispel to join them for defense and war, as the Coeur d'Aléne had done. The Kalispel called a great council and debated the question for several days. Several of the chiefs and leading men were against going to war, and one shaman told the people that the Spokan and their allies would meet with defeat, as he had noticed some very peculiar happenings among the stars which portended evil for the Indians. One of the strongest speakers against the Kalispel entering the war was Michel Revais's father-in-law. A warrior called *Xane'wa* was very angry at his speech, denounced him as a coward, and asked the people not to listen to him. He told them, "I am going to war; I want to fight the whites." A war dance was held, but very few joined. In the end *Xane'wa* went to the Spokan with about 25 followers, and he was the first man killed on the Indian side in the battle of Spokane. Some soldiers on swift horses ran him down. One caught him by the hair and threw him off his horse and the others shot him when he was on the ground. When the war broke out the great majority of the Kalispel moved into the Salmon River country in British Columbia. This was a deer-hunting and fishing ground of the tribe. Some remained there for about two years to be as far away from the warring Indians and whites as possible. Others of them went over to the buffalo country.

Spotted Coyote, a famous war chief of the Pend d'Oreilles, was one of the very few warriors of that tribe who went over to help the Spokan and Coeur d'Aléne. It was said that he was bullet proof. At the battle of Spokane he rode the full length of the battle line twice, challenging the soldiers, and telling them they could not kill him. They kept firing at him all the time, but he remained unhurt. He had not seen cannon (howitzers) in action before. A number of Indians on the edge of a coulée saw the soldiers and mules turn to take the cannon to a hill. They thought the artillerymen were running away, so they charged on them. When they got close the soldiers

turned the guns around and fired into them, killing a number of men and horses, and scattering the rest. When Spotted Coyote saw this he told the Indians, "There is no use of our fighting. We can do nothing against cannon. The whites are far superior to us in their arms. We must give up fighting and make peace, or leave the country." After this engagement he left the Spokane and returned to his own country.

In the Nez Percé war of 1877 (?) the Flathead tribes were all neutral except to the extent that the Flathead furnished some scouts for the military. According to Revais, the war commenced in the following way. A number of the Nez Percé, and particularly those of Chief Joseph's band, were dissatisfied because the Government had failed to set aside for them a certain piece of land as a reserve, which had been promised; but probably this feeling alone would not have led to war. The immediate cause was that a white man had killed a man of Chief Joseph's band and remained unpunished. This Indian had two sons who were young men. Joseph's people were camped together and were holding a war dance for practice or fun. The two sons were taking no part in the dance, but were riding their horses around in the camp in a wild fashion. A man became annoyed at them, and, coming out of his lodge, said to them, "Why do you carry on like that? You think yourselves brave, and you run over my children. If you were men, you would not try to show off and ride over helpless children, but instead would kill the slayer of your father." That night the two young men went up the creek to where the white man lived and killed him. They took his race horse away, and then killed some other settlers on the creek. The whites reported that Chief Joseph and his people were dancing for war, which was not true, and a large number of soldiers came up and attacked the camp. The Indians retaliated, and thus the war commenced. Joseph and his people traveled to the east. He had about 400 warriors. The rest of the Nez Percé remained neutral. Joseph made for the Lolo Pass, followed by a number of soldiers, while another detachment of soldiers from Fort Missoula tried to intercept him. Along with them were many squaw-men, most of them married to Flathead women, and about 40 Flathead warriors who acted as scouts and guides. They lay in wait on the east side of the mountains; but the Nez Percé scouts saw them, and their party made a détour through a coulée beyond the ridge and passed the soldiers before the latter knew that they were there. When the main party had gone a considerable distance some of the Nez Percé left as a rear guard shot down on the soldiers, and only then did they know that the Indians had eluded them. Chief Joseph went to the Big Hole and later made a circle and passed both Shoshoni and Crow; but neither of these tribes would join him. Had he from the beginning gone straight north, either



on the west or the east side of the Rockies, he could easily have escaped to the Canadian side; but he expected that some of the Flathead, Shoshoni, and Crow would join him, and in this hope went a roundabout way.

The Flathead tribes were also entirely neutral during the Bannock war. They never fought among themselves. Feuds between families were not common. In war the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles claim that they seldom took captives. At least, in later wars they generally killed all of their enemies, including women and children, especially if they were Blackfoot, Crow, or other eastern tribes. A long time ago it is said that they had a few Blackfoot and Shoshoni captives, young women and boys. According to the Flathead, the Blackfoot were the first Indians known to them to acquire firearms and the Crow were the next.

The following is told of Lewis and Clark, who were the first whites seen by many of the Flathead. Lewis and Clark met the first Flathead (or Salish-speaking people) in the Big Hole country. Some Nez Percé and others were camped with them. A ceremonial smoke was held with Lewis and Clark, who sat on the grass when talking with the Indians. The latter thought they must be cold, and put a buffalo robe over each one's shoulders. Later the Indians were surprised to see them get up and walk away, leaving the robes. They expected that they would keep them and use them.

#### VIII. SIGN LANGUAGE

The Flathead were noted as adepts in the sign language, and all the tribes used it extensively in talking with strangers. The Chinook jargon was unknown, except in recent times among some of the Spokane and a few other Indians who had traveled extensively in the West, or who had been associated with the fur traders of Fort Colville. However, even at Colville and other interior trading posts, Chinook was not used a great deal, the principal language being French. Some Indians spoke a little French. The sign language was also employed to some extent by the traders, who had learned it from the Indians. The sign language in vogue was the same as that used by the Crow and other tribes of the western plains, or only slightly different.

#### IX. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The social organization of the Flathead tribes appears to have been in general of the same kind as that common to other interior Salishan tribes, the Kutenai, the Nez Percé, and the Shoshoni. There were no privileged classes, clans, gentes, phratries, and it is doubtful if there were societies of any kind. There may have been among the Flathead one or two companies corresponding somewhat to the dog

soldiers or military and police societies of some Plains tribes, but I was unable to make sure of this point.

Each tribe formed a unit, the members being bound together by ties of blood, association, mutual interests, methods of making a living, common country, and dialect. Each tribe consisted of a number of bands, each making its headquarters as a rule in some definite locality, and composed of families more or less closely related by blood. The bands, however, had a greater range, or were more nomadic than those of most Salishan tribes of the Columbia and Fraser drainage. There are traces of groupings of some of the bands in larger units, at least among the Spokane and Kalispel. Each band had a chief and an assistant chief, who gave advice and looked after the affairs of the band. There was no central authority except the head chief. He and other chiefs formed a council and discussed the larger affairs of the tribe as a whole. The head chief kept the tribal pipe and other tribal property of a ceremonial kind used in the making of peace and war. It is uncertain whether the head chief was also a band chief or whether this chieftainship was a distinct office. As the exact number of bands that existed long ago is not remembered, the number of chiefs in each tribe is also unknown. The powers of the chiefs were in large measure advisory only. The ancient social organization changed so long ago that very little authentic information about it can be secured. The disappearance of the separate bands has been described before. Those of the Spokane and Kalispel never entirely disappeared. They were retained to some extent when these tribes were on their home grounds. The political and social organization now was centralized in the tribe. Instead of a number of practically independent small bands loosely bound together there was now a single organization for all. The bands ceased to have any local or geographical significance. Each tribe had a head chief, a subchief, and several "small" chiefs; but I did not learn much regarding the functions and duties of the different classes of chiefs. The head chief is said to have been the leader of the tribe, but as a rule he consulted the subchief, and often also the small chiefs, before deciding any matter of great importance. The subchief was an assistant to the head chief, in whose absence he acted as substitute. If the tribe divided for any reason, the head chief took charge of one part and the subchief of the other. The small chiefs had duties somewhat similar to those of the band chiefs in other Salishan tribes. If the tribe split up into parties for root digging, berrying, or buffalo hunting, each going to a different locality, a small chief took charge of each party. The small chiefs were of great importance in the gathering of the food supplies and in the overseeing and carrying out of regulations of many kinds. They had to look after the general welfare of the camp and the safety, comfort, and good conduct of the people.

They also had surveillance of the guarding and pasturing of horses and the procuring of firewood. There were fairly strict regulations regarding camping, fires, firewood, sanitation, herding of horses, scouting, guards, positions of lodges, positions of groups and tribes in the camp circle, and other matters.

When on the great buffalo hunts and in the main winter camp there was some kind of division of the men into companies under leaders for the performance of definite duties. In some cases, at least, the leaders took orders from the head chief of the party. A group of young men acted as scouts; another group assisted the small chiefs acting as a police in camp and on the march. Another group of older men traveled with the women and children and assisted in making camp. Another group of young men were horse herders. Most of these companies were small, numbering perhaps a dozen, according to the size of the party.

There was some method of ranking "braves" according to war experience and exploits, and positions were assigned to them when on the march, when attacking an enemy, and when stampeding buffalo; but I did not obtain details. There were no temporary hunting chiefs, as among the Thompson.

I was unable to learn definitely if each small chief always took charge of the same people, but there are indications suggesting that the small chief was originally a band chief; and most of the people who generally followed him in the summer when gathering food were probably descendants of people of a single, at one time local, band. Certain small chiefs were wont to go each summer to the same district, usually with the same families, and these places were considered their summer homes. A certain band almost invariably went to the Big Hole Valley to spend the summer, and a branch of this band nearly always went south to the Shoshoni country. I did not ascertain with certainty whether each small chief and the people who generally accompanied him in the summer had regular positions in the tribal camp circle. All the tribes camped in a circle, especially when buffalo hunting. When allied tribes were camped together each had its position in the circle. There was a definite usage regarding positions, which may have been geographical in origin. Thus, if Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead were together, the former occupied the north half and the latter the south half of the circle; if Flathead and Shoshoni, the latter were south of the former in the circle. The dance house, when one was in use, was generally in the center, or near the center of the circle. This house was also often used as an assembly house. Generally all the horses were driven inside the circle at dusk and herded during the night. Many were picketed and others hobbled. At daybreak they were turned out-

side to graze again. Often there was a considerable amount of grass within the circle, if the camp had not been long in use.

CHIEFS.—Chieftainship was never strictly hereditary. For a considerable time chiefs have been elected. When the head chief of the tribe died the subchief had the right to succeed him. One of the small chiefs was elected subchief and a good man of the tribe was elected to fill the vacancy among the small chiefs. If the subchief declined the position of head chief he remained subchief and one of the small chiefs was elected head chief. If the small chief first selected to be chief refused then another one was asked. On the death of the head chief his place was always filled by one of the other chiefs. The main reasons given for refusing the position of head chief were poverty and unfitness. One would say, "I am not good enough to be the head man of the people." Another would say, "I am too poor." In former times a son not unfrequently succeeded his father as chief, but seldom did members of the same family hold a chieftainship for over three generations. Chiefs were generally superior men, and before election were distinguished for qualities such as wisdom, social influence, oratory, truthfulness, or bravery. Dignity, wealth, renown for warlike exploits, and striking physical appearance were also considered. A loud talker, one boastful, or who could not control his temper, could not be a chief. A chief should be considerate in dealings with others, modest in speech and behavior, quiet, cool, resourceful, and perfectly in control of himself. He should never talk in a loud voice, quarrel, show anger, fear, or jealousy. Chiefs' wives and children also ought to be unassuming, quiet, dignified, hospitable, to show that they were really chiefs' people, and so not disgrace their husbands and fathers. There were no women chiefs. The chiefs of the Flathead group had a great deal of influence and were respected and obeyed by their people. They wielded more power than the chiefs of other Salishan tribes. Six or seven generations ago the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles had each six chiefs—a head chief, a subchief, and four small chiefs. The Kalispel (probably excluding the Chewelah) had a head chief, a subchief, and three small chiefs. How the number of chiefs originated and whether they represent the original number of band chiefs is uncertain. If they do, then the Pend d'Oreilles probably consisted formerly of six bands and the Kalispel of five. At the present day there is said to be a head chief, a second chief, and two small chiefs for each tribe. The head chiefs of the Flathead as far as remembered were—

1. *Tc'les keimi'*. ("Three-Eagles"), chief about 200 years ago.
2. *Koti'ts keimi'*. ("Big-Eagle"), said to have been a son of No. 1. He was killed by the Blackfoot (cf. p. 362 for an account of his death).
3. *Kotirā'tEat* ("Big-Hawk"), a relative (probably a grandson) of No. 1. Killed by the Blackfoot. He was chief when Lewis and Clark came.

4. *StemuESEEMxê'* ("Standing Grizzly-Bear"), no relative of the preceding chiefs. He was more than half Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel in blood. He was head chief when Michel Revais's father was young and he died the year the first priest came (around 1839).

5. (Victor) *Skoikoi'xêltsi'* or *Sxweixweixelci* ("Plenty-of-Horses," from *xweixweil*, "plenty"; *xêltsi'* or *xelci*, "horse"), no relation, or only very distantly related, to any of the preceding. Said to have been partly of *Tunā'xe* descent, and his name of Salish-*Tunā'xe* origin. He made the treaty with Governor Stevens in 1855.

6. (Charles [or Carlos]) *Ēāmxe'ke* or *stEMxaike'* ("Small Grizzly-Bear Claw"), son of No. 5. He was living in 1909, aged 79 years.

There is some confusion regarding Nos. 2 and 3. Revais said he thought Big-Eagle and Big-Hawk were different names for the same man. Some say that Big-Hawk succeeded Three-Eagles, while others say that there was a chief between them. *Ārli'* was subchief of the Flathead when the tribe made a treaty with Governor Stevens in 1855.

The same informants gave the Pend d'Oreilles head chiefs as follows:

1. (Alexander) *TE'melhaḫiltse'* or *TEMELḫax.tse'* ("No-Horses"; from *TEMEL*, negative "without"; *haḫiltse'* or *xax.tse'*, "horse"), said to have been partly of *Tunā'xe* descent, and his name from the Salish-*Tunā'xe* language. He died a very old man about 1868 and is said to have had 400 horses. He was the Pend d'Oreilles chief who made a treaty with Governor Stevens. Chief Alexander had an elder brother called *Tcenko's'hwé'* ("Man-who-walks-alone"). He was a prominent man in his time. He and Alexander were first cousins to Michel Revais's father. Chief Alexander had a daughter who married Chief Louison. She was second cousin to Michel Revais.

2. (Michel) *Hwihiełłcê* ("Plenty-of-Grizzly-Bear": from *hwihwizl*, "plenty"; *elłcê'* or *elłsê'*, "grizzly bear"), no relative to No. 1. He was a small chief of the tribe when his predecessor died and was elected head chief after two others—André and Pierre (or Peter)—had refused. He was probably partly of *Tunā'xe* descent, as his name is from the Salish-*Tunā'xe* language. He died about 1890.

3. (John Peter) *Ncā'lqan* or *Nsā'rlqEN* (meaning uncertain, but an old hereditary name with suffix *-qen* "head"), son of No. 2. Chief in 1909, aged about 45 years.

The subchief of the Pend d'Oreilles when treaty was made with the Government in 1855 was *Nkaltse.ê'* or *Nkotilts.ê'* ("Big-Canoe").

I obtained the following list of Kalispel head chiefs, but possibly they were chiefs only of the Lower Kalispel.

1. *Nī'wards* (meaning uncertain), chief before the whites came.

2. Nicolas (?) *Ku'lkuls keimi'* or *Kulkuls qaii'm* ("Red-Eagle"), said to have been a son of No. 1. He died about 1835.

3. *Etswi'ssom.xê'* ("Standing-Bear").

4. Victor *Ntsaka'łta'*. (meaning uncertain) or *Arła'mqEN* (meaning uncertain, but an old hereditary name with suffix *-qen* "head"), died an old man. He was chief at the time of the war between the whites and the Spokan, and had a document given to him in 1859 by the chief of the military, recognizing him as a friendly chief.

5. Marcellin *Tceqe'qei* (meaning doubtful), chief of the Lower Kalispel in 1909, and aged about 70.

None of these chiefs made any treaty with Governor Stevens. Nicolas *Silemuxs'tu'* was subchief in 1909. He is said to be a descendant of one of the early chiefs. The late chief of the Camas Prairie or Upper Kalispel on the Flathead Reserve was Red-Eagle, a relative of Red-Eagle No. 2 of the Lower Kalispel. He died after 1900.

Some chiefs of the Chewelah (or Colville Valley Kalispel) were in succession as follows:

1. *Kwoikwoitemela'* or *Kwokwo'ila* (meaning uncertain), said to be a Salish-*Tunā'xe* word. He was partly of *Tunā'xe* descent.
2. *Tcukwi'tsqen* (meaning uncertain), an old hereditary name with suffix *-gen* "head."
3. (Tom Peyette) *Silemlôlôroi'* ("Chief Buffalo-Calf"), said to be a Salish-*Tunā'xe* name. *lôlôroi'* is understood to have meant "buffalo-calf" in the Salish-*Tunā'xe* tongue. This man's father was partly of *Tunā'xe* descent.

My informant did not know the names of the recent chiefs of the Chewelah.

The chief of the Kutenai who made treaty with the United States Government and obtained a share in the Flathead Reserve was Æneas *Kwotileni'* ("Big-Knife"). This is his Pend d'Oreilles name, not his Kutenai name. He was a tall, strong man. His father was an Iroquois and his mother belonged to the Kutenai of Windermere, British Columbia. His son, also called *Kwotileni'*, was chief of the Kutenai on the Flathead Reserve in 1909, and lived at Dayton Creek, near Flathead Lake, where the Kutenai are settled.

I did not obtain any list of Spokane chiefs. It seems that each division of the Spokane had a chief and some small chiefs. Long ago there was no head chief proper, although, according to some, the chief of the Upper Spokane was considered the leading chief of the three divisions. After the tribe took up buffalo hunting the Upper Spokane had a head chief, a subchief, and small chiefs like the Flathead, and it was customary to recognize the head chief of the Upper Spokane as head chief of all the Spokane. When the divisions were combined in hunting, traveling, and war, the divisional chiefs of the Middle and Lower Spokane and the subchief of the Upper Spokane were all classed as subchiefs, and ranked in the same way. In making treaties with the Government and in the war with the whites in 1858 Garry of the Upper Spokane was recognized as head chief of all the Spokane. At this time the subchief of this division was *Po'lotqen* (an hereditary name). The chief of the Lower Spokane when the tribe made treaty was *Hwislpo'* ("Walks-Outside"). He was a brother of Oliver Lot *Kotilko'* ("Big-Star"), late chief of the Lower Spokane. *Spaié'x*, a tall man, was chief of the Middle (or Hangman's Creek) Spokane in 1908, or at least of those on the Flathead Reserve. Each tribe on the reserve continues to have its own chiefs. Besides the regular chiefs, there were a number of war chiefs and dance chiefs in each

tribe. Sometimes, at least, there was a head war chief and a head dance chief. In some cases the regular chiefs were also war chiefs and hunting chiefs, and some of them were also sometimes dance chiefs. There may also have been some men who were special chiefs or permanent captains of companies or groups of various kinds, but I did not obtain sufficient information on this point.

NAMES.—Personal names were similar in character to those of the neighboring Salish and Plains tribes. On the whole, they differed from those of the Thompson, Shuswap, and more northern and western Salish tribes in having far fewer names with regular name suffixes, such as are employed by the Thompson: *-ésqet* ("cloud"), *-éllst* ("stone"), *-qen*, *-qain* ("head"), *-i'tsa* ("robe"). Long ago names of this class were more abundant than they are now. The names of most men were derived from dreams, and many of them were connected with the guardian spirit. A great many other names were derived from exploits or personal characteristics, and a few were nicknames. If a man were very wealthy he might take the name "Many-horses"; if he had killed many enemies he might be called "Killed-many"; and so on. As among the Thompson, a man sometimes showed his modesty by taking a name meaning exactly the opposite of the characteristic for which he was noted or for which he wished to be distinguished. In some cases he took a name of this kind, or it was given to him, in irony. Names of this sort were common. Thus a man very wealthy in horses might be called "No-horses." If very wealthy in every way, his name might be "Poor-Man" or "Beggar." Sometimes a distinguished man was given a name as a mark of honor, and the man adopted it if he saw fit. These names generally had to do with exploits, particularly in war. Names derived from dreams or connected with the guardian spirit were taken from visions seen or given in dreams, from the personal appearance of the guardian spirit, or from directions given by him. Some were names given by the guardian spirit and told to be used, and others were names of the guardian spirit himself. Adjectives such as "big," "little," "red," "black," "blue," "spotted," were frequent in these names. Many were obtained at puberty, but some were taken later in life. Any name, once adopted, could become an hereditary name. Following are a few names:

*Tona'sqet* ("— Cloud," an old hereditary name), a celebrated chief of the Okanagon long ago. The name is also used by the Spokane.

*Saxsaxpeqai'n* ("— Head," an old hereditary name), a former noted chief of the Nespelim. The name occurs also among the Spokane.

*Stskeestci'*. (possibly "Blue-Man"), a former prominent chief of the Lower Spokane.

*Elem'eux spēkane'* ("Chief-of-the-Sun"), a former chief of the Lower Spokane.  
(Isaac) *Kwoispekane'* ("Black-Moon"), a late dance chief of the Flathead.

(Big Sam) *Nkaltse'é'* ("Big-Canoe"), a Flathead chief, a leader of dances. His name is that of a former Pend d'Oreilles chief who was his relative. (See Pend d'Oreilles chiefs, p. 377.)

(Moise) *Kwe'tseme'pste'mza'* ("Door-of-the-Grizzly-Bear"), a chief and judge of the Flathead, 1909.

(Louison) *Kwukwulsnī'na* ("Red-Owl"), a chief and judge of the Flathead, 1909. "Red-Owl" was also his father's name. The other judge of the Flathead in 1909 was Louis Pierre.

(Moise) *Titīslu'tsu'* ("Crawling-Mountain"), a former subchief of the Flathead. *Szu'tseme'ē'* ("Grizzly-Bear Traek"), a subchief of the Flathead when Big-Eagle was head chief (see p. 362); also the name of a celebrated Flathead shaman and prophet born about 1790 (see p. 384).

*Iāle'emī'* or *Yōle'emī'* ("Good-Chief"), a rich man of the Flathead. As an irony on his name, Revais stated that he killed his sister with a knife on a Christmas night, two years afterwards killed his wife, and later killed another wife.

Other names of the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead were "Spotted-Coyote," "Red-Hawk," "Buffalo-Bull," "Red-Horns," "Red-Bull."

SLAVERY.—Slavery was not prevalent among the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. Long ago the only slaves were a few captives of war, consisting of young women, boys, and girls, who were adopted into the families to which they belonged, and were treated well. Some of them were Blackfoot and Shoshoni. In later times, it is said, there were no slaves of any kind, as the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles did not trade in slaves, and never took captives. They preferred to kill rather than take prisoners; and members of enemy tribes at their mercy after a battle were either killed or allowed to escape. It is said that the Spokane, however, had a number of slaves at one time, some of them captives of war, and others procured in trade from Columbia River tribes and at The Dalles.

SMOKING.—There is no tradition of a time when these tribes did not smoke. Some tubular pipes were used very long ago, but pipes of the elbow type, the simple bowl type, and the type with platform, have been in vogue for a long time. Some pipes of the elbow type had flanges along the outside of the bowl, which were sometimes serrated. Pipes were made of soapstone of various colors, red and black being the most common. Catlinite was procured from Plains tribes and also from the Shoshoni. A red soapstone, duller in color than catlinite, was obtained near Pend Oreille Lake; a brown kind from the Coeur d'Alēne country; and occasionally green, yellow, white, gray, and mottled from western tribes. Black soapstone was common in the Flathead country. In ceremonial smoking the pipe was always passed around sunwise. Before smoking it was often pointed with the stem toward the four points of the compass and the earth and sky, or whiffs of smoke were blown in these directions. After smoking, in some ceremonies, the pipe was laid down to cool on a buffalo skull. A kind of wild tobacco was used in smoking, probably the same kind as was used by the Thompson and Shoshoni.



## X. BIRTH, CHILDHOOD, PUBERTY, MARRIAGE, AND DEATH

**TWINS.**—There were no regulations regarding twins. They were not treated differently from other children. Their parents did not live apart with them, and there were no twin songs.

**BABY CARRIERS.**—The oldest style of carrier among all the tribes consisted of a short board, to which the baby, after being wrapped, was strapped. The upper end of the board did not reach to the baby's head. These boards had no hoops. Drains were used for male children only. A high board carrier came into use about 1800. According to Revais, it was adopted on the advice of the French-Canadian employees of the fur companies, who told the Indians to use a higher board so as to keep the child's head more steady. Soon afterwards a very high board<sup>1</sup> came into universal use among all the Flathead tribes as well as among the Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, and others. It is said that bark carriers were never used, although they were known to be used for young infants among the Coeur d'Alêne, Colville, and other western tribes. Carriers of basketry or wicker-work were never used. Navel-string pouches were in common use.

**HEAD DEFORMATION.**—The Flathead tribes never deformed the heads of infants. They used no pressure or straps of any kind on babies' heads. It was impossible to press the heads of infants on the short board carriers formerly used. Revais said that in very early times none of the Salish tribes, nor the Nez Percé, pressed the heads of babies. He considered that the custom spread up the Columbia from the coast, as it was universal among the Chinook, Wishram, and Wasco. The Kliekitat, Tenaino, and all the tribes bordering on the Chinookan people, also pressed their heads, but generally to a much less degree. The custom was also found among the Taighpam, Umatilla, Wallawalla, Cayuse, Yakima, and Columbia, but in a still less degree, and it was not practiced by all families. The custom appears to have gained ground along Columbia River, for probably at one time none of these tribes flattened their heads except the Wishram and other Chinookan tribes. Before the custom went out of vogue it had also spread to the Coeur d'Alêne and Nez Percé, some of whom flattened their heads slightly.

In a later communication Mr. Teit says: "All the tribes except the Coeur d'Alêne claim that no head flattening was practiced in early times, for it was impossible with the old-style board carrier. After the introduction of the long board carrier more or less flattening occurred in all the tribes using them. The Coeur d'Alêne made use of a pad of stiff skin attached to the carrier, which was tightened over the baby's head when it slept, to keep the head from moving. This is said sometimes to have caused slight flattening of the head.

<sup>1</sup> See Mason, "Cradles of the American Aborigines," Washington, 1889, fig. 18, a Spokane carrier.

The Nez Percé are said to have had the same arrangement, and some of them purposely flattened their children's heads by severe tightening of the pad. Many people in all the tribes below or west of the Nez Percé flattened their children's heads to some extent, but only from The Dalles down were heads flattened severely."

**PUBERTY.**—Puberty customs and ceremonies were similar to those of the Coeur d'Aléne and neighboring Salish tribes. Young men fasted, prayed, exercised, and kept vigils until they acquired one or more guardian spirits. They obtained songs from them, as among the other tribes.

**MARRIAGE.**—Marriage customs were like those of the Coeur d'Aléne. A great many men had two wives, and some more. A marrying dance was in vogue. Revais said he had known five or six women who died as old spinsters.

**MOTHER-IN-LAW TABOO.**—Unlike the Coeur d'Aléne, the Flathead had no mother-in-law or father-in-law taboo. Brothers and sisters were not expected to speak obscenely in each other's presence. A brother who talked obscenely within hearing of his sister, and *vice versa*, was severely reprimanded; and if he persisted or customarily did this, he was no longer respected by the people.

**CUSTOMS REGARDING WOMEN.**—Long ago menstruating women had to live apart in a tent by themselves. In later days they were allowed to live in the same tent, but apart from their husbands. Now it is said they cook food and live with their husbands, as among white people.

**BURIAL.**—Burial was the method of disposing of the dead among all the interior Salish tribes. The corpse was sewed or tied up in mats, skins, or robes, and placed outside on a scaffold or in the branches of trees until ready for burial. As soon as the people had gathered and a grave had been dug, it was buried in the ground, preferably in sandy knolls, or in the rocks at the base of a rock slide. In olden times stones were piled on the top of graves. The pole by which the body had been carried was erected over the grave. Sometimes also one or more small poles in form of a tripod were erected to mark the spot. Offerings were tied to these poles. If the burial took place in a strange country no stones or poles were used, and all marks of the burial were obliterated. This is said to have been chiefly so that no enemy might find the grave and desecrate it in any way or take the scalp of a person lately buried. To deceive enemies, horses were ridden and driven back and forth over the grave, as well as over the ground for a considerable distance around; so that it became difficult to tell the exact spot of the burial. (See p. 363.)

Another method was to bury in the camp circle and to light a fire over the grave, so that it had the appearance of one of the ordinary fires of the circle. A number of small camps were also made to de-

ceive enemies. On examining the place people would think a party had rested there for a short time, judging by remains of small fires, cut wood, and tracks.

## XI. RELIGION AND CEREMONIES

RELIGION.—A belief was held by the Flathead that there are three worlds, one above the other, the middle one being the earth on which we live. A great and good chief, who is the source of life, lives in the upper world and rules it, while the chief in the underworld is of an evil disposition.

Another somewhat similar belief was that there is a great tree, the roots of which sink far into the earth, and the top of which reaches the sky. The great good chief *Amo'tken* sits on top of the tree, while the bad chief *Amte'p* sits at the root within the earth. All the good people go to *Amo'tken's* country when they die, and the evil ones to *Amte'p's* country.

The Flathead prayed to *Amo'tken*, but not to *Amte'p*. The former makes rain and snow, makes everything go right on earth and in the sky, makes food plentiful, and tries to benefit people. *Amte'p* is mysterious, and often tries to harm people, to blight the crops, and make game and food scarce. The wicked beings of mythological times who formerly inhabited the earth live with him. Spirits still haunt the lakes, rivers, and mountains where they once lived, and do harm to people.

*Amo'tken* is the deity who sent Coyote into the world to make life easier for the people. The Flathead believed that souls go north to the entrance to *Amo'tken's* country. Coyote lives in an ice house at the gate through which souls pass. Some Pend d'Oreilles think that souls followed the main streams north to the gate of the spirit land. The Kalispel say that souls follow the streams first north and then west to the spirit land, in just the same direction as the main river runs. Others say that souls follow the streams to the sunset land, where the shades live, and disappear there, just as sun and moon do. The east is considered the region of birth and life, the west that of death and mystery. The mythological tales of the Flathead tribes are closely related to those of the Plateau tribes to the north, west, and south. They also show some relationship to tales of the Plains and Algonquian tribes. Coyote was the culture hero.

GIANTS, DWARFS, ETC.—Beliefs in races of giants and dwarfs were held, as among the surrounding tribes. Dwarfs are called "small people," while the name for giants is the same as that used by other Salishan tribes. Different kinds of spirits are said to haunt certain lakes and parts of the mountains. They are similar in character to the "land mysteries" and "water mysteries" of the Thompson. Offerings were made to them to obtain good weather, good hunting,

and immunity from harm of any kind when people were within or near their sphere of influence.

**GUARDIAN SPIRITS.**—Guardian spirits were of the same classes as among the Coeur d'Aléne. At puberty, every one endeavored to obtain one or more of them, and for this purpose went through a long course of training. Bathing in running water, fasting, praying, and keeping vigil in lonely places were prominent features. Every one obtained one or more songs at puberty. Some were received directly from the guardian spirit, others were heard in dreams or visions. When not obtainable in this way, songs were occasionally composed by the novice in secret. Some songs were merely modifications and new variations of those already known to the people as a whole. The themes were usually suggested by something seen during the vigils or while training. A song might begin with the words, "I saw a bear," and so on. Sometimes songs expressed the desires or expectations of the person, and might begin with the words, "May my friend the eagle come!" "May such and such happen!" "May I see such and such a thing!" "May I do this or that!" Songs were also composed in later life after notable dreams, important events, or war exploits. There were also some songs composed for fun, with words of a comic nature.

Men kept skins, feathers, hairs, claws, and other parts of animals and birds, which were representations of their guardian spirits, and also charms, roots, etc., in medicine bags of leather, rawhide medicine cases, or small specially made parflèches. When going to battle many men carried their medicine cases, while others affixed feathers or skins of their animal guardians to their hair or clothing.

**BERDACHES.**—There were a few cases of men dressing and acting like women. As a rule, they became shamans, and cured sick people. They lived alone, did not marry, did not go to war, dressed in poor clothes, and never bedecked their persons gaudily. They dressed and did up their hair like women. They did all kinds of woman's work, and no man's work. Young men sometimes visited them and joked with them, but they held no familiar intercourse with either sex. Occasionally, to please the men, they would dress in men's clothing for a day and then resume their ordinary clothing. It is supposed that they were told by their guardian spirits to live as women do. Revais knew two who went by the women's names of Marguerite and Julianne. One began to dress and act like a girl when 7 or 8 years old, and the other when 10 or 11. Both were full-sexed males, and not hermaphrodites.

**SHAMANS.**—Shamans and beliefs connected with shamanism were similar to those of the Coeur d'Aléne and other Salishan tribes. A noted shaman and prophet of the Flathead was Bear-Track, who died about 1880, aged over 90 years. If the people could not locate buffalo they asked his help. After gathering all the young men together he

would take his drum and sing, making them all join in the song. After singing a while, he would say, "The Piegan have made medicine and keep the buffalo. I will break their medicine and make the buffalo come. In four days the buffalo will arrive, and you will see many of them." Buffalo never failed to be found or seen in the time and numbers he stated. Sometimes Bear-Track would say to the chiefs or to the people, "The Crow [or Blackfoot, as the case might be] are on their way to steal horses. They will be here to-night. Make ready and kill them." His prophecies always proved to be true. He could tell when battles would be fought, foresee the results, and the numbers killed. He could tell where friendly and hostile camps were, and where and when persons would be found or met. The Crow and Blackfoot knew him well, and were very much afraid of him. If some of them happened to hear his drum they would run back and give up the attempt to take horses. They believed he could see them as soon as he began to drum and sing. Many hostiles, as soon as they learned he was in the camp, would at once leave and abandon the attack. They believed he could frustrate all attempts to take horses and scalps; and that if they tried to open a fight they would certainly be killed.

MISSIONS.—Nominally almost all the people of the Flathead tribes are Catholics, but they do not appear to be as much under the control of the church as, for instance, the Coeur d'Alêne. Revais told me the following about missions. The first priests to come west of the Rockies to the Columbia or Oregon country were the two Blanchets and De Mars from Canada. The first missionary among the Flathead was Father De Smet. He had no fixed headquarters, but traveled about among the Indians. A special mission was founded in the Bitterroot Valley about 1840 or 1841; but it was given up after a few years, on account of Indian wars and the frequent raids made for stealing horses and cattle. Father McGraney<sup>1</sup> was the first resident priest of the mission. He moved to Oregon about 1842 or 1843. In 1843 (?)<sup>2</sup> Father Hogan founded a mission at Kalispel and had a church built there. The mission at this place was given up and transferred in 1854 to the present one on the Flathead Reserve at St. Ignatius. Some of the Iroquois who settled among the Flathead interested them in the white man's religion and in the Bible, and persuaded them to send to St. Louis for priests. Four young Flathead men started in 1831 and reached St. Louis, where they wintered. Two of them died there, and the other two set out for home in the spring, but never reached there. It is supposed they were killed or captured on the road. Some authorities say seven men started—three Flathead and four Nez Percé. Three of them turned back, two

<sup>1</sup> I give the name as it seemed to be pronounced by Revais.

<sup>2</sup> Revais seemed to be sure of some dates, and not so sure of others.

died in St. Louis, one died on the way back, and only one, a Nez Percé, reached home. In 1835 the tribe sent another delegation headed by old Ignace, an Iroquois. They returned safely. In 1837 they sent a third delegation, who were all killed by the Sioux. In 1839 the fourth delegation went, consisting of one Flathead and one Iroquois. They brought Father De Smet the same or the following year. A large escort of Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, and Kalispel, and some Nez Percé met Father De Smet near the Wyoming boundary. The following year more priests came, and a Flathead escort met them at the Wind River Mountains. There was no permanent mission among the Spokan until about 1865 or later.

CEREMONIES AND DANCES.—There appears to have been a considerable number of ceremonies connected with war, and many different kinds of dances, among the Flathead tribes. Among the Spokan, and probably the other tribes, there were two periods, each lasting two or three weeks, in which the whole tribe assembled for feasting and dancing. One gathering, probably the principal one, was about midsummer, and the other about midwinter. Warriors recounted their exploits. The people wore their best clothing and decorated their horses. In some places the winter gathering was much less important and confined often to bands. Singing formed an accompaniment to all dancing. Deer hoofs and other rattles, rasps, sticks, and drums were used for beating time.

*Sun dance.*—The sun dance of the plains was not adopted, although the Flathead especially were well acquainted with its performance among eastern tribes. A sun dance something like that of the Coeur d'Alène was kept up by the Spokan as a distinct dance, often performed by itself. Among the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead it was combined with the praying dance, at least in later times, and obscured by it. Thus, although these tribes performed a dance at the time of the solstice, when the sun was observed to turn, the dancing and prayers were the same as in the praying dance, and it seems that the sun was not directly addressed (?). The people prayed, danced, and sang with intervals of rest and feasting. Offerings were made in some places and many of the paintings were symbolic of the sun. The dancing lasted from one to four days. The sun was addressed as chief, father, great mystery (?).

Some of the Flathead held their summer sun dances in conjunction with Shoshoni and it seems that these Flathead had a more elaborate dance than the Salish tribe farther west.

*Praying dance.*—The praying dance was held several times during the summer, often four times. The people danced in a circle, one behind another and following the sun's course. They made the same signs while dancing as the Thompson and Coeur d'Alène, and prayed and talked to *Amo'tken* to keep them well and preserve them

from harm. The dancers sang while dancing. There was no drumming or loud cries in this dance, which was of a solemn character. I did not learn whether it had any connection with the belief in the return of souls, or with other beliefs entertained by the Shuswap and Thompson regarding souls; but there were some vague beliefs of this kind among the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles. Long ago a dance was held for four days in the wintertime, generally in January, at which prayers were offered, but it is not clear whether this was the sun dance, the praying dance, or another somewhat similar dance. At this dance or some other dance, offerings of tobacco and old clothes were made and hung on a pole.

*First-fruits ceremony and harvest dances.*—In olden times all the Flathead tribes had first-fruits or harvest ceremonies, which were combined with dancing. The chief painted his face, called his people together, and prayed to *Amo'tken* to continue giving them good crops and prosperity, abundance of food and facility in gathering it and immunity from sickness. He thanked him for the present crops, and made him an offering of the first fruits on a dish. He then sang a song, and the people danced. Afterwards the chief called on the men to sing. They sang in turn, the people dancing to each song. The women did not sing individually, but while dancing joined in each song: In some places these ceremonies and dances were performed during the summer and autumn as each principal variety of roots or berries was gathered. In other places the ceremonies were performed less frequently, or only at the beginning of the harvest season.

*Hunting dances, buffalo dance.*—I did not hear of any horse dance to celebrate the period when horses are fat and buffalo hunting was about to begin, but a buffalo dance was performed in conjunction with the war dance before any large party went buffalo hunting. Another kind of dance relating to buffalo hunting was sometimes performed when buffalo were scarce. Generally a shaman who had power over the buffalo was requested to take charge of the dance.

*Guardian spirit.*—A "medicine" dance was performed every winter. Men sang their guardian-spirit songs and danced. Some people did not sing, but shamans always did so. In later days only a few men, generally those who had powerful guardians, sang at this dance. There was no praying, and *Amo'tken* was not addressed. Usually the dance lasted four days. This dance and some others were said to produce cold weather or wind. Some think it had the power of preventing sickness among the people and destroying "bad medicine" made by shamans of other tribes.

*Turkey and other animal dances.*—Dances were performed in which the dancers imitated the actions of birds and quadrupeds, but it is not clear whether the dancers were members of any societies or

dancing organizations. In later days the turkey dance was introduced, the dancers wearing feather bustles, and imitating the walking and actions of the wild turkey. The dancers stooped forward, walked stiff legged, held one hand up to the forehead and the other back at the backside. Most of the animal dances were named after the animals imitated, such as deer, bear, dog, raven, chicken. Some of the leaders of these dances wore regalia appropriate to each dance.

*Marrying dance.*—The marrying dance went out of use at an early time. It was nearly the same in form as that of the Coeur d'Aléne. The young women danced in one line and the young men opposite them in another line within touching distance. When the song commenced the two lines moved in opposite directions. All carried short sticks or batons. When a man chose a girl he touched her on the shoulder with a stick. If she refused him she struck the stick off with her stick.

*Round dance or squaw dance.*—The women form a circle or a three-quarter circle close together, and sometimes join hands. They move round sidewise, following the sun's course, and bringing one foot up to the other with a jerk. The drummers usually stand in the middle of the circle and move around slowly, in the same manner as the dancers do. Occasionally the drummers sit. They and the dancers sing together. In one of these dances which I witnessed four drummers stood back to back, facing the dancers, and turned as the dancers did, so that their faces were nearly always toward the same part of the circle. The women formed a wide and complete circle on the outside, except at one place, where a gap was left wide enough to allow a person to pass through easily. Many of the dancers joined hands; others put their hands on each other's shoulders or around each other's waists. As soon as the drums started all went round singing. Presently a woman among the spectators took up a man and led him through the opening in the circle to the space inside between the dancers and the drummers. Here they went round together in the same way as the other dancers. Several other women among the spectators did the same, and also some women in the original dance circle left it and took up partners. The couples in the inner circle joined hands or locked arms, and went round in pairs close together. After a time the music stopped and the dancers stood still. Presently it started again, and they continued. This pause was a notification that the next time the music stopped the dance was at an end. At the end of the dance all took their seats except the couples who had formed the inner circle. These now formed in a line. The dance chief advanced toward them and asked each woman in turn what she intended to pay her partner for dancing with her. The chief then called out in a loud voice that so and so would pay such and such an amount to her partner for dancing



with her. Most of the payments were small, such as tobacco, fifty cents, a dollar, a handkerchief, etc.; but anything may be given; a blanket, a horse, etc. After a rest the dance started up again and continued in the same way as before, with only this difference, that the men who were chosen as partners in the last dance now returned the compliment to their erstwhile partners by taking them up to dance and giving them presents in return. Most of the men returned a little more than the value they had received from the women. Occasionally this dance is called at the request of any man who says he would like to see the women dance. Then only the women dance. They generally do so in their best style, both in dancing and singing; and at the end of the dance the man may donate perhaps five dollars to the women, the amount being divided equally among them by the dance chief. This round or women's dance is said to have been introduced recently by visiting Cree or Ojibwa—about 1895 or 1900.

*Begging ceremony.*—I saw a kind of begging ceremony performed by some Cree who were visiting the Flathead. The performers wore masks with long noses (some of them seemed to resemble black bears), and they carried bows and arrows and bags. They passed around all the tents of the Flathead camp circle; and as the occupants of each became aware of their approach they placed food outside for them. This food the performers approached with exclamations and grunts, and pretended to stalk and shoot, as if it were game. Finally they deposited all in the capacious bags they carried for the purpose. The performers sang, beat drums, danced, and went through many antics, as they passed from one tent to another, and were followed by a crowd of children, who enjoyed the fun.

*Ceremonies and dances in connection with war.*—The Flathead had numerous ceremonies and dances connected with war, including several kinds of war dances, meeting dances, scalp dances and victory dances. It seems that there was a dance in anticipation of war, another before going to war, one before going on a raid, one before making an attack, and one when expecting to be attacked. Each was a little different in character from the others. The Flathead also had several kinds of horse and foot parades. The scalp dance was much the same as among the Coeur d'Alène and there was a special ceremony for the meeting and conducting of warriors who returned to camp with scalps. In this or another ceremony the scalps were carried on one or more long poles. Ceremonies similar to those of the Coeur d'Alène were performed when organizing war parties and parties going on horse-stealing raids. One or more of these ceremonies consisted of singing and the beating of a buffalo robe with sticks in front of each lodge. Before going to war the men who were to undertake the expedition went around the camp circle on horseback all night, singing. Recruits joined them as they went around. The

women followed, joining in the singing. These organizing or recruiting ceremonies were always followed by a war dance. Generally before a public dance of any kind was to be held the drummers beat the drums for about an hour without singing. This was a signal that a dance was to be held, and for all those who wished to attend to dress and get ready. The Flathead tribes, as already stated, used the coup stick and counted coup; and there was a grading of warriors according to valor. At any gathering the rank of a warrior (according to his exploits) could be told by the decoration of his person and the symbolic or ceremonial objects he carried. Some of these objects were a stick with a crooked end; a spear decorated with eagle feathers, the blade of which was stuck in the ground; a short (?) stick with decorated hoop at the end; decorated clubs, quirts, rattles, pipes, specially decorated sashes, arm bands, headbands, and garters. Strips of otter skin or ermine, tails of animals, and eagle feathers appear to have been the chief attachments for decoration. Chiefs and leaders of dances could also be told by the emblems they wore or carried. Certain men carried no weapons of offense or defense. These were the "fearless men," who could go into the thick of battle and come out uninjured. Some of them carried medicine shields and rattles and sang. The shields were not used for fending off arrows or thrusts. I did not learn whether these men formed any society and whether the ranking of warriors was determined by membership in age societies.

A long coup stick was used for striking or touching friends in a meeting ceremony. If a party of people were approaching on a friendly visit, even when they were known to be coming and were undoubtedly friendly, a number of mounted warriors went out to meet them. When within sight they advanced toward them in a line abreast, singing. When within a few hundred yards they broke into a gallop and charged on the visitors as if in war. When within striking distance they all reined up their horses short, and one of them tapped the leader of the visitors on the shoulder with the stick. This is said to have meant that he chose him as a friend.

When a scout came back loping his horse and singing it was known he had seen something. A party of men, old and young, went to meet him. They advanced in a line, singing; and when they met, one touched him on the shoulder with the long coup stick. When touched, he said "*Ye'-e*" if he had seen people, and "*Pu'-u*" if he had seen buffalos.

The following formed part of a ceremony connected with the recounting of war deeds. The chief who was to recount his war exploits planted his ceremonial stick or spear in the ground and sat down beside it. A number of young men squatted or kneeled near by around a bunch of feathers that lay on the ground. The chorus of

drummers began a song and beat the drums. The music changed, and the young men stood up. It changed again, and they all gathered in the center. They went forward and back in this way four times, and then around in a circle sunwise. One of the young men left the others and danced around the bunch of feathers, while his companions continued to dance in a circle outside of him. He danced toward the feathers and backed away again. He did this four times, each time approaching nearer. The third time he almost touched the feathers, and the fourth time he picked them up. The music stopped, and the dancers walked to where the chief was in the west, and, after giving the feathers to the chief, sat down. The chief now stood up and placed his hand on the upright spear which was still stuck in the ground. Now he recounted each warlike deed, stated whom he had killed, wounded, and counted coup on, giving all the circumstances. He spoke slowly and plainly. At each pause in the recount the drums beat, "tat, tat, tat—tat!" At some parts of the narration they beat more loudly, as if giving emphasis or applause. When the chief had finished he hung the feathers up on a pole or post. While he was doing this the chorus sang a special song. The chief then took his seat, and the music ceased.

I did not succeed in getting the exact meanings of the several parts of the ceremony, such as the signification of the feathers, the dancing around the feathers, and the special drumbeats.

At the Fourth of July dances on the reserve I saw Chief Moise recount his experiences in battles with the Blackfoot and Crow. He appeared wearing only moccasins, breechclout, necklace, armlets, and headband. His whole body was painted yellow except the right leg below the calf, which was painted red. He explained that he painted this way because the deeds he narrated took place on the Yellowstone in a great battle with the Blackfoot. He held in one hand a ceremonial weapon like a spear, the blade of which he stuck into the ground. It had a large iron head and was wrapped with otter skin from the blade to the end. The butt end was bent over and formed a loop. This ceremonial weapon was a token of his bravery. Only a man who had advanced in battle to within touching distance of the enemy in the face of superior numbers was entitled to carry this kind of spear at the dances and parades.

All these dances are now practically pastimes and very little of their old meaning remains.

In the war dance the chorus consists of six or more men, who sing and drum. They sit on the west side of the dance circle. The dance chief stands to the east, and carries a ceremonial whip. The dancers squat or sit on the outer edges of the dancing place, the spectators around them and the drummers on the outside. When the music starts the chief passes around the circle, following the sun's course,

with a hopping step, flourishes his whip, and calls, "*Hwū'i, hwu'a!*" ("Start!" or "Go!"). He taps or whips gently many of the dancers as he passes along. They immediately arise, and, passing into the dancing space, begin to dance. The dance step consists in stamping one foot twice, then taking a step forward and stamping the other foot twice. Experts advance quite rapidly in this way. An older dance step was more like a hop, and old men sometimes dance in this way yet. Many dancers nowadays wear feather bustles, as in the turkey dance, and bend forward considerably in the dance. Most men have their legs more or less bent, but some dance holding themselves very straight. Some go straight forward, while some of the very active young men go more or less zigzag, at the same time twisting their bodies sidewise or half around, and alternately stooping forward close to the ground and then straightening up again. The dancers move in a body to the east, return, and repeat; while the chief dances contrariwise to the other dancers, passing around them, and sometimes out and in through them, encouraging them. The earliest way of dancing was for all the dancers to advance in a circle counterclockwise. Some of the dancers utter war cries—exclamations and grunts. After dancing for a time the music stops for a minute and the dancers stand in their places. This is a signal that there will soon be a pause in the dancing. The music continues again for about five minutes and the dance proceeds. When the music stops again all walk to the edge of the circle and rest. After a while the music starts again; and the chief rises and goes around, urging the men with his whip, as before. They begin to dance. In a short time the music ceases for a minute, and the dancers stand still. Again the music starts very loudly, and the dance continues until the next rest. Thus it lasts for hours with short intervals of rest, and all the dancers perspire profusely. Some dancers carry weapons.

In the old style of war dance all bore weapons and the dancers advanced making motions as if looking for the enemy, looking for tracks, scanning the horizon, attacking an enemy, stabbing with spears and striking with tomahawks. The dancers dress in their best clothes and best bonnets. In the old-style dance the dancers performed in their war dresses or in very little clothing. Some had only moccasins, breechelout, and headdress. Others wore a shirt besides. Those who had bare legs wore garter rattles and ankle rattles of deer's hoofs, and armlets and wristlets were worn by those having bare arms. Rattle belts and rattle pendants and hand rattles were also used. Small bells are used nowadays instead of the hoof rattles. The face was painted and the hair done up as for war. Red was the color of the common face paint; but stripes of red, yellow, and black were common. The legs were often painted yellow or white. Nowadays men with short hair often use a narrow headdress of short hair,

cut an even length, set with a bunch of colored feathers fastened to their own hair, forming a kind of ridge on the top of the head. This headdress is of comparatively late introduction, and is in imitation of the roached heads of the Pawnee and southern Indians. Some also wear wigs made of tresses of hair woven or glued together, which reach a long way down the back. This may be in imitation of a style of hairdress formerly in vogue among some eastern tribes. In the old-style war dance many kinds of headdresses were used. Besides bonnets of eagle-tail feathers, which were common, headdresses of

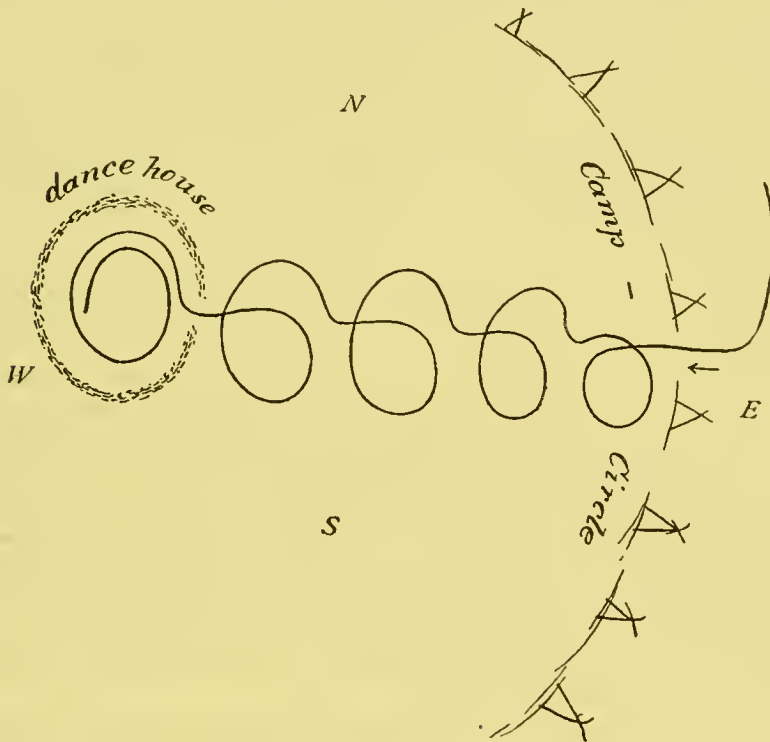


FIGURE 39.—Design illustrating dance

entire skins of birds, head skins of animals, and others set with buffalo, antelope, and deer horns, were in use.

A parade ceremony, performed by men only before the war dance, was as follows. The dancers congregated outside of the camp circle to the north. Some of them dressed here for the dance. They marched on foot and entered the camp circle from the east, singing as they went along. They headed toward the dance house, which was near the center of the camp circle, marching first west, then describing a circle against the sun south, east, and north, then advancing west some distance, and again describing a circle. In this way they

marched in four circles (fig. 39) before reaching the dance house. They entered it through the east entrance and sat down in a circle, or immediately began to dance contrasunwise.

Another parade ceremony often took place in the morning, before the dances commenced. Men, women, and even children participated in it. The procession formed outside of the camp circle to the north and entered the circle from the east. All the people were mounted, and riders and mounts were decked in the finest possible style. Sometimes the men formed in one line and the women in another. At other times the men rode ahead and the women and children behind. The people described four circles sunwise around the inside of the camp circle, each time going at a faster gait. At last the men broke into a fast lope toward the dance house, the women following and striking their hands against their lips, calling "*Le-el-el-el!*"<sup>3</sup> At the dance house the men jumped off their horses, and, rushing in, began to dance, while the women and boys took charge of their horses. The men now danced, and the rest of the people scattered.

Many of the dances and ceremonies of the Flathead group were similar to dances and ceremonies of other interior Salish and of the Shoshonean tribes especially.

CURRENT BELIEFS, CHARMS, ETC.—There was no belief that lizards chased people, as among the Thompson. According to Revais, this belief belongs to the tribes of the interior, along Columbia River, and south into Oregon and perhaps California. The people, however, were afraid of black spiders. They thought that when a spider bit a person it lodged something like a ball in the body, which passed right through to the opposite side, as a ball or arrow does. The part bitten began to smart and turned red, and the side of the body opposite where the ball lodged also turned red. The charge was very poisonous, and a person often died within an hour after being bitten. Horses were also killed by spiders.

Charms, consisting of certain plants and roots, were used for obtaining good luck, protection, success in love, and wealth. The same or other plants in different combinations were used for bringing bad luck, sickness, and death to an enemy. Besides charms of this kind, poisons were used. If a woman wanted to poison a man she went to a graveyard and obtained a small piece of a rotten corpse, with which she anointed berries or other food that the man would eat. Another method was to hang a large black toad by the legs to a branch,

<sup>3</sup> Said to be a call used to encourage the men. When the men were fighting and fell back, the women called in this way, and the men, becoming ashamed, returned to persevere in the fight. Among the Thompson this cry is used by the women, and sometimes also by the men, to a person who falls down in the war dance, who retreats before a foe, or who is being beaten. It shows disapproval and conveys a sense of degradation, somewhat like the exclamation "*Shame!*" Some Thompson claim that it is the same call as that used to dogs when calling them to eat, and therefore the same as denouncing a person as a dog.

to put a small cross stick in its mouth to keep it open, and sometimes also a skewer through its body. A cup was placed underneath to catch the poison which ran from its mouth, the toad being left hanging until dead. Some women, instead of this, put the toad on a flat rock, placed another flat stone on top, and crushed it to death. The juices of the body were then collected and put on food to be eaten by the person to be poisoned. When a person ate toad poison his stomach was spoiled, he lost his appetite, and died as if in consumption. Women sometimes poisoned men through jealousy.

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TATTOOING AND  
FACE AND BODY PAINTING OF  
THE THOMPSON INDIANS  
BRITISH COLUMBIA

BY  
JAMES A. TEIT†

EDITED BY  
FRANZ BOAS



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# TATTOOING AND FACE AND BODY PAINTING OF THE THOMPSON INDIANS, BRITISH COLUMBIA

BY JAMES A. TEIT†

Edited by FRANZ BOAS

## INTRODUCTORY

Since writing on the Thompson River Indians in 1895 and 1897<sup>1</sup> I have made extended inquiry into the subjects of tattooing and face and body painting among the tribe. Investigations of this subject are beset with difficulties because the customs have fallen into disuse so long ago that there is now a general lack of knowledge. I also found the Indians reluctant to give explanations of tattoo marks occurring on their own persons. Since about 1858, when white influence became strong, painting of the face and body has gradually gone out of use, until now it is rarely practiced even by the elderly people and practically not at all by the rising generation.<sup>2</sup> In like manner face and body tattooing has disappeared. Tattooing on the arms and wrists persists but less extensively than formerly and in a modified form. It has lost most of its original meaning and tends more and more to be practiced in the same way as among the whites. The decline of tattooing and painting is to be ascribed to the changed mode of life of the Indians and to the discontinuance of their former social practices, particularly those connected with war, religion, shamanism, and puberty. Tattooing and painting were intimately connected with all of these. Even if their dances alone had been kept up, much might still have survived. Nevertheless, a number of people remain who were in close contact with the older generations, persons aged from 10 to 30 years in 1858, and although they do not carry down all the knowledge of their fathers, still some of them have retained a fair amount of knowledge, and from them my information has been obtained. One of the best informed persons was a shaman named Baptiste *Ululamé'llst*,<sup>3</sup> "Iron stone," and much of the following information was gathered from him. A great deal has also been

<sup>1</sup> The Thompson Indians of British Columbia, Mem. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., vol. II (Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, vol. I, pt. 4), pp. 163-392, New York, 1900.

<sup>2</sup> About 1884 I should judge fully 50 per cent of the tribe painted more or less frequently. At that time a larger percentage of women painted than men. Face paint on children was common.

<sup>3</sup> This man died about 1902 from result of exposure while trapping beaver. When a young man he had traveled extensively, east as far as Kootenai and Montana, and southward some distance into Oregon.

gleaned from others, nearly all of which is in close agreement with what I learned from Baptiste. As there is general accord in the statements of all the best informants, I think the body of information may be accepted as fairly accurate. The period specially dealt with, if not otherwise stated, is that prior to 1858; generally speaking, from about 1840 to 1860.

### TATTOOING

Formerly there was no one in the tribe much past the age of puberty who was not tattooed on some part of the body, and even at the present day there are very few people over the age of 25 who have not one or more tattoo marks on the arms or wrists.

#### PARTS OF BODY TATTOOED

By far most of the tattooing done was on the front of the arm and the back of the wrist. It was fairly common on the lower legs, generally the outside parts midway between the ankles and knees, and rather rare on the back of the hands. It occurred only occasionally on the upper arm and upper leg. It was very rare on the neck, breast, shoulders, and ankles, and seems not to have been applied at all on the back, sides, stomach, and feet. On the face it was confined mostly to the cheeks and chin, but was fairly common around the corners of the mouth, and used occasionally around the outside corners of the eyes. It appears to have been exceedingly rare, or not to have occurred at all, on the forehead or on other parts of the face. On the nose it only occurred with cheek lines which crossed the bridge of the nose.

#### TATTOOING ACCORDING TO SEX

Tattooing on the trunk was confined to men. On the arms and legs it was equally prevalent in both sexes. Men tattooed the hands more often than women; women tattooed the wrists more often than men. On the face it was fairly common among women and rare among men. At the present day tattooing on the wrist appears to be much more frequent on women than on men. On the arms it is about equally frequent in both sexes. On the hands it is uncommon, and is used almost exclusively by men. In 1884, when I first came in contact with the tribe, about 1 among 25 or 30 of the Upper Thompson women were tattooed on the face, and possibly about twice that number of the Lower Thompson. Of these all except two or three were 40 years old or more. The exceptions were women between 20 and 30. At this time I recollect having seen only a single man, well along in years, with tattoo marks on the face. It is said that in some bands women with facial tattooing were more numerous than in others, and the same is said of families. The Indians state that in no band



was there ever one-fourth of the women tattooed on the face, and in some bands considerably less. They say that in some bands no men were tattooed on the face, while in other bands one or two might be met with.

#### DISTRIBUTION OF TATTOOING

It is claimed that marking of the arms and wrists was about equally prevalent in all the Thompson bands, and among the neighboring Lillooet, Shuswap, and Okanagan. Face tattooing was more frequent among the lower bands of the Thompson than among the upper, possibly also among the Lillooet and northern Shuswap more than among the Thompson and Okanagan. It was most common among the Chilcotin and Carrier. Many of the men and almost all of the women of these tribes had tattooed faces. It is also said to have been more common among the Lower Fraser tribes than among the Thompson, and to have been in vogue among the Yakima and Klickitat. According to the Shuswap it used to be very common among the Sekanai. Baptiste told me that although tattooing on the body was no more common among the Kalispel than among the Thompson, he had sweat-bathed with a Kalispel man about the year 1859 who was tattooed all over the front of the body.

#### METHODS OF TATTOOING

As stated in my previous paper on the Thompson Indians,<sup>4</sup> the common method of tattooing was with needle and thread. The thread was blackened with powdered charcoal and drawn underneath the skin. Fine needles made of bone or cactus spines were used for making dots. The figures were drawn on the skin with wetted charcoal and pricked over with cactus or other thorns. These were tied in small bunches, generally with their points close together and of equal length. Needles, porcupine quills, and sharp bones were also used. At the present day steel needles are used entirely in both processes.

#### AGE FOR TATTOOING

All the marks on a person were tattooed at various times, beginning about the age of puberty and extending through early manhood and womanhood. Ornamental tattoo designs were occasionally made at the age of about 8 years. As a rule the first marks were made just after puberty. There were no ceremonies attached to tattooing nor payments made to the operators. Persons of about equal age tattooed each other, particularly companions and comrades. Girls tattooed girls, and boys boys. There were no specialists in the art among either sex. The marking was done more or less in secrecy. No special

<sup>4</sup> The Thompson Indians of British Columbia, Mem. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., vol. II (Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, vol. I. pt. 4), p. 228, New York, 1900.

medicines were applied to the parts, either before or after the operation. Very young girls were sometimes tattooed by their mothers. Infants were not tattooed.

#### OBJECTS OF TATTOOING

Tattooing, although done in a large measure for ornament, nevertheless was also intimately connected with the religious beliefs of the people. Purely ornamental marks were comparatively rare. The objects of tattooing and of face and body painting were alike, and may be stated as follows:

1. For ornament and among young people to make themselves more pleasing to the opposite sex.
2. In connection with marriage, to show fidelity and love, and to make it enduring.
3. In connection with puberty and the acquirement of guardians, to insure success, health, or protection; as a record or offering; as an ordeal to show courage; as a preventive against weakness and premature old age.
4. In connection with dreaming and the guardian spirits, to ward off death and cure sickness.
5. For identification, or as a property mark on slaves.

Some persons say tattooing was like a nice permanent painting or ornament, like the wearing of a necklace or bracelet. Face tattooing was done entirely for ornament. It appears, however, from what I have learned from some Lillooet, that it may have had a different meaning.<sup>5</sup> Wrist tattooing was chiefly for ornament.

The most common use of tattooing appears to have been in connection with puberty ceremonials, dreaming, and the acquirement of the guardian spirit.

Some couples shortly after marriage tattooed marks on each other. Generally the same mark was tattooed on each. The arms were generally chosen, but sometimes the legs or other parts. Like other private marks, such as those obtained in dreams, their meaning was not always obvious. They were supposed to show that husband and wife belonged to each other. They were a symbol of their mutual attachment and fidelity. They were also supposed to bring good luck in their married life, and to make their love enduring.

Adolescents tattooed marks on themselves partly as a record of their ceremonies and partly to insure good luck and health. Thus some marks represented objects connected with their ceremonies, such as the sweat house, the stones of the sweat house, and fir branches. Others represented objects of a mysterious nature seen during their training, such as mountains, stars, the moon, etc. Still others were representative of dreams or visions. In a few cases the picture of the

<sup>5</sup> See James A. Teit, *The Lillooet Indians*, Mem. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., vol. iv (Jesup North Pacific Expedition, vol. II), New York, 1906, pp. 298, 299, and 300.

guardian spirit may have been tattooed also. Others were symbols of their desires.

Girls sometimes marked figures of men on their arms to help them to secure a good husband. The arrow represented hunting, the wheel gambling. Marks of this character occurred chiefly on the arms and legs, but were also fairly common on the wrists. Most of them were made toward the end of the training period. The character and meaning of this class of tattooing was similar to paintings on garments of adolescents, and to the records painted by them on boulders and cliffs.<sup>6</sup>

Tattooing, like scarification,<sup>7</sup> was also looked upon as a means of making young people courageous, able to endure pain, and strong. For this reason lines were tattooed on arms and legs that these should be strong. Many of these patterns consisted of four horizontal lines, one above the other. Woodworm designs were used for the same purpose.<sup>8</sup>

Tattooing also served preventive or curative purposes. Sick or wounded were sometimes instructed by the guardian spirit in a dream to cure themselves by tattooing a certain mark on some part of the body. The meaning of these marks was not always known to outsiders. The man himself generally knew, but not always, as his guardian might tell him to make a mark of a certain shape or figure without telling him the exact meaning. Sometimes the patient was also told on which part of the body to apply the tattooing. Body marks were mostly of this kind, and adults made them more frequently than young people.

Some people tattooed their slaves with marks on the hands or other parts, partly to show their ownership, but chiefly for purposes of identification in case of escape.

According to war stories, captives were sometimes given their liberty for the purpose of taking home the news of the slaughter of their companions. They were marked by cutting on their bodies some device representative of the victorious tribe.<sup>9</sup>

The Indians aver that tattooing on the faces of women did not signify that they were marriageable or married. Neither did tattooing of any kind stand as a sign of bereavement, distinction, or rank. There were no special marks belonging to tribes or families, and no tattooing had any connection with mythological designs or social standing as it did on the coast, or served purposes of measurement as in California.

<sup>6</sup> See Thompson Indians, pp. 311 to 321, and 380.

<sup>7</sup> See Shuswap Indians, James Teit, *The Shuswap*, Mem. Am. Nat. Hist., vol. iv (Jesup North Pacific Expedition, vol. ii, pt. 7), New York, 1909, p. 590.

<sup>8</sup> See Thompson Indians, pp. 378, 379.

<sup>9</sup> For one instance, see Shuswap war with Sikanal, James Teit, *The Shuswap*, Mem. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., vol. iv (Jesup North Pacific Expedition, vol. ii, pt. 7), New York, 1909, p. 547.

## DESIGNS

Most tattoo marks were single figures, but combinations also occurred, particularly on the wrists. In face tattooing the designs on one side of the face always corresponded to those on the other side, but in no case were the marks on one arm the duplicate of those on the other, and even on the wrists this was rarely the case. Most persons had more marks on one arm or leg than on the other. It appears there was a preference for marking the right arm, and also the right leg. Some people were not marked at all on the left side. The number of distinct figures on one person was seldom more than five or six, and often not more than two or three, but the number of separate marks, if all dots and lines, etc., were counted, was sometimes considerable. The marks were nearly all small, even the compound designs seldom exceeding 7 cm. in any direction. A few designs consisted of straight and curved lines and were larger.

*Designs on the face.*—Among the Thompson facial designs consisted of lines only. These were generally straight, but occasionally curved lines were also used. Excepting those on the cheeks, they were usually from 1 to 3 cm. in length. The following marks include all that any of my informants could remember having seen within the tribe. A single design on the face was the most common, two designs fairly common, three designs rare, and four designs hardly ever occurred. (Fig. 40.)

*A.* A single line from near the center of the lower lip, extending down over the chin, and two similar vertical lines extending down from near each corner of the mouth.

*B.* Double lines as in *A*.

*C.* Three to seven diverging lines about equidistant from each other, extending downward from the lower lip over the chin. One woman said she had also seen just two lines, one below each corner of the mouth.

*D.* Two straight lines extending backward from each corner of the mouth.

*E.* Two or three diverging lines in the same places.

*F* and *G.* The same as *D* and *E*, extending backward from the outer corner of each eye.

*H.* Two vertical lines on each cheek from 3 to 5 cm. in length.

*I.* Two horizontal lines on each cheek, 3 to 7 cm. in length. Occasionally they were only about 1 cm. apart.

*J.* A single straight line extending from near one ear to the other across the bridge of the nose. Sometimes the line, commencing low down near the lobes of the ears, had a somewhat triangular appearance.

*K.* A pair of straight lines across each cheek from the side of the bridge of the nose to near the lower part of the ear.

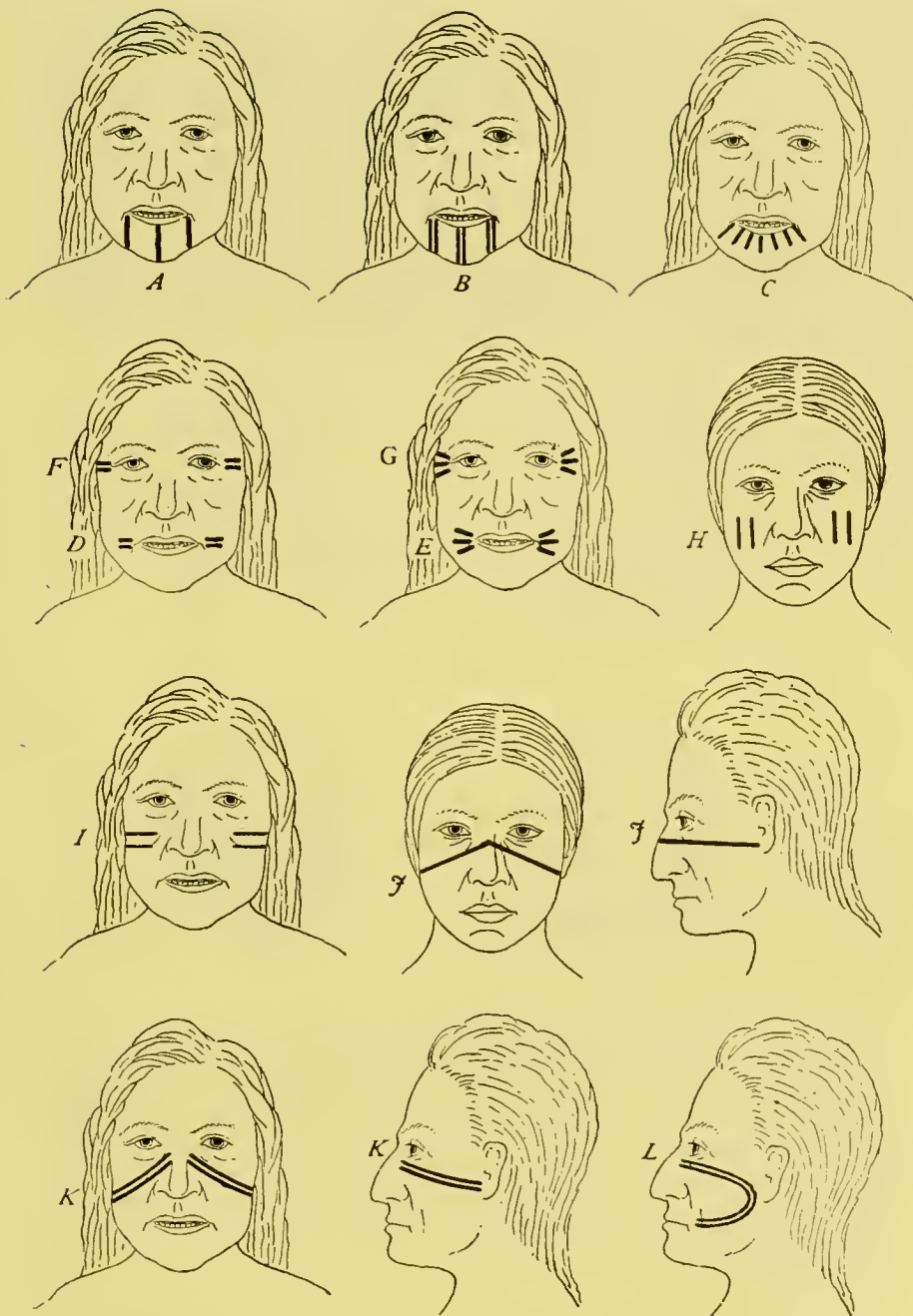


FIGURE 40.—Facial tattooing of the Thompson Indians

*L.* A pair of curved lines on each cheek, commencing at the side of the bridge of the nose, extending backward toward the ear, and ending near the corners of the mouth.

*M.* A single curved line, or occasionally a double line, on each cheek, extending from the alae of the nose upward over the cheek bone and ending opposite the lower part of the ear. (Fig. 41.)

*N.* A design seen by Baptiste on the face of an Okanagon woman about 50 years ago consisted of a straight line across the face like *J*, from which three vertical lines descended over each cheek to the jaw. He did not know the meaning of this mark but suggested it might mean "Rain coming from the sky." (Fig. 41.)

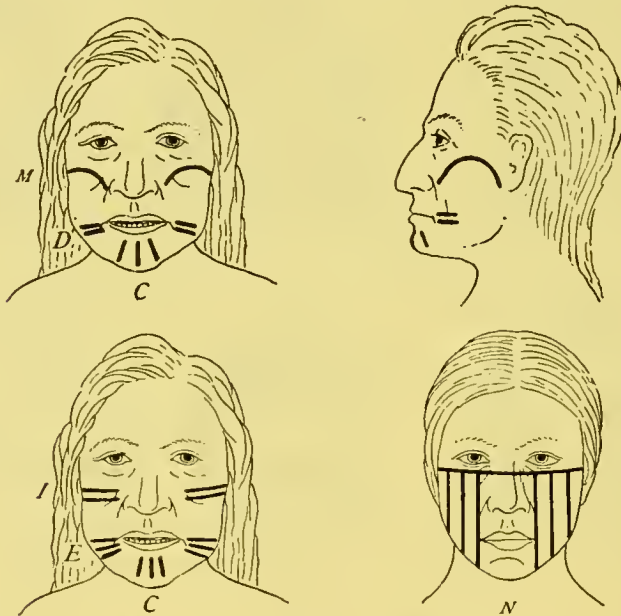


FIGURE 41.—Facial tattooing of the Thompson Indians

I did not obtain any specific names for these face designs excepting for *C*, which is called "Eagle's tail,"<sup>10</sup> and *L* and *M*, which are called "Rainbow." The terms applied to the other designs are all descriptive, such as, for instance, "Mouth tattoo double line," "Mouth tattoo three lines," applied to *D* and *E*. One person told me that tattooed lines from the mouth and eyes were the same as "rays." My informants said that designs *A* to *G* were by far the most common, and used by both men and women, although the faces of men were rarely tattooed at all.

*H* had been seen only in a few cases, among women; *I* had been seen on a couple of men belonging to Lytton and neighborhood; *J* only on

<sup>10</sup> I obtained this name from the Shuswap, and the Lillooet told me they had also heard it called by this name.

women; *K* had been noticed in a few cases on both men and women; *L* on two or three men; *M* on a man from Lytton, and another of the Fraser River division. I, myself, have seen *A* to *E* on a number of women, and there is little doubt these were the most common marks. I have also seen *J* on two or three women.

Of the above designs the Indians say *A* and *K* were also used by the Lillooet,<sup>11</sup> Shuswap,<sup>12</sup> Chilcotin,<sup>13</sup> Carrier,<sup>14</sup> and possibly also the Okanagan; *A* to *I* were used by the Lower Fraser people. According to Shuswap informants,<sup>15</sup> *A* to *K* were used by the Sekanai,<sup>16</sup> and they think also most of them by the Cree<sup>16</sup>; *L* and *M* they think were also used by the Carriers, and possibly by the Chilcotin and Sekanai as well. All the tattoo designs, excepting a few, later borrowed from the whites and used on the arms, are said to be old, and there is no direct evidence of any borrowing. It is possible, however, that some of the face designs may have been introduced through coast and Athapascan influence.

*Designs on other parts of the body.*—The following embraces all the information I have been able to obtain regarding tattoo designs on the

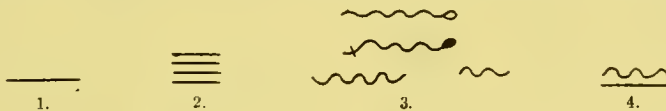


FIGURE 42.—Body designs of the Thompson Indians

arms, wrists, and other parts of the body, and their interpretations. The numbers correspond with those of the sketches. (Fig. 42.)

1. A straight horizontal line is generally called an "earth line," especially if it is placed underneath some other figure. It represents the earth.

2. One to four straight lines one above the other. Said in some cases to mean "snakes." (See also tattooing to prevent weakness, p. 407.)

3. A wavy or zigzag line explained as "woodworm" and "snake." As a rule the short ones are "woodworms" and the longer ones "snakes." Those with a cross at the opposite end represent the "rattlesnake."

4. A wavy line or zigzag with a straight line under it is generally explained as a "snake going over the ground" or "snake tracks on the ground." The straight line shows the snake's association with the earth.

<sup>11</sup> L. c. (see p. 406, note 5), p. 221, 222.

<sup>12</sup> L. c. (see p. 407, note 7), pp. 511, 512.

<sup>13</sup> See Shuswap Indians, l. c., pp. 778, 779.

<sup>14</sup> See Father Morice, *The Western Denés*.

<sup>15</sup> According to the Shuswap the Sekanai tattooed the face more than any other people they know, more even than the Carrier and Chilcotin.

<sup>16</sup> For what seems to be design *J*, see Alexander McKenzie, *Voyages from Montreal through the Continent of America*, vol. II, p. 87, New York, 1902.

5. The same figure as 4, but with the straight line touching the zigzag line, is generally called "mountains," but is also explained in the same way as No. 4.

6. The same figure as No. 5, but with the points of the triangles more acute, is called "arrowheads" and also "mountains."

7. A simple triangle, or the same with a short line at right angles to it from the middle of the base, is called "arrowhead."

8. Figure of an "arrowhead" with a long line as "shaft," and sometimes short lines at the opposite end representing "feathers," is called "arrow."

9. The same figure as Nos. 4 and 5 but with straight lines on both sides, often explained as "mountains," and sometimes as "woodworm boring in a log," or "borings of a woodworm."

10. Three parallel lines, the middle one thicker than the others, mean a "river and its bank."

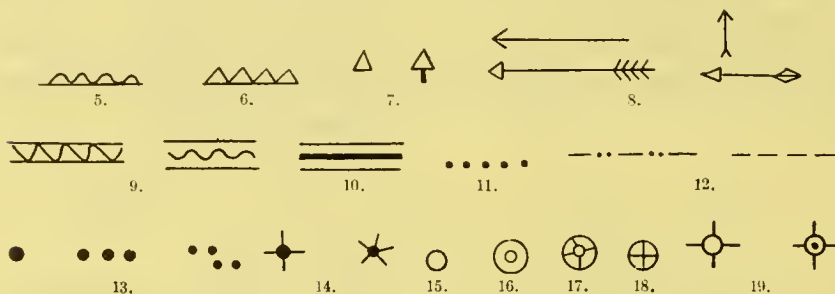


FIGURE 43.—Body designs of the Thompson Indians

11. A line of dots is explained as "tracks."

12. A line made up of short lines with dots between them is explained as a "string of dentalia and beads."

13. Single dots (various sizes) and groups of dots are called "stars." Some of them represent constellations of stars.

14. Dots with four or more radiating lines are also called "stars."

15. A simple circle is sometimes explained as a "cloud."

16. Two concentric circles as a "lake" or "mountain pond" with its shores.

17. The same as No. 16 with four short lines connecting the two circles is explained as the "ring" or "wheel" used in "*rolko'laxem*" or other games.<sup>17</sup>

18. A circle filled by a cross is also explained as a "ring" used in games. Some informants say if made large it represents a "sweat house."

19. A circle with four radiating lines, one opposite the other, and the same with a dot in the center represents the "sun."

<sup>17</sup> See Thompson Indians, I. c., pp. 274, 275.



20. A circle with a line across it is generally meant for the "moon."  
 21. The same as No. 20 with another circle round the outside is said to be "moon and halo," "moon in its house."  
 22. A half circle and a crescent are also called the "moon."  
 23. A line forming a half circle, ends pointing toward a straight line, is explained by some as a "hill" or "mound" and by others as a "rainbow" and "earth line."  
 24. An arched line resembling a horseshoe or inverted letter U is doubtful. One person explained it as a variation of the "rainbow"; another said it represented a "rock" or "cliff."  
 25. A single or double line forming a crescent represents the "rainbow."  
 26. A plain or wavy line forming an angle represents the "woodworm" or "borings of the woodworm."  
 27. A triangle with five short lines projecting from the base line is said to have frequently had the meaning of "grizzly bear," "bear's foot," or "bear's tracks."



FIGURE 44.—Body designs of the Thompson Indians

28. A figure like an hourglass is uncertain in meaning. One person said it might represent "tipis."  
 29. A diamond-shaped figure generally in double lines was explained as a "lake" or "lake and shore."  
 30. Two crossed lines are variously interpreted as "crossing of trails," "the cardinal points," "log across a stream," "clouds crossing each other" and a "star."  
 31. Several crossed lines (generally four) are called a "star."  
 32. Two crossed lines, one line longer than the other, or one arm nearly twice as long as the others, represent the "morning star."  
 33. Crosses in double lines are also interpreted as "morning star."  
 34. A cross with a small half circle pointing outward from the end of each arm, the same with triangles instead of half circles, and the same with short lines at right angles to the ends of the arms. Meaning unknown.  
 35. A figure with five points and a short thick line at the base is explained as a "flower" growing in the mountains, used as a love charm.

36. A line with a shorter line at right angles across one end is called a "root digger."

37. A line crossed at each end by short lines, each with two points projecting outward. Meaning unknown.

38. The same with three points. Meaning unknown.

39. The same as No. 37 but points projecting inward. Meaning unknown.

40. The same as No. 39, but in the center of the main line a diamond-shaped figure. Meaning unknown.

41. An oblong figure divided in two by a line, or having a short line half across the middle. One person said it might represent the marked bone used in the lehal game.

42. A rectangle divided by lines into four, six, or eight minor rectangles is said to represent the "stones" used by adolescent youths when sweat bathing.

43. A square inclosing a cross or triangle. Meaning unknown.

44. Meaning unknown.

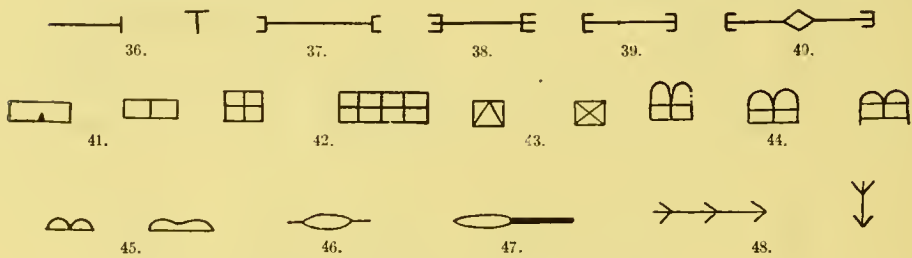


FIGURE 45.—Body designs of the Thompson Indians

45. A figure like the upper half of No. 44. Meaning doubtful. One person said the flatter one of these figures might represent a "bow."

46. A lozenge or oval shaped figure with a short line projecting outward from each end. This generally meant a "bark canoe."

47. An oval-shaped figure with a long thick line at one end represents a "paddle."

48. A long line with short sloping lines projecting from both sides represents a "fir branch."

49. A line plain or wavy around the wrist is called a "bracelet." The same above the elbow, an "armlet"; the same above the ankles, an "anklet"; below the knee, a "garter"; around the neck, a "necklace."

50. The figure of a "man" tattooed in rude outline represents the future husband of a girl and is supposed to bring luck in securing a good husband.

51. Figures of animals, such as "otter," "coyote," "timber wolf," "eagle," etc.

52. Representation of a "bow" or "bow and arrow."
53. Representation of a "tree."
54. Representation of a "basket."

I have not secured drawings or explicit details of Nos. 49 to 54, so I can not reproduce them. No doubt there were many other marks in use formerly, but those enumerated represent all I have seen myself or heard of from others. Of the marks described here I remember to have seen Nos. 1 to 15, 17, 22 to 26, 30, 32 to 35, 37 to 42, 44, 45, and 48.

Nos. 1 to 6 and 9 appear to be much more common than any of the others. Nos. 10 to 14, 23, 32, 35, 37, 41, 46, and 49 also occur at least in a number of cases at the present day.

Nos. 35, 37, 39, and 40 have been noticed on the wrist only. Nos. 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, and 38 were used chiefly on the wrists but all or most of them occurred occasionally on the arms as well. Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 13 occurred frequently on hands, wrists, arms, legs, and the body. No. 49 occurred on the wrists, arms, neck, legs, and ankles; Nos. 23, 24, and 25 on the hands, wrists, and arms; No. 26 on the hands and chest; No. 51 on the arms and body. The rest of the marks were made chiefly on the arms. Some say Nos. 7, 8, and 11 were also used on the legs.

It is said that Nos. 7, 8, 17, 18, 34, 37, 38, 39, 40, 46, 47, 51, 52, and possibly 42 were used by men only. Nos. 35, 36, 44, 45, 50, 54, and possibly 48 by women only, the rest being used by both sexes.

In recent years, owing to contact with the whites, some new tattoo marks have become the fashion among both men and women. These consist of marks similar to some of those in use among the whites, such as hearts, flags, words, letter, rings around the fingers, etc. It has become fairly common for Indians to have their "white names," their initials, or their horse brands tattooed on the arms. The brands consist of letters or geometrical figures.

Compound designs were frequent, especially on the wrists and fore-arms. Many of these were arranged so as to give an artistic effect, although some of them, such as the first three in Figure 46, might have had an added meaning through the combination of the various elements. Thus the first two designs might mean "the morning star appearing over a hill," commemorative of something that happened when the star was seen in this position, or of a similar occurrence seen in a dream. The "flower" over the double line inclosing a wave line in the lower part of the right hand column of Figure 46 may designate a mountain flower. Other designs were evidently purely ornamental, and the arrangement of many lines and woodworm designs were partially so.

A very few cases are remembered of compound designs on the body. One old man had a line encircling the neck and a vertical line from

it extending some distance down the chest. (Fig. 47, *b.*) Another old man had two straight lines following approximately the collar bones, and vertical lines depending from it, one above each breast. (Fig. 47, *c.*) Another younger man had a pair of wavy lines (fig. 47, *d.*) on the chest, and some other lines which are not distinctly remembered. These designs were considered to represent necklaces and pendants, but their entire meaning is not quite certain. Figure 47, *e.*, shows three short lines on the chest.

The Kalispel man seen by Baptiste had the only example known of large designs in tattooing, and on this account he was considered remarkable. He had figures of two wolverines (facing each other) covering his chest and stomach, and figures of two ducks above them across the fronts of the shoulders. He also had a design on his upper right arm representing "woodworms" or "snakes." (Fig. 47, *a.*)

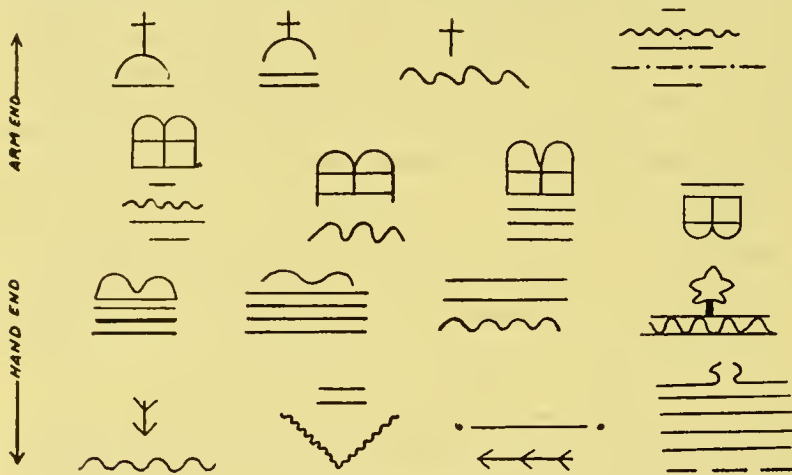


FIGURE 46.—Compound designs on wrists and forearms of the Thompson Indians

It may be remarked here that a number of the tattooed designs bear a close resemblance to designs occurring on basketry, beadwork, weapons, painted bags, clothes, etc.<sup>18</sup> Here belong Nos. 2, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 26, 28–30, 32, 33, 37–39, 40, 43, and perhaps others. No. 24 is similar to the "navel" design on navel string pouches. Nos. 1–3, 8, 13–16, 19, 23, 25, 27, 30–32, 48, 50–54, and possibly others, resemble rock paintings.<sup>19</sup>

There appears to be no tradition relating the origin of tattooing and I have not found any mention of the custom in the mythological tales I have collected. The common words for tattooing and tattoo

<sup>18</sup> See *The Thompson Indians of British Columbia*, l. c., pp. 200 to 203, 212, 215 to 218, 240, 242, 244, 252, 263, 265, 266, 313, 378, 380, 382, 384, 385. *The Shuswap*, pp. 478–81; *Coiled Basketry in British Columbia and Surrounding Region*, Forty-first Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., Washington, 1928, Plates 78–92.

<sup>19</sup> See *The Thompson Indians of British Columbia*, l. c., pls. XIX and XX; *The Shuswap*, l. c., p. 591; *The Lillooet Indians*, l. c., pl. IX.

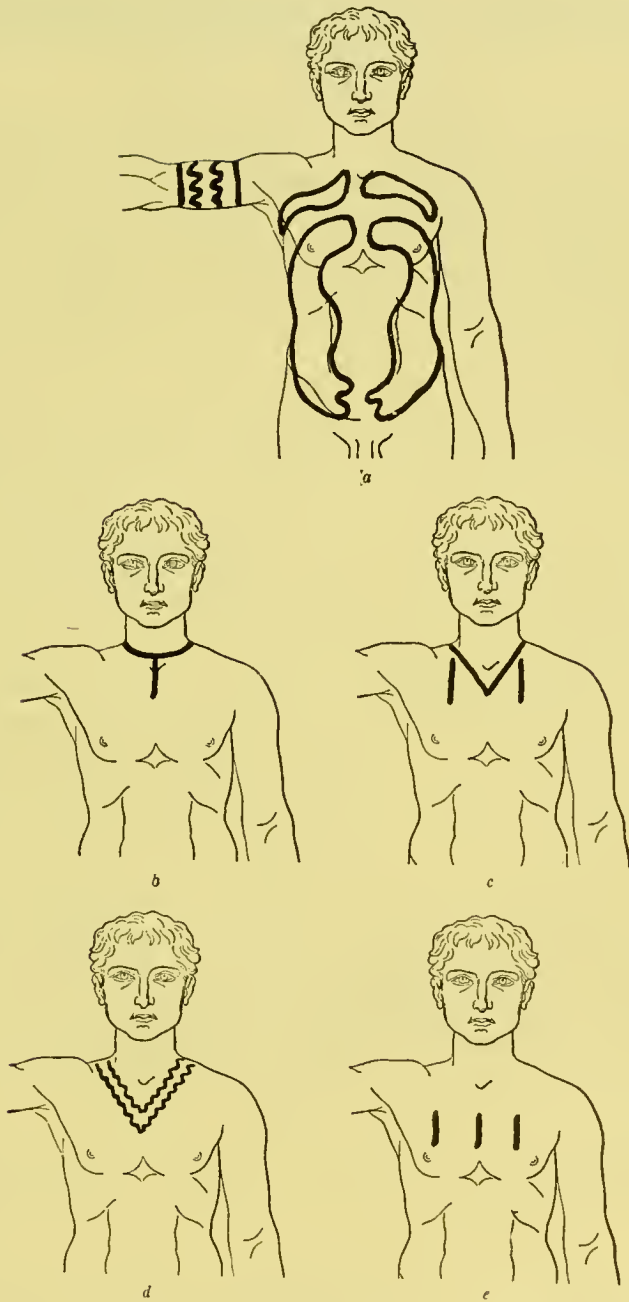


FIGURE 47.—Body tattooing of the Thompson Indians

mark in the Thompson Indian language seems to be related to one of the words for dentalia. Red ocher or charcoal were sometimes rubbed into cuts made at puberty. These formed no designs.

### FACE AND BODY PAINTING

Face and body painting was universal among the Thompson Indians. Most people washed and painted every day. Some painted the face every day, while others did so only as they had leisure or as occasion required. Some changed the designs almost every day, while others adhered very closely to certain styles. Everyone painted more or less. The face was painted much oftener than the body. A few of the young people would change their face paint several times during a day.

The colors applied were several shades of red, yellow, blue, white, and black. Green and a few other tints may have been used occasionally. By far the most common color was a rich brownish red.<sup>20</sup> Vegetable stains were not in favor for face or body painting, although common enough among the Lillooet. Powdered micaceous hematite was employed to some extent, and imparted a shiny, sparkling appearance. Dry paint was much used, but most painting, including all the finer work, was done with paint mixed with water or grease. Sometimes the skin was wet with water or grease and dry paint rubbed on. Paint pencils were also used. Some designs were made by painting the skin with one color and then scraping the paint off where desired with teeth and pieces of shell. Patterns were also made with the points of the fingers, paint brushes, and paint sticks. As a rule people painted each other when fine or intricate designs were attempted. Before the introduction of looking-glasses, water and what appeared to have been sheets of mica were used. Most people carried small paint bags attached to the belt, which they replenished from larger ones kept at home. Paint mortars and mixing dishes were found in nearly every house.<sup>21</sup>

Most of the people nowadays have very vague ideas of color symbolism. A few of the old men I have met laid much stress on it. With the passing away of the present generation of old people, all knowledge of it will practically disappear. Color had the following meanings.<sup>22</sup>

Red signified "good" in a general sense. It also expressed life, existence, blood, heat, fire, light, day. Some say it also meant the earth. It appears also to have had the meaning self, friendship, success.

<sup>20</sup> For materials used as paints, see Thompson Indians of British Columbia, I. c., p. 184; Shuswap, I. c., pp. 475, 476; Lillooet Indians, I. c., pp. 204, 205; also additional information in this paper.

<sup>21</sup> See Thompson Indians of British Columbia, I. c., pp. 184, 202.

<sup>22</sup> See Color symbolism, Lillooet, I. c., p. 291.

Black had a meaning opposite to that of red. It meant evil, death, cold, darkness, night. Probably also the lower world. It appears also to have implied "person the opposite of self, enemy, antagonism, and bad luck."

Yellow had the general meaning of an earth color. It stood for the earth, and whatever is connected with it—grass, trees, vegetation, stones, soil, water, land and water mysteries, sickness coming from the earth. When an "earth line" was painted yellow it meant simply the earth, if painted red or black it meant something additional—something good or bad associated with it. Sometimes yellow was used synonymously with red for fire, day, daylight, dawn, and the heavenly bodies.

Green was used in the same sense as yellow but was probably more strictly an earth color. It was seldom or never used for fire, daylight, dawn, and the heavenly bodies. Occasionally it was used for rainbow. It was little in vogue, and long ago possibly not used at all in face painting.

Blue had the meaning of a sky color. It was used for the sky or upper world in contradistinction to yellow for the earth and black for the underworld. Sometimes the sun, moon, stars, lightning, and rainbow were made blue, but more frequently they were made yellow or red. Sometimes it depended on the background, or the other nearest colors. Blue was considered the proper color for sky and clouds. A few people appear to have used blue in the same sense as black, but not black in the sense of blue.

White had the meaning of a "spirit" color, and stood for ghost, spirit world, dead people, skeleton, bones, sickness, coming from the dead.

Brown had the same significance as red, and gray the same as white.

It seems that there was a vague recognition of red as a color for the east and black for the west, partly arising from the connection of these quarters with the sun and partly from notions regarding the dead. The sun set in the west; souls were drawn to the west; the departed dead will eventually return from that direction. Possibly in like manner white may have represented the north and yellow the south (?). Likewise there appears to have been some slight association of green as a color for spring, yellow for summer, white for winter, and red for fall, but I have found no trace of this recognition in painting. It is doubtful if these ideas were applied in painting.

Color symbolism appears to have occurred more strongly in face and body painting than in other painting. In painting on bags, clothes, weapons, etc., it was much less recognized, and in embroidery with colored beads, quills, etc., only to a very slight extent. In basketry it did not occur at all. In these connections colors were

generally arranged for effect only, irrespective of any symbolic meanings that might be attached to them. Occasionally there was an attempt both in painting of objects and in embroidery to reproduce the true natural colors. A red flower would be made red, a yellow one yellow, a leaf green, a shell white, etc., and this tendency seems to be growing in the silk work of the present day, but as a rule this method was neglected, the colors being arranged for decorative effect. In face and body painting even the ordinary or proper symbolic colors of some objects were set aside for those expressing the ideas of good, bad, earth, and sky. Numerous examples of this will be found in the designs to be here discussed.

The object of painting was nearly the same as that of tattooing. Much of it was for ornament, but much also had a strong connection with religion, dreams, guardian spirits, cure of disease, protection, prayers, speech, good luck, war, or death. It was often difficult to distinguish between a painting used purely for ornament and one having other significance. Almost the same symbols or designs and colors were used in all cases. The old Indians say when they saw a man with his face painted they could not always determine the object of the painting, whether for mere ornament or for other purposes. As a rule middle-aged and old people painted less for ornament than young people. If young persons painted with small, elaborate designs in various colors it was usually for ornament and to fascinate the opposite sex. Dream paintings were very common. Among elderly people, as a rule, representations of dreams alone were painted and nothing added for mere ornament. On the whole men used a greater variety of color than women.

The Indians do not agree in their explanations of the preference for red for body painting. Some account for it by the meaning of red; others simply say that it is customary; still others point out that it is the most striking color, or that red paint was most easily obtained.

As painting has now practically gone out of use, knowledge of designs formerly in use and their significance will disappear with the present generation of old people. A generation ago much more information could have been gathered. The following includes all I have been able to learn about designs and their meanings. I divide them into classes according to their objects as my informants gave them to me.

#### ORNAMENTAL DESIGNS

1. Nearly every one painted a narrow red stripe along the parting or partings of the hair. Many people also painted a red streak over the hair of each eyebrow. These paintings are said to have been for decorative purposes only, but it seems probable they were also regarded as in some degree protective.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> These paintings appear to have been common to all the interior Salish tribes.



2. All the designs of facial tattooing<sup>25</sup> were also used in facial painting, and were not confined to any particular color. As in tattooing, they are said to have been used for decorative purposes only. I obtained interpretations of several designs used in the ghost dance and in other connections which appear to be identical with some of those used in tattooing.<sup>26</sup>

The following are said to be chiefly ornamental, although some of them may have been partly "dream" designs.

3. Lower part of face from nostrils down red, rest of face blue. Across the brow from temple to temple two parallel red stripes inclosing about six red dots. The hair above the ears daubed with red. This design is said to represent a headband, probably of loon skin. The blue is a cloud and the red a lake (possibly meaning cloud resting on a lake). A variation of this painting had yellow instead of blue. In the latter case the design on the brow might not be a representation of a headband but a symbol of the loon itself (possibly the loon on the lake or on water). The red might then stand for the earth or a cliff near the lake. Used by men. (Pl. 5, *a*.)

4. The lower part of the face blue, the upper outline of the painted area wavy, higher at the nose, lower alongside, higher again on the cheeks, and lower at the ears. Said to mean a cloud rising from the ground. In one instance a man with this painting had two feathers erect in his hair, one above each temple. The quill parts and the tips of the feathers were painted blue, the lower three-fourths red. Used by men. (Pl. 5, *b*.)

5. The right side of the face red, including the side of the nose and excluding the nose. On the brow and chin the painting extended a little to the left. Some said it represented the "moon," while others suggested a "lake" or a "gulch" as the probable meaning. Used by men. (Pl. 5, *c*, *c'*.)

6. The forehead and temples above the eyebrows red, or in other cases yellow. Painted blue, it meant the sky or a large cloud. Painted yellow or red, it stood for a large mountain. Used by men. (Pl. 5, *d*.)

7. Lower part of face to level with mouth red. From it on the left side four vertical lines in the same color extending to a little above the level of the nostrils. On the right side four similar lines in yellow (sometimes in blue). This painting represented the earth or a valley with trees. According to one person the lines might also mean cliffs. Used by men. (Pl. 5, *e*.)

8. Both sides of face red from eyes down, excluding nose, mouth, and chin. Four to eight horizontal stripes scratched out of the paint on both sides. Some say this painting signifies rays of light pene-

<sup>25</sup> See facial tattoo designs, figs. 40, 41.

<sup>26</sup> Compare Nos. 35, 36, 40, 41, 42, 62, and corresponding explanations.

trating through clouds (shining out of the clouds). Used by men. (Pl. 5, *f*.)

9. A straight stripe of red or blue across the eyebrows from hair line to hair line means the sky.

10. A large round spot on the center of each cheek, and sometimes another in the center of the forehead, represented clouds, and if yellow, clouds near the earth or fog. Fog, however, was seldom represented by round spots, which were representative of cumulus clouds. One person said spots also stood for stars, the only difference being that those meaning clouds were larger than those meaning stars. (Pl. 5, *g*.)

11. The entire chin painted red or yellow might mean the earth or the shadow of a cloud on the earth. A design used by women. (Pl. 5, *h*.)

12. The whole of each cheek painted red in somewhat rounded outline. This painting was merely for ornament and had no other known meaning. It was the common face painting for women. (Pl. 5, *i*, *i'*.)

13. Right half of brow red, left half of chin blue or black. Cumulus clouds. Used by men. (Pl. 5, *j*.)

14. A figure of a bull elk or a buck deer (with antlers) in red on each cheek, heads facing toward the nose, and the same symbol of the sun as in tattoo mark No. 19 in red on the middle of the brow.<sup>27</sup> Used by men. (Pl. 6, *a*.)

15. The nose painted red meant a mountain ridge or peak, particularly one in which the golden eagle (possibly also the thunderbird) had its home. One man who remembered the use of this painting also had on his brow a narrow horizontal blue stripe with red triangles in solid color rising from it. Above this, just below the hair line, were two narrow horizontal stripes of blue. This brow design was a duplicate of that on the headband he sometimes wore. The triangles represented sharp mountains or possibly arrowheads and the blue lines above, the sky. The headband belonging to this man was set all round with eagle tail feathers painted blue at the tips and with red lines underneath. Many of the feathers were cut on the edges in different designs. Used by men. (Pl. 6, *b*.)

16. The chin and jaw and sometimes also the throat red, blue, yellow, or black. The painting ended on the upper lip at the outer margins of the alae of the nose. It is said to represent a cliff or a large bowlder. Used by men. (Pl. 6, *c*.)

17. The lower part of the face below the nose red, the color rising over the cheeks alongside the ears to the temples. This represented

<sup>27</sup> This is probably a dream design. Things seen in a dream are considered good omens. On the other hand, possibly the sun and deer may have been guardian spirits of the person, or the deer may have been painted on the face for good luck or propitiation by a hunter in the same way as the bear design, No. 99 (p. 438).

a gulch, particularly where the grizzly bear made his home. A man who often used this painting wore a grizzly claw necklace in conjunction with it, or instead of the necklace sometimes painted a representation of it in red, or red and blue or black, around his neck. Used by men. (Pl. 6, *d.*)

18. A rather large dot in red on each cheek, with spokes radiating from it all around, represented the sun. Used by men. (Pl. 6, *e.*)

19. Figure of a crescent on end in red on the right cheek meant the moon. Used by men. (Pl. 6, *f.*)

20. Right half of face red, left half yellow or blue. Considered to represent a mystery lake having two colors of water. Used by men.

21. A small or a large red dot on the center of each cheek and the same on the middle of the brow. Occasionally the dots were double. Some say this painting is for mere ornament; others say it may mean stars. Used by women. (Pl. 6, *g, g'.*)

22. A small red dot on the center of each cheek and the same on the middle of the chin. A red cross on the center of the forehead is considered to represent the morning star and the dots other stars. Used by women. (Pl. 6, *h.*)

Of these designs Nos. 1 to 5 and 11 to 18 are from *Nkamtcī'neṃux<sup>u</sup>* informants, or were noticed among that division formerly. Nos. 21 and 22 were noted among both Okanagan and Upper Thompson. The rest are Upper Thompson in general. Nos. 3 to 8 and 13 to 20 are remembered as having been used by men, Nos. 11, 12, 21, and 22 by women, and the balance by both sexes.

#### DANCE DESIGNS

A number of designs are remembered in connection with the ghost or religious dance.<sup>28</sup> Many stripe designs were used in this dance and some of them were evidently peculiar to it. Designs symbolic of celestial bodies and phenomena were used. Designs connected with the guardian spirits were apparently never used. Many of the designs had reference to prayers, speech, sight, and hearing. Some people did not always use the special dance designs but used ornamental designs, especially those symbolic of clothing. Some others painted their faces and sometimes also their bodies all in one color—red, white, or micaceous hematite. It appears red was by far the most common color in this dance. According to some, black was not used at all, while others assert narrow black stripes alternating with red were occasionally used by some warriors. White paint and micaceous hematite were used to a moderate extent, while blue and yellow were used but little. The Lillooet used yellow and white to a considerable extent in this dance, and among the Shuswap white was in vogue almost

<sup>28</sup> See particulars of this dance, Thompson Indians of British Columbia, I. c., pp. 350 to 354.

as much as red.<sup>29</sup> Mention has been made of some ghost (?) dance designs in *The Thompson Indians of British Columbia*, pages 350 and 351, and illustrations of seven of them will be found there in Figure 291. The following are interpretations of these suggested by the Indians. I also give their descriptions and interpretations of a number of others.

23. (Commencing with the upper left hand sketch, fig. 291.) This design may mean clouds and rain, rays descending from above, something good or beneficial descending, such as health or something prayed for. The extension to the ear may show that it has some reference to hearing.

24. Has the same meaning as No. 23 but there seems to be included a symbol of the sun. It may mean a rain cloud crossing the sun.

25. This painting appears to represent ascending rays. It may mean prayers or something else ascending; the setting sun or the sun's rays on the earth. It appears also to have some connection with sight.

26. Thought to represent a cloud line. It may be symbolic of a cloud or bank of clouds with the sun's rays ascending from behind it. The lower line probably represents the earth. The painting may have some connection with speech. Two persons considered this design symbolic of the rising sun.

27. This painting may represent lightning or a rainstorm.

28. Uncertain, but it may mean a cloud line or a cloud with rays of the sun shining on its side.

29. The upper line may mean the sky and the lower one a cloud. The vertical lines are rays with the same meaning as in No. 23. The same two men who considered No. 26 a representation of the rising sun said this design was the reverse, and signified the setting sun. These designs were nearly always in red, the vertical lines always so, the horizontal lines occasionally in other colors.

30. Alternate vertical stripes of red and yellow or red and white covering the whole face. White and blue in alternate stripes occurred in a few cases. According to a Lillooet shaman these signified rays. They may have represented people.

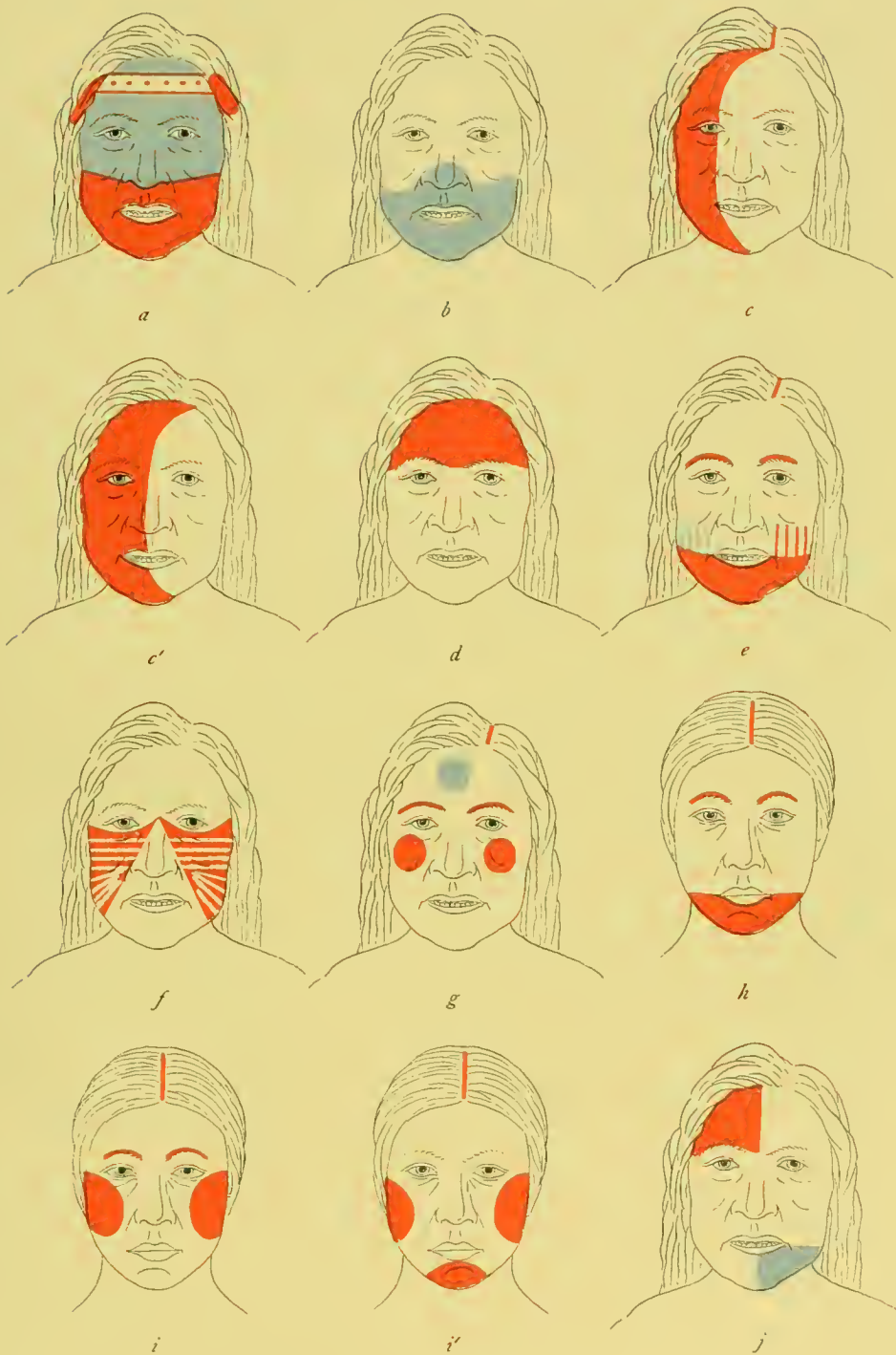
31. Rather wide stripes of micaceous hematite arranged vertically and covering the whole face. As No. 30, they signified rays.

32. The whole face red, the paint scratched off here and there with the finger nails, forming a design of vertical stripes. This has the same meaning as Nos. 23, 30, and 31.

33. The face red all over, and numerous round spots painted on it with micaceous hematite; said to mean stars.

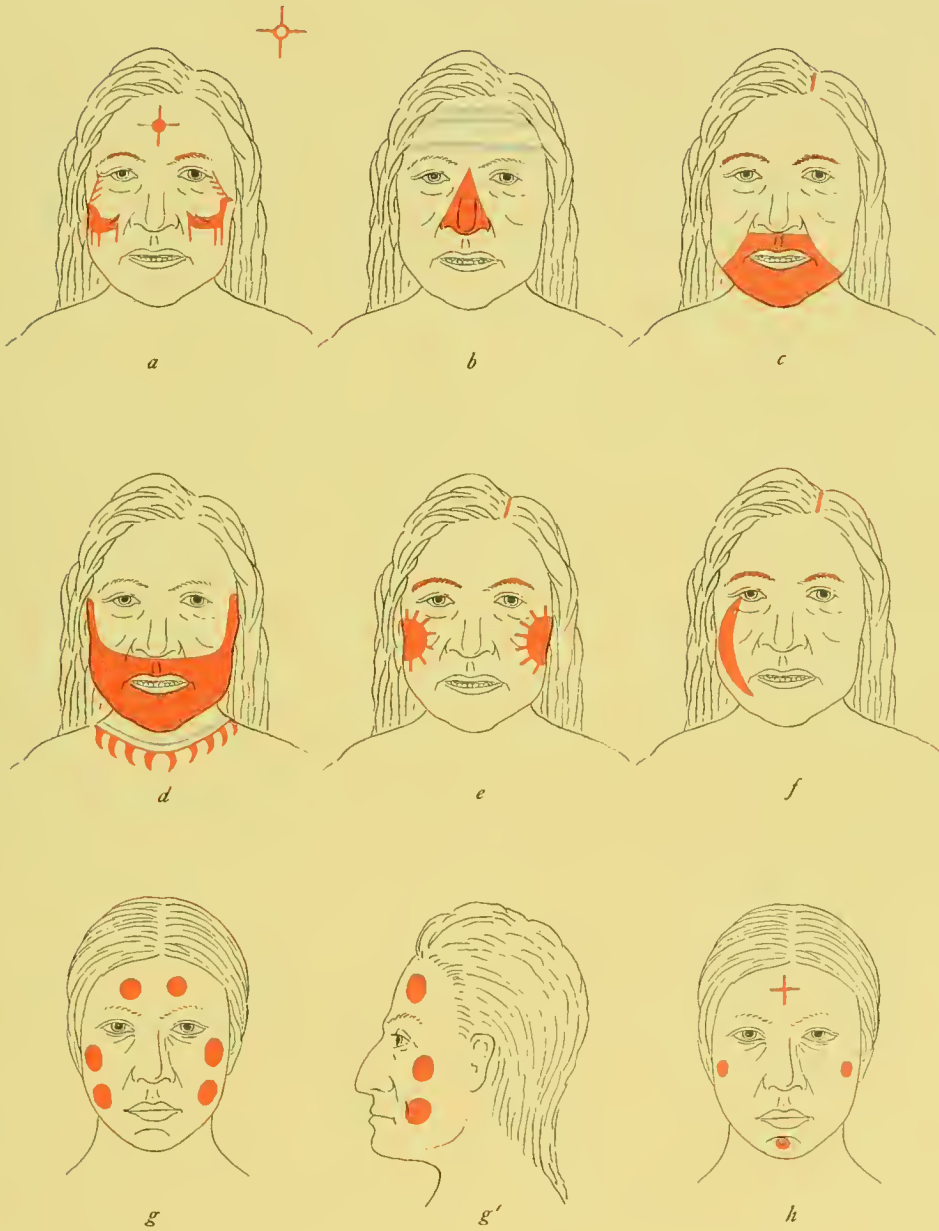
34. A circle in red around each eye, and a wavy line descending from them the full length of the face. The meaning is not quite

<sup>29</sup> See *The Shuswap*, I. c., pp. 603 to 605; see also *The Lillooet Indians*, I. c., pp. 283 to 285.



FACIAL PAINTINGS OF THE THOMPSON INDIANS

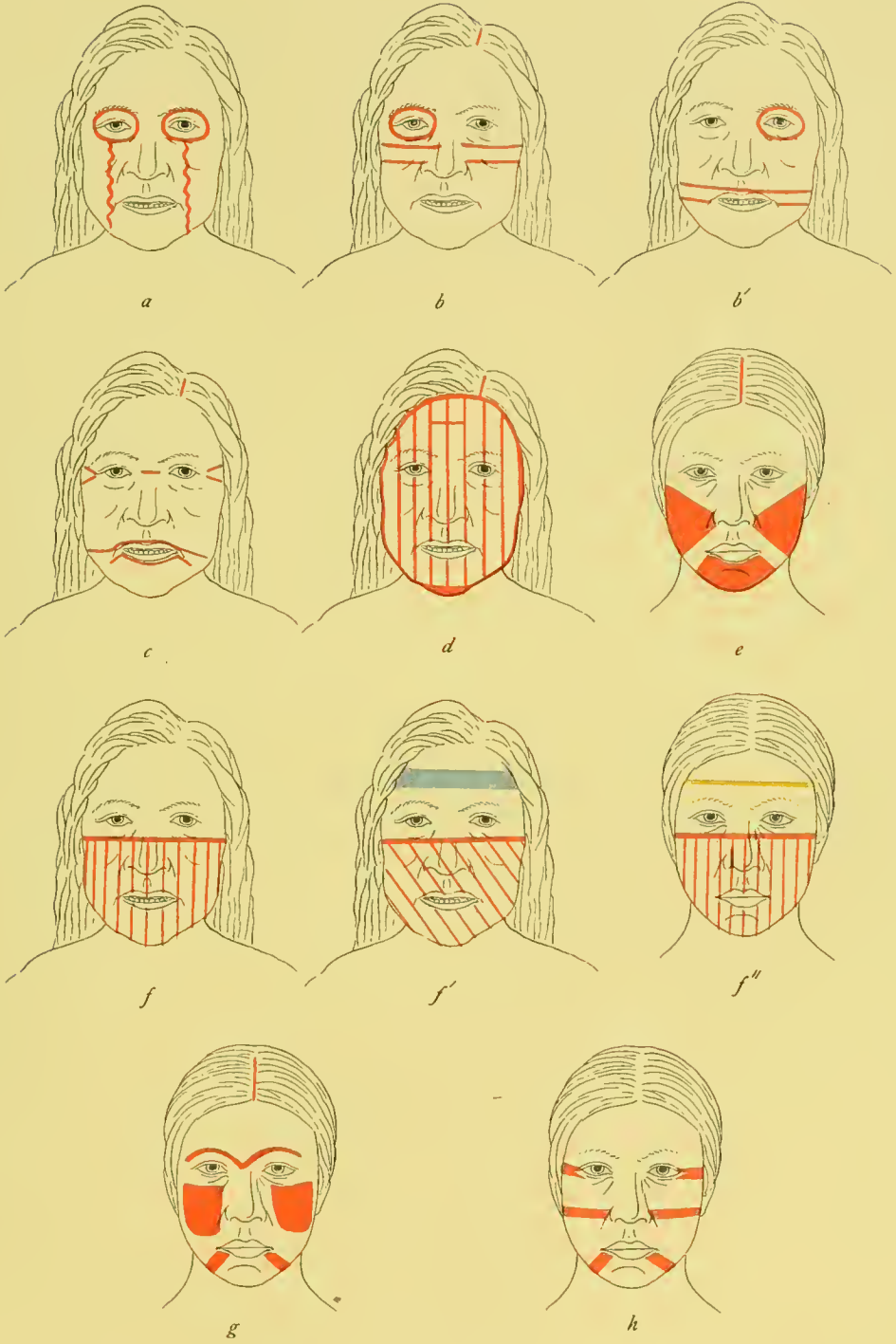




FACIAL PAINTINGS OF THE THOMPSON INDIANS

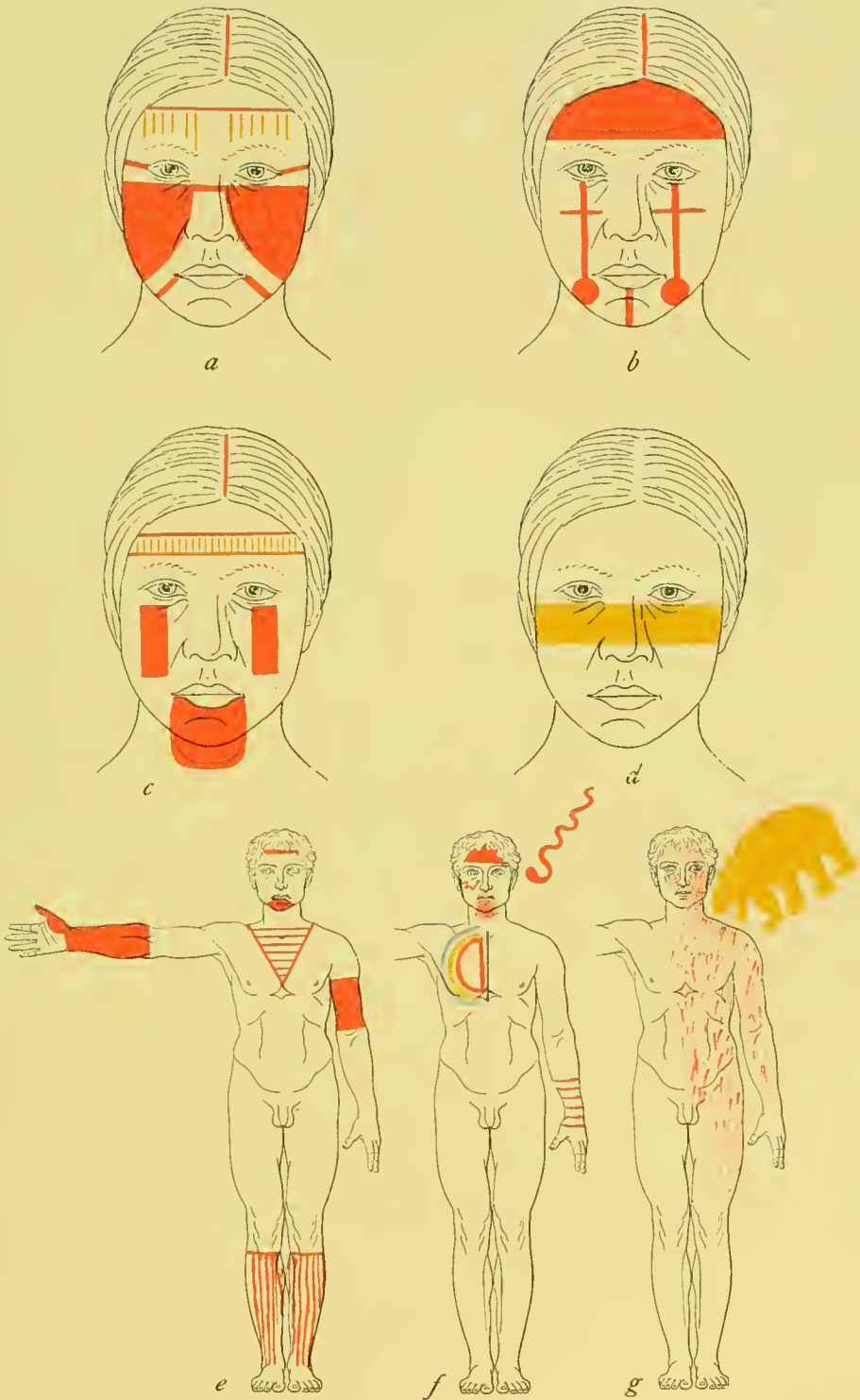






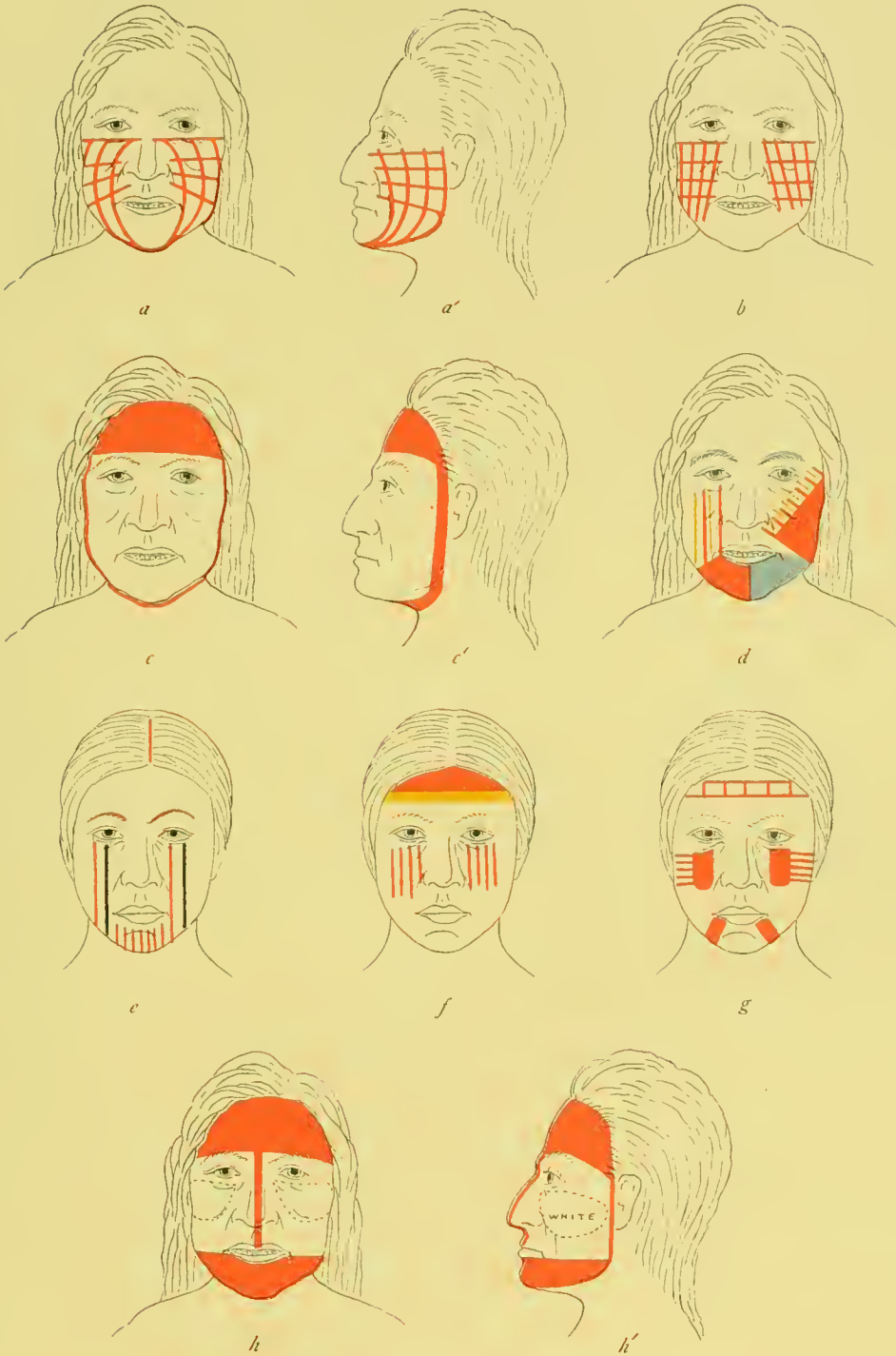
FACIAL PAINTINGS OF THE THOMPSON INDIANS





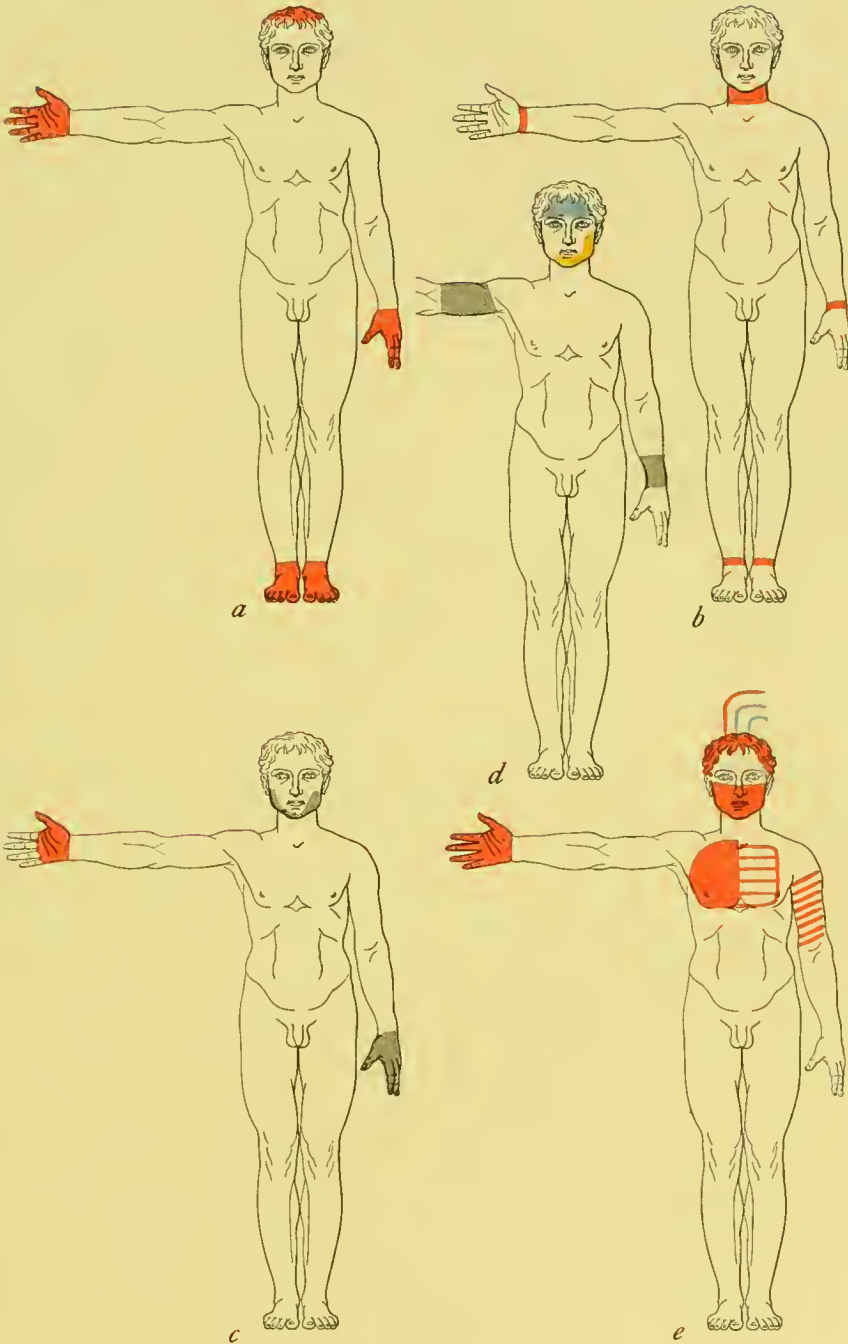
FACIAL AND BODY PAINTINGS OF THE THOMPSON INDIANS





FACIAL PAINTINGS OF THE THOMPSON INDIANS

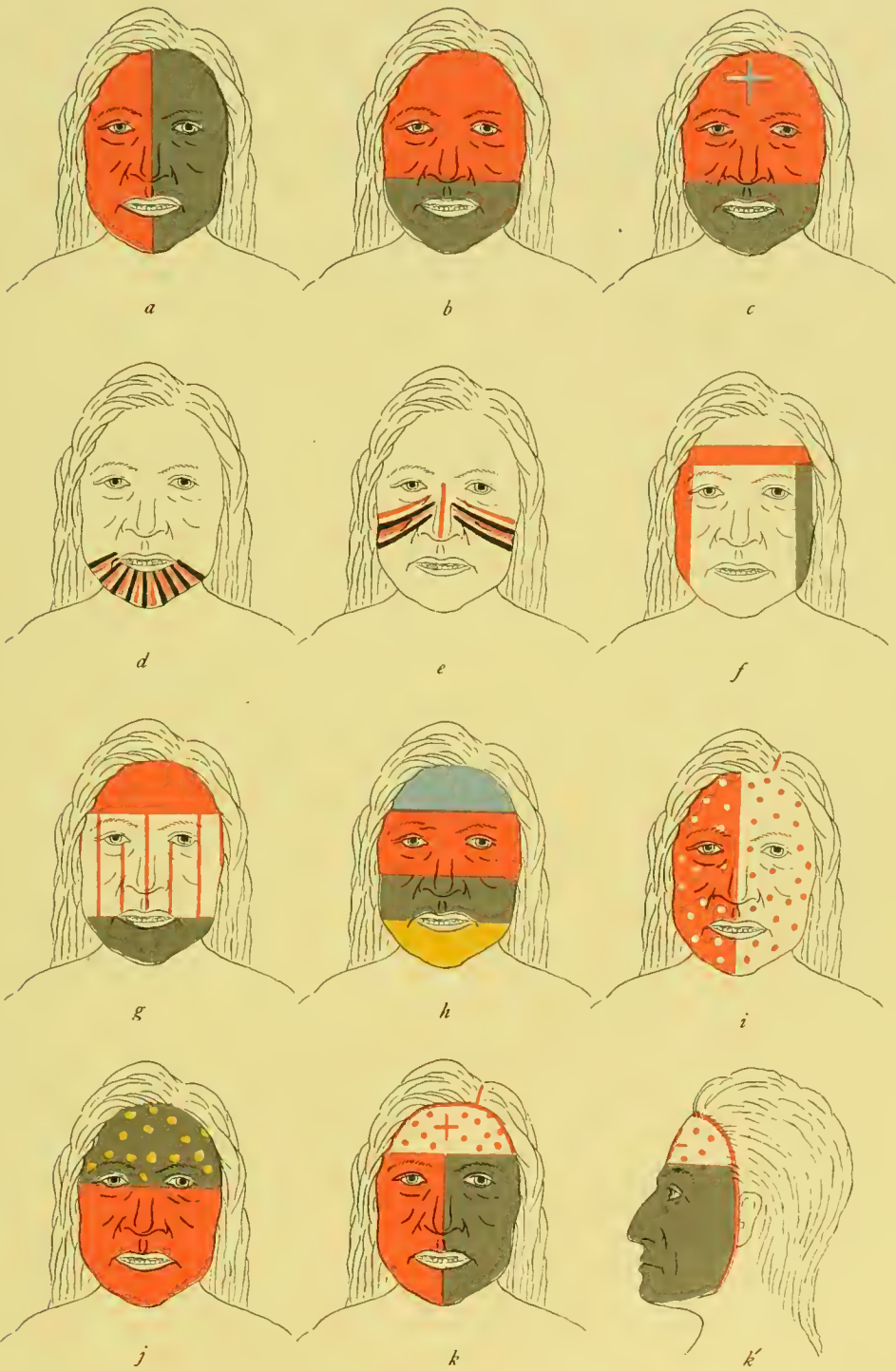




FACIAL AND BODY PAINTINGS OF THE THOMPSON INDIANS

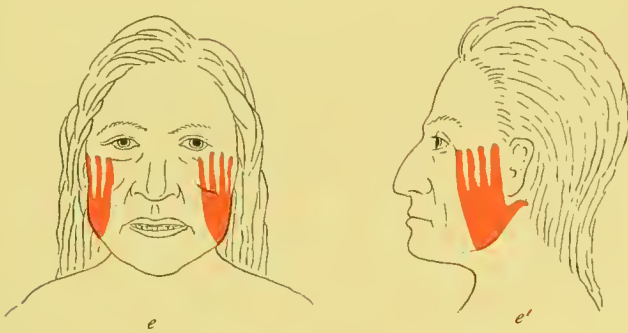
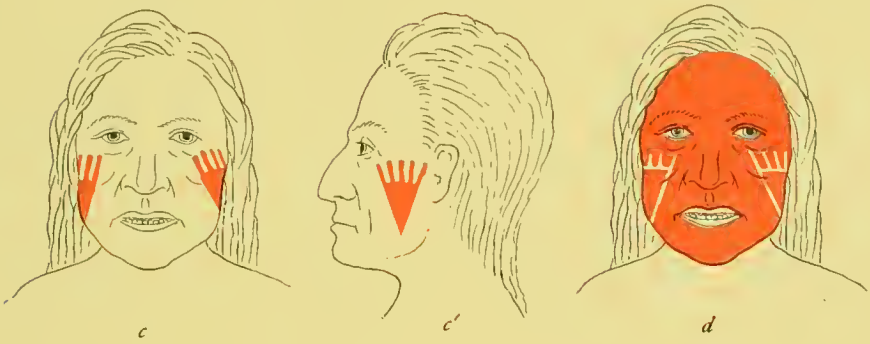






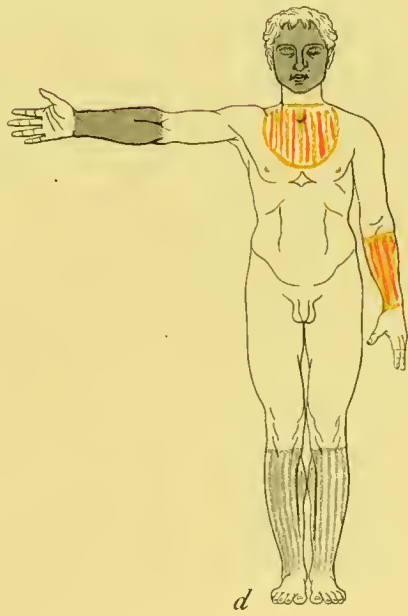
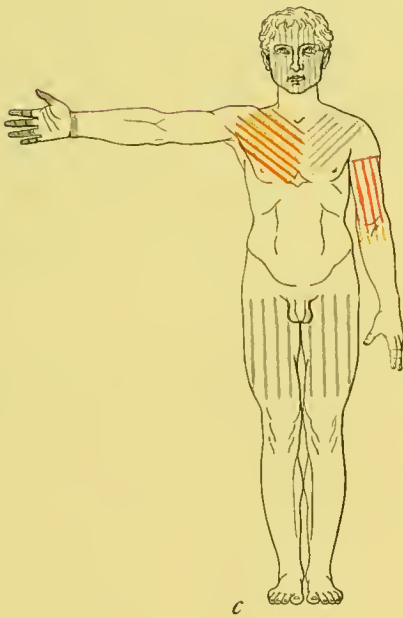
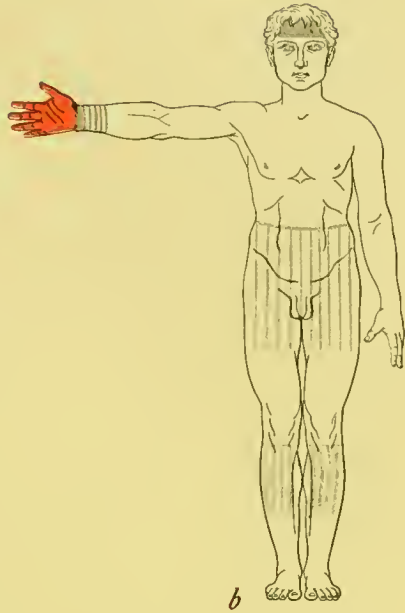
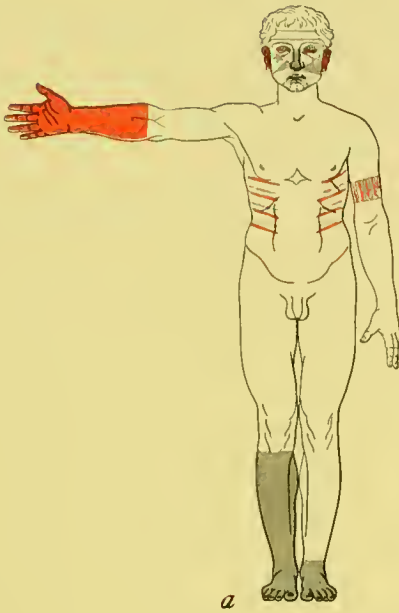
FACIAL PAINTINGS OF THE THOMPSON INDIANS





FACIAL PAINTINGS OF THE THOMPSON INDIANS





FACIAL AND BODY PAINTINGS OF THE THOMPSON INDIANS



certain, but is said to be connected with sight or the expectation to see. Some say the circles represent the eyes and the lines are symbolic of woodworms or strength, and the whole may be a prayer for strength of the eyes. The person using this painting may have wanted his powers of vision increased so that he might see supernatural beings, or he may have wanted sore eyes to be made well. (Pl. 7, *a.*)

35. A circle in red around the right eye (possibly either eye) and two horizontal lines on each cheek extending from the nose to the ear, sometimes from the mouth to the ear. The circle represents the eye or sight. The double lines are uncertain. It was suggested they they mean prayers if emanating from the mouth.<sup>30</sup> Some consider them to be equivalent to tattoo marks (viz, copies of tattoo marks) and to serve merely as ornaments. (Pl. 7, *b, b'.*)

36. Two short diverging red lines extending outward from the corner of each eye and another short line connecting the eyes above the nose; a red line encircling the lips, and two short lines extending outward from it at each corner of the mouth.<sup>31</sup> Some think these lines mean a prayer for both eyes to have good power of vision, and for the mouth to receive whatever may be desirable; others consider these marks to be copies of tattoo designs. The line between the eyes means both eyes, and the circle round the mouth means the mouth. (Pl. 7, *c.*)

37. A red stripe along the hair line and following the lower edge of the jawbone, the rest of the face covered with vertical red stripes connecting the encircling line. The central stripe which extends down the nose is crossed by a short line at right angles on the middle of the forehead. This design is stated to signify the sun's rays shining on the earth. The cross on the brow is symbolic of the sun. (Pl. 7, *d.*)

38. The chin red and a red area on each side of the face covering the whole cheek near the ears and coming to a point at the nose, just above the nostrils. Represents shadows of clouds. (Pl. 7, *e.*)

39. The same painting as No. 23 only the horizontal line often made heavier and the vertical lines made fine and extending down over the jawbone and chin. Sometimes the latter were diagonal instead of vertical, and sometimes also a thick horizontal line in blue occurred on the brow parallel to the one across the nose. Supposed to mean sky, cloud line, and descending rain. (Pl. 7, *f, f', f''.*)

40. A square shaped red area covering the greater part of each cheek, and a red line about an inch wide extending obliquely down over the sides of the chin from each corner of the mouth.<sup>32</sup> The

<sup>30</sup> See Tattooing, fig. 40, *D, I,* and *K.*

<sup>31</sup> See Tattooing, fig. 40, *G, D, E,* and *F.*

<sup>32</sup> See Tattooing, fig. 40, *A* and *B.*

latter are said to represent prayers or speech and the marks on the cheeks cloud shadows. (Pl. 7, *g.*)

41. A red line about an inch wide running from the nostril to the ear on each cheek; another from the corner of each eye across the temples, and the same marks at the mouth as No. 40. The meaning is not quite certain. One person said these lines were just the same as the similar tattoo marks,<sup>33</sup> and like them were for ornament; others declared they had some connection with seeing, smelling, tasting, eating or speaking, and hearing. The cheek lines were interpreted as cloud lines or cloud strata. One man said the whole painting was a tadpole design representative of the tadpole, which was a woman's guardian. Baptiste said lines were sometimes painted at the eyes partly for ornament and partly to have good luck in seeing (*viz.*, to see something good; or that the eyes might be good). In the same way lines from the mouth might mean good speech (*viz.*, that nothing but good should be spoken, or that the mouth should be used for speaking good, or speaking effectively). (Pl. 7, *h.*)

42. Similar lines at the eyes and mouth as No. 41. The same explanations were obtained. Both cheeks painted red with a connecting line across the bridge of the nose. A red line about an inch wide extending horizontally across the forehead, and a group of about six short fine yellow lines extending from it to each eyebrow. The design on the cheeks means shadows of clouds on the earth. The brow painting is uncertain but most informants thought it represented rays of the sun. (Pl. 8, *a.*)

43. The forehead painted red, a large dot below each corner of the mouth, and a red line between them extending from the lips down over the center of the chin, a cross on each cheek, the vertical arm thicker than the horizontal arm. The latter represents clouds crossing the sun. The chin design is a symbol of the red-winged flicker which is thought to be related to the thunder. The brow design is a cloud. (Pl. 8, *b.*)

44. Two parallel red lines extending horizontally across the forehead and connected by numerous short fine lines in white or yellow. A vertical line almost 5 cm. wide extending nearly the full height of each cheek. A large red or blue area covering the chin, and sometimes also the throat. The last-named design represents a rain cloud, that on the cheeks pillars of clouds or clouds standing on end, that on the forehead is an imitation of a headband set with quills or dentalia. (Pl. 8, *c.*)

45. A wide horizontal band in yellow across the forehead or the middle of the face represents the "Milky Way." White was sometimes used instead of yellow. (Pl. 8, *d.*)

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<sup>33</sup> See Tattooing, fig. 40, *A, B, G,* and *I.*



46. A red stripe extending across the upper part of the forehead and the whole chin painted red. The chin design represents cumulus clouds, the brow design stands for a cirrus cloud. A noted chief of the dances generally painted this way. He also had his hair next to the head powdered with red ochre. He frequently appeared almost naked at the dances, and the following is remembered as his usual body paint.

47. A triangular figure on the chest composed of two red lines commencing one on each side of the neck and uniting at the stomach. Between these stretched six or eight horizontal lines at equal distances apart. This painting was supposed to mean cirrostratus clouds.

48. The upper left arm and the right forearm, including the wrist, thumb, and backs of the hand and fingers were painted red. These designs were said to be shadows of mountains. This was known to be one of his guardians.

49. He had a red ring around each leg below the knee, and numerous red stripes extending from it to the ankles, all around the legs. This design was supposed to represent long fringes of leggings. He wore a buckskin apron or breechelout, which with the belt were painted red all over the outside, and when he wore moccasins they were without embroidery, and generally painted red. Some of these designs were also used by other men. (46 to 49 on Pl. 8, *e*.)

50. Another body painting used by a prominent dancer consisted of a triangular area in red covering most of the chest. The wide base was just above the stomach, and the apex at the throat. This design represented either a mountain or the shadow of a mountain.

51. Parts of dancers' bodies devoid of clothing were generally painted with vertical stripes or with dots in red color. Sometimes white, yellow, and micaceous hematite were used instead of red, and in rare instances these colors were intermingled with red. Some people when they did not use the above designs painted imitations of clothing and ornaments on the body. A few men and a very few women powdered the tops of their heads with dry red paint and some put birds down (occasionally powdered with red paint) on the top of the head when they commenced dancing.

Of the above designs Nos. 34 to 37 are remembered as used by men, Nos. 32 and 50 by men, particularly certain dance chiefs, Nos. 46 to 49 by a noted dance chief, Nos. 38 to 44 by women, and the rest by both sexes. A number of these designs (especially Nos. 30 to 41) may possibly have been used on other occasions.

#### GUARDIAN SPIRIT DANCE DESIGNS

52. In the ceremony or dance in which men sang their guardian spirit songs the women and those not taking a prominent part appeared with their faces painted all red. The men who were to

sing and dance appeared painted each in his own way. Much body painting was used, and the designs on both face and body were quite varied, and many of them hard to interpret. All colors were used, and the designs were representative of the guardian of each person. The paintings on some men represented animals and birds. Many designs, however, were symbolic. I did not obtain any copies of paintings used at this dance, partly because very few if any are remembered with certainty, and partly because the Indians aver they were the same in character as those used by shamans, and also by men in general who were given dreams by their guardian spirits. The only difference appears to have been that pictures of the guardians themselves were frequently painted on the body.

#### DREAM DESIGNS

53. The following designs are directly connected with dreams and the guardian spirits. A sick man was once told by his guardian to paint as follows so as to become well: The forehead red and a red area on the front of the chin extending down to the throat. A vertical line of black extended down the middle of the chest, and adjoining it on the right a similar line of red which formed the base line for three other lines forming a half circle on the right side of the chest. The outside one was blue, the middle one yellow, and the inside one red. The inside of the left lower arm and part of the hand were red. On the back of the hand and wrist were six horizontal red lines. On the right (or left?) side of the face was painted a snake in red with its head toward the ear. This represented the man's guardian speaking to him. The design on the forehead represented a cloud and that on the chin probably the shadow of a cloud, the chest design, a rainbow, and the lines on the wrist may have meant snakes. Possibly his snake guardian painted in this manner itself, and may have advised the man to paint likewise. This man at the same time painted his medicine bag red and attached a snake skin painted red to his hair. (Pl. 8, *f*.)

54. A man wounded by a grizzly bear was instructed by his guardian how to paint in order to make the wound heal quickly. He placed the figure of a bear in yellow on the back, with the head toward the left shoulder, where the principal wound was. Streaks of red paint were drawn with the finger tips. They were arranged irregularly, most of them vertical and covering the whole face, and the left side of the body down to the hips including the upper left arm. This represented blood or blood flowing. He also painted his war club red all over. (Pl. 8, *g*.)

55. Beings called *spapa'lla* were represented occasionally in face and body painting, probably in most cases when a person had dreamed of them. As a rule in representations of these all the feet, legs,

hands, arms, and neck were painted red. Sometimes a red streak was painted down each side of the body from the neck to the tip of the shoulders, and from the armpits to the hips, connecting the painted area referred to. A horizontal line was made the length of each eyebrow and similar lines just below the eyes. The nose was painted red and a red ring made around the mouth. Part of the hair was also painted red. The paintings varied a little in different cases. They were representative of the bodily appearance of these people, either as popularly believed or as seen in dreams. Some people may have used the *spapa'lla* painting because they had actually seen these beings.

56. The appearance of giants<sup>34</sup> was also sometimes imitated in painting by persons who had seen or dreamed of them. The forehead and nose were painted black, the rest of the face red excepting a horizontal black line underneath each eye and the same below the mouth. The top of the head was sometimes painted red. The arms to the shoulders were black and the hands either red or black. The body was painted black from a little below the thighs up to a level with the armpits, sometimes up to the neck, leaving a small bare space at each shoulder. The legs were black from the knee or a little above the knee down to the ankles, and sometimes extending down over the instep and ending in three points on each foot in the direction of the toes. The points represented toes. Some people said the giants had three toes on each foot. The leg painting represented leggings of black bearskin. The body painting represented a bearskin shirt held up by straps over the shoulders, such as are believed to be used by giants. The arm painting represented sleeves fastened with straps to the shirt or around the neck. Black lines representing these straps were also sometimes painted on the body. The brow paint represented a bearskin headband. The feet were also sometimes painted black, representative of bearskin moccasins. The red on the face was probably either in the nature of an offering or was protective for the purpose of counteracting the large amount of black used, or to prevent harm accruing to the person who had dreamed of giants.

57. A man after seeing the water mystery of Nicola Lake painted almost all his body black except the face, which was red. He also drew a picture of the mystery, showing the kind of hair it had, or headdress it wore.

58. A man was told by his guardian to paint his face in the following manner whenever he had had a bad dream: Four horizontal lines in red the full width of each cheek. Crossing these, four half circles in red, meeting from both sides in a red band on the chin. The

<sup>34</sup> See description of these in Thompson Indians of British Columbia, I. c., pp. 340, 341; Shuswap, I. c., p. 599; and Lillooet Indians, I. c., p. 276.

meaning of this design is uncertain. Crossings of some kind or a counteraction against the dream was suggested. (Pl. 9, *a, a'*.)

59. Another man was told in a dream to paint as follows: Four vertical red stripes on each cheek made by drawing the tips of the four fingers down the cheek, and four similar stripes crossing them at right angles. The meaning of the design is uncertain. It is evidently related to the preceding. A well-known *Nkamtcī'nemux<sup>u</sup>* warrior named *SowáxExkEN*, who died about 1880, used this design, the vertical lines red and the others black. This was his war paint, and was also a dream design originating with himself or a relative after whom he was named. It was considered a battle picture representative of strife and wars. (Pl. 9, *b*.)

60. A noted hunter called *Tsā'la*, having had a bad dream about grizzly bears, painted a circle in red around his face. He stated this was to ward off the danger portended in the dream. (Pl. 9 *c, c'*.)

61. A *Nkamtcī'nemux<sup>u</sup>* had a vision in which he was told by his guardian to paint as follows: A blue streak over each eyebrow. The right half of his chin red and the left half black (or blue). A large triangle in red with point toward the nostril covered the left cheek. Short alternating lines in red and yellow projected from the upper side of the triangle. On his right cheek four vertical red and yellow lines extended from the cheek bone to the lower jaw. The painting above the eyes probably stood for clouds or the horizon. The chin design represented a mystery lake with two colors of water. The design on the left cheek represented a mountain with trees, and that on the right cheek the tears of the earth. The earth or earth spirit was one of this man's guardians. (Pl. 9, *d*.)

62. A woman after dreaming of weeping and sorrow painted two narrow lines from below each eye down over the face to the sides of the chin. One line red and the other black on each side. She painted her chin red, and made vertical lines on it by drawing deer's teeth (attached to the bone) over the paint. The lines underneath the eyes were probably symbolic of weeping tears. Red, meaning good, offset the black, or weeping. It was, as it were, like placing joy to counteract sorrow. The chin painting is uncertain, but probably had a meaning connected with the cheek painting. (Pl. 9, *e*.)

63. A woman said by some to have been a widow, and by one person to have dreamed that she was widowed, painted the upper part of her forehead red and the lower part yellow. Below each eye were four vertical red lines of medium length. Her hair up to about the place where it would be cut if she became a widow was painted red. The brow painting represented the day dawn and the lines below the eyes tears. (Pl. 9, *f*.)

64. The following painting was seen on an adolescent girl before the completion of her training. The knots of her hair right and left were

painted red. Two red lines extended over the forehead horizontally, enclosing about six short vertical lines. A short, thick, vertical streak of red below the eye on each cheek with five fine horizontal lines extending from it toward the ears. Two thick diverging lines from the corners of the mouth down over the chin. These may have represented her first prayers. The cheek designs probably represent hands and fingers, and the brow design is an imitation of a headband set with dentalia. Probably part of these paintings were connected with dreams she had had.<sup>36</sup> (Pl. 9, *g.*)

#### SHAMAN'S DESIGNS

The following regarding paintings used by shamans was obtained mostly from two old shamans.<sup>37</sup>

65. The warrior's painting (pl. 9, *b*) was the common face paint of the *Nkamtcī'nEMUX<sup>u</sup>* shaman *A'luskEN* who died about 1870. He also frequently painted both his hands and wrists red. Meaning not certain.

66. The old *Nkamtcī'nEMUX<sup>u</sup>* shaman *Ta'xsa*, who died about 1900, generally painted his face, neck, and chest red. He was white headed and usually painted his hair red. When he wanted to dream or when under engagement with a patient he painted this way, sometimes for days and weeks continuously. When he had no patient he generally did not paint at all.

67. Another old *Nkamtcī'nEMUX<sup>u</sup>* shaman named *Ye'luska*, who was killed about 1906, sometimes painted his hair, neck, and upper part of chest red, leaving his face free of paint. The exact or full meanings of these paintings were only known to the shamans who used them, but they were probably instructed by their guardian spirits to paint thus to insure success.

68. Some other shamans are known to have painted as follows: The whole brow and the whole chin red, a streak along the nose connecting the two fields, a large irregular spot of white on each cheek. Occasionally the whole design was in white, and sometimes yellow or black was substituted for red. This design was known as a skull design and represented ghosts. It is said to have also been used by some men as a war painting, just as the rib design was also used by warriors. It was a fairly common design among shamans, and some men used it after they had dreamed of ghosts. (Pl. 9, *h, h'.*)

69. Both feet, both hands, and top of head red. This was used by some shamans when going in search of souls, to insure success and protection. The shaman used his feet in traveling the spirit trail and other dangerous places after souls, and his hands to seize the souls and bring them back. The painting on the head appears to have had

<sup>36</sup> For dream designs used by Shuswap see *The Shuswap*, I. c., pp. 606 to 609.

<sup>37</sup> For shaman's designs used by Shuswap see *The Shuswap*, I. c., p. 601.

some connection with his own soul; I could not learn exactly what. The painting of the extremities appears to have been for protection quite as much as for success. (Pl. 10, *a.*)

70. A rather wide red ring painted around the neck, others around both wrists and both ankles, had practically the same meaning as No. 69. The design was used for the same purposes. (Pl. 10, *b.*)

71. A semicircular stripe in black extending across the chin and jawbone, the ends turning up near the ears. The right hand painted red (or yellow) and the left hand black. The face design is said to be an inverted rainbow. The whole painting seems to deal with evil influences or death, but the exact connection is not plain. A certain shaman painted this way when about to pull sickness out of a patient. (Pl. 10, *c.*)

72. A shaman who may have dreamed of this painting or have been told to paint in this manner by his guardian spirit painted as follows when treating a patient. He sometimes changed the colors but the designs generally remained the same. The forehead was black or blue; the left cheek, left jaw, and chin formed a single area in yellow or white; a black band 10 or 12 cm. wide encircled the left arm from the wrist up; nearly the whole upper right arm was black. The brow design represented a cloud, and the cheek-chin design, if white, a silvery mist which rises from the ground; if yellow, a disease which appears in the form of a mist. The meaning of the arm paintings is uncertain. (Pl. 10, *d.*)

73. A shaman who had been "shot" with sickness by another shaman was advised by his guardian spirit to cure himself by painting in the following manner: The right hand and back of lower right arm red; the right side of the chest red; on the left side of the chest six horizontal red stripes enclosed by a red line at the ends; part of the face below the eyes red, and some red paint on the hair. Two black and one red feather attached to the hair on the top of the head and fastened so that their ends leaned to the left. The meanings of these designs are unknown. (Pl. 10, *e.*)

74. A shaman of the *SLaxai'ux* who had the rattlesnake for a guardian and who was very successful in the treatment of rattlesnake bites wore, when treating a person who had been bitten, a headband of rattlesnake skins with many rattles pendent therefrom. He also wore rattles attached to strings around his wrists and neck. He painted his face sometimes all red, sometimes red with some black spots around the chin, and occasionally his whole face was covered with short lines, and dots in black, red, and yellow, which was supposed to be representative of a rattlesnake's skin.

## WARRIOR'S DESIGNS

In war dances each man painted according to his own liking. Some of the designs were symbolic of war, but most of them were dream designs connected with the guardian spirits. Those men who danced the scalp dance painted their faces all black. The members of some war parties painted each his own way. In other war parties it was customary for members to relinquish their individual painting and use a common design to distinguish more easily friend from foe in battle. A man did not have the right of habitually using black in his face paint unless he was known to have killed an enemy. A person intending to kill some one showed his intention by using more or less black in his face paint. Warriors who had once killed were supposed to be always ready to kill again. The following are remembered as paintings used by warriors.<sup>38</sup>

75. The whole face painted black betokened the person had killed some one.

76. A common warrior's design was the right side of face red and left side black. This might have the meaning of good luck or life to self and bad luck or death to the enemy. (Pl. 11, *a.*)

77. The upper part of face (from the nostrils up) red and the lower part black was also a common war paint and was used by whole war parties of *Nkamtc'i'neμux<sup>u</sup>* on several occasions. This has nearly the same meaning as No. 76. It might mean good luck and victory to self, bad luck and defeat to the enemy, self to be on the top and enemy below. (Pl. 11, *b.*)

78. The same painting as No. 77 with the addition of a cross on the brow, said to be symbolic of the sun or morning star. The sun may have been the warrior's guardian or it may have had some meaning in connection with war. It was painted in black, blue, or yellow. The painting was sometimes used by *Nkamtc'i'neμux<sup>u</sup>* war parties. (Pl. 11, *c.*)

79. Alternate stripes of red and black covering the chin and jawbone. The number of lines varied according to the extent of area covered and the width of the lines. The warrior may have been told to paint this way by his guardian spirit but some people looked upon this as a kind of war picture, the black stripes representing the enemy, or all the stripes the men of the opposing forces. Possibly in some cases the black stripes may have indicated the number of people killed by the warrior in his lifetime. It is said that a long time ago some warriors painted such records on their faces or bodies. (Pl. 11, *d.*)

80. A red stripe following the ridge of the nose its entire length and alternate red and black stripes extending from it horizontally over

<sup>38</sup> In connection with painting it must be remembered that among the Thompson, Shuswap, and other inland Salishan tribes, the right side of the body was the good side, the right hand the good hand. See Lillooet Indians, I. c., p. 291.

each cheek. The uppermost stripes on the cheeks were always red and the lowest ones black. Four stripes was the common number on each cheek, but sometimes there were more. This painting has practically the same meaning as Nos. 77 and 79. It may also be a rib design, which was a favorite among warriors. It may be the latter and still have the additional meanings of No. 79. (Pl. 11, *e*.)

81. Alternate vertical stripes of red and black covering the entire face (sometimes only from the eyes down). This had about the same meaning as the preceding patterns.

82. Stripes as in No. 81, arranged horizontally. It had the meanings of the preceding.

83. A red stripe about 5 cm. wide down the right side of the face and the same in black on the opposite side. Sometimes a band of red joined them at the brow. This was considered a painting illustrative of war or battle, like No. 79, and its meaning was practically the same as that of No. 76. The red line on the brow probably had reference to joining in battle. (Pl. 11, *f*.)

84. Brow painted red and chin black, with red stripes over the nose and cheeks, some of these connecting the two. This had the meanings of Nos. 77 and 83. Joining in battle and victory; success for one's self; ill luck for the enemy. (Pl. 11, *g*.)

85. Four wide horizontal stripes across the whole width of face, blue on the brow, red across the eyes, eyebrows and upper part of nose, yellow on the chin, and black filling the space between red and yellow. The red and black stripes are considered to have the same meaning as in No. 77. The yellow represents the earth and blue the sky. (Pl. 11, *h*.)

86. Vertical stripes of red covering the whole face. Meaning unknown.

87. Horizontal stripes of red covering the whole face. Meaning unknown.

88. Vertical stripes of red on right side of face and horizontal stripes of black on the left side. This had nearly the same meaning as Nos. 76 and 77. It was like a wish for victory.

89. Vertical stripes on one side of face and horizontal stripes on the other, all in red or all in black. Meaning unknown.

Most of the above paintings were used by warriors on the warpath or when about to start out. They were also used at other times, as when a warrior thought or dreamed of his former deeds. Some of the designs were peculiar to certain men, while others were used by a number of individuals.

The following designs are remembered as having been used by dancers in the war dance. No doubt some of them were also used on the warpath and on ordinary occasions. Many of them were probably connected with dreams and guardian spirits, some may have



been copies of paintings which had been used on some former occasion when the warrior had been specially successful, and thus the painting for him had come to be considered lucky.

90. The right side of face red with spots of white scattered over the whole area, or spots made by wiping out the red color. The left side of face painted white with red spots. Sometimes black spots were used instead of red. The spots are thought to represent stars but the full meaning of the painting is unknown. (Pl. 11, *i*.)

91. The face above the root of the nose black with yellow or blue spots; the rest of the face red with black or white spots. The upper part of the painting may mean darkness or night with stars. The meaning of the lower part is unknown. (Pl. 11, *j*.)

92. A narrow red stripe following the hair line from ear to ear. A cross in the center of the forehead and the rest of the brow covered with red spots; the right side of face red from eyes down, and the other side black. The lower painting has the same meaning as No. 76. The dots on the brow represent stars, the cross the morning star, and the half circle either the sky line, horizon, or dawn. (Pl. 11, *k, k'*.)

93. A painting nearly the same as No. 92 inverted: Red on the right side of the face from the nostrils up and black on the left side; a red line from the lobe of one ear to that of the other, like a strap under the chin; a red cross over the mouth, the upright arm extending from the nose to the point of the chin, the ends of the other arm near the lobes of the ears. The meaning of the upper part of the painting is the same as that of No. 76. The significance of the lower part is unknown. (Pl. 12, *a, a'*.)

94. The upper part of the brow red and a red streak extending from it down the ridge of the nose to the mouth; a red ring around the right eye, and two red lines from near the corner of the eye slanting downward to the ear; another red line from the nostril to near the lobe of the ear; a red line from the middle of the upper lip across the jaw and another from near the middle of the lower lip equidistant from it. The same design in black is on the left side of the face. A rather large black spot is on the chin. The significance of this painting is uncertain. Baptiste was the only informant who essayed an interpretation. He considered it to express good luck to the person and bad luck to his enemy. The person painted this way probably because he thought the painting might help him to attain these results. Possibly his guardian may have directed him to paint this way to secure success in his undertaking. He thought the brow painting meant a cloud, or at least something above which helped him. The red line down the nose might also represent a cloud or something from above which was to help him or had spoken to him. He thought this because the line reached the mouth, and also separated the black from the red in his face paint. It was the same as separating the good

from the bad, or himself from his enemy. The ring and lines at the right eye meant he was to see favorable signs, those from the mouth that he would speak appropriately; the line from the nose that his sense of smell, the line reaching the ear that his sense of hearing would have gratifying impressions. The same lines in black meant the reverse. All his senses were to aid him or act to his advantage while those of his enemy would act reversely. He could think of no explanation for the black spot on the chin, except that it might have some reference to the enemy being vanquished. (Pl. 12, b.)

95. A noted war chief is said to have painted in the following manner at the war dance. He appeared naked excepting a plain buckskin breechclout, a necklace and a headband made from the feet skin of a grizzly bear. The large claws of the front feet projected from it at either side. To the front of the headband were attached two large eagle tail feathers, leaning to opposite sides after the manner of shamans' headbands.<sup>39</sup> Feathers and headband were danbed with red. His back hair was tied in a knot at the back of the neck, while his front hair was done up in a stiff cue and projected forward a little over the edge of the headband between the two feathers. The horn was stiffened with clay and came to a sharp point at the top. It was painted red excepting a black ring around the middle. At each side of the base a white spot was painted. His brow was painted with two narrow horizontal lines across it. (The color of these is forgotten.) Both ears were red and a narrow red line was under each eye. On his face was painted a raven in solid black. The beak extended up to between his eyes, the body covered his nose and upper lip, and the wings spread out on his cheeks. The tail consisted of five diverging lines on his chin.<sup>40</sup> Symbols of two snakes in black were drawn vertically on the side of the left cheek and a symbol of the sun also in black on his right cheek. His right arm below the elbow, including the hand, was red. On his left arm just above the elbow were two parallel rings in black about 8 cm. apart. The space between was filled in with alternate vertical lines of red and black. His ribs were painted alternately red and black and a red streak extended down his backbone from the nape of the neck to the small of the back. His left foot and his right foot and leg from the knee down were painted black. His necklace consisted of grizzly bear claws attached to a narrow strip of fur, and from the middle of it in front depended two narrow tails of twisted otter skin which reached to the ankles. The grizzly bear, the eagle, and the raven were known to be guardians of this man. The sun and snake may also have been his guardians. The other designs were explained as follows: The painting on the brow, clouds; the

<sup>39</sup> See Thompson Indians, l. c., fig. 183.

<sup>40</sup> See Tattooing, Eagle-tail design "C" (fig. 41).

rib design on chest and back was common among warriors; on the left arm, according to some, an imitation of an armlet; but the meaning is uncertain. The red below the eyes and on the ears may have been made to secure good luck in hearing and seeing. The painting on the right arm meant blood. It was fairly common for warriors, to paint this way. Some say it did not mean blood but was done to obtain strength and good luck for the right arm and hand. The black painting of the lower legs and feet was common among warriors, as it helped concealment when approaching the enemy. (Pl. 13, *a*.)

96. Another man wore headband, breechelout, and moccasins. His brow was painted black; the right hand red, and six black rings around the right wrist; a black line around the waist connected a number of vertical black lines reaching halfway to the knees; a ring below each knee connected similar stripes extending halfway to the ankles. He wore deer-hoof rattles around his ankles. The brow painting is said to mean a cloud. The hand painting may mean blood or success for the hand when used in battle. The meaning of the wrist painting is uncertain, but it probably had some connection with the hand. The waist painting is probably an imitation of a belt with pendants or long fringes; the knee paintings were imitations of garters with pendent rattles or long fringes. (Pl. 13, *b*.)

97. The painting of another warrior was as follows: Vertical black stripes covering part of both legs and the face. The entire chest covered with stripes, alternate red and yellow on the right side, and black on the left side, all the lines placed diagonally, those on one side slanting toward those on the other. A red ring around the left arm near the shoulder and red lines running from it down to the elbow where the ends all changed to yellow. The back of the right hand was black. One informant said he thought the lines were all weather designs representing flying clouds or rain. The diagonal lines on the chest might mean ribs or rib designs, and that on the arm lightning. One man said the hand painting might mean death, while Baptiste thought it meant a land mystery. (Pl. 13, *c*.)

98. A certain man is remembered to have painted as follows after killing an enemy: The entire face was black; the right arm between wrist and elbow black. A ring of yellow around the left wrist and around the elbow with alternating stripes of red and yellow connecting them. A semicircular design on the upper part of the chest consisting of a yellow outside line, and inside vertical lines in red and yellow. Designs like No. 96 on both legs below the knees, but the vertical designs reached the ankles. The leg designs are said to represent the long fringes of leggings. The chest design is said to be symbolic of the sun. I could obtain no explanation of the arm designs. (Pl. 13, *d*.)

Nos. 59 and 68 were also used by warriors.

## OTHER DESIGNS

The following paintings appear to have been used for various reasons: to show deference, as offerings, for propitiation, to obtain success, or for protection. None of them appear to have any connection with the guardian spirits.

99. When looking for a grizzly bear some hunters painted a triangle with from three to five lines projecting from the base on each cheek. The color was either red or black. This design was the grizzly bear's foot or track and symbolic of the grizzly bear. It was expected to bring success to the hunter and also to propitiate the bear.<sup>41</sup> (Pl. 12, *c, c'*.)

100. The face painted red all over and the same design scratched out on each cheek. (Pl. 12, *d*.)

101. The impression of a painted hand on each side of the face, also sometimes on the body. The colors were red, black, or yellow. This was a good-luck design. Some hunters when searching for bear used it instead of the grizzly design. It was used by men on various occasions. One Indian said the hand design was for good luck in the same way as the horseshoe among the whites. (Pl. 12, *e, e'*.)

102. The face painted red all over, or occasionally from the eyes down, also dry red paint put in the hand and the latter rubbed roughly over the face, the paint thus being thicker in some places than others. This painting was very common, and used more or less by everybody, old and young, of both sexes. Many persons, if they had a bad dream, immediately painted the face red. This was supposed to help ward off the danger and make the dream ineffective, and to protect them from harm. Nearly all the women used this painting when digging roots, and to a less extent when picking berries. It was thought to give them success and protection, help them to find roots, and to dig them more easily; also to preserve them from harm while engaged in their avocations. The Indians believed danger lurked in every place. It appears also to have been in the nature of a propitiation of the earth. Nobody approached places where land and water mysteries were located without first painting the face red. If they neglected this the mysteries might be angry and do them harm by casting a spell of sickness or bad luck on them. The face was painted all red when offerings were made to mysteries or spirits of certain localities, when offering the first fruits to the earth, when partaking of the first berries and tobacco, and on other ceremonial occasions. Adolescents painted in the same way, also the parents of twins.<sup>42</sup> Some hunters searching for game, men spearing large fish in the wintertime, dancers at ceremonies and potlatches, and some men trapping, all used this

<sup>41</sup> See the Shuswap, l. c., p. 602.

<sup>42</sup> For other references to paintings, see Thompson Indians l. c. pp. 225-228, 267, 268, 344, 350, 351, 361, 368; Lillooet Indians, l. c., pp. 221, 235, 257, 260, 261, 266, 267, 279, 284; and Shuswap l. c., pp. 502, 511, 601, 602, 606, 608; (Chilcotin) 778, 779, 789.

painting. It remains almost the only painting still used. A person going on strange ground for the first time also used this painting.

103. The face is painted black all over, or rubbed with the blackened hand. Hunters, when they killed a bear of any kind, blackened the face like a warrior who had killed an enemy. This was considered a mark of respect as well as a token of death. It put the bear in the same category with human beings. Some men, when they intended to hunt or kill bear, rubbed black paint over the face, possibly as a mark of respect. Others when about to spear large trout in the wintertime did the same. A few men did this whenever they attempted to kill or capture any animal considered powerful. Some women when digging or cooking *Balsamorhiza* roots blackened the face with dry charcoal or with soot. This root was hard to dig, and difficult to cook properly, therefore it was treated as mystery when it was "killed."

#### PAINTING FOR MEDICINAL PURPOSES

Painting was prescribed by shamans for their patients. Red was the color almost altogether used. Most of these paintings were derived from the dreams of the shaman, and were similar in character to dream and shamans' designs. Some were different, such as spots painted over places where there was pain, lines above and below these places, circles around wounds or sores. I have not obtained any individual records of these, although they were in use until quite recently, and probably are still to a slight extent. Sometimes the shaman did the painting and sometimes the patient or his friends were directed to do it. Scars and marks of old wounds were often painted over with red, probably to make them more conspicuous, and also as a protection from injury by shamans gazing at them, as these parts were to some extent more vulnerable. Sometimes a fresh wound had a ring painted around it, and as soon as it healed red paint was put on it regularly for some time. Some people painted the skin red wherever it appeared unnatural or diseased. Paint mixed with oil was supposed to be good for the skin, and hinder it from getting too dry or wrinkled. Oil alone was sometimes used for the same purpose, especially after baths or if the skin was unnaturally dry. Rough or chapped skin was well rubbed or painted with pencils of deer's back fat, kept for the purpose. Sometimes a little dry red paint was rubbed over the greased part. Dry red paint was applied to the face and hands in very cold weather. It was supposed to keep out the cold and prevent freezing. Black circles were made around the eyes to shade them and prevent them from being injured by the glare of a strong sun, bright lights, or glittering snow. Sometimes lines above and below the eyes were made instead of circles.



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ETHNOBOTANY OF  
THE THOMPSON INDIANS OF  
BRITISH COLUMBIA

BASED ON FIELD NOTES BY JAMES A. TEIT

EDITED BY

ELSIE VIAULT STEEDMAN





## FOREWORD

In compiling this work I have arranged the plants according to the uses made of them by the Thompson Indians. The plants are arranged under the following subheads: Medicines, foods, plants chewed, non-medicinal drinks, kinnikinnicks, manufactures, dyes, scents, charms, miscellaneous ceremonial plants, and plants mentioned in mythology. The subhead, foods, I have further subdivided upon a botanical basis into roots and underground stems; stems above ground; leaves and flowering tops; fleshy fruits; and nuts and seeds. The same procedure has been used in each subhead, viz, alphabetical arrangement of plants by Indian name; with literal translation in quotation marks, if known; followed by the white man's common name; and that followed by the Latin binomial. In the spelling of Indian names Mr. Teit's orthography has been adhered to, although many of the renderings are obviously approximations only.



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# ETHNOBOTANY OF THE THOMPSON INDIANS OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

BASED ON FIELD NOTES BY JAMES A. TEIT

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## INTRODUCTION

The Thompson Indians<sup>a</sup> are one of the Salishan tribes who occupy large portions of the interior of British Columbia and of the States of Washington, Idaho, and Montana. Their language is closely related to that of the Shuswap who adjoin them on the north and east. The Thompson have absorbed a small Athapascan tribe formerly living in the Nicola and Similkameen Valleys. There has also been some mixture with coast Indians by way of Fraser Canyon, and traces of the coast culture have crept in by this way. In fur-trading days they were known as "Couteau" or "Knife" Indians. The habitat of the tribe is both within and east of the Cascade Range of mountains, in southwestern British Columbia. The extent of the tribal territories is quite limited. About two-thirds of the population is located in the dry belt, east of the range, where they have permanent villages in the valleys of the Fraser, its principal tributary the Thompson, and a smaller tributary of the latter, the Nicola. The rest of the tribe live mainly in the Fraser Canyon within the Cascade Mountains. They are divided into the Upper and Lower Thompson, the latter comprising those who live in the Cascades and the Fraser Canyon, and the former those who inhabit the dry belt east of the range. The Upper Thompson are divided into four minor divisions, namely:

1. The Indians of Lytton and vicinity, designated as the Lytton band. They call themselves the "real" Thompson. The country below Lytton is called Utā'mkt, meaning "below" or "to the south."<sup>b</sup>
2. The Upper Fraser band, which includes the people along Fraser River above Lytton.
3. The Indians of Spences Bridge and vicinity, called the Spences Bridge band. This name may be applied also to those people along the Thompson River from Lytton to Ashcroft.

<sup>a</sup> See James A. Teit, *The Thompson Indians*, in *Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, vol. 1, Leyden.

<sup>b</sup> The name of the division is Utā'mkt, not Utā'mqt, as Mr. Teit used to write.—F. Boas.

4. The Nicola band, made up of those people along the Nicola River from a few miles above Spences Bridge to above Nicola Lake.

The culture of the tribe as a whole is similar to that of the northern plateau area. Much of the old material culture has passed away under the modern environment. Formerly the chief dependence of the tribe was hunting, trapping, fishing, and root and berry gathering. Now they depend mainly upon farming. The extent of their agriculture is limited by the size of the reserves. Working for the whites for wages is done whenever work is obtainable. Basketry continues to be a leading industry.

Generally speaking, the climatic conditions within the Cascades and the valley known as the Canyon of the Fraser are nearly the same as those of the adjoining parts of the coast, where the rainfall ranges from 45 to 65 inches per annum in the lower altitudes, but there is a greater snowfall and less rain than on the immediate coast. The temperature is also slightly cooler than on the coast, except possibly in the middle of summer. East of the Cascades the opposite climatic conditions prevail, and the climate around Spences Bridge and Ashcroft is known as the driest in British Columbia, the annual rainfall rarely exceeding 5 inches. The temperature in the low valleys is moderately cold in winter, the thermometer dropping to zero or below, and in summer rising to over 100 degrees in the shade. The spring is generally early and there is very little snowfall in the valleys. Irrigation is necessary for the raising of crops.

Owing to the greatly diversified physical features and climatic conditions of the country inhabited by the tribe, and particularly its sharp division into a dry belt and a wet belt, the flora of the region is naturally rich and varied.

As may be expected in a mountainous country with elevations up to and over 9,000 feet, the flora varies in each section according to altitude, forming several distinct floral zones between the low valleys and the alpine heights above the timber line. Even in the arid plateau, where elevations seldom exceed 4,000 or 5,000 feet, there is a great difference between the flora of the dry sandy valleys and the grassy areas above, which form the range for horses and cattle. The wet or Cascade belt, where not altered by fires, is heavily forested from the valleys up to the timber line. The principal trees are fir, spruce, hemlock, white pine, dogwood, birch, and willow. On the other hand, the dry belt or plateau country is open. The most distinctive vegetation is sagebrush, rabbit brush, and a few yellow pines and poplars. This gives rise to grassy park-like slopes, dotted with pine and fir and groves of aspen. At a still higher altitude the country becomes more thickly forested, the principal trees being black pines and firs, but grass continues and there is little underbrush.

Since plants meant so much to the people, it is not surprising that they knew and named many useful plants of their environment. Their method of nomenclature was similar to ours, in that they named them according to their use; from special characteristics, as size, shape, color, pubescence; from their general habit of growth; and from their resemblance to other plants. To exemplify: Plants named from use; *ilie'litū'nēl* means "cough plant," a species of *Antennaria* which is chewed to allay coughs and colds; *malā'mēn ē'na tsātī'n* means "medicine for rattlesnakes," a species of *Euphorbia* which is believed to cure snake bites, particularly rattlesnake bites; *malā'mēn ēnē skwī'sit* means "medicine for those who give birth." This is an unidentified plant, a decoction from which is believed to lessen the pain of women during parturition; *cuxcuxūza*, *Ribes hudsonianum*, means "grizzly bear berry" and is eaten especially by bears; *teptēpsawīl*, *Lithospermum angustifolium*, means "Indian paint" and was used as a facial paint; *xasx ast*, *Hierochloe odorata*, means "scent body" and was used to scent bags, baskets, clothing, hair and body; *cē'xamēns a. tlx<sup>u</sup>ō'mēx*, *Linum perenne*, means "body wash of adolescents" and was so used at the time of puberty; *nēka kēka*, an unidentified plant, meaning "rotten smell," was avoided or believed to have some special power because of its odor which resembled that of rotten animal food; *poskačēlp*, *Pentstemon scouleri*, means "humming-bird plant" because humming birds frequented it for its nectar; to cite one more example, *Taxus brevifolia*, the western yew, was called *tskwīnēkēlp*, meaning "bow plant."

The following exemplify plants named from some special characteristic: *Achillea millefolium*, because of its finely pinnatifid leaf was named "chipmunk's tail"; *Leptarrhenia amplexifolia*, called *pēlpēlei.tx<sup>u</sup>*, means "thick leaf" and is descriptive of its coriaceous leaves; the plumose style of *Geum triflorum* evidently was noted and expressed in its name, which means "shaggy head"; the inflorescence of *Pentstemon confertus* is an interrupted spike and this character is set forth in its Indian name *skomkēmōrke'ken* meaning "little rounded lumps"; the dense bristles on the stem and heavy pubescence of the whole plant of *Ribes lacustre* was observed and expressed in its name *sōpusē'lp*, meaning "hairy face or surface plant." Tomentum is commonly described by the term "gray" and if the leaf or stem or some particular part of the plant is especially tomentose it is known by a term meaning "gray leaf" or "gray stalk." *Mentzelia laevicaulis* bears fruits armed with stout barbed prickles. Its name means "able to stick"; *Prunella vulgaris* is called *.steko'lkō'lt tēk spā'kēm*, meaning "blue flower." *Larix occidentalis* seems to have been named from its beautiful reddish staminate cones which are in striking contrast to its black stems in the spring before the tender green needles come out. It is called *tē'kwēlēx*, meaning "reddish."

*Arnica latifolia* is another plant named from its color, *tokaletqai'n*, which is the Indian name meaning "yellow head (flower)."

The taste of the useful part of a plant was often a basis of naming as: *Leptotaenia dissecta*, named *taxqai'n*, meaning "bitter head (root)" from its bitter fleshy root; *Cascara sagrada*, whose bitter bark was used, was named from that character, *taxtarei'uk*, meaning "bitter wood." *Amelanchier alnifolia*, named *taxtero'rsa*, meaning "little bitter berry," combines a description of size as well as taste. Odor or fragrance sometimes suggested a name for a plant: A species of *Abies* is called *tlaxtlax hā'ka*, meaning "sweet branch," and *Hierochloa odorata* is called *xa'srast*, meaning "scent," from its fragrance.

Names of plants sometimes originated from a belief in their relationship to each other. The Thompson believed relationship to be based upon association in a locality just as members of a village community living together were related. They were considered as comrades or life neighbors living in the same place, in the same way. *Pedicularis bracteosa* is often found growing with species of *Epilobium*, and the Thompson Indian expressed this in its name *skikens a. shā'ket*, meaning "companion of *Epilobium*." These are but distantly related, but because of their association in woods and along banks the Indian considered them relatives; *Streptopus roseus*, named *skikens a. kā'luat*, means "companion of *Vagnera racemosa*." These both grow in woods or low wet grounds and at the same time are genetically related, both belonging to the lily family. This association of plants was important enough among the Thompson to have a name for it, *nkelsnaxa*, meaning "their staying or being together." A similar term was used by them, *skiken*, meaning "companions."

Some plants which had certain physical characteristics in common were designated as *snūka*, meaning "friends." There were over fifteen of these. *Artemisia canadensis* was recognized as a definite species called *soelē'lp*. Two or three other true species of *Artemisia* were recognized as resembling it. These were not given separate names but were considered related and were spoken of as *snūkas a. soelē'lp*, meaning "friends of *Artemisia canadensis*." In this and many other cases they actually linked together plants either genetically related or closely allied. Another example of true relationship between species is with *Potentilla anserina*, which is called by a name meaning "friend of *Potentilla glandulosa*." Another of these many examples is *snūkas a. poska'lp*, which means "friend of *Pentstemon scouleri*," the name for *Pentstemon douglasii*.

The names were often of a generic character. Thus *ilie'litū'nel* was the name among the Thompson for the genus *Antennaria*. They distinguished between three species of *Antennaria*; *Antennaria microphylla*, *Antennaria rosea*, and *Antennaria luzuloides*, by adding a brief description to bring out the distinction.



Among the Thompson a single plant was often known by two or more names but one name was always more descriptive and therefore more commonly used. Sometimes the converse was true, i. e., the same name was given to two or more plants but more usually was used especially to describe one species.

General resemblance between two plants was sometimes a basis for naming a plant. For instance, a yellow species of *Geum* is called *nkukwaxe mus kē'ken*, meaning "little buttercup flower." Here there is no close relationship as the buttercup and *Geum* belong to different families. Another similar example is that of *Gaillardia aristata*, called *soxomqē'ken*, meaning "little Balsamorhiza flower." These two plants are both members of the Compositae family but belong to two different tribes within the family. *Habenaria leucostachys* was called *skametsū'pa*, meaning "Erythronium-leaved" because of a resemblance in their leaves. They are both monocotyledons, but of different families. From this system of naming plants "companions of" and "friends of" it is evident that they placed together a number of plants which were genetically related.

Besides believing in a relationship between the plants themselves the Thompson had observed that there was some relation between the plant and its environment. That plants which grew in or near water did not grow in the plains, and that the meadow flora differed from that of the forest, were not only observed but described by words in their language. They even had general group names to express these facts—names for plants inhabiting water or marshy places, the meadow, the plain, the forest, or the alpine regions. This resembles one of the classifications made by the ancient Greeks. For example, they named *Kalmia polifolia* from its habitat which is usually marshy ground; its name *petcpetci'klsa kokoū'imex* means "leaves of watery or wet ground."

Various habits of growth of the plant were sometimes made manifest in its name; *Clematis columbiana* named *ketzaus nī'nas a xāū'imex* meaning "entwining or crossing the upper country or hills." *Sedum spathulifolium* named *leklel.pei'.st tek spā'kem*, meaning "sticking to rocks flower," is another example. This name is well chosen from its habit of growing in and around rocks. *Anemone occidentalis* is ably described in its name *sisiēpē'pans*, meaning "standing up around the hills."

The gum which exudes from one of the species of *Abies* is chewed and is called by the descriptive term *skaamā'lk*, meaning "tree milk."

A large number of plants growing in his vicinity were known to the Thompson Indian for their special uses, either as food or medicine, or for some other purpose, such as dye, fiber, material for some particular manufacture, or special use in a ceremony.

The poisonous qualities of many plants were known and these must many times have been learned by the death of the experimenter. Many of these poisonous plants had medicinal value, if used with caution, and the Thompson used them accordingly. Of course certain men and women knew more than others concerning the names of the plants, their activities and uses, and their poisonous qualities; but the average individual of the community would know probably twice as many and twice as much concerning the plants of his vicinity as would a white man living in any country district. Contact with the white man has so changed the mode of living of the Indian that this can not be said of the present generation.

The Thompson knew that plants had the power to cure and heal, but magic played an important part and formed a large accompaniment to any medicinal treatment. Although wonderful qualities might erroneously be ascribed to a plant, the Indian would often know and make use of its real properties. Many times several different medicines could be used for the same disease but a choice was usually made based upon accessibility or some personal feeling regarding its efficacy. The poisonous plants and their antidotes were generally known by most of the population; but always by the old men and some of the old women of the tribe. In a pharmacopoeia of the Thompson we find a large number of plants and particular values attributed to each one; as purgative, laxative, emetic, astringent, diuretic, sedative, and so on. A number of the Indian medicines are the same as ours and some of ours have been derived from them.

Plants bearing any kind of an edible tuber, small or large, were utilized by the Thompson. Many of the bulbs that were eaten were scarcely any larger than a hazelnut—so small that the white man would never pay any attention to them. To the Thompson all underground tuberous structures were "roots." No distinction seems to have been made between bulbs, stem tubers, rhizomes, and corms. That is not at all surprising, as the main difference is usually in the internal structure, and this can only be learned by sectioning. Such knowledge is of no practical value when employing them only as food and this is seldom a part of the knowledge of the untrained white man. Besides tuberous roots and stems, other parts of the plant were used. Flower heads were eaten; as flower buds of the Mariposa lily, because of their sweet taste due to the nectar glands. Tender succulent shoots were also eaten; as in the case of the cow parsnip and salmon barberry. These young shoots were pulled, peeled, and consumed raw with great relish. The cambium layer of certain plants was also a favorite food, especially in the spring when it is present in the plant in the greatest amount. The gymnosperms are particularly used in this way; the black and yellow pine and the firs may be mentioned especially. Every kind of fruit was

used and, like the root, size made little difference. Of all of these parts enumerated, the tuberous roots and underground stems, and the fleshy fruits, were the most commonly known edible parts of plants and in greatest abundance among the Thompson.

Work with plants among the Thompson, as among most primitive people, has always been done by the women, the standing of the women in the tribe making no difference. The obtaining of wild plant food was always their care. The women knew most about the edible plants, as to uses and distribution and time of ripening, while the men seemed to know more about their medicinal values and the special performance connected with administering them. The knowledge of each parent was passed on to the child, who was taught to know the plants and what they would yield. Fleshy fruits and seeds were gathered in special baskets or vessels—special, in that various fruits were placed in vessels differing from each other as to material, size, shape, and kind, and these vessels were not used for any other purpose. The seeds of species of *Pinus* were important as a source of food wherever they were found along the west Pacific coast. The seeds were beaten out of the cones and eaten raw or roasted. They were often roasted and stored in pits for later use. Of succulent fruits, the service berry, *Amelanchier alnifolia*, and species of *Lepargyrea*, seemed to be the most important and were preserved in great quantities by the Thompson. Currants, raspberries, and rose hips were also very popular. The rose hips are exceptionally large in British Columbia and throughout Canada.

Ceremonies were observed by the Thompson before and after the gathering of roots or fruits. The former were conducted to insure and increase productivity, the latter as a thanksgiving. The root of the *Balsamorhiza sagittata* was held in great veneration by the Thompson Indians, and the women at the time of digging could not indulge in any sexual intercourse. It was customary for the young people particularly to address the plant whose parts they were eating for the first time that season with a prayer or supplication.

To a certain extent they were cognizant of the seasonal vegetative changes, for in their language they had some words describing them. The growth of the plant at various times was noted and described. Plants were not believed to be dead in winter, but were thought to have stopped growing during that period. They did not try to account for these facts, but it is quite obvious that they had observed them.

It is doubtful whether or not they had any accurate knowledge of sex in plants.<sup>1</sup> There is a suggestion of some idea of it among them, but it is an incorrect conception which, however, is explainable.

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<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to note that a scientific concept of sex in plants was not thoroughly conceived by us until fairly recent times, i. e., not until the seventeenth century.

They seemed to connect greater size with the male. Special mention is made of a particular ceremony in connection with the birth of twins. If a male and a female were represented in the twins, the man especially chosen for this ceremony held what they called a "male" fir branch in one hand and a "female" fir branch in the other. The "male" fir branch was the one with the carpellate cones, which are larger than the staminate cones, which in turn represented to them the female. There is no difference in the branches or the leaves, so it seems that they must have ascribed to the cones sexual significance.

Abnormal characters, mutations and sports were noted but seldom accounted for, except that sometimes they were considered as the spirit of the plant showing itself in this special and unusual way. There is no evidence that spines and prickles were considered as special characters, but very good use was made of them as probes, needles, and pins. The Thompson used the spines of *Crataegus columbiana* as pins and made fishhooks from them. Those of *Crataegus douglasii* were shorter and finer and used to probe ripe boils and ulcers.

To summarize: The Thompson Indian named the plants found in his vicinity. His system of naming was similar to that of the white man, based upon use; general description of the plant, as to color, size, fragrance, general habit, etc.; resemblance to other plants; and actual relationship between the plants themselves and between the plants and their environment. In this way he unconsciously developed what might be considered a generic and species classification. He knew the general structure of the plant well enough to recognize sports and mutations, but did not try to account for their existence. Vegetative changes of the different seasons were observed. He must have had a considerable amount of experience, as most of the plants of his vicinity and all parts of these plants were known for some particular use, or regarded by him as useless because they yielded no product, and the poisonous ones were used for their medicinal virtue and taken in a way to do no harm.

The Thompson Indians made some use of very many plants; medicinal and food were the most important, but ceremonial uses were many. In manufactures, plants were used as material of construction, for their fibers, and for making dyes.

From the descriptive names given the plants, and from the careful way the Thompson Indian distinguished between very similar plants, it may be inferred that he had observed much of the external variations of plants. He knew the essential facts concerning them, and his knowledge, although not systematized, was practical and thorough and considerably greater than that of the average white man.

## PLANTS USED AS MEDICINES

Plants were used most extensively in the treatment of cramps, stomach disorders, colds, wounds, venereal diseases, and menstrual disorders.

The parts of the plants most commonly used were the roots, stems, and leaves. Seeds, which are also rich in alkaloids and other principles, were not so commonly used.

The most usual means of preparation for internal use was in the form of a decoction: Often doses were given of the dried fresh material. External application in the form of a poultice was a common method employed; also rubbing with a liniment. An important distinction between their medicine and ours is the lack of combination. In theirs, only seldom more than one plant made up the medicine.

Different plants, different parts of plants, and varying means of preparation were utilized in different ailments. It is also interesting to note that small amounts or weak decoctions were used for certain diseases, while stronger and larger doses were given in cases of other troubles. For example, a mild decoction of the wood of *Symphoricarpos albus* was used for washing babies, while a stronger decoction was used for cleansing sores. They had also observed that certain medicines, although curing one ailment, might harm the patient in other ways, and special precaution had to be taken by administering weak doses. In some cases too large a dose might mean death. This is true of *Actaea arguta*. A decoction of the roots was considered a cure for syphilis and rheumatism, but if given in too large doses caused poisoning which sometimes resulted in death.

We can classify very definitely the various uses of the medicinal plants by the Thompson. Practically all disorders of the body were given treatment by them. All forms of colds and coughs, diuretic troubles, stomach and bowel disorders, pains in various parts of the body, swellings, and rashes, treatment of wounds, bleeding, paralysis, snake bites, and venereal diseases were given various treatments by internal administration of decoctions or by the external application of poultices or washes. Rheumatism and syphilis seem to have been very prevalent, judging from the number of plants used as possible cures. Menstruation and childbirth were given special medicinal attention. There were several different washes made for the bathing of babies for improving the infant's health, often owing to the belief of magical results from these baths.

Specific examples of all the above remarks follow in the list of medicinal plants. A pharmacopœia of any group of primitive peoples would be composed of a large number of plants and many of them would be found in use to-day. Of 160 plants used medicinally by the Thompson Indians about 30 are also used by us to-day, such as species of *Valeriana*, *Pentstemon*, *Erigeron*, *Solidago*, *Helianthus*,

*Prunella*, *Mentha*, and the many conifers. I have mentioned briefly the white man's uses of each plant of the Thompson so far as I was able to ascertain them.

I give first a list of terms in relation to disease.

GLOSSARY OF TERMS IN RELATION TO DISEASE

<i>die'lit</i> .....	Colds, coughs.
<i>kestawi' ex nkomeltses</i> .....	Indigestion and loss of appetite.
<i>qo' ma</i> .....	Tumor.
<i>kwo'iqen</i> .....	Headache.
<i>kwo'ix. EN</i> .....	Sore feet.
<i>mala' men</i> .....	The general term for medicine of any kind.
<i>melamena'lp</i> .....	Medicinal plant; any plant used as a medicine.
<i>melama'ksten</i> .....	Any medicine used for the hands.
<i>melamqa'inten</i> .....	Any medicine used for the head or hair.
<i>melamo'xsten</i> .....	Any medicine used for the chest.
<i>melamā'kenten</i> .....	Any medicine used for the back.
<i>nkaxhe' .xken</i> .....	Consumption of the lungs. This disease is said to have been rare formerly but common since the whites came to the country.
<i>nluklukatā'm</i> .....	Any sickness with sharp internal pains.
<i>npa'uiāek</i> .....	Swellings in the groins. Often appearing with syphilis.
<i>ntalpēeks</i> .....	A disease in which there was swelling around the thighs. This was known in olden times.
<i>.ntcia' waks</i> .....	Nose bleeding.
<i>nilōpe'ltsi</i> .....	Swelling of the stomach due to a kind of dyspepsia.
<i>ntokpu'ps</i> .....	Constipation.
<i>ntokpiēts</i> .....	Retention of urine.
<i>n̄x̄uz̄ux̄<sup>h</sup>he'ltsi</i> .....	Bad breath; sour stomach.
<i>po'ket</i> .....	Smallpox, chickenpox.
<i>.shrotshro'tsa</i> .....	} Veneral diseases. These were unknown before the coming of the whites.
<i>.shrotshratsa</i> .....	
<i>.so'qa tek malā' men</i> .....	Any medicine which is boiled and the decoction of which is used internally or externally.
<i>.spa'ke.x</i> .....	A disease in which the body became covered with large blotches.
<i>.stsi'kenticū't</i> .....	Consumption of the flesh or bones. The word means "one's self disappears." This disease occurred among the Indians in olden times, but it was uncommon. Medicines were of no avail in this disease, which could only be cured by shamans or by the individual's guardian spirit.
<i>.stsi'ts.k</i> .....	A disease of spreading and eating sores, some of them reaching the bone.
<i>.sxu'tsem</i> .....	Any kind of sickness in which there is vomiting; but the word is used especially in cases of vomiting of blood or of bile. The word means "vomiting."
<i>xoitsxoi'ts</i> .....	Diarrhea.
<i>xū'tsem ta peti'la</i> .....	Sickness in which there is vomiting of blood. It is applied to hemorrhages of any kind.
<i>xu'tsem ta stokale't</i> .....	Disease in which green material is vomited up. With some Indians this was chronic. A bilious stomach trouble. The word means "vomiting green or yellow."

## LIST OF PLANTS USED AS MEDICINES

*a'luska, a'leska*; black hawthorn; *Crataegus douglasii* Lindl.

The sap, wood, bark, and sometimes the roots are boiled and the decoction is drunk as a stomach medicine. The spines are used as probes for ripe boils and ulcers.

*cêxamens a'.tlx<sup>u</sup>ô'mex*; <sup>2</sup> "wash of adolescents."

*co'œpa*.<sup>3</sup>

*cux<sup>u</sup>cux<sup>u</sup>hwa'tp, cux<sup>u</sup>cux<sup>u</sup>hwe'tp*; "grizzly-bear plant"; bearberry; honeysuckle; *Lonicera involucrata* Banks.

A few people apply this term to *Ribes hudsonianum* and some people of the Lytton band apply it to *Ribes viscosissimum*. After the leaves have been boiled and washed they are applied to any part of the body that is swollen. Sometimes the leaves are bruised before boiling, as in so doing their strength is greatly increased. A decoction of the leaves and twigs is used as a liniment also.

*ehelitû'nel*; <sup>4</sup> "cough or cold plant."

*haqôêlp*; cow parsnip; *Heracleum lanatum* Michx.

The roots resemble parsley in shape. They have an unpleasant odor and acrid taste. A decoction is made by boiling and used as a purgative and tonic. A strong decoction is used occasionally as a remedy for syphilis. It also has a ceremonial use as a wash for purification. This root is used by the white man as a stimulant and carminative.

*hî'kamen*; "thing used for rubbing (on something)"; *Helianthus* sp.

This term is occasionally applied to sunflowers. It is not a real name but may be applied to anything used for rubbing on a surface or painting.

*hoilhoi'l, ho'i'hwel, hôlhwó'l, holhwa'il*; goatsbeard; *Aruncus acuminatus* (Dougl.) Rydb.

A decoction is prepared from the roots and is drunk by some people for swellings, indigestion, and general stomach disorders. Others use it for colds and influenza. The Utâ'mkt claim it was especially beneficial during the late epidemics of the Spanish influenza. The stalks are also used externally as an ointment rubbed on swollen parts of the body. They are burned and the ashes mixed with grease. Some of the Utâ'mkt are said to use it to relieve paralysis.

*Spiraea tomentosa* is used by the white man but for very different purposes; as an astringent and tonic and for gonorrhœa and hemorrhages. I do not know of any use of *Aruncus acuminatus*.

*hux<sup>u</sup>xâ'x.p*; <sup>5</sup> *Ceanothus velutinus* Dougl.

The stems and leaves are boiled and the decoction is drunk to cure dull pains in any part of the body. The decoction is also used as a wash or liniment applied to painful parts of the body. Often the medicine is used internally and externally at the same time. Four or five branches and the same number of branches of *Lepargyrea canadensis* are boiled together slowly for a night and a day. The decoction is drunk as a remedy for gonorrhœa. The dose consists of three large cupfuls taken each day for three or more days. It is said to cure only the milder forms of this disease.

<sup>2</sup> See under *skwelka'ins a. tlx<sup>u</sup>ô'mex*, p. 467. <sup>4</sup> See under *ihelitû'nel*, p. 458, and *sisitûnel*, p. 466.

<sup>3</sup> See under *shwô'opa*, p. 466.

<sup>5</sup> See also under *tcuelsta'ml*, p. 475.

*hwihwiū'zēm*; "many kinds."

This is a term sometimes applied to the plant otherwise known as *.xoxoxā'ētē*<sup>6</sup>. This term is a peculiar one for a plant name.

*ī'axa'lp*,<sup>6</sup> *īax<sup>u</sup>ē'x<sup>u</sup>.lp*; snowberry; *Symphoricarpos albus* (L.) Blake.

The stems are boiled and the decoction is drunk as a remedy for stomach troubles. A decoction of the roots is also used by some people probably for the same purpose. The Utā'mkt use a mild decoction of the wood for washing babies, as it is thought to keep them healthy. A strong decoction of the wood is used for washing sores.

*īīē'kītū'nēl*,<sup>7</sup> *īī'kītū'nēlp*; "cough plant"; *Antennaria* sp.

This name is given to at least four and probably more kinds of *Antennaria*: *A. microphylla* Rydb.; *A. rosea* Greene; *A. luzuloides* T. & G., and *A. parvifolia* Greene. When necessary, the Indians differentiate them by description. The stems and leaves are chewed for coughs and colds. Some chew any part of the plant or sometimes the whole plant. The piece chewed is then swallowed. Some chew several bites and swallow them all together.

*ī.qē'.lp*, *īqya'lp*; <sup>8</sup> "aik plant"; bearberry; *Arctostaphylos uva-ursi* (L.) Spreng.

This is a low evergreen shrub bearing bright red berries. A decoction of the leaves and stems is made and used as a wash for sore eyes. It is also drunk as a diuretic and tonic for the kidneys and bladder. The root is occasionally used. A decoction is prepared as a remedy for blood spitting. This plant will be found in any materia medica. The leaves are used in the same way as by the Indian. It has nephritic properties.

*ī.qē.lpē'.lp*; "*ī.qē'.lp* plant" or "aik-plant"; twin flower; *Linnaea borealis* L. and *Linnaea borealis americana* (Forbes) Rehder.

This plant was so named by the Thompson because of its resemblance to *ī.qē'.lp*, but botanically they are not closely related, as they belong to different families. A decoction is drunk as a medicine. The part of the plant used and its special use were not ascertained.

*qai'.xēlp*; unidentified.

This is an unidentified bush which grows in the Fraser Canyon and on the Cascade Mountains. A decoction is drunk as a physic in the same way as *Cascara sagrada*. It is said to be almost as effective.

*kakalēlē'tx<sup>u</sup>*; "three leaves"; bunchberry; *Cornus canadensis* L.

The name "three leaves" is puzzling, as neither the leaves nor bracts are in threes but most commonly in fours or sixes. The leaves are burned, and the ashes are crushed to a powder and sprinkled on sores. Sometimes the leaves are toasted before the fire until dry and brittle and are then powdered and applied by sprinkling on the sores. This species of *Cornus* is not used by the white man but *Cornus florida* is used as an astringent, stimulant, tonic, and an emetic.

*kalua.t'ōē*; "real *ka'luat*"; false Solomon's seal. *Vagnera racemosa* (L.) Morong.

A decoction of the rhizomes is drunk as a stomach medicine and also by women during the menstrual period. Some consider the roots of the plant to be chiefly a woman's medicine. The dried rhizome is used as a uterine stimulant by the white man.

<sup>6</sup> See also *kawa'uēlp*, p. 459, and *speara'lp*, p. 470.

<sup>7</sup> This is an Asiatic and European species not native to North America.

<sup>8</sup> See also *kawa'uēlp*, p. 459, and *speara'lp*, p. 470.



*kalūla a'iuk*; "owl wood"; unidentified.

Species of a large fungus which grows chiefly on old fir trees. It is used as a medicine, but its particular use was not learned.

*ka'luwet*, *ka'luat*; these names were applied to five or more closely related plants, namely: *Streptopus amplexifolius* (L.) DC., *Vagnera racemosa* (L.) Morong, *Vagnera stellata* (L.) Morong, *Disporum oreganum* (S. Wats.) W. Miller, and *Disporum* sp.

When necessary to differentiate, the Indians did so by description. A decoction of the roots of *Streptopus amplexifolius* and probably of all the above is used as a remedy for internal pains.

*kapuxa'lp*; "nut plant or hazelnut plant"; *Comandra pallida* A. DC.

In this case the fresh roots are washed and mixed with woman's milk and used as a wash or salve for inflammation of the eyes in particular, and for sore eyes generally.

*ka'tia*; devil's club; *Echinopanax horridum* (J. E. Sm.) Dene. & Pl.

The fresh stems are crushed and soaked in water. This is drunk as a medicine for indigestion and stomach troubles. It is also used as a tonic and blood purifier. For this purpose the stems are cut in small pieces and boiled, and the decoction is drunk. In this form it also has laxative properties. Another use is as an ointment. The stems are burned and the ashes mixed with grease, and this is then rubbed on swollen regions.

*ka'uku*; sagebrush or wormwood; *Artemisia tridentata* Nutt.

A decoction is prepared from small stems or twigs and leaves. It is drunk for colds and also for consumption and emaciation. For colds, the leaves are given special treatment, and the decoction is drunk while hot. A pad is made of them and tied to the nostrils or sometimes the latter are loosely plugged with the leaves. For reviving a patient, the leaves are bruised in the hand and held to the nose from time to time as we would use smelling salts. To overcome bad smells, as, for instance, in burying corpses, the nostrils are plugged with the leaves. The odor from the volatile oil given off, when the leaves are crushed, is very pungent and penetrating. This plant is commonly used by whites for colds and rheumatism.

*kawa'uēlp*; *Symphoricarpos albus* (L.) Blake.

This name is used chiefly by the Utā'mkt. It is also called *v'axa'lp*, under which name it has already been described.

*qepqa'p tek spā'kem*; "soft flower"; anemone; *Anemone occidentalis* S. Wats.

This name is a descriptive term which may be applied to many other flowers which are soft and delicate. The root or the whole plant is boiled, and the decoction is drunk for stomach and bowel troubles.

*ke'tzaus nī'nas a xāū'imex*; "entwining or crossing of the upper country or hills"; *Clematis columbiana* T. & G.

So named because it grows at higher altitudes than *Clematis ligusticifolia*.

This plant is used as a head wash and for scabs and eczema in the same way as *Clematis ligusticifolia*, but is considered to be less effective.

*ketzaus nī'na*; "entwining or crossing"; western virgin's bower; *Clematis ligusticifolia* Nutt.

So named because of the climbing and twining nature of the plant on trees and rocks. A mild decoction is drunk as a tonic or remedy for general disorder or out-of-sorts feeling.

*kī'ko*, *kīkau*; valerian; *Valeriana sitchensis* Bong. and *Valeriana sylvatica* Banks.

The roots are boiled and the decoction is drunk for pains and as a remedy for colds. Among the Utā'mkt especially the fresh stems and leaves are washed and applied to cuts and wounds. The roots alone or the roots with the rest of the plant are often pounded into a pulp and applied to cuts, wounds, bruises, and inflamed regions. The fresh leaves are chewed and thus mixed with saliva and put on cuts and other wounds. Often the dried roots are crushed into a fine powder and then sprinkled on the wounds. It is said by some of the older Indians that in the early days the warriors always had some of the roots in their medicine bags to be handy when needed. This was also a valuable horse medicine and it had ceremonial uses as well. Several species of *Valeriana* are used by the white man but not these two used by the Indian.

*kī'lka'tces*; wild ginger; *Asarum caudatum* Lindl.

A decoction of the rhizomes is drunk as a tonic for the stomach and as a remedy for indigestion and colic. Fifty or more years ago a drug from the rhizomes was used for colic by the white man.

*kokomxēnā'pa*; "chipmunk's tail"; yarrow; *Achillea millefolium* L.

So named because of the feathery appearance of the leaves which are thought to resemble the tails of chipmunks and squirrels. The whole plant, including the roots, is boiled. The decoction is drunk as a tonic or remedy for slight indisposition or general out-of-sorts feeling. The decoction is also used as a wash for sore eyes. Other uses are as a wash for chapped or cracked hands, pimples, rashes on the skin, and for insect and snake bites. The wash is prepared by bruising the plant or by crushing it into a pulp, then mixing it with cold water. Another method of using it is by toasting the leaves, or the stems and leaves, before the fire until dry and brittle and crushing them into a fine powder. This powder is then sprinkled on sores and eruptions of the skin. The leaves and flowering tops are an old-time medicine of the white man, having tonic and stimulant properties especially.

*kona'lp*, *kōnē'lp*; false hellebore; *Veratrum californicum* S. Wats.

A small quantity of the roots are dried, then burned, and the ashes are boiled for a long time. This decoction is taken in small doses for blood disorders, and particularly for syphilis. At the present day the ashes of the root are sometimes mixed with bluestone crushed to a powder. The two are boiled together and the decoction is drunk in small doses for syphilis only. The dried root of this or of some very similar mountain plant is sometimes scraped or grated and the fine scrapings are used as a snuff to produce sneezing and clear the head when suffering from a cold.

*kōn'el*, *qō'nēl*, *kon'ēlp*; spatterdock; *Nymphaea advena* Soland.

The stems or roots, or both, are boiled and drunk when cold as a remedy for internal pains. The fresh leaves were used as a poultice, as they were said to have a drawing and a healing effect. They were bruised slightly and placed on wounds of any kind, on cuts, or on sores. The leaves were changed every two or three hours. Sometimes they were dried, then crushed into a powder which was sprinkled on cuts, wounds, and running sores.

*kuxēmē'lp*, *kauxēma'lp*; Rocky Mountain rhododendron; *Rhododendron albiflorum* Hook.

The bark is scraped off the trunks and boiled. The decoction is drunk as a stomach remedy. The wood is sometimes reduced to charcoal, crushed very fine, and then mixed with grease and applied to swellings.

*kwa'tkwɛɛɔp*; giant arbor vitae; *Thuja plicata* D. Don.

A decoction of twigs or small branches is boiled in conjunction with twigs of *Cornus pubescens*. This is drunk by women after childbirth.

*kwei'.tx<sup>u</sup>ɛɛɔp*, *kwōitx<sup>u</sup>ɛɛɔp*; Pacific dogwood; *Cornus nuttallii* Audubon.

In this plant the sapwood, or the inner bark, or the bark as a whole is boiled, and the decoction is drunk for stomach troubles. The Utā'mkt claim that if the decoction is made too strong or is drunk in too great quantity spitting or vomiting of blood may ensue.

*kwe.tū'nɛɛɔ*, *kwekwetū'nɛɛɔ*; "blue or dark colored plant"; unidentified.

This unidentified plant was used as a medicine, but for what special purpose was not learned.

*kwikwikɛnɛ'ɔɛmɛx*, *kweka.kɛnɛ'ɔɛmɛx*; *Geranium viscosissimum* F. & M. and *Geranium richardsonii* Fisch. & Traut.

The meaning of this name is uncertain. By some Indians it is thought to mean "red flower sack"; other Indians think the name may be connected with that for "arrow" because of the beaks which form after the perianth withers. The Indians differentiate between these two geraniums by naming the colors of their flowers. *Geranium viscosissimum* has pink-purple petals while *Geranium richardsonii* has white petals. The plants are said to have some medicinal value but no specific use was learned.

*kwōɛ't*, *kwō.ɔt*; shore pine; *Pinus contorta* Dougl.

The gum which is exuded by the cones and bark has many uses. It is boiled and mixed with melted deer's fat and applied to the body for rheumatic and other pains. An ointment is made by melting it in conjunction with the best of animal fats. After a thorough mixing it is applied to the body to relieve aches of all kinds and soreness in muscles and joints. The ointment is also applied to the throat, sides of the neck, and sometimes to the back and chest to relieve congestion in those parts. Coughs, colds, and sore throats are also treated with this ointment. It is often applied after sweat bathing or in front of a hot fire by being rubbed into the body vigorously with the hand. This treatment is one that is often used by the white man to-day.

*kwōikwoixā'n*, *kwōkwoixā'n*, *kwekwōixā'n*; "blue foot"; aster; *Aster foliaceus* Lindl.

The meaning of this name is not clear. The name is applied by some to two or three kinds of aster and Erigeron having blue flowers. It seems the Utā'mkt also call one of the Arnicas with a yellow flower by this name. A decoction of the roots is used as a remedy for swelling of the stomach. It is also used for dyspepsia, indigestion, and loss of appetite. A stronger decoction is prepared by mixing with an oily brew obtained from boiled salmon and drunk as a remedy for syphilis.

*kwōkwoimī'ɔziɔx*, *kwōkwoime'ɔziɔx*, *kōkoi.ne'ɔɛmɛx*, *kozkozɛnɛɔx<sup>u</sup>amix*, *kweikwoikɛnɛɔɛmɛx*, *kwōikwoimɛɔɛmɛx*; "blue bag or sack" or "blue flower sack or vessel"; *Lupinus rivularis* S. Wats. or *Lupinus polyphyllus* Lindl.

The first of these names seems to be a general one, the second is in vogue chiefly among the Spences Bridge band, the third is used by some of the people of the Lytton band, the fourth is common among the Nicola people and others, and the fifth was used by women of the Thompson band. The plant is used as a medicine, but its particular use was not learned. All the blue lupines come under the above names and have a medicinal use.

*leklekt.pei'.st tek spā'kem*; "sticking to rocks flower"; *Sedum spathulifolium* Hook.

This name is a descriptive one and well chosen because *Sedum spathulifolium* very often grows between and on the rocks. This name is not only used for *Sedum spathulifolium* but is often applied to other plants which also grow in rocky places. A heated decoction of the entire plant is used for washing babies, especially when they are cross, as it is said to have a soothing effect.

*tlésé'lp, tlesá'.lp*; great silver fir; *Abies grandis* Lindl.

The bark and gum are boiled and the decoction is drunk as a physic. A very strong decoction is drunk as a remedy for gonorrhoea. A decoction of the sap, sap wood, and gum is used for the same purpose.

A decoction of the bark is used as a wash for sore eyes. The gum is also used for sore eyes, a little of it being put in the corners of the eyes each night.

*tléxihū'.za, tlaxiū'ēza*; "sweet berry"; northwestern serviceberry; *Amelanchier alnifolia* Nutt.

This variety of *Amelanchier* bears very sweet berries. Other varieties are very sour. The bark is boiled and the decoction is drunk for stomach troubles.

*tléxlerhá'ka*; "sweet branch"; *Abies* sp.

This is well named because of the delightful fragrance of the fir due to its resin. This is the most fragrant of the conifers. The young shoots and also sometimes the bark are boiled and the decoction is drunk for stomach troubles and as a tonic.

*tlū'xen*; horsetail; *Equisetum* sp.

Several species of *Equisetum* are used. The stems are burned and the ashes used as a remedy for burns. The ashes are sprinkled thickly over the burn and kept in place with a bandage. The ashes are also mixed with animal greases or oils and smeared over burns.

*malá'mEN E'na tsā tí'n*;<sup>9</sup> "medicine for rattlesnake"; spurge; *Euphorbia glyptosperma* Engelm.

The fresh plant is rubbed on all snake bites but is used especially for rattlesnake bites. The plant is said to grow only in those parts of the country where rattlesnakes are found. It has a milky juice which is characteristic of the genus.

*malá'mENEN Eskwī'sit*;<sup>10</sup> "medicine for childbirth"; pipsissewa; *Chimaphila umbellata occidentalis* (Rydb.) Blake and *Pyrola* L. sp., or rattlesnake plantain; *Peramium decipiens* (Hook.) Piper.

In this case the same name is given to plants of no relationship, one being a monocotyledon and the other a dicotyledon. They may have confused them because of a resemblance between their leaves or given them the same name due to the fact that they were used for the same purpose. This name may be used for any medicine which relieves women at childbirth. It sometimes is called *Eskwī'sit a malá'mENS*, meaning "childbirth's medicine." The plant is used fresh or dried and is chewed by the women shortly before and at the time of parturition. A little is swallowed from time to time and is said to make confinement easy.

<sup>9</sup> See also *spa'pítl*, p. 470.

<sup>10</sup> See under *ziziec'us*, p. 476.

*malā'mEN EN eskwī'sit*, or *malā'mEN EN êxkwī'sit*; "medicine for child-birth, medicine for those who give birth."

This plant is unidentified. A decoction of the whole plant is drunk hot by women during parturition to make it less painful.

*malā'mENS ES'otz'a'tza*,<sup>11</sup> or *esho.tsho'.tsā*; "medicine of syphilitics"; baneberry; *Actaea arguta* Nutt. and *Actaea eburnea* Rydb.

A decoction of the roots is drunk as a remedy for syphilis and rheumatism, and some believed it to be a cure for emaciation. Great care is taken in preparing the medicine as it is dangerous if too strong a decoction is made and some people can only take very weak doses.

*malā'mEN E'na kozkozā'ap*; "medicine for the ?"; orpine; *Sedum divergens* S. Wats. and *Sedum spathulifolium* Hook.

A decoction of the whole plant is given to children to relieve constipation.

*mE'qā'*; death camas; *Zygadenus elegans* Pursh.

The root is baked in ashes, or occasionally toasted before the fire, and pounded up fine. It is then thoroughly mixed with water or grease and rubbed on parts of the body which pain, especially the back and feet. Sometimes the dry powder is rubbed on the affected parts.

*mElamū'psten*; "medicine for the posterior"; *Sedum* sp.

This is a term rather than a real name and is applied to all species of *Sedum* because of their use for piles. A decoction is used as a wash for piles, or some people use the plant as a poultice.

*mE'LEMENē'tp*;<sup>12</sup> "medicine plant"; unidentified.

*mokasā'ēlp*, *mokasī'zēlp*, *mokmokase'slp*, *mox'mox'kasē'tp*; worm-wood; *Artemisia dracunculoides* Pursh.

This is used in the steaming out process which is a very common means of treating disease among the Indians. This would be an excellent means of cure were it not for the rigorous treatment which follows the sweating and occasionally causes the death of the individual. A considerable quantity of the entire plants or the fresh stems and leaves are gathered. A sufficient number of stones are collected and heated red-hot on a fire as for an ordinary sweat bath. Smooth waterworn stones are chosen. When they are hot they are arranged so as to make as smooth a surface as possible. Such a bed of stones is made the full length and breadth of the person to be treated. Fine, dry sand is collected and spread over the stones until their surfaces are just covered. The fresh plants are spread evenly on the top of the hot stones and sand until they form a thick bed, generally about 6 inches in depth. The patient lies naked and full length on top of the plants and is covered with a blanket to keep in the heat and steam. He lies there for several hours, perspiring freely, until the stones become cool. Generally a flat sandy place is chosen for making these steam beds. Sometimes the stones are buried in the sand until their surfaces are almost completely hidden. A fire of the necessary size is then built over the stones and kept burning until the stones and sand are thoroughly heated. This treatment is for rheumatism, stiffness of the joints and muscles, aching bones or muscles, and sometimes for sprains. The steaming is probably truly helpful, but directly after rising from this steam bed they usually dash into an ice-cold stream, which sometimes has a fatal result.

<sup>11</sup> See also *skwei.tEk malā'm EN*, p. 467.

<sup>12</sup> See under *ū'p'ū'pt*, p. 475.

A decoction of the whole plant or sometimes of the stems and leaves is used as a bath for women after childbirth. The patient sits in the warm decoction.

A decoction is also used as a head wash and for bathing the temples and head when suffering from a headache.

*nkuk<sup>w</sup>axemus kē'ken*; "little buttercup flower"; avens; *Geum* sp.

It is so named because of the resemblance of the flower to *Ranunculus glaberrimus*. It is used for the steam bath like *Artemisia dracunculoides* for rheumatism, aching muscles and bones, and stiffness in the joints. A different species, *Geum rivale*, is used in the same way by the white man.

*.naxā'.p*; rockeress; *Arabis drummondii* A. Gray.

The whole plant is boiled and the decoction is drunk as a diuretic or kidney and bladder medicine and for pains in the small of the back, which are often caused by kidney disorder. A very strong decoction is taken as a remedy for gonorrhoea. The fresh plant is crushed and used raw as a poultice on sores of any kind. Sometimes the fresh plant is roasted until brittle, then crushed fine, and sprinkled thickly on running sores. The dried plant is powdered and used in the same way.

*ōlōtce'tcelp*; quaking aspen; *Populus tremuloides* Michx.

A number of stems or branches of very young trees are boiled slowly for about forty hours. When cool, the patient sits in the decoction for several hours at a time and washes his body with it. He also drinks several cups of the fresh decoction each day. This is continued for two to four days as a remedy for syphilis. The drinking of the decoction is continued for a much longer period, and if the patient has pains in his bones or any swellings the bathing is continued for a much longer period at intervals. A decoction of the roots is drunk for the same disease and also for another unascertained purpose. The ashes of the wood when mixed with water are used for rubbing on swellings or mixed with grease and used for the same purpose. A medicine is prepared from the stem by the white man. It is used especially for rheumatism.

*papaā'erken*, or *papaā'erken tekmalāmen*; "graybody" or "gray-bodied medicine"; *Eriogonum heracleoides* Nutt.

This name is applied to other gray-colored plants, especially species of *Eriogonum*. In most of these the stems, leaves, involucre when present, and the perianth are densely tomentose or villous, giving them a grayish color.

*pāpaei'.tx<sup>u</sup>*; "gray leaf"; everlasting; *Antennaria* sp.

This is an uncommon name used by the Utā'mkt for everlastings. The Upper Thompson Indians sometimes apply the name to *Phacelia leucophylla*.

*papaei'.tx<sup>u</sup>s a xaūimex*; "gray leaf of the hills"; everlasting; *Antennaria* sp.

This name is applied to the everlastings which grow on the mountains.

*papaei'.tx<sup>u</sup>s a zatā'n*; "gray leaf of the shores or valleys"; everlasting; *Antennaria* sp.

This name is applied to the varieties of *Antennaria* which grow in the low valleys.

*papaei'.tx<sup>u</sup>ta steekqai'.n*; "gray leaf the red headed or red flowered"; rose everlasting; *Antennaria rosea* Greene.

*papaei'tx<sup>u</sup> ta hūxhū.'x*; "the smelling gray leaf"; pearl everlasting; *Anaphalis margaritacea* (L.) A. Gray.

The uses of the *Antennarias* as medicines are given under *ilie'titū'n El* and *sisitu'nel*.

*papaū'pa*; <sup>13</sup> "gray stalk"; silky phacelia; *Phacelia leucophylla* Torr.

*pātū'nel*; <sup>14</sup> "gray plant"; *Eriogonum* sp.

*pelepei'tx<sup>u</sup>*; "thick leaf"; *Leptarrhenia amplexifolia* Ser.

So named because the leaves are coriaceous. The fresh leaves are chewed and then put on wounds and sores for healing purposes.

*petcpetci'k.ls a kokoū'imex*; "leaves of watery or wet ground"; bog kalmia; *Kalmia polifolia* Wang.

A decoction of the leaves is used as a medicine but in what particular way was not learned. The white man uses a preparation from the leaves. It is astringent, and in large doses poisonous.

*petspū'tskēn*; "shaggy head?"; *Geum triflorum* Pursh.

This name may have been given to the plant because of the plumose style. This name is used chiefly by the Nicola division of the tribe. For uses see under *skapkenke'kēn* and *sopopke'kēn*.

*poponē'tp*; wormwood; *Artemisia frigida* Willd.

It is used as a medicine, but the specific use was not learned.

*poskaē'tps a xāū'imex*; "humming-bird plant of the hills"; *Pentstemon douglasii* Hook.

A decoction of the fresh plant is used as a wash for sore eyes the same as *Pentstemon scouleri*.

*poskaē'tp*; <sup>15</sup> "humming-bird plant"; pentstemon; *Pentstemon scouleri* Dougl.

It is so named because the humming bird is fond of the plant. The stems, flowers, and leaves are boiled and the decoction is drunk as a remedy for kidney trouble and sore back. The fresh plant is soaked in cold or warm water and used as a wash for sore eyes.

*poxamīn, poxamīne'tp*; fleabanes; *Erigeron compositus* Pursh, *Erigeron filifolius* Nutt., and *Erigeron* sp.

This name may be applied to other plants used as powders for sores. The plant is chewed and spit on the sores. It is said to be used also as an internal medicine, but nothing specific was learned. Several species of *Erigeron* are used by the white man but none of the above.

*po'xpoxe'tp*; longleaf willow; *Salix interior* Rowlee.

The roots are used medicinally, but it has not been learned for what particular ailment.

*pū'nelp*; Colorado juniper; *Juniperus scopulorum* Sargent.

The berries are sometimes eaten fresh in small quantities as a diuretic or as a medicine for the bladder. The berries of other species are used in like manner by the white man.

<sup>13</sup> See *spāpā'* or *spapaū'pa*, p. 470.

<sup>14</sup> See *spātū'nel*, p. 470.

<sup>15</sup> Another Indian name for this *Pentstemon* is *co'oe'pa*, p. 457.

*sā'etské'tp*, *.sei.'tské'tp*; raspberry; common red raspberry; *Rubus pubescens* Raf. and *Rubus strigosus* Michx.

The leaves are boiled and the decoction is drunk as a remedy for blood spitting and for the vomiting of blood. A decoction of the root is drunk as a tonic for the stomach. The white man employs a preparation from the light red berry which acts as a mild laxative.

*.sā'tkelp*; western yellow pine; *Pinus ponderosa* Dougl.

The gum which is exuded along the stem is boiled and mixed with melted bear's fat, and the ointment thus made is used for sores and for inflamed eyes.

*.shwō'opa*; "bushy stem"; unidentified.

Little was learned concerning this plant. It was referred to as the "stone seed plant" by a few Indians. It was used for itching piles, but no information was obtained concerning parts used or application.

*sisiepāu's*,<sup>16</sup> *sisirep āu's*, *sisiep aus*; "sticking up (or erect) around"; *Eriogonum* sp.

These are names of three species of *Eriogonum* which have whorled leaves.

*sisiepē'pau*, *siēpa'us ts axaū'imex*<sup>2</sup>; "standing up around the hills"; *Anemone occidentalis* S. Wats.

It is used as a medicine, but no special purpose was learned. These names are also used for various species of *Eriogonum*.

*sisitū'nēl*;<sup>17</sup> "woven"; everlasting; *Antennaria microphylla* Rydb.

This name is sometimes applied to the *Antennarias* in general by many of the Spences Bridge and Nicola Indians.

*.sitskonē'tp*; smooth sumac; *Rhus glabra occidentalis* Torr.

A decoction of the stems (and roots, according to some people) is drunk as a remedy for syphilis. It is said to be a powerful medicine and dangerous if made too strong. The fresh root is chewed in small portions for a sore mouth or a sore tongue. It is interesting to note that the white man uses a preparation from the dried fruits for throat troubles and spongy gums.

*sqapiē'tp*; bald-hip rose; *Rosa gymnocarpa* Nutt.

The stems are boiled and a decoction is drunk for general indisposition and as a tonic. The bark is sometimes boiled and a decoction used as a wash for sore eyes.

*skapkenke'ken*;<sup>18</sup> "hair (of head) flower"; *Geum triflorum* Pursh.

Probably so named because of the plumose style. Some of the Indians apply this term to *Thalictrum occidentale*, and it is not clear whether the uses given for the plant refer to one or the other.

The roots are slightly boiled and the decoction is drunk as a tonic.

A stronger decoction is used as a wash and as a bath for removing stiffness and pains in different parts of the body. *Geum triflorum* is used as a plant for steaming in the same way as *Artemisia dracunculoïdes*.

*skī'kens a mokasā'ē'tp*; "companion of *Artemisia dracunculoïdes*."

The stems and leaves are used as a medicine, but for what purpose has not been ascertained.

<sup>16</sup> See under *.spatū'nēl*, p. 470.

<sup>17</sup> See under *itililū'nēl*, p. 458, and *papaē'tx*, p. 464.

<sup>18</sup> See under *pētspū'tskēn*, p. 465, and *sopopke'ken*, p. 469.



*skī'kens a .shā'ket*; "companion of Epilobium"; woodbetony; *Pedicularis bracteosa* Benth.

Some people seem to apply this term to all the species of wood betony and differentiate them by descriptive terms, such as "large" and "small," etc.

The plant is used medicinally, but preparation and use in particular are not known.

*skī'kens a .shāket tek tca mē'mat*; "small companion of Epilobium"; wood betony; *Pedicularis racemosa* Dougl.

Nothing was learned of this plant save that it had a medicinal use.

*skī'kens a kā'luat*; "companion of *Vagnera racemosa*"; twisted stalk; *Streptopus roseus* Michx.

A decoction of the root is used as a medicine, but no more definite information was obtained. The white man uses dried rhizome as a uterine stimulant.

*skī'kens lki'ko*; "companion of?"; marsh marigold; *Caltha rotundifolia* Greene.

The fresh plant was chewed and spit directly on wounds. Sometimes it was crushed and placed on the wound as a poultice. It is said to have a cooling effect and to reduce inflammation.

*.skomkemoxke'ken*; "little rounded lumps or clusters flower"; pentstemon; *Pentstemon confertus coeruleo-purpureus* A. Gray.

It is so named because the inflorescence is an interrupted spike. This term is also applied to a smaller plant, probably *Pentstemon procerus*. The roots are boiled and the decoction is drunk as a purgative. A decoction of the outer bark is said to be a remedy for stomach troubles.

*.skumetsū'pa*; "Erythronium stalk"; *Habenaria leucostachys* Wats.

Probably so named because of a resemblance to *Erythronium grandiflorum*. The term is also applied by some to the Cypripediums. A decoction is used as a body wash. When heated it is used as a bath for rheumatism. It is also used for steaming out the disease in the same way as *Artemisia dracunculoides*.

*.skwe'it tek mala'm en*; <sup>19</sup> "fruit medicine"; *Actaea arguta* Nutt.

*.skwelka'inten*; "thing for pouring on the head"; polemonium; *Polemonium humile* R. & S. and *Polemonium elegans* Greene.

This name is used for any hair or head wash. The plant is so called chiefly by the Nicola division of the tribe.

A decoction of these plants is used as a wash for the head and hair.

*.skwelka'ins a .lax'ō'mex*; "head or hair wash of pubescents"; prairie flax; *Linum lewisii* Pursh.

The flowers, leaves, and stems are soaked in warm water and used as a wash for the head by pubescents, especially female. It is believed to be good for the hair and when used on the skin it increases its beauty.

*skwoiē'lux*, *skwoiē'lux*; tobacco; *Nicotiana attenuata* Torr.

A decoction of the plant is used as a wash for the head to remove dandruff and prevent the falling out of the hair. Some Indians think its use will keep the hair from turning gray until very late in life. They say they think

<sup>19</sup> See *malā'mensEs'otz'atza*, p. 463.

the use of soaps procured from the whites for washing the head and hair causes the latter to become dry, scanty, and prematurely gray. When the Indians used only their own head washes and oils and method of treatment for the hair people had very fine hair and it did not turn gray until they were very old.

*.smē'kel, .smē'keil, .smēkel, smēkEL kwomē'ma .shūxhū'xs, smēkEL zozōEtshūxhū'xs, smēkelē'ōe; Ptiloria tenuifolia* (Torr.) Raf.

This is used as a medicine but it was not ascertained in what way.

*snukaō'ēs a poskaē'tp; "Real friend of Pentstemon scouleri"; pentstemon; Pentstemon douglasii* Hook.

It is occasionally used as a medicine in the same way as *Pentstemon scouleri*.

*snukaō'ēs .shā'ket; "real friend of Epilobium"; willow-weed; Epilobium* sp.

This is a small variety of *Epilobium* but it has not been identified. It is used medicinally by some but for what special purpose was not learned. It is not very extensively used by any of the groups.

*snū'kas a hwesa'nek; "friend of ?"; loco weed; Oxytropis* sp.

These plants are used for steaming the body in the same way as *Artemisia dracunculoides*. They reduce swellings and relieve rheumatic conditions.

*snū'kas a ik'elp; "friend of the Arctostaphylos uva-ursi"; myrtle pachistima; Pachistima myrsinites* (Pursh) Raf.

The leaves are slightly boiled and used as a poultice on swellings. A poultice of these leaves is also occasionally used to allay pains in any part of the body.

*snūkas a kō'nEL tek tEmake'kEN; "friend of small flowered?"; unidentified.*

This unidentified plant has small white flowers resembling those of a water lily, and the plant grows in the water or in very wet places. That it is used medicinally is all that is known.

*snū'kas a moqasē'tp; "friend of Artemisia dracunculoides"; Artemisia* sp.

An unidentified species. Used medicinally.

*snū'kas a pesamē'n; "friend of ?"; Erigeron* sp.

The plant is toasted before the fire until it is dry and brittle. It is then crushed and mixed with grease to form a salve which is rubbed on parts of the body affected with pains or swellings, especially swollen glands and sore throat. The fresh plant is mashed up into a pulp and used as a poultice for the same purposes as above. The raw plant is sometimes chewed for a sore throat.

*snūkas a poskaē'tp; "friend of Pentstemon scouleri"; Phacelia menziesii* Torr.

A decoction is used by some people as a medicine but for what special purpose was not ascertained.

*snū'kas a .shā'ket; "friend of Epilobium"; goldenrod; Solidago decumbens* Greene.

This term is also applied by some people of the Lytton band to *Pedicularis braetcosa*. A decoction is drunk as a tonic in cases of loss of appetite.

*snū'kas smē'ket*; "friend of *Ptiloria*"; unidentified.

This is used as a medicine in the same way as *Ptiloria tenuifolia*.

*snū'kas a soelē'lp*; "friend of *Artemisia canadensis*"; *Artemisia* sp.

This name is applied to a small species of *Artemisia*. A decoction of the root, and sometimes the whole plant, is used as a medicine.

*snūkas a sō'xom*; "friend of *Balsamorhiza*"; *Helianthus* sp.

*snū'kas a sōxomkē'ken*;<sup>20</sup> "friend of *Gaillardia aristata*."

*snū'kas a soxemke'ken tek axa zumkē'ken*;<sup>21</sup> "large flowered friend of *Gaillardia aristata*."

*snū'kas a tcivaksū'nelp*; "friend of *Anemone multifida*"; *Anemone* sp.

Its specific uses as a medicine were not learned.

*snū'kas a xī'laxil*; "friend of *Potentilla anserina*"; cinquefoil; *Potentilla glandulosa* Lindl.

A decoction of the whole plant (some say excepting the roots) is drunk as a tonic for general out-of-sorts feeling. The leaves are slightly boiled and the decoction is drunk as a stimulant.

*sopopapeta*<sup>22</sup>; "little hair leaf or foliage"; *Geum triflorum* Pursh or an unidentified plant.

There is a difference of opinion as to this name. Some say it is *Geum triflorum* while others say it is a name for a different plant which is unidentified.

*sopopke'ken*;<sup>22</sup> "little hairy or bushy flower"; avens; *Geum triflorum* Pursh.

This is so named because of the plumose stigma.

*sōpusē'lp*; "hairy face or surface plant"; prickly currant; *Ribes lacustre* Poir.

Probably so named because of dense bristles on the stem and berries and the whole plant is more or less pubescent.

A decoction of the roots and scraped stems is drunk for general indisposition. A decoction of the wood cut in small pieces is drunk as a tonic for the stomach. The cambium layer is soaked in water and used as a wash for sore eyes.

*soxomqē'ken*; "little *Balsamorhiza* flower"; common perennial *gaillardia*; *Gaillardia aristata* Pursh.

This is so called because of a resemblance of the flower to that of *Balsamorhiza*.

The plant is boiled and the decoction is drunk for headache and general indisposition.

*soxomqa'i.n*;<sup>23</sup> "*Balsamorhiza* head or flower"; sunflower; *Helianthus petiolaris* Nutt. or *Helianthus lenticularis* Dougl.

It is said to be so called because it resembles *Balsamorhiza sagittata* and *Gaillardia aristata*. The leaves are made into a powder or into an ointment and used on sores and swellings.

<sup>20</sup> *Helianthus* sp.; for uses see under *soxomqai.n*, p. 469.

<sup>21</sup> *Helianthus* sp.; for uses see under *soxomquai.n*, p. 469.

<sup>22</sup> See also *snū'kas a sō'xom* and *snū'kas a sōxomkē'ken*, p. 469.

<sup>23</sup> Not always distinguished from *snūkas a sō'xom*.

*sóxsó'sxEM*; "little Balsamorhiza"; *Helianthella douglasii* T. & G.

No specific use or preparation was learned for this plant.

*sóxsó'sxEMs a zātci'n*; <sup>24</sup> "Helianthella of the low valleys"; *Helianthella* sp. or *Helianthus* sp.

*soula'lp*, *sūelē'lp*; *Artemisia canadensis* Michx.

The whole plant is boiled and a decoction is drunk as a remedy for diarrhea.

A decoction of the root is used as a medicine but for what special purpose was not learned. The fresh or the dried leaves are boiled and the decoction is drunk by women after childbirth to hasten their recovery. The dried leaves are kept carefully wrapped up or are put in a sack during the winter.

*spāpā'*, *spapaū'pa*, *spapaci'tx*<sup>25</sup>; "gray or burnt gray color," "gray tail or stalk," "gray leaf"; phacelia; *Phacelia leucophylla* Torr.

Women drink a decoction of this plant as a remedy for difficult menstruation.

*spapūt*; <sup>25</sup> "low spread out"; spurge; *Euphorbia glyptosperma* Engelm.

This name is suggested by the low spreading or prostrate habit of the branches of *Euphorbia glyptosperma*.

*spātsEN*; "hemp, thread, or rope"; hemp dogbane; *Apocynum cannabinum* L.

So named because of the use made of the bark. A decoction of the root is used as a medicine but for what purpose was not learned. Its uses other than medicinal are many. The dried rhizome is used in many ways by the whites. Some of its uses are as a diuretic, emetic, expectorant, and as a heart stimulant.

*spatū'nEł*, <sup>26</sup> *spatū'nEłp*; "gray plant"; *Eriogonum androsaceum* Benth., *Eriogonum heracleoides* Nutt., or *Eriogonum* sp.

The stalks and leaves of all three *Eriogonum*s are toasted until brittle. They are then crushed to a fine powder, mixed with grease, and rubbed on swellings. Sometimes the plant is burned and the ashes mixed with grease and used in the same way. A mild or medium strong decoction of the whole plant, including the roots of *Eriogonum heracleoides*, is drunk for general indisposition. A stronger decoction is used as a cure for syphilis. Some people also drink a decoction for internal pains of any kind, especially those of the stomach. The entire plants are also used for steaming the body in the same way as *Artemisia dracunculoides*.

*speara'lp*, *sp.azēlp*; <sup>27</sup> snowberry; *Symphoricarpos racemosus* Michx. *spetsENē'lp*, *spetsENi'lp*; "hemp or thread plant"; milkweed; *Asclepias speciosa* Torr.

So named because sometimes a fiber was obtained from it. The Utā'mkt call *Apocynum androsaemifolium* by this name. The root is boiled for a short time and the decoction is drunk for general out-of-sorts feeling and emaciation. It is said to be very dangerous if made too strong. The milky juice which is characteristic of this family is removed from the stem and rubbed on the face as a cream to make the skin clear and light. *Asclepias tuberosa* is used by the whites for pleurisy, pneumonia, and consumption. Its use is similar to the Indian use of *A. speciosa*. In both cases the root is the part used.

<sup>24</sup> See *saramgai*, n. p. 469.

<sup>25</sup> See *sisipā'us*, p. 466, and *papaā'ERKEN*, p. 464.

<sup>26</sup> See under *malāmENE'natsāti'n*, p. 462.

<sup>27</sup> See under *iax'ē'xlp*, p. 458, and *kawa'uEłp*, p. 459.

*.stā'x*; "bitter"; willow; *Salix* sp.

This is a dwarf willow with yellow catkins. It has not been identified as to species.

A decoction is used hot as a wash for the body or the person may sit in a bath of it. It subdues pain and reduces swellings. It is much used by the Utā'mkt as a hot bath for sore or swollen feet.

*.steko'qsa*; <sup>28</sup> "little red or reddish rounded"; *Spiraea pyramidata* Greene.

It is said to be so named because the plant turns red in the fall. A decoction of the stems, leaves, and flowers is drunk as a tonic.

*.stco.qemēlp*; "berry plant"; northwestern serviceberry. *Amelanchier alnifolia* Nutt.

A warm decoction of the stems and twigs was drunk by the women after childbirth. It was also used as a bath for the women to sit in.

The fresh bark was washed, boiled, and the decoction drunk as a tonic.

A very strong decoction of the bark is drunk warm by the women immediately after childbirth to hasten the dropping of the afterbirth.

*.stekor'lkort tek spā'kem*; "blue flower"; selfheal; *Prunella vulgaris* L.

This term is used by the Utā'mkt and may be applied to any blue flower.

The plants, bruised or unbruised, are soaked in cold water and after some hours the water is drunk as a tonic for general indisposition. It is said some people drink the decoction hot. This plant is used by the white man to-day for its tonic properties.

*.steltā'laux*; <sup>29</sup> "trailing"; wild sarsaparilla; *Aralia nudicaulis* L.

This is so named because the plant trails along the ground, sending up only 30 cm. or so of stem proper. The root is about 30 cm. long. It has an aromatic odor and taste.

A decoction is drunk as a tonic and for the blood and pimples. It is also used in cases of lassitude and general debility. A medicine is prepared from the root and used as a stimulant and alterative by the white man.

*stēptēpū'za, stēptēpuzaa'lp*; "blackberry," "blackberry plant"; northern black currant; *Ribes hudsonianum* Richards.

The stems and leaves are boiled and the decoction is drunk for stomach troubles. It is also used for colds and sore throats.

*.stexa'lp*; heartleaf-willow; *Salix cordata* Muhl.

The fresh bark is used for bruises and for eruptions of the skin. The manner of preparation was not ascertained.

*.stlopei'ek, stlupēi'uk*; "twisted or twisting wood"; honeysuckle; *Lonicera ciliosa* (Pursh) Poir.

This is well named because of the twisting and entwining nature of the plant. The thicker stems are peeled and boiled and the decoction is drunk as a tonic.

*.sululē'k<sup>u</sup>.t, .sululē'k.t, .sululē'k.t, or .sululē'k.ts axaū'imex*; "nettle or stinging plants of the hills"; nettle; *Urtica lyallii* S. Wats.

The first two terms are applied to nettles and many plants which sting or poison by touch. It is used to relieve stiffness and soreness of the joints and muscles. The plant is teased up, then dipped in water, and rubbed on the affected parts.

<sup>28</sup> See under *tcktcako'ksa*, p. 475.

<sup>29</sup> See *teltālx*, p. 473.

*.sululē'k.t.*, *.sululē'k.ts a zatcī'n*; "nettle of the low valleys"; poison ivy; *Rhus rydbergii* Greene.

No specific medicinal use was learned. The name is probably due to the effect of the plant upon the skin, as it is not a nettle nor does it resemble the nettle plants.

*.sululē'k.ts a skwikwīEt*; "nettle of the high mountains"; nettle; *Urtica* sp.

This is a small kind of nettle growing on the high mountains. It is probably a stunted form of *Urtica lyallii* and is used in the same way.

*.swupqai.n*; "bushy head"; *Solidago decumbens* Greene.

It is said to be so named because of its thick or bushy inflorescence.

The whole plant, including the roots, is boiled and the decoction is drunk as a remedy for syphilis by both the Upper and Lower Thompson Indians.

*.sxetsinē'lp*, *.sx'etsinē'lp*; *Grossularia irrigua* (Dougl.) Cov. & Britt.

The roots are boiled and the decoction is drunk as a tonic for the stomach.

*.sxozxozā Etr<sup>u</sup>*,<sup>30</sup> "sharp leaf"; spiraea; *Luetkea pectinata* (Pursh) Kuntze.

The Utā'mkt give this name to *Luetkea pectinata* and say they do not use the plant for any purpose. The Upper Thompson Indians give the name either to this plant or to *Hydrophyllum* sp.

The fresh plant is crushed and used as a poultice on sores. A decoction is drunk for pains in the belly or abdomen. Women are said to use it as a remedy for profuse or prolonged menstruation.

*.sxō'zem*, *.sxōzEmē'lp*; "lather or froth plant"; russet buffalo berry; *Lepargyrea canadensis* (L.) Greene.

So named because the Indians make a froth from the berries. A small percentage of saponin is present in the whole plant and a foam can be made by crushing and mixing with water.

The root is boiled and the decoction is drunk as a physic or purgative. A strong decoction of the dried stems and leaves is used as a physic. A decoction of the bark is used as a tonic for the stomach.

*.sxū'ltā malamū'sTEN*; "scraped or milled eye medicine"; Pacific trillium; *Trillium ovatum* Pursh.

The root is dug up in the fall, cleaned, and dried. It is used for sore eyes. The dry root is scraped and the fine powder dropped into the eyes or blown off a piece of bark or the finger or palm of the hand into the eyes.

*taxqai'.n*; "bitter head" root or flower; *Leptotaenia dissecta* Nutt.

It is said to be so named because the root is bitter. The fleshy part of the dried root is crushed into a fine powder and sprinkled on wounds and fresh sores to heal and dry them up. The fresh root is roasted or baked until dry or brittle and then crushed into a fine powder and sprinkled on sores, boils, and any eruptions of the skin.

The powder of the fresh or the dried root is mixed with melted skunk's fat and smeared on burns. It is said to be very healing.

*taxpaē'lp*;<sup>31</sup> "bitter gray plant"; red-osier dogwood; *Cornus pubescens* Nutt. or *Cornus stolonifera* Michx.

This is merely another name for these two plants.

<sup>30</sup> See also *steeko'qse*, p. 471, with which it is sometimes confused.

<sup>31</sup> See *tcEktekokkiūk*, p. 475.

*taxtaxei'uk*; "bitter wood"; cascara buckthorn; *Rhamnus purshiana* DC.

The bark of this plant is used and the medicinal name is cascara sagrada. It is the same which is used so much by the white man as a laxative. The Indian makes a strong decoction of the bark and sometimes the wood. It is used by them as a physic and a milder decoction is used as a laxative.

*telta'lôx*; <sup>32</sup> "trailing."

*te'pamen*, *te'pemen*; "a thing used for sprinkling, powdering, or darkening"; pentstemon and fleabane; *Pentstemon confertus* Dougl., *Erigeron filifolius* (Hook.) Nutt., and *Erigeron* sp.

This term is given to powders sprinkled on wounds and sores and to plants used for making these powders. With some people the plants named are specially known as "*te'pemens*" and are called by this term to the exclusion of other names. The stems and leaves are toasted until brittle, then they are powdered and sprinkled on sores, ulcers, cuts, and wounds.

*tlâ'ko*, *lâ'qo*; "wild celery"; *Peucedanum nudicaulis* (Pursh) Jones.

A strong decoction of the whole plant or the stems and leaves is drunk as a remedy for colds and fevers.

*tokaletqai'.n*; "yellow head or flower"; arnica; *Arnica latifolia* Bong.

So named because of the yellow ray flowers. This name was sometimes given to some other kinds of *Arnica*. It was used as a medicine, but the special use was not ascertained.

*toktokletke'ken*; "little yellow head or flower"; buttercup; *Ranunculus douglasii* Howell.

This was so named because of the yellow petals and much smaller flower than the head of the *Arnica*.

A decoction was used, warm or cold, as a body wash to remove stiffness and soreness of the muscles and bones. It was also used for steaming the body in the same way as *Artemisia dracunculoides* for rheumatism and body pains. It was frequently used as a sweat bath wash.

*tsâtenû'pas a xâû'imex*; "rattlesnake tail of the hills"; *Geum triflorum* Pursh.

This is another name for *Geum triflorum*.<sup>33</sup> It is called rattlesnake tail because its leaf somewhat resembles that of *Chaenactis douglasii*.

*tsâtenû'pa*; "rattlesnake tail"; *Chaenactis douglasii* (Hook.) H. & A.

It is so named because of the form of the leaf which is thought to resemble a rattlesnake's tail with the rattles.

A decoction of the entire plant is drunk as a remedy for any kind of swellings. Some say it should not be applied to external boils or tumors. A milder decoction is drunk as a tonic for the stomach and lassitude. A stronger decoction is used as a wash for chapped or cracked hands, pimples, or any skin eruptions. It is sometimes applied to insect and snake bites.

*tsâ'uzaten*, *tsâ'usaen*; "a thing for washing with"; loco weed; *Astragalus purshii* Dougl.; *Astragalus* sp.; *Oxytropis monticola* A. Gray; *Oxytropis* sp.

<sup>32</sup> See under *stEl ta'laux*, p. 471.

<sup>33</sup> See *sopopke'ken*, p. 469.

This term is applied to all of the above plants. The different plants are distinguished by descriptive names, such as *axaumū'pa ta tsāuzaten*, meaning "large-stemmed *tsauzaten*" and *na'xom tek tsā'uzaten*, meaning "true *tsā'uzaten*." A decoction of the whole plant is used as a wash for the head and hair. It is also used to bathe the body and to improve the skin and stimulate the circulation. The white man uses a juice which exudes from the stem of one or two species of *Astragalus* as an emollient and as a protection to excoriated surfaces.

*tsék.pēnwa'tēn*, *tsqēpēnwe'tēn*, *tsqēpēnwa'wēlēn*, *tskeke'pēnwe'tēn*; "able to stick," "able a little to stick," "little stick plant"; stick-seed, smooth-stemmed *Mentzelia*, *Mentzelia laevicaulis* T. & G.; *Lappula hispida* Greene.

The latter plant is so named from the fruits which are armed with stout barbed prickles. Some species of *Mentzelia* have stems armed with hooked stinging hairs, but the species *laevicaulis* is smooth stemmed, being merely minutely pubescent.

These plants have medicinal uses, but no special information was obtained.

*tsēmtsē'ēlp*; *Sericotheca* sp.

This is probably another name for *Sericotheca discolor*.

*tsiquk'ēlp*; American elder; *Sambucus canadensis* L., *Sambucus caerulea* Raf.

The fresh bark is teased out and a wad of it is put in the hollow of a tooth to stop it from aching. It is used by the white man as a stimulant, a carminative, and an alterative. It is sometimes used for rheumatism and erysipelas.

*tsitsēxtsart*; common juniper; *Juniperus communis* L.

An infusion of the twigs is used for washing sore eyes. The small branches are boiled and the decoction is drunk as a tonic for the stomach and also as a wash for sore eyes. The berrylike fruits are also of value in that they contain water, albuminoids, and carbohydrates.

*tsiwaksū'nēlp*, *tcīwaksō'nēlp*, *tcīawaksu'nēl*; "bleeding nose plant"; anemone; *Anemone multifida* Poir.

The leaves are used for plugging the nose to stop bleeding. A bunch of the fresh plant in flower is placed across the nostrils or held to the nose to stop bleeding. If the bleeding is slight or intermittent a plant is plucked and held to the nose like smelling salts from time to time. In Europe the plant is used in a similar way.

*tska'lp*, *tsqē'lp*; Douglas fir; *Pseudotsuga mucronata* (Raf.) Südw.

The twigs, or preferably the young shoots, are boiled and the decoction is drunk as a diuretic. The young shoots are reduced to ashes and mixed with a good quality of melted deer's or other animal's fat and used as a general ointment or salve. The tips of the boughs with the needles are burned to ashes and the latter are used as a remedy for rheumatism or "moving pains in the bones." The burned or half-burned ashes or coals are placed on the affected part, lighted, and allowed to burn slowly into the flesh. Those who lack the nerve to use this heroic treatment themselves are held by their friends during the process. All parts of the body subject to the pains are treated similarly in turn.



Ordinary charcoal from any part of the tree is sometimes used in the same way, small portions of the hot coals being placed on the affected parts. The branches of the young trees or the small branches, preferably the tips of the older trees, are heated over the fire and laid on any part of the body for rheumatic pains, cramps of the muscles, or any other such ailments. The heat is kept up by renewing repeatedly several branches which are being constantly prepared for the purpose. This remedy is much in vogue for the treatment of colic or cramps in the bowels or in the stomach. If the branches are very hot they are wrapped in something before laying on the body. Sometimes a thick pad of them is put in a thin sack and then laid on the body.

*tsótené'lp*; Rocky Mountain maple; *Acer glabrum* Torr.

The wood and bark are boiled and the decoction is drunk for nausea or sickness which has been caused by smelling a corpse.

*.tsxaza'lp*; spruce; *Picea engelmanni* (Parry) Engelm.

The young shoots are burned and the ashes are mixed with melted deer's fat and used as a general salve or ointment.

*tcaā'la, tse'.la*; American wild mint; *Mentha canadensis* L.

A decoction of the leaves and tops is drunk as a remedy for colds, pains, and swellings. It is also used for steaming the body for rheumatism and severe colds. The method of treatment is the same as that described under *Artemisia dracunculoides*.<sup>34</sup> The oil that is obtained from the leaves and tops is used by the white man as a carminative, stimulant, and antispasmodic.

*tcawekū'pa*; "*Lilium columbianum* tail or stalk"; columbine; *Aquilegia formosa* Fisch.

A warm or cold decoction of the whole plant is used as a wash for the hair and scalp.

*teektceku'ksa, teektceko'ksa*; spiraea; *Spiraea pyramidata* Greene.

This is another name for *Spiraea pyramidata*. For its uses see *.stcekoqsa*.

*teektceko'kiäuk*; "little redwood"; red-osier dogwood and dogwood; *Cornus stolonifera* Michx. and *Cornus pubescens* Nutt.

The names seem to be applied to both the species of *Cornus*. The wood, bark, or leaves, or all of them are boiled and the decoction is drunk by the women after childbirth. A decoction of the sapwood or of the twigs is boiled in conjunction with the twigs of *Thuja gigantea* and is drunk by the women of the Utā'mkt after childbirth.

*te'kwēlex*; "reddish"; larch; *Larix occidentalis* Nutt.

The name is not clear. The only reddish part of the larch is its young staminate inflorescence. The decoction is used as a wash or bath for babies. It is believed to make them strong and healthy.

*teuelsta'm*,<sup>35</sup> *Ceanothus velutinus* Dougl.

This is another name for *Ceanothus velutinus* and is used only by the Spences Bridge division and is said to be really a Shuswap name.

*upal'letza*; "bushy skin or covering"; unidentified.

It is used as a medicine, but no particulars were learned as to its use or preparation.

<sup>34</sup> See *moka sā'elp*, p. 475.

<sup>35</sup> See under *hux' xā'lp*, p. 457.

*ūp<sup>w</sup>ū'pt*; <sup>36</sup> "thick or bushy"; unidentified.

The stems and leaves of the plant are toasted until brittle, then crushed very fine. The powder is mixed with grease or with tree gum. It is used as an ointment for pains in the legs and for rheumatism. Sometimes the fresh plant is crushed and applied as a poultice for rheumatic swellings.

*wâwâqai'n*; pipsissewa; *Chimaphila umbellata occidentalis* (Rydb.) Blake.

A decoction of the leaves is drunk as a tonic for general indisposition. It is considered by the white man to have tonic properties.

*wupapei'tx<sup>u</sup>*; "bushy leaves"; avens; *Geum* sp.

The roots are used as a medicine, but no particular use was learned.

*wup<sup>w</sup>upke'qen*; "bushy or clustered head" or flower; pentstemon; *Pentstemon confertus coeruleo-purpureus* A. Gray.

This name is also given to another plant with a large bushy head which is unidentified. It is said to be used as a medicine, but no particulars concerning its use were learned. *Pentstemon confertus* is more commonly known by the name *.skomkemozc'ken*. Its particular uses are given under this name.

*xa'sxast*, *xas.é'etsa*; "scent" or "body scent"; *Hierochloe odorata* (L.) Wahlenb.

An infusion and also a decoction are used as washes for the hair and body.

*xilaxilū'pa*; "*Potentilla anserina* stalk"; avens; *Geum* sp.

It is said to be so named because it closely resembles *Potentilla anserina*. Both have yellow flowers.

A strong decoction of the root is drunk for the measles, smallpox, chicken pox, and any disease which develops a rash. If the decoction becomes dark colored it will drive the sickness out as a rash or pox. If after long boiling the decoction does not become dark it will not be effective. The Indians say that during the last smallpox epidemic no one died who used it.

*xoxozei'tx<sup>u</sup>*; <sup>37</sup> "sharp leaf"; *Luetkea pectinata* (Pursh) Kuntze.

*zenē'x<sup>u</sup>*, *zenū'x<sup>u</sup>*; water hemlock; *Cicuta vagans* Greene.

Men, both the sound and the sick, sometimes eat very small portions of the fresh or dried root. They first take a drink of prepared salmon oil or of the oil from the brew in which salmon heads have been boiled. The effect is at first distressing. The person has more or less severe pains and vomiting usually follows. The evil effects disappear completely in about three days or less and are followed by a feeling of exhilaration or of energy and perfect wellness.

*ziziei'us*, <sup>38</sup> *zezeā'us*; "encircled"; pipsissewa; *Chimaphila umbellata occidentalis* (Rydb.) Blake.

It is said to be so named because of the arrangement of the leaves encircling the base of the stem. The fresh plant is crushed into a pulp and applied as a poultice to swellings, especially to those of the legs and feet. A warm decoction of the leaves is drunk profusely by women immediately before and after childbirth. Its use for this latter purpose is not very general. The first name is used by Lower Thompson Indians, the second by the Upper Thompson Indians.

<sup>36</sup> See under *melemene'lp*, p. 463.

<sup>38</sup> See under *mala'men en eskw'isit*, p. 463.

<sup>37</sup> See under *szozozi'etz<sup>u</sup>*, p. 472.

*zól.kūé'tp*; western chokecherry; *Prunus demissa* (Nutt.) Walp.

The bark is boiled and the decoction is drunk as a tonic. Women are said to take it to strengthen them after childbirth.

*zoū't*; unidentified.

This name is given to two plants, both unidentified. One of these, the real *zoū't*, is said not to grow in the Thompson Indian country but in the Okanagon country within the United States and beyond to the south.

This plant is used as a remedy for colds. A decoction of the stems, fresh or dried, is drunk. The dried stems are chewed or sniffed like smelling salts. Some say the fresh stems may be used as well as the dried ones.

## PLANTS USED AS FOOD

### ROOTS

Roots and underground stems as well as berries and other fruits have always been used by the Thompson. In their mythology they speak of living on game, roots, and berries. Few plants with edible roots have been overlooked by them. They have been used as food, for chewing, medicine, dyes, for basket material, and cordage. The finding, digging, and gathering was woman's work. The abundance and nutritive value of fleshy roots and underground stems makes them particularly important as a source of food and many of them are rich in medicinal properties. Their abundance is accounted for by the Thompson River tribes as due to a powerful woman who lived at Lytton. She was taken away by a great chief, some say the Sun. She wanted to leave provisions for her people so she dropped edible roots at Botani, saying that "Roots will grow in abundance in this place; and all my children shall repair here to dig them."<sup>39</sup> Although roots are not as perishable as fruits, they readily decompose if not subjected to treatment after digging, so the Thompson preserved them along with underground stems for future use, usually by desiccation. The roots were hung up to dry after being strung on shredded bark or grass. After proper drying they were stored in or near their habitations or in caches. The fresh roots were eaten raw or cooked, but as a rule the roots received at least a little cooking, as it adds greatly to their taste and digestibility. They were either boiled or more commonly roasted. The same method of cooking was employed with the fresh as with the dried roots and usually large quantities were cooked at a time. Ovens were made in the earth and the roots were baked.<sup>40</sup> Another method of cooking was by boiling in vessels made of cedar root or birch bark. The water was made to boil in the usual way by insertion of red-hot stones. They were also steamed by pouring

<sup>39</sup> Folktales of Salishan and Sahaptin tribes. *Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society*, vol. xi, 1917, p. 21.

<sup>40</sup> Detailed description of these ovens is given in James Teit, *The Thompson Indians of British Columbia*, Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, vol. II, 1900, pp. 236, 237.

water over hot stones and having the roots so arranged as to be surrounded by the steam as it was given off. Usually they were cooked with meats or sometimes flavored by cooking other plants with them. For example, some roots were flavored with the flowers and stems of *Fragaria californica*. Very often roots were combined with berries and animal fat, especially deer fat, all being boiled together. Deer's blood, a delicacy, was sometimes added to such a combination. Roots, however, were not as often used with animal fat as berries. Although the Indians still gather, preserve, and cook the roots as of old, they do not use them in large quantities but mainly supplementary to other foods.

The digging stick was the only implement used in digging the roots. The ground where the roots were dug was considered common property. The calendar is based upon moons which shine during seasons when roots were ready to be dug or berries or other fruits were ready to be picked. At Spences Bridge the "seventh moon" was designated as "the people dig roots" moon.

In listing the plants I have separated the roots and underground stems botanically; but, so far as their importance, use, and preparation are concerned, there is no difference between roots and underground stems.

Among plants with edible roots that were used by the Thompson we may note the most important:

*Peucedanum*, of which there are over 40 related species; many of these are found growing along the Pacific coast. A great number of them have edible fleshy roots, often over an inch in diameter, whitish flesh, full of starch, some sugar, albuminoids, and mucilage. A faint celery taste is observable, and although they are usually cooked they are palatable raw.

Balsamorhiza or balsam-root bears a very solid deep root with a thick rind. This, as well as *Peucedanum*, is not only important as a food but also as a medicine. It is palatable raw or cooked. Even the young stalks and seeds are sometimes used.

*Lewisia rediviva*, bitterroot, is another important Thompson Indian food. Its roots are thin and twisted and the rind is very bitter, hence the common name "bitterroot." The inner part is white and farinaceous, lacks sugar, and is palatable only after cooking because of too much bitterness in the raw state. Other roots used extensively by the Thompson follow:

*hātce'ius*, *hatce'us*, *atce'ius*; tied or fastened; unidentified.

This plant is so named from the form of the roots which are connected together one below the other. The roots are cooked before eating.

*hweshwesā'nEk*, *hwesā'nEk*, *x'wisê'nak*; "anoointed belly;" unidentified.

The meaning of this name is not clear. The roots are cooked and eaten.

*ka'kema, a'kema; Peucedanum* sp.

This plant is probably some species of *Peucedanum*. It looks very much like *tlā'ko* but has a much smaller leaf. Some of the Indians said it was a kind of onion, but more thought it to be a kind of large celery like *tlā'ko*.

Both the fusiform roots and succulent stems are eaten by the Nicola and Utiā'mkt people.

*kalētsū'pa*; carrots tail; unidentified.

This name was given to the plant recently because it resembles the wild carrot; but the old people had another name for it. A few were found growing near the Thompson, a few near Lillooet, and some near Douglas Lake. The roots are seldom eaten but are used as a charm with deer's fat for success in hunting.

*ka'rlke'l, qa, zqE, z, qa.lk'il, ska'rkē'*; unidentified.

The first name is the most common form. It is also sometimes referred to by still another name, *tsapo'lemka*. The plant has a root very much like that of *tāxqai'n*, but it differs in being smaller and long and narrow. It is found below and attached to the roots of some *tāxqai'n*. The root is sweet and mealy. It is always cooked.

*kokwē'la; Peucedanum uva-ursi* (Nutt.) Jones.

The thick root is used as a food. It is often combined with the bulb of *Lilium columbianum* and salmon roe. All three are boiled together. The salmon roe had to be injured first.

This plant is mentioned in mythology; the man, *Tsuntia*, being the offspring of the connection of this root with a woman. The Lytton traded this to the Lower Thompson band.

*tlā'ko, tāqo; Peucedanum leiocarpum* Nutt.

Older Indians claim the roots were formerly eaten but do not form an important part of their diet now.

*tlkūpenū'pa*; bitter root; *Lewisia pygmaea* (A. Gray) Robinson.

The roots are eaten by some. Others say that eating the roots causes insanity. This is a recent belief, however.

*tlkūpen, tlkūpenō'e*; bitter root; *Lewisia rediviva* Pursh.

The thick, fleshy taproot is eaten and is traded by the Lytton band to the Lower Thompson. The Okanagon traded these roots also to the Lower Thompson in exchange for dried salmon.

*metsai'i, metsā'i, me.sā'i*; unidentified.

Nothing other than the name and fact that the root is eaten was learned concerning this plant.

*metsō'la*; unidentified.

It has a long narrow root which is eaten. Some say that the root and base of the stem are both eaten.

*npo'pokxen*; thistle; *Cirsium edule* Nutt.

The large roots are cooked before eating.

*pax<sup>h</sup>ha'nk, pax<sup>h</sup>ha'nk*; "passed belly" or "roundness."

This name is given to plants of *kokwē'la* whose roots have become shrunken and are not as full as the others. The term is sometimes applied to any plant whose roots are not as full as is expected.

*.shwī'pis*, *.sx<sup>w</sup>wī'pis*; thistle; *Cirsium hookerianum* Nutt.

The deep thick root is cooked before eating.

*.shwī'tok*; sweetroot; *Osmorhiza nuda* Torr.

The thick aromatic roots are eaten. They are known for their delicate flavor and are especially appetizing because of their aromatic character.

*skerke'rz*; prickly pear; *Opuntia polyacantha* Haw.

The roots and little bulbs adhering or growing to them are eaten. They are best when gathered in the spring. Like *snī'tken*, they are cooked in an earthen oven, then they are peeled, and the inside is eaten. The inside of the stalks or growing parts are also eaten in the same way.

*snī'tken*; "root of *.tskā'nēlp* or *sō'rom*"; balsam root; *Balsamorhiza sagittata* (Pursh) Nutt.

The roots are eaten and sometimes the whole plant. The Indians enjoy the whole plant when young but will eat it at any age when hungry.

*snū'kas a .tlkū'pen*, *tlkūpens a xāō'imex*; bitterroot; *Lewisia columbiana* (Howell) Robinson.

The roots, which are very fleshy but branching and rather coarse, are eaten by the Nicola and Thompson but are not eaten by the Lytton Indians. This plant bears a large number of small white flowers tinged with pink. As many as 32 blossoms have been counted on <sup>one</sup> plant.

*sō'rom*; <sup>41</sup> balsam root; *Balsamorhiza sagittata* <sup>in</sup> (Pursh) Nutt.

*.slenqa'i.n*; waterleaf; *Hydrophyllum occidentale* <sup>we</sup>, A. Gray.

The root is always cooked before eating. Cattle commonly eat this.

*.sromlēra*.

This name is given to protuberances on *snī'tken* roots. They are cut off, cooked, and eaten.

*tāxqa'i.n*; "bitter root or head"; *Leptotaenia dissecta* Nutt.

The root is very large so is usually split, then strung, and dried. It is then cooked when needed.

*tsapo'lemqa*.

This is another name for the large roots of *tāxqa'i.n*.

*tse'kelespō'*, *sī'kalespo*; thistle; *Cirsium undulatum* Nutt.

The roots are cooked before eating.

*tecpawē'l*, *teptepsawīl*; "bloody," "long-flowered stone seed"; gromwell; *Lithospermum angustifolium* Michx.

The name means "bloody." So named because of the red ends of many of the roots.

The roots, which are large and deep rooted, are cooked before eating.

*xanaxa'i.n*; bugleweed; *Lycopus uniflorus* Michx.

The roots are eaten but never in the raw state.

*xī'larīl*; silverweed; *Potentilla anserina* L.

These roots form a part of the Indian's diet, raw or more often cooked.

<sup>41</sup> See *snī'tken*, p. 480.

## UNDERGROUND STEMS

*c'tx<sup>u</sup>wa*, *et.hwa*; camas or quamash; *Quamasia quamash* (Pursh) Coville.

This is one of the most valuable native edible bulbs of the Indian of the Pacific coast. It is sweet and nutritious; very abundant and larger than many of the other bulbs. It is globose and about 3 cm. thick. It is always cooked, as it is very insipid when eaten raw. After baking it resembles a chestnut in appearance and taste. The plant is very attractive, bearing beautiful light-blue flowers. It is a favorite food of the Indians, being eaten by those of California, Oregon and the northwestern plateaus. In some cases it is mixed with *Alectoria jubata*, a dark thread-like lichen.

*qaka'uāx*, *qā'wax*, *mū'la*; fritillary; *Fritillaria lanceolata* Pursh.

The thick scaly bulbs are cooked before eating.

*kala'ua*; *kēlā'ua*; nodding onion; *Allium cernuum* Roth.

The thick lance-ovoid bulb, often purplish in color, is eaten after cooking. The plant is very abundant. The bulbs of all species are eaten. Its volatile oil gives it a very strong scent.

*kalaū'pa*, *kalauā'pa*, *kakwa'mtea*; onion tail or leaf; cluster lily; *Triteleia grandiflora* Lindl.

The first name was given by the Nicola people. The last two names are used by the Lytton Indians. This plant bears many flowers on a stalk. Twenty-one blue blossoms have been counted on one plant. The globose bulbs are fibrous-coated and were eaten formerly but are not used as a food now.

*makaō'ēza*; sagebrush mariposa; *Calochortus macrocarpus* Dougl.

The coated starchy corms are eaten by both Indians and whites. The plant is very abundant all along the Pacific coast.

*.nke'kaka*; prairie wild onion; *Allium stellatum* Ker.

The Utā'mkt eat the ovoid bulbs which have a very thin coat and are reddish in color. The other Indians seldom eat them.

*shū'xelka*; bulrush; *Scirpus* sp.

This plant has a wide distribution along the Pacific coast. The thick, fleshy rootstocks of one species were baked and eaten. It is called "tule" in the Pacific States.

*sī'tea* (Lytton), *.nsi.tea* (Lytton), *.sci.teo* (Spences Bridge), *.stei'teo* (Utā'mkt); "very large plants of *kakwa'mtea*"; cluster lily; *Triteleia grandiflora* Lindl.

The very large bulbs are eaten by the Lytton, Spences Bridge, and Utā'mkt Indians.

*.skā'metc*, *.skā'matc*; glacier lily; *Erythronium grandiflorum* Pursh and *Erythronium grandiflorum parviflorum* Wats.

The small membranous-coated corms are cooked and eaten. They are too small to be used by the white man. They are only a little larger than a peanut.

*smēl.mē'l*, *smēl.mē'l*; fritillary; *Fritillaria* sp.

The flower of some species of *Fritillaria* have checkered markings on the perianth and these markings gave the flower its name from the Latin *fritillus*, meaning chessboard. The Thompson Indians, Similkameen, and Utā'mkt eat the bulbs.

.sxiē'Em (best form), .sxi'im, .sxi'ām, .sxi'Em, .sxi'em;  
cluster lily; *Triteleia grandiflora* Lindl.

The above names may be given to different varieties of *Triteleia grandiflora*. The Spences Bridge Indians say that it is related to *T. grandiflora* but differs from it in that it grows low, bears only one blue flower, and grows in a different habitat, viz, the valley. Other Indians say that the other names apply to smaller nonflowering or seldom flowering varieties. They eat the bulbs.

cā'ak; bracken; *Pteridium aquilinum* (L.) Kuhn.

The rootstock is cooked and eaten.

tatū'En, tatū'Enūpa; spring beauty; *Claytonia lanceolata* Pursh.

Some Lytton Indians apply the name *tatū'Enūpa* to *Moneses uniflora*. The corm, which is small and oval, is eaten. It is sometimes called Indian potato.

tcā'wek, tcā'wak; panther lily; *Lilium parviflorum* (Hook.) Holz.

The thick scaly bulbs are eaten. The bulbs of *Lilium columbianum* Hanson and salmon roe which has previously been buried are boiled with this and the combination makes a favorite dish.

tsapī'as, tsepī'as, tsepe'as; onion; *Allium acuminatum* Hook.

The thick coated spherical bulbs are eaten. They are borne solitary.

tseltselka'ia; "root of kou't"; broad-leaved cat-tail; *Typha latifolia* L.

The farinaceous rootstock forms an important part of the Indian's diet. It is seldom eaten by the white man.

tsī'kwa, tsu'kwa, tsi'kua; bracken; *Pteridium aquilinum* (L.) Kuhn.

A kind of brake but not the common brake. The rootstock is considered very nutritious. It is liked by the Indian but not by the white man, who in cases of necessity sometimes eats it.

wetsamā't; water parsnip; *Sium laeve* Walt.

This plant often grows in water with the leaves submerged; then they are twice or thrice pinnatifid. The rootstock or rhizome is the part eaten. Cattle often eat this.

x<sup>u</sup>ālā'uxēza, x<sup>u</sup>ālā'uroza; fritillary; *Fritillaria pudica* (Pursh) Spreng.

This is one of the first plants to be dug in the spring. They bear bulbs of numerous small rounded scales, which make them a satisfactory food.

#### STEMS ABOVE GROUND, LEAVES, AND FLOWERING TOPS

awī'a; black moss; *Alectoria jubata* Acharius.

The whole plant, a true lichen, is cooked and eaten.

elī'la; salmonberry; *Rubus spectabilis* Pursh.

The young shoots are very fleshy and sweet and are eaten whenever they can be found.

Young shoots of *elī'la* are called *lax<sup>u</sup>'n*.

hā'ko, ka'go; cow parsnip; *Heracleum lanatum* Michx.

The young stalks are pulled, peeled, and eaten raw. They resemble our rhubarb but are not so succulent and are much more fibrous. It is a common food of cattle.

ka'kema, a'kema; *Peucedanum* sp.

This plant was not identified as to species. The Indians call it a kind of celery. Some, however, claim it to be a kind of onion. Both the roots and stalks are eaten.



*qí'mís, qa'mas, qé'mês*; variety of mushroom; *Agaricus* sp.

This mushroom is very large and grows around Lytton and is found west of Lytton also. The mushrooms are plucked, strung, and hung up to dry.

When wanted, they are cut in pieces, peeled, and eaten raw. Sometimes they are roasted for a few minutes.

*kuslei'a*; unidentified.

The leaves of this plant are fern-like in appearance and always green. It grows on dead trees, rocks, and in moss. The young leafy shoots are eaten.

*laxí'n*; <sup>42</sup> "young shoots of *elí'la*"; salmonberry; *Rubus spectabilis* Pursh.

*lí'tka*; "variety of mushroom"; *Agaricus* sp.

This, like *kí'mís*, is plucked, strung, and dried. Before eating it is cut into pieces, peeled, and eaten raw or slightly roasted.

*tlá'ko*; wild celery or Indian consumption plant; *Peucedanum leiocarpum* Nutt.

The stalks are peeled and eaten as celery. The plant is thought to have medicinal properties, which have been discussed under medicinal plants.

*maka'ēza*; sagebrush mariposa; *Calochortus macrocarpus* Dougl.

The flower buds are eaten and are very sweet, due to nectar glands.

Often the unopened flowers are picked and eaten raw.

*metlka'i*; "variety of mushroom"; *Agaricus* sp.

Nothing was learned concerning this plant other than that the mushroom was eaten. It was probably treated in the same way as *kí'mís*.

*mitcaxí'n*; white-bark raspberry; *Rubus leucodermis* Dougl.

The young shoots were eaten especially by the Utá'mkt.

*.ntū'*; lodgepole black pine and shore pine; *Pinus murrayana* Balf. and *Pinus contorta* Land.

The name *.ntuā'uk* was often used, meaning "cambium layer." This cambium layer and the sap of the black pine are eaten especially in the spring when they are most abundant. The Indians frequently used the term *.ntutā'nem* when referring to this plant. It means "to gather and eat *.ntū'*."

In the spring the cambium layer was removed from other trees, as the western yellow pine, *Pinus ponderosa* Dougl.; the spruce, *Picea* sp.; the great silver fir, *Abies grandis* Lindl.; and the Douglas fir, *Pseudotsuga mucronata* (Raf.) Sudw.

These are all Gymnosperms. Of the Angiosperms only the quaking aspen, *Populus tremuloides* Michx., and sometimes the alder, *Alnus rubra* Bong., were used as a source of cambium. To obtain it the bark was separated from the tree by a piece of horn or wood and the cambium was then scraped off with a sharp bone or horn implement. Now it is scraped off with a steel knife.

*.shā'ket, .shāketé'lp*; "leaf," "stalk"; blooming sally; *Epilobium angustifolium* L.

The young shoots are eaten raw, chiefly by the Utá'mkt.

<sup>42</sup> See *elí'la*, p. 482.

*shū'xelka*; bulrush; *Scirpus* sp.

The pollen and flowering spikes of a species (not learned) of *Scirpus* were occasionally eaten. Children in the country delight in eating this when they find it.

*skaamā'lk*; "tree milk"; fir; *Abies* sp.

The fir trees have great quantities of resin which is exuded from the needles, branches, and cones. It congeals and these masses of gum, very sweet and pleasing to the taste, are collected and chewed. After chewing a while it is swallowed. This gum is enjoyed by the white man.

*.snel'ekō's*; vegetable oyster; *Tragopogon porrifolius* L.

This name is particularly used by the Nicola and Spences Bridge Indians. Some plants yield a latex which when exposed to the air coagulates, and the Indians chew this mass. *Tragopogon* yields such a latex, and the Indians break the plant at the base of the stem. The sweet, milky juice exudes and dries in a lump. It is chewed and later swallowed. Two or three other plants are used in the same way, but the names of these were not learned. This is a species of the white man's common vegetable salsify.

*snū'kas a tlā'kō*; "friend of *tlā'ko*"; *Peucedanum leiocarpum* (Nutt.) Jones.

This seems to be the same plant as *tlā'ko*. It may be a different variety. It smells like *tlā'ko* and the flowers and plant in general seem to be the same. The stalks are eaten like those of *tlā'ko*.

*sō'xom, sō'xem*; <sup>43</sup> balsam root; *Balsamorhiza sagittata* (Pursh) Nutt.

The young scapose stems are a favorite food of the Indians. The stalks were soaked in water for twenty-four hours before eating. They were peeled and eaten raw.

*.stsē'uxe, stsū'xe*; western yellow pine; *Pinus ponderosa* Dougl.

The outer bark is removed from the young twigs and the cambium is eaten. See under *.ntū'*.

*stsū'mka*; balsam root; *Balsamorhiza sagittata* (Pursh) Nutt.

The roots bear a thick edible crown which is cut off and chewed or sucked by the Indians. See also *sō'xom*.

*.sxa'tkel, .sxi'tke'l*; common blackcap; *Rubus occidentalis* L.

The sprouts or young shoots of the bushes are pulled and eaten like rhubarb.

*tsêwe'ta*; *Peucedanum leiocarpum* Nutt.

There is some doubt about this plant. Some say the name refers to "leaves of *tlā'ko*" and that the leaves are eaten. Others say not, but no other information was obtained.

*wā'zeza*; balsam root; *Balsamorhiza sagittata* (Pursh) Nutt.

This name refers to the young stalks with leaves of *snūlken*. They are eaten raw but are often boiled.

No Indian name.

The Indian and botanical names of this plant were not obtained. The plant grows in damp, wet, or watery places and comes up early in the spring. The leaves were gathered and eaten raw. They taste like lettuce.

No Indian name; cactus; *Opuntia* sp.

The Spences Bridge band peeled the stems of a species of *Opuntia* and either baked them in the ground ovens or steamed them.

<sup>43</sup> See under *.stsū'mka*, p. 484.

## FLESHY FRUITS, BERRIES, DRUPES

Fleshy fruits, exemplified by berries and drupes, have always made up a great part of the vegetable food of the Indian. They are the most conspicuous of the food parts of a plant and are the most palatable of all foods eaten in the raw state, and together with roots and underground stems made up the vegetal food of the Thompson. In the main they were gathered from wild plants which were found growing in the vicinity. Berries have always been picked by women. In one of the myths of the Nicola Valley describing the adventures of the coyote, he is described as having been heard crying by women picking berries. Also in a story of two Lytton girls who had been stolen by giants they are described as being happy because the giants took them to a place where they could pick plenty of huckleberries.<sup>44</sup>

Almost every variety of plant yielding a fleshy edible fruit was used by the Thompson. Among those yielding the greatest amount and having the greatest distribution are the service berry, bullberry, blueberry, chokeberry, raspberry, thimbleberry, blackberry, gooseberry, strawberry, currant, bearberry, elderberry, and hawthorn berry. The saskatoon, *Amelanchier alnifolia*, although sometimes called service berry is really a small pome, and was one of the great favorites and of wide distribution, growing in almost the entire temperate region of the United States. Species of the buffalo berry, *Shepherdia*, are also of wide distribution and were always eaten when obtainable.

The fruit of salal, *Gaultheria shallon*, was another favorite. Rose hips, chokeberries, gooseberries, elderberries, currants, blackberries, and wild grapes were perhaps those most commonly gathered on the Pacific coast. The picking, preparation, and storage was always done by the women.

The keeping qualities of fruits are not very good. The best way to keep them is by drying, but they are not so palatable after drying. Instead of being strung up to dry, as the roots so often were, the berries and rose hips were dried by being exposed to the sun on mats. They were turned at intervals so that all surfaces would be equally exposed. Sometimes the Lytton band of the Thompson used small frames made of split cedar wood for drying cakes made from the berries. Making cakes of berries was a common way of preparing them for eating. These cakes were made by boiling the berries by the usual means, i. e., hot stones in a cedar-root or birch-bark vessel. After boiling, the berries were mashed or kneaded and then spread thickly on a table of pine needles or other leaves and exposed to the sun and wind to dry. The juice which had boiled out of the berries was poured over them as they dried, forming cakes. Any juice in

<sup>44</sup> Folktales of Salishan and Sahaptin Tribes, *Memoirs of American Folk-Lore Society*, vol. xi, 1917, p. 22.

excess was drunk. Berries were often combined with animal fat, especially deer fat. The two were mashed with pestles on large flat stones and sometimes boiled together.

The moons were divided partly according to the food that was to be gathered. The Spences Bridge band named the "eighth moon" *kwekwé'kwäit*, which is the diminutive plural of *kwä'it*, meaning "ripe"; therefore it meant "a little ripe." The "ninth moon" was called *têxwanzei'kêntin*, meaning "middle time," when all the berries were ripe. All the bands had some such division of the seasons. They were very particular that the berries were picked only when ripe. An older custom among the Upper Thompson, now gone out of date, was to choose a woman of the tribe (or in some cases she might volunteer) to watch the berry grounds and when ripe to notify the other women of the tribe. The berrying grounds, just as the root-digging areas, were considered common property and whoever wished might pick from any patch during the harvest season.

The particular plants yielding fleshy fruits gathered and eaten by the Thompson follow:

*a'luska*, *a'leska* (sometimes used as a term for the tree), *a'leska* (sometimes used in referring to this tree); "fruit of *ka'nelp*"; black hawthorn; *Crataegus douglasii* Lindl.

This is commonly known as the thorn or haw tree. The drupe-like pome is eaten. It is black and smooth. Another species is recognized by the Indians. See *nkwi'tka*. These fruits are also eaten by the white man.

*ei'ak*, *ä'ek*; "berry of *ik'elp*"; bearberry; *Arctostaphylos uva-ursi* (L.) Spreng.

The drupes are bright red, so they are very tempting looking. They are eaten fresh and sometimes boiled in soups.

*eli'la*; salmonberry; *Rubus spectabilis* Pursh.

The fruit, a raspberry, is eaten. There are two varieties; one, which is better flavored, bears salmon-yellow fruits; the other bears reddish-black fruits. This is also a favorite fruit of the white man.

*ē'mex<sup>u</sup>*, *ē'müx*, *ē'm ux<sup>u</sup>*; whortleberry; *Vaccinium oreophilum* Rydb.

The small black nodding berries are eaten.

*kazix<sup>u</sup>'n*, *.skazix<sup>u</sup>'n*, *.skazixenê'lp*; "berries of *ka'luat*"; false wild Solomon's seal, starry false Solomon's seal, twistedstalk; *Vagnera racemosa* (L.) Morong., *Vagnera stellata* (L.) Morong., *Streptopus amplexifolius* (L.) DC.

The berries are very inviting in appearance and many are found on one plant. Great quantities of them are eaten. *.skazixenê'lp* is an Utā'mkt name, meaning "real or large *ka'luat*."

*kokoō'za*, *koko'za*; unidentified.

The Indian name and the fact that the berries were eaten are all that was learned concerning this plant.

*kó'kwel*, *ke'kwel*, *kjei'kywel*; mountain ash; *Pyrus sitchensis* (Roem.)

Piper.

The small bright red berries which grow in long clusters are occasionally eaten.

*kokamā'us*; <sup>45</sup> bald-hip rose; *Rosa gymnocarpa* Nutt.

*koxwa'p*; Oregon crab; *Malus fusca* Raf.

This fruit, a small fleshy pome, is eaten to some extent by the Utā'mkt. It is purplish when ripe, and tart.

*kū'kens*; cranberry bush; *Viburnum pauciflorum* Pylaie.

This shrub bears very few fruits. The small drupes are globose and light red. They are very acid but are eaten nevertheless.

*kumtee'n.s*; American cranberry bush; *Viburnum trilobum* Marsh.

This is sometimes called the high-bush cranberry tree and grows on the high mountains in mossy swamps. The true cranberry is a vine, while this is a shrub growing as tall as 3 meters. The fruit is a very large acid red berry.

*kwō'qwōx*, *.sko'kwāx*; blackberry; *Rubus macropetalus* Dougl.

The sweet blackberries are eaten by both the Indian and the white man.

*laā'za*; squaw currant; *Ribes cereum* Dougl.

This bush is known as the earliest leafing shrub in the spring in the Upper Thompson Indian country. The fruit is a bright orange-red insipid berry.

*ū'tse*; blueberry; *Vaccinium* sp.

These plants bear large bluish-black berries with few seeds. They are eaten in large quantities. Most species are gathered by the white man also

*lēxihū'ēza*, *tlaxiū'ēza*; "little sweet berry"; saskatoon; *Amelanchier alnifolia* Nutt.

This is another variety of the service berries and the drupes are eaten wherever found. See under *shū's*.

*mē'tcak*; whitebark raspberry; *Rubus leucodermis* Dougl.

The fruit is dark reddish-purple, nearly black, with a bloom; hemispheric. The berries are eaten.

*.nsnuslé'lepa*; American strawberry; *Fragaria vesca americana* Porter.

This large wild strawberry is one of their favorite fruits. It is also a favorite of the white man. It has been naturalized from Europe.

*.nkwé'tka*; hawthorn; *Crataegus columbiana* Howell.

The scarlet pear-shaped pome is eaten. The Indians have distinguished two varieties of this and each has its name. See *a'luska*.

*.sā'itsk*, *.se'itsk*; raspberry; *Rubus* sp.

The species of this plant was not learned. The berries were gathered and eaten.

*semaxī'tsxen*; "variety of huckleberry"; *Vaccinium ovatum* Pursh.

This plant bears sweet reddish-black berries, sometimes with a bloom. They are much gathered by the Indians.

*.shwī'sa*, *.shwī'za*; red-flowered currant; *Ribes sanguineum* Pursh.

The Utā'mkt and Lytton peoples especially eat these berries. They are black and densely glaucous, making them a grayish black. The berries are very sweet but insipid.

<sup>45</sup> See *sqapiē'lp*, p. 488.

*sihū's*; "good face or surface or berry"; saskatoon; *Amelanchier alnifolia* Nutt.

These small berrylike pomes are very juicy. The outer skin is purplish with a heavy bloom; sometimes it is 5 mm. thick. The Indians distinguish between six different varieties by name. The white man eats these fruits but not in quantity.

*skā'tū'x*, *skētū'x*; blackberry; *Rubus macropetalus* Dougl.

This is a creeping plant with a slightly elongated hemispheric fruit. The Indians gather it whenever they can find it, as it is sweet and juicy. It is nearly black with a slight bloom.

*ské'to'*; this is the same as *skā'tū'x*.

*.skā'u*, *.sqeā'u*, *.skya'ū*; mountain ash; *Pyrus sitchensis* (Roem.) Piper.

This variety of mountain ash has larger red fruits than many of the others. They are eaten but are not a staple. Some of the Upper Thompson Indians do not eat them.

*.sqapi'ē'tp*; bald-hip rose; *Rosa gymnocarpa* Nutt.

The fruit is berry-like in appearance. The true fruits, the achenes, are buried in the calyx-like enlargement of the receptacle. The fruits are small, about 6 mm. long; ellipsoid. They are occasionally eaten but are more often strung and used as beads by the children.

*sqoki'ē'p*; California strawberry; *Fragaria californica* Cham. & Schlecht.

The berry was usually eaten fresh. Sometimes it was washed and dried and stored for winter use.

*.sqóqwā'u*, *skukwa'u*.

These names are applied to varieties of *Rosa gymnocarpa* and the fruits are used like those of the latter.

*.skī'kem*; white-flowering raspberry; *Rubus parviflorus* Nutt. or *Rubus nutkanus* Moç.

This fruit is gathered in large quantities. It is a red juicy fruit about 2 cm. broad. It is sweet and of an exceptionally pleasant flavor. It is eaten by the white man in great quantities from the State of Washington up to Alaska.

*sniki'ēpū'psa*; saskatoon; *Amelanchier alnifolia* Nutt.

This is a mountain variety of *Amelanchier alnifolia*. It also bears edible fruits.

*sō.pū's*, *sō.pusē'lp*; "hairy face plant"; prickly currant; *Ribes lacustre* Poir.

The berry is small and black. It is eaten especially by the Utā'mkt.

*spazū's*; cherry; *Prunus emarginata* (Dougl.) Walp.

The oblong drupe is bright red and looks delicious, but it is not eaten very much because of its bitterness.

*spēkpa'k*; saskatoon; *Amelanchier alnifolia* Nutt.

This plant is a mountain variety of *Amelanchier alnifolia*. The drupes are very sweet. They are gathered and often cured for keeping.

*.stcō'.qem*; "berries of *.stcō.qemē'lp* or *kweistemēlp*"; saskatoon; *Amelanchier alnifolia* Nutt.

This is the common service berry with the small berry-like pome. The fruits are gathered in great abundance, eaten fresh, and many preserved for future use.

*.stcō'.kems a snaiy'*; "berries of *īaxē'xlp*"; snowberry; *Symphoricarpos albus* (L.) Blake.

The fruits are very attractive in appearance. They are globular, white, and large; about a quarter of an inch in diameter. They are called "dead people's berries," or "berries of the dead," as they are thought to be poisonous and fatal if eaten in any numbers.

*.steltā'laux*; wild sarsaparilla; *Aralia nudicaulis* L.

The berries are borne in great numbers in umbels. They are not eaten to any great extent, although the fruits are thought to have tonic properties. The white man does not eat them but gathers them with their stems for decorative purposes.

*.steptepū'za*, *.steptapū'za*; "northern black berry"; black currant; *Ribes hudsonianum* Richards.

This is the common name for *Ribes hudsonianum*, but some apply it to *Lonicera involucrata*. The berry is eaten by the Indians, but it is especially sought by bears.

*.stseqū'pel*; "berry of *skapīē'lp*"; bald-hip roseberry; *Rosa gymnocarpa* Nutt.

This plant is a variety of *Rosa gymnocarpa*. The fruit is eaten but not in any great numbers.

*.stsī'kuk*, *.stseuk*; European red elder; *Sambucus racemosa* L.

The scarlet drupes form a part of the Indians' diet. Some of the Lytton Indians call this plant *.nkokwaxemē'lp*.

*.sxē.tsi'n*, *re.tsi'n*; gooseberry; *Grossularia irrigua* (Dougl.) Cov. & Britt.

The berries are mainly eaten fresh.

*.sxē'.zem*; "to froth"; buffaloberry; *Lepargyrea argentea* (Nutt.) Greene.

These scarlet drupe-like fruits are edible but sour. They are eaten fresh and also preserved for winter use.

*cuxcuxū'za*; bearberry honeysuckle; *Lonicera involucrata* Banks.

These berries are black and not eaten. In fact, they are said to be poisonous if more than two or three are eaten. This name is also given to *Ribes hudsonianum*.

*cuxcuxūza*; "grizzly-bear-berry"; northern black currant; *Ribes hudsonianum* Richards.

This is a globose berry, resinous-dotted, and is eaten sparingly by some and not at all by others. It is eaten especially by bears. *Lonicera involucrata* is also known by this name.

*cuxcuxhwē'lp*, *.skwe'its a cuxcuxhwē'lp*; "fruit of currant"; currants; *Ribes hudsonianum* Richards; and *Ribes viscosissimum* Pursh.

Most people use the first term as a synonym for *cuxcuxū'za*. Some Lytton people apply the term only to *Ribes viscosissimum*. The Utā'mkt use the second term for *Ribes viscosissimum*. This currant has a black berry which is very dry, and not pleasant to eat.

*tā'ka, takaēlp*; salal; *Gaultheria shallon* Pursh.

The Utā'mkt say they adopted this name from the Stalo language. The fruit is berry-like, formed of the fleshy calyx inclosing the capsule. It is black or a dark purple. The Utā'mkt eat it a great deal. It has a very pleasant taste.

*taxpā'*; "bitter gray"; red-osier dogwood; *Cornus stolonifera* Michx.

The drupes are whitish or lead color. They are not used very much as food as they are rather bitter.

*taxtexo'xsa*; "little bitter berry"; saskatoon; *Amelanchier alnifolia* Nutt.

This name is used for one of the many varieties of *Amelanchier alnifolia*. See under *sīhū's*.

*textakā'lus, tektakā'las*; unidentified.

This plant was not identified. The fruit, a red berry, is eaten mainly by the Utā'mkt. The plant is found only on the higher mountains.

*teektceko'ki ā uk*; "little redwood"; western dogwood; *Cornus pubescens* Nutt.

The little white drupes are eaten occasionally.

*tsaltsā'la*; big whortleberry and whortleberry; *Vaccinium membranaceum* Dougl. and *Vaccinium ovalifolium* Smith.

This name is given to both the above kinds of *Vacciniums*. The berries look and taste very much alike. These are especially sweet, so are favorite fruits.

*tsā'lza, cini*; "tart berry"; Oregon hollygrape; *Berberis aquifolium* Pursh and *Berberis nervosa* Pursh.

Both of these plants are called *tsā'lza*, but sometimes *cini* is used for the prickly or curled *tsā'lza* and *tsā'lza* is used to designate the tall or smooth *tsā'lza*. The berries of *Berberis aquifolium* are pear shaped, black, with a bloom. *Berberis nervosa* bears globose berries, a purple-black with a white bloom. The latter are very acid, which accounts for the name, meaning "tart berry."

*tsi'quk, tsī'kwuk*; blueberry elder; *Sambucus caerulea* Raf.

The fruit of this plant is a black berry-like drupe of three to five nutlets. Its surface is very glaucous. A great deal of this fruit is eaten fresh and much of it is dried for future use.

*tcōktceko'za, tcōktceko'ksa*; "red berry"; red whortleberry; *Vaccinium parvifolium* Smith.

The berries are bright red, acid, but of an agreeable flavor. The Indians gather them in great quantities.

*x<sup>u</sup>wu'ix<sup>u</sup>wek, x<sup>u</sup>wū'x<sup>u</sup>wak*; *Vaccinium* sp.

This is some species of *Vaccinium*. The berries, as of all other kinds of *Vaccinium*, are eaten.

*zol.kū'*; western chokecherry; *Prunus demissa* (Nutt.) Dietr.

The dark purple drupe is used by the Indians as part of their diet. The fruit is sweet but slightly astringent.



## NUTS AND SEEDS

From the knowledge at hand the Thompson Indians do not seem to have used as many plants for their nuts and seeds as Indians of other areas. Many of the common plants yielding edible nuts and seeds, as species of *Helianthus*<sup>46</sup> and *Chenopodium*, and *Pinus monophylla*, were not found in the limits of the Cascade area of the Thompson. Several species of *Juniperus* yield edible berry-like cones and are eaten by most Indians, but there is no evidence that the Thompson ate them. The seeds of *Pinus ponderosa* were eaten to a slight extent, but their favorite seed was a large one, that of *Pinus albicaulis*. The cones were gathered after the seeds matured, early in the fall. The scales were tightly closed. To make them open, the cones were spread out on the ground and exposed to the sun. Very soon the scales opened and the seeds were forced out by knocking the cones against a hard surface. Many were cached in dry places for future use. They were eaten raw or roasted. They were usually more palatable after being roasted, usually in hot ashes. Many were stored after roasting. The seeds were often combined with berries, especially the service berry, and eaten at once or stored. In many cases the seeds were parched and pounded into a fine flour in a mortar. This flour was mixed with water, forming a mush. The few seeds and nuts that the Thompson gathered were from the following plants: *kapū'x*, *kapū'x ālp*; hazelnut; *Corylus californica* Rose.

These nuts are not only eaten but they also constitute an article of trade.<sup>47</sup>

They are often shelled in small quantities by putting them inside their moccasins and running on them.

*metlamens a mī'kto*.

The name of this plant was not ascertained. It resembled a vetch in form of growth and bore fragrant blue flowers. The plant was picked and dried, then powdered in a mortar with the boiled brains of deer. This was mixed with *mī'kto* seeds and the whole mixture thoroughly pounded and again mixed. This concoction had a fine flavor, much like that of nuts. The plant was plentiful in Nicola.

*mī'kto*; "seeds of balsam root"; balsam root; *Balsamorhiza sagittata* (Pursh) Nutt.

The ripe seeds (which are really inclosed in the fruit, an achene) are often eaten raw. The seeds are sometimes pounded in a mortar and the flour mixed with other foods. After cleaning them they may be prepared still another way. They are put in a basket with deer's fat or grease and boiled with hot stones, then allowed to cool. The cooled mass is made into small cakes and eaten.

*stsī'k<sup>u</sup>*, *.stse'.k*; yellow pine; *Pinus ponderosa* Dougl.

The seeds, which are of fairly good size, are eaten, but not in great quantities.

The seeds of reasonable size of any pine afford a great supply of food for the Indian as well as for the white. They are commonly called "nuts."

<sup>46</sup> The sunflower has been introduced along with the cucumber and their seeds are now eaten, but it is a recent introduction and no Indian name has been given to either of these plants.

<sup>47</sup> See *Pinus albicaulis*, p. 492.

Many are of considerable size, as that of the *Pinus monophylla*, and nutritious, being especially rich in oil. They are often bitter if eaten raw, so they are usually roasted.

No Indian name; whitebark pine; *Pinus albicaulis* Engelm.

The distribution of this tree is very limited. It is found mainly in the Cascade Mountains and vicinity. It is a scraggly tree with nearly white bark; hence the common name, whitebark pine. Its cone bears large, edible seeds which are a favorite food of the upper divisions of the Thompson Indians. They were often cooked, either in the ovens or roasted over the fire. They were sometimes preserved for winter use by cooking, crushing, and mixing with dried service berries. They were kept dry in sacks until needed. Often the Lower Thompson Indians would exchange hazelnuts for these pine seeds.

No Indian name; *Helianthus* sp. and *Cucumis* sp.

The seeds of the cucumber and of the sunflower were eaten in quantities, especially by the children, but these have been introduced. They are not native to this area. No Indian name was obtained for them, and their introduction must have been fairly recent.

#### PLANTS OR PARTS OF PLANTS CHEWED

The Indians chewed gum quite extensively. In every area we find a few plants yielding either a sticky substance which, upon being exposed to the air, coagulates, or a gummy substance being exuded from the stems of trees as in the case of so many of the conifers. Many of the Compositae family also yield a gummy substance in their stalks which may be gathered and chewed. The Thompson used four or five plants because of their milky juice, which flowed out and solidified when stem or root was broken. The other great source was the gum exuded by the conifers of that region. These gums were sometimes chewed as medicines, which I have described before.

The specific plants used by the Thompson follow:

*.selielitū'nEl, elie'litū'nEl*; <sup>48</sup> "cough or cold"; everlasting; *Antennaria* sp.

*malā'mEn En Eskwī'sit*, <sup>48</sup> "medicine for childbirth"; rattlesnake-plantain; *Peramium decipiens* (Hook.) Piper.

*.skwaatī'nElp, .skwatī'nElp*; "chew or thing for chewing plant"; hawkweed; *Hieracium* sp.

Two or three species of *Hieracium* are used for chewing for pleasure. Large leaves of the larger plants are broken off and a milky juice exudes at the breaking point. This coagulates and becomes gummy. It is sometimes chewed to cleanse the mouth. Pieces of the green plants are often broken off and chewed.

*.snalaqō's*; <sup>49</sup> unidentified.

<sup>48</sup> See under plants used as medicines, p. 457.

<sup>49</sup> Chewed the same as *.skwatī'nElp*, p. 492.

*.sneləkō's*; vegetable oyster; *Tragopogon* sp.

This term is especially used by the Nicola Indians and refers to several plants chewed by the Indians besides salsify. The base of the stem is broken and a sweet, milky juice exudes. When dry, it is chewed with great enjoyment by the Indians.

*.snū'kas a pesamī'n*; fleabane; *Erigeron* sp.

The particular species of *Erigeron* was not learned. The whole plant is dried and chewed mainly as a remedy for sore throat.

*soxemkekens a xaū'imex*; *Agoseris villosa* Rydb.

The stem is full of a milky juice which exudes when broken. After solidifying, it is removed and chewed as gum by the Indians.

*.stsū'mka*; balsam root; *Balsamorhiza sagittata* (Pursh) Nutt.

The part of the root from which the stem grows is cut away and sucked and chewed. It is said to relieve hunger.

*tee'kwelax*; "red"; western larch; *Larix occidentalis* Nutt.

The gum which exudes from the trunk and branches is chewed for pleasure.

*zī'x'hwāēlp, .sī'xwa*; western white pine; *Pinus monticola* Dougl.

The trunk and branches of this tree exude a gummy substance which is collected and chewed.

#### PLANTS MADE INTO NONMEDICINAL DRINKS

While water has always been the most important drink of man, it has never been the only one. The juice of fruits and the sap of trees have also been used as beverages. The Thompson Indians seldom drank fresh water with their meals, but drank that in which the meat or food had been prepared, or other drinks made from certain plants. None were used to exhilarate or stimulate nor were any plants used to prepare alcoholic drinks. An infusion of the leaves, stems, and roots was prepared from about a dozen plants. These were used to quench the thirst. Plants yielding medicinal drinks have been listed and described under the chapter on medicines. The list of plants used by the Thompson for nonmedicinal beverages follows:

*īqē'.lp*; bearberry; *Arctostaphylos uva-ursi* (L.) Spreng.

The leaves and young stems are just brought to a boil or merely immersed in boiling water and drunk as a tea.

*petspū'tsken*; "shaggy head"; avens; *Geum triflorum* Pursh.

The roots are boiled and drunk as a tea.

*skapkenke'ken*; "hair (of head) flower," *Geum triflorum* Pursh.

This is another name for *Geum triflorum*. It is commonly called tassel flower.

*.sqôqwā'u, skukwā'u*; bald-hip rose; *Rosa gymnocarpa* Nutt.

A tea is made by boiling the young leaves and stalks.

*.skomkemoxke'ken*; "little rounded lumps or cluster flower"; pentstemon; *Pentstemon confertus* Dougl., *coeruleo-purpureus* Gray.

A tea is made by boiling the dried stems and leaves. When to be used as a tea care must be taken not to boil the drink too long. If boiled too long, it acts as a purgative.

*snū'kas a xī'laril*; "friend of *Potentilla anserina*"; cinquefoil; *Potentilla glandulosa* Lindl.

A tea may be made by boiling the whole plant or just the leaves. It is slightly stimulant.

*stceko'qsa, stceka'koxsa*; "little red or reddish rounded"; spiraea; *Spiraea pyramidata* Greene.

A drink is made by boiling the stems, leaves, and flowers.

*steko' lko'lt tek spā'kem*; "blue flower"; heal all; *Prunella vulgaris* L.

This plant soaked in cold water makes one of the most common drinks of the Indians. It has a very wide distribution and is often used as a tonic by the white man.

*tlā'ko, lā'go*; *Peucedanum leiocarpum* Nutt.

The leaves, stems, and flowers are dried, put in water, and brought to a boil. It is very frequently drunk.

*tsqé'lp, tska'lp, tskelpa'ka*; "leaves and branches"; Douglas fir; *Pseudotsuga mucronata* (Raf.) Sudw.

A drink is made by boiling the young twigs with their leaves. It has tonic properties.

*tsi'tsertsaxt*; common juniper; *Juniperus communis* L.

A drink is prepared by boiling the stems and leaves. It is used as a tea, especially by the Utā'mkt.

*wáwáqai.n*; pipsissewa; *Chimaphila umbellata occidentalis* (Rydb.) Blake.

The stem and roots are boiled and drunk as a tea. The herb is common in this area.

*zīziēi'us, zezēā'us*; "encircled"; pipsissewa; *Chimaphila umbellata occidentalis* (Rydb.) Blake.

The first name is used by the Lower Thompson Indians, the second by the Upper Thompson Indians. A tea is made of the leaves.

#### PLANTS USED FOR SMOKING

The Thompson used a genuine tobacco plant found growing wild in the warmest valleys of that region, *Nicotiana attenuata* Torr. The leaves are much narrower and finer on the stem than in *Nicotiana tabacum* L., the common tobacco of cultivation. The preparation was simple. After flowering, the leaves were gathered, dried, and often greased. These leaves were seldom smoked alone, but mixed with leaves of other plants. *Īqé'lp*, the bearberry (*Arctostaphylos uva-ursi* (L.) Spreng. was preferred whenever obtainable and its leaves were dried and roasted before being mixed with the *Nicotiana* leaves. The plants used for smoking other than tobacco are generally called "kinnikinnick," an Algonquian word meaning "what is mixed by hand," and refers to tobacco combined with leaves or roots of some other plant to add to the flavor or to reduce its strength. Thompson Indians also mixed the leaves and roots of valerian and bearberry with the tobacco; sometimes, as in the East, dogwood bark

and arrowwood were added. One of their words, *manx*, is a general term applied to any leaves or parts of plants prepared to be used as kinnikinnick. The Thompson Indians claim that their people have always smoked. Recently both men and women smoke, but several generations ago it was considered a privilege of the men, with the exception of a few women who claimed to be "strong in medicine" and for that reason were allowed to smoke. The following six plants were commonly used as kinnikinnick:

*īqê'lp*; bearberry; *Arctostaphylos uva-ursi* (L.) Spreng.

The leaves are dried and toasted and used as a kinnikinnick with tobacco in smoking. The plant is often called *ei'ak* which means "berry of the kinnikinnick." The leaves of this plant are preferred by the Indian to any other as an addition to the tobacco leaves.

*kī'ko*; valerian; *Valeriana sylvatica* (Banks) Richards and *Valeriana sitchensis* Bong.

Both the roots and the leaves are dried and powdered and a small portion mixed with the tobacco as a flavoring. Some men always use it; others never use it.

*.sqôqwā'u*, *skukwa'u*; bald-hip rose; *Rosa gymnocarpa* Nutt.

The leaves and bark are dried, toasted, powdered, and smoked. Their use as a kinnikinnick, however, is occasional. It is more often used as a drink.

*skwoiē'lux*, *skoiē'lux*; tobacco; *Nicotiana attenuata* Torr.

The leaves of this plant are the most important source of tobacco. They are dried and toasted before being smoked. They are often greased to keep the leaves from getting too dry. Leaves of the bearberry (*Arctostaphylos uva-ursi* (L.) Spreng.) were usually dried, toasted, and mixed with them.

*sma'næ*; this term is applied to any prepared tobacco.

*teektcekó'kiäuk*, *tāxpā*; dogwood; *Cornus pubescens* Nutt and *Cornus stolonifera* Michx.

The leaves are smoked, but not to any great extent.

*tsältsālasé'lp*; whortleberry; *Vaccinium ovalifolium* Smith. and *Vaccinium parrifolium* Smith.

The leaves of these and several other kinds of *Vaccinium* are used as a kinnikinnick.

#### PLANTS USED IN MANUFACTURE

Plants were always an important element in the manufactures of the Indian. Because of its nature, wood was the most useful part of the plant used. In many areas where it was plentiful it furnished the material for habitations, and among the Thompson Indians it formed the framework of their semisubterranean huts. They used it almost exclusively for hafting their implements and weapons; for making vessels; for dugout canoes; for snowshoes; for the baby carrier; for framework for roofing; for fishhooks; for bows and arrow shafts; for drums; for clubs and other implements.

Fiber was obtained from the inner bark or the bast of the roots and stems of some plants, *Thuja gigantea* especially. It was made into

rope, twine, and thread, and used in making mats, bags, nets, blankets, and clothing. Basketry was another important plant product. The leaves and young twigs were often used as bedding and as padding.

There follows a list of the plants so used with their particular uses:

*kī'ṛ lka'tcēs*; wild ginger; *Asarum caudatum* Lindl.

The whole plant is used as a bedding for infants.

*kokwē'la*; *Peucedanum macrocarpum* Nutt.

The leaves, which are very finely divided, are used as a padding, especially on the child carrier. They are supposed to make the child sleep and in this way adds greatly to the comfort of the mother.

*koute'.tx*,<sup>50</sup> *koete'.i.tx*, *kwite'.i.tx*; common cat-tail; *Typha latifolia* L.

The stalks of these plants made excellent bedding. The stems and leaves are stripped and made into bags and mats. Floor mats and table mats are almost exclusively made of *Typha* and *Scirpus*.

*kwa'tkwēlp*; giant arbor vitae; *Thuja plicata* D. Don.

The roots are shredded and used in making basketry. The inner bark is removed and made soft by rubbing and beating. It is then split into strips of the desired width and used in the manufacture of rain cloaks, aprons, capes, bags, mats, and similar articles. It is used especially by the Utā'nkt. They also use the outside bark for covering their lodges and as a temporary flooring for the lodges. The outer bark is frequently used to kneel and sit on in the canoes; and crude vessels are made of it for bailing out the canoe when such an emergency arises. The bark when piled up often made a bed inside the lodge. The dug-out canoes were made from this tree by the Lower Thompson Indians.

*kweistēmē'lp*; saskatoon; *Amelanchier alnifolia* Nutt.

This is probably the real name as it is a very old name for *Amelanchier alnifolia*. Another name is *.stco'.qēmēlp*. The wood of this small tree is very much used in making handles and tools, as it is very hard. The root diggers are always made of it when it is available.

*kwe'itxēlp*, *kwō'i'txēlp*; Pacific dogwood; *Cornus nuttallii* Audubon.

The distribution of this dogwood is very limited. It is found mainly in British Columbia, locally running as far south as northern California. The wood is often used by the Indians for making bows. The handles of implements are often made from the wood of this shrub.

*kwō'es*, *kwō'is*, *kō'.is*; silverberry; *Elaeagnus argentea* Pursh.

The inner bark is stripped off and shredded and used as a fiber in making nets, mats, and clothing. The seeds are strung and worn as necklaces.

*kwōē't*, *kwō.i't*; shore pine or lodgepole pine; *Pinus contorta* Dougl. or *Pinus murrayana* Balf.

This name is given to this pine, which is used in manufactures, but very little information as to specific uses has been obtained. The lodgepole pine is famous for its perfect unbroken slender trunk and is a favorite for building wherever such poles are desired. The pitch of the trunk mixed with grease is used with *Equisetum* stems for smoothing and polishing of steatite pipes.

*lēsē'lp*, *lēsā'.lp*; great silver fir; *Abies grandis* Lindl.

The bark is used for covering lodges and making canoes. The smaller branches with their fragrant leaves are often used for bedding. A temporary flooring in the lodges is sometimes made from the branches. *lēs-lēs'ha'ka*, meaning "sweet branch," is another name for this fir.

<sup>50</sup> See also *.shūr'elka* p. 498.

*tlēnā'lt*; tule; *Scirpus* sp.

These grass-like herbs are used extensively in the weaving of coarse bags, nets, and especially for table mats and those which are used to cover the floors of the lodges.

*tlūxen*; horsetail; *Equisetum* sp.

*Equisetum* with its jointed stems is used for smoothing and finishing soapstone pipes. A mixture of grease and pitch from the black pine is sometimes used with the *Equisetum*. The stems are also used for sharpening and polishing bone.

*tlōxkā'e*; <sup>51</sup> reed grass; *Phragmites communis* Trin.

The stems are one of the most commonly used basketry materials.

*ma'musken*, *ma'mesken*; spreading dogbane; *Apocynum androsaemifolium* L.

The first name is used by the Upper Thompson Indians. This herb yields from its inner bark a fiber which is used as thread and as twine for binding and tying.

*metmetsē'elp*; rock spiraea; *Sericotheca discolor* (Pursh) Rydb.

The wood is used for cuirasses, armor in general, and the making of arrows.

*mū'lex*, *melmū'lex*; balsam poplar; *Populus tacamahacca* Mill.

This wood is especially used for the sides of riding and pack saddles.

*nhoi'tlaxen*, *nho'itlaxen*, *nho'itlexin*; common reed; *Phragmites communis* Trin.

This reed makes an excellent material for weaving baskets. As it grows very tall it has a long culm. It is also smooth and of a glossy cream color. Because of its attractive appearance it is seldom dyed. It is sometimes cut in different lengths and dyed different colors and used interspersed with beads of seeds for necklaces and on fringes of dresses.

*nkokū'cen tek spā'kem*; "star flower;" fleabane; *Erigeron salsuginosus* (Hook.) A. Gray.

This plant is used as a pattern in basketry. It has a simple erect stem terminating in the conventional head of the Compositae, making it more easy than many other plants to reproduce.

*nkwē'tka*; hawthorn; *Crataegus columbiana* Howell.

This shrub is armed with spines which are used as pins and in the manufacture of fishhooks. They also make excellent probes for ripe boils and ulcers.

*ōlotcē'tcelp*; quaking aspen; *Populus tremuloides* Michx.

Dugout canoes were made from this by the Upper Fraser band, although this is a heavier wood than the cedar which was used by the Lower Thompson Indians.

*pākla'n*; <sup>52</sup> cherry; *Prunus emarginata* (Dougl.) Walp.

The bark is softened by pounding, split, and used in making baskets, mats, and bags.

*poponē'lp*; fringed wormwood; *Artemisia frigida* Willd.

In smoking skins the fuel which makes a smoldering fire and a great deal of heavy smoke is most desirable. For that reason this sagebrush is often used, especially by the Nicola band.

<sup>51</sup> See *nhoi'tlaxen*, p. 497.

<sup>52</sup> See *spazū's*, p. 498

*pó'xpoXElp*; longleaf willow; *Salix longifolia* Muhl.

The stems, which are slender, tough, but pliable, are used as withes. The bark was sometimes used in weaving saddle blankets.

*pū'nElp*; Colorado juniper; *Juniperus scopulorum* Sarg.

The wood is used for making bows, drums, and clubs. It is sometimes used for hafting implements.

*.shāketé'lp*, *shāket*; "leaf"; fireweed; *Epilobium angustifolium* L.

The Utā'mkt are said to use this for string. The particular part of the plant which yielded the fiber was not learned but the fibrous inner bark was probably treated and made into string.

*.shu'xElka*;<sup>53</sup> common cat-tail; *Typha latifolia* L.

The flowering spikes become very light and fluffy at the time of fruiting because of the many hairs attached to each little fruit. These fruiting heads form an excellent substitute for down and are so used in stuffing pillows and making comfortable beds by the Indians.

*sikwa'm*, *sukwa'm*; cedar; unidentified.

The botanical name was not obtained, and as "cedar" is applied to many of the conifers it is difficult to make a guess with any accuracy. It is possibly *Thuja plicata* or *Juniperus scopulorum*. The outer bark, which in either of these trees is very thick and fibrous, is used as a thatch for the bark lodges, and to a lesser extent for covering the earthen floor.

The name *.slōats* is applied to the inner bark which is shredded and used in making mats.

*sī'tselp*; vine maple; *Acer circinatum* Pursh.

This maple is found only west of the Cascade Mountains. Its southern limit is northern California. The Indians use the wood for making snowshoes.

*sqapié'lp*; bald-hip rose; *Rosa gymnocarpa* Nutt.

The wood is especially used for making arrows and the hoops of baby carriers. It is also used for making handles.

*sqE<sup>r</sup>qE<sup>r</sup>z*; prickly pear; *Opuntia polyacantha* Haw.

The seeds are strung and worn as necklaces.

*spa'tsEN*; spreading dogbane; *Apocynum cannabinum* L.

This is sometimes known as Indian hemp, so called because the Indians used its fiber so much. The inner bark is collected in the fall and when treated is very soft but exceedingly strong. It is used for making rope, twine, nets, snares, garments, and thread. It is even used for stringing bows when sinew is not available. This was traded in large quantities to the Spences Bridge band by the Okanagon.

*spazū's*; cherry; *Prunus emarginata* (Dougl.) Walp.

The bark is very much used in basketry. It is especially used for imbrication of baskets made of shredded roots of *Thuja gigantea*. The bark is also used for binding bows in the middle and ends for strengthening them and at the same time the contrast of the wood of the bow and the bark binding makes a decoration.

*spetsENé'lp*, *spetsENūlp*; milkweed; *Asclepias speciosa* Torr.

The Lower Thompson Indians use this name for *ma'musken*. Its inner bark is fibrous and is used for thread and binding or tying.

<sup>53</sup> See also *koute'.tr*, p. 496.



*spezenū'tlen*; wild rye; *Elymus triticoides* Buckl.

The culms are occasionally used in basketry as a substitute for *Phragmites*.

*.staxé'lp*, *estexa'lp*; willow; *Salix* sp.

The bark of the dead trees is used in making bags, mats, capes, aprons, and fiber blankets.

*.stlopei'ek*; honeysuckle; *Lonicera ciliosa* Poir.

A fiber is obtained from the stems and is used as thread or twine.

*.stsi'k<sup>u</sup>.stse'.k*; western yellow pine; *Pinus ponderosa* Dougl.

The Lytton and Upper Fraser bands make their dugout canoes almost entirely from yellow pine. This is a heavier wood than cedar, which was used by the Lower Thompson Indians. It also split more easily than the cedar. The dry cones of this pine are considered very good for making a fire for smoking skins. Usually these cones are mixed with fir bark to make the best smoke.

*.sululé'qt*; "any plant which stings."

*.sululé'q.ts a xā'imum<sup>u</sup>*; "stinging plant of upper country"; nettle; *Urtica lyallii* Wats.

The inner bark is stripped from the wood and the Utā'mkt make a very strong string from it.

*tsemtsē'elp*; <sup>54</sup> rock spiraea; *Sericotheca discolor* (Pursh) Rydb.

*.tskinék'lp*, *tskwinek'lp*; "bow plant"; western yew; *Taxus brevifolia* Nutt.

The wood of the yew is especially used by the Utā'mkt for making bows.

The other Indians use it for this purpose but not to such a great extent.

*tsótēn'lp*; Rocky Mountain maple; *Acer glabrum* Torr.

The wood is especially used in making snowshoes and bows.

*.tsaxaz'lp*; Engelmann spruce; *Picea engelmanni* (Parry) Engelm.

The bark has many uses. Baskets and utensils of all kinds are made from it. Canoes are covered with it, and the roofs of the lodges are often thatched with it.

*tsā'nem*; sword fern; *Polystichum munitum* Presl.

*teektēkō'k i āuk*, *tāx pā'á*; "little redwood," "bitter gray"; *Cornus stolonifera* Michx. and *Cornus pubescens* Nutt.

*Cornus stolonifera* gets its name, "little redwood," from its bright red-purple smooth branches. *Cornus pubescens* is given an Indian name meaning "gray" because of its whitish silky pubescence on branchlets and leaves.

The wood is used, but for what purpose it was not learned.

This fern was very often copied in basketry designs.

*tū'er*; <sup>55</sup> cherry; *Prunus emarginata* (Dougl.) Walp.

*wā'xaselp*; Lewis moek orange; *Philadelphus lewisi* Pursh.

The wood is used especially for making combs.

*xoi'tlaxen* or *.nxi'tlaxen*; common reed; *Phragmites communis* Trin.

This name was given to *Phragmites communis* because it was so often used as a design in ornamenting baskets. The term could, however, be applied to any grass used in the same way. See also *.nhoi'tlaxen*.

<sup>54</sup> See *metmetsē'elp*, p. 497.

<sup>55</sup> See *spazū's*, p. 498.

*x<sup>w</sup>wi'kosten e'lp*; mountain hemlock; *Tsuga mertensiana* (Bong.) Sargent.

The branching of the hemlock is so flat and the leaves are so fragrant that it makes an excellent material for bedding.

*zolkū'e'lp, zolkū'*; chokecherry; *Prunus demissa* (Nutt.) Walp.

The wood is used for handles, especially on root diggers. The bark is shredded and is used in ornamenting the rims of baskets by being woven in under the coiling.

No Indian name; Rocky Mountain maple and Pacific yew; *Acer glabrum* Torr. and *Taxus brevifolia* Nutt.

Twigs of these shrubs or small trees were used whenever obtainable in making the frames of snowshoes.

No Indian name; wormwood and sagebrush; *Artemisia* sp.

No single name is used for sagebrush. The Indians recognized several species in their medicines and each species has a name. Any species might be used in the making of the quiver cases, which were quite frequently made of twined sagebrush twigs. The bark was used in making saddle blankets woven like floor or table mats. Sometimes the roots were dried and kept for future use. The most common sagebrush is *Artemisia tridentata*, so probably this is the one most frequently used for this purpose. The Indian name for this species is *ka'uku*.

No Indian name; red cedar; *Juniperus virginiana* L.

For making a heavy smoke this is excellent as a fuel and is often used by the Indians in smoking skins. It is often combined with sagebrush by the Nicola band, especially when they desire a very dark skin.

No Indian name; woodbetony; *Pedicularis bracteosa* Benth.

The leaves, which are from 5 to 12 centimeters long and parted into narrow lanceolate or linear divisions, are often used by the women for designs on their baskets.

#### PLANTS USED IN MAKING DYES AND PAINTS

Plants were one of the most important sources of dyes and paints used by the Thompson, but have now been almost entirely supplanted by those of the white man. The Thompson have a word *hī'kamēn* which is a general term meaning paint. A red stain was obtained from many fruits, as the raspberry, pokeberry, and elder. The strawberry blite yielded a bright red stain from pressing its calyx and pulpy fruit. This was sometimes used as a dye on woods, clothing, and skins, but it was not permanent. The Indian paint plant yielded a very brilliant red dye from its roots, but it quickly faded to a dark purple. The crimson hairs on the fruits of the smooth sumac were used, but were not considered a success. An unidentified lichen yielded a red after being heated; another source of red was obtained from the bark of the red alder. A bright coloring matter was extracted from the outer cortex of the roots of the holly grape. Green and blue dyes were claimed to have been obtained by boiling rotten wood. A green dye was said by some Indians to have been obtained from an alga, but the plant was never identified. It was described by them as "a green slime growing in the water,"

which would certainly signify an alga. A yellow dye was obtained from a yellowish lichen, *Evernia vulpina*.<sup>56</sup> This was also used to paint either the body, wood, or skins.

The materials to be used as paints were first mixed with melted deer fat and heated. The fingers or small sticks were used in applying the paint. Heated *Opuntia* when obtainable was used to make the paint remain longer on the face. The use of mordants was known to the Thompson. They used urine and a native alum.

Dyes and paints were used to dye textile materials, skins, and bark. Paint was used on their bodies, on implements, and on vessels of pottery, skin, and bark. Plants yielded dyes for both skins and the materials used in basketry and blanket weaving. Of course most of the colors of the baskets were those of the material itself, as light brown of the shredded spruce root; a rich, glossy dark brown of the stems of the maidenhair fern; a shiny cream color of the squaw grass; and a light yellow of the peeled twigs of young willows. The young twigs of some of the trees, as the red alder, supplied another natural contrasting color, a reddish brown. A black or dark gray was commonly obtained by burying in mud.

The specific dye plants and their uses follow.

*hī'kamēn*.

This is a term which is applied to anything used for rubbing on or making a veneer or paint.

*kapuxā'lp*; "nut plant"; hazelnut; *Corylus californica* Rose.

A bluish dye is made from the root.

*kēlulaei'uks a x'wīk'estēne'lp*; "owl wood of hemlock"; an unidentified fungus.

A fungus which was not identified but found growing on hemlock and fir trees is used as a red paint after treatment by fire. The paint after the necessary preparation is called *toekt*, meaning "red."

*kolomē'ka*; "light yellow branch"; wolf's moss; *Evernia vulpina* (L.) Acharius.

This is the largest and showiest lichen found along the Pacific coast, being bright yellow. It is used as a dye and as a paint on the skin. Some pubescents use it as a face paint by simply dipping it in water or wetting the skin and applying it dry. It is also used as a paint on wood. This is the noted "ulf-mossa" of the Swedes. It is believed by them to be poisonous to wolves. They powder it, mix it with powdered glass, and smear it on dead animals which the wolves eat. It is supposed to kill them. The Swedes also use it as the Indian does, as a bright yellow dye.

*kwa'tkwēlp*; giant arbor vitae; *Thuja plicata* D. Don.

Twigs and leaves are used as a green dye.

*kwiē'lp*; "red"; red alder; *Alnus oregona* Nutt.

So called because the twigs are reddish-brown. The bark is used as a red dye. It is also used in tanning skins. After boiling for a short time it is allowed to cool, then the skin to be tanned is soaked in the solution. The skin at the same time is dyed. This is done especially among the Shuswap.

<sup>56</sup> This lichen is used by many peoples as a source for yellow dye.

*mētcaké'lp*; whitebark raspberry; *Rubus leucodermis* Dougl.

The juice is squeezed from the fruits which are a dark reddish-purple or nearly black and used as a stain.

*sāi'tské'lp*, *sei'. tské'lp*, raspberry; *Rubus pubescens* Raf.

The juice of the fruits is used as a stain.

*sitskoné'lp*; smooth sumac; *Rhus glabra* L.

The drupelets are covered with crimson hairs. The Indians report having tried to use the fruits as a source for a red dye, but did not consider the result satisfactory.

*spok.xi'ns a xēlā'e*; "scales of raven's foot"; larkspur; *Delphinium menziesii* DC.

This larkspur has very dark blue flowers. Some say they are used as a paint and as a dye for clothes while others say they have tried it but have found it useless.

*tsā'lza*; "tart berry"; Oregon hollygrape; *Berberis aquifolium* Pursh.

The outer cortex of the roots is peeled off and a bright coloring matter is extracted from it.

*tceptap kanī'la*, *tceptep kone'lp*; "bloody head"; strawberry blite; *Blitum capitatum* L.

The calyx becomes bright red and pulpy in fruit. By crushing, a red stain or paint is obtained and used on the face or any part of the body. It is also used on clothes, wood, and skins.

*tceptepsawī'l*, *tcepsawē'l*; "Indian paint" or "bloody"; gromwell; *Lithospermum angustifolium* Michx.

So called because of the red ends of many of the roots. The roots are dipped in hot grease and used as a paint, but the red color fades to a dull purple, so it is not a very successful dye. It was particularly used for painting dressed skins. It was also used as a facial paint.

Another plant source of a dye was from an alga which was simply described as "a green slime growing in the water" and no Indian name was obtained for it. Some of the Indians said they used it as a green dye.

#### PLANTS USED AS SCENTS

Among the many plants having a more or less permanent fragrance only the following seven are found to be used by the Thompson. These are tied on the body, in the hair, to the arms, or on the clothes. Judging from these few plants, those with a penetrating scent rather than the sweet-smelling ones are preferred, as *Chenopodium botrys* or Jerusalem oak, and *Mentha canadensis* or Canada mint. The whole plant of these two specimens is covered with many little oil glands, and the odor is pungent rather than sweet.

*ka'luat*, *kā'luwet*; twisted stalk; *Streptopus amplexifolius* (L.) DC.

*Smilacina racemosa* and *S. stellata* are also called "ka'luat." The Utā'mkt say that as many as three of four plants are called "ka'luat." The root or the whole plant is said by some to be used as a scent, being tied to the body, or on the clothes, or in the hair.

*kuxemé'lp*, *kaukxema'lp*; Rocky Mountain rhododendron; *Rhododendron albiflorum* Hook.

The plant was used as a scent, but nothing was learned as to parts used or in what way they were used.

.*srasé'utsa* <sup>57</sup>

*teaá'la*, *tse'la*; American wild mint; *Mentha canadensis* L.

Due to the many little oil glands in the stem and leaves, this plant is very fragrant and is one of the most extensively used plants for scents.

*tlā'ko*, *lā'qo*; *Peucedanum leiocarpum* Nutt.

The stems and sometimes the whole plant is used as a scent.

*xasaste'lp*; "xasrast plant"; Jerusalem oak; *Chenopodium botrys* L.

This common plant is glandular-pubescent and viscid throughout, making it strongly scented, and is used in great quantities as a scent. It is wound in necklaces and stuffed in pillows, bags, pouches, and baskets. The Indians often tie it on their clothes and in their hair, or wear it in little skin bags tied to parts of their clothing.

*xasrast*, *.srasé'utsa*; "scent" or "scent-body"; sweet grass; *Hierochloa odorata* (L.) Wahlenb.

This sweet-scented perennial grass is greatly used as a scent, being woven in bags and baskets. Like *Chenopodium botrys*, it is used as a scent for clothing, the hair, and the body. Its fragrance is very lasting. It is commonly tied in the hair and on neck and arm ornaments.

*zozue'lp*, *zou't*; "thick tree"; white alder; *Alnus rhombifolia* Nutt.

The stems are slightly fragrant and are sometimes used as a scent.

#### PLANTS USED FOR PURIFICATION

The following plants were used in the preparation of drinks, washes, and baths in connection with sweat bathing in sweat houses. They were employed not only because of a tonic and general health-giving effect but also because of the belief in a magical purifying power. Warriors, hunters, and others used them when supplicating the deities for success in war, hunting, and gambling. It was believed that cleanliness and purity of body were powerful aids to prayer, that the thorough purifying of the body from time to time tended toward immunity from disease, and also aided in hunting because it removed the human smell that scared the game. For similar reasons, many of the washes were used by widows and widowers and by adolescents during their puberty ceremonials. Some of the washes used by the latter, especially by girls, were believed also to be of special value in making the skin fair and smooth and the hair luxuriant and glossy.

The general method of using these washes was to have them in baskets or buckets just outside the sweat house. After steaming the body, the person poured some of the medicine over his head and continued washing the rest of his body with his hands or with fir twigs, sometimes tied together, dipped in the wash and used as a sponge or brush. Besides sweating and washing, part of the purification processes consisted of vomiting, purging, and massaging with the hands or with fir twigs, and slapping and beating the body with

<sup>57</sup> See *xasrast*, p. 503.

the hands or with branches, inhaling the aroma of certain plants and drinking decoctions prepared from special plants.<sup>58</sup>

*cêxamens a .tlx<sup>u</sup>ô'mex*,<sup>59</sup> "body wash of pubescents"; prairie flax; *Linum lewisii* Pursh.

*hâ'qo, haqoé'lp, hâkotci'nem*; "to gather and eat *hâ'so*"; cow parsnip; *Heracleum lanatum* Michx.

The large fleshy roots are boiled and the decoction is drunk by young warriors and hunters when purging and purifying themselves. It is also drunk by widows and widowers at frequent intervals during their period of widowhood. On reaching puberty youths drink it in conjunction with or alternately with a decoction of *Lepargyrea canadensis*.

*kalulâ'ïuk*; "owl wood," *Polyporus abietinea* Fries.

This fungus grows on fir trees especially and the spores which the Indians call powder is used by young men for rubbing on their bodies to give them strength.

*kwoé't, kwo.ï't*; shore pine or lodgepole pine; *Pinus contorta* Dougl. or *Pinus murrayana* Balf.

The lodgepole pine is known by either of the above names, common or botanical. The resinous exudation is mixed with the best animal fat and smeared on the body after a sweat bath.

*ôlotcê'tcêlp*; quaking aspen; *Populus tremuloides* Michx.

A decoction is made from the bark and rubbed on the body of adolescents.

*sa'uztsaten, se'ursaten, tse'ursten*; "thing for washing with"; *Astragalus purshii* Dougl. and *Oxytropis campestris spicata* Hook.

These names are given to both of the above plants. It is disputed as to which is the real one. A decoction made from the roots is poured on the head in the sweat house and it is also drunk in the sweat house. It is thought to help in the purification of the individual.

*skametsu'pa, skametei'.tx<sup>u</sup>, skameteu'pa*; "Erythronium leaved"; orchid; *Habenaria leucostachys* S. Wats.

This plant is so named because the leaves resemble those of *Erythronium*.

The whole plant is boiled and the decoction is used as a wash after the purifying sweat bath; the plant is also sometimes used as a steaming plant, the process of which is described under medicinal plants.

*sqapié'lp*; bald-hip rose; *Rosa gymnocarpa* Nutt.

Twigs are put in the beds of widows and widowers during the period of their widowhood. The larger branches are used for sweeping evil influences out of graves before burial.

*skapkenke'ken*; "hair (of head) flower"; avens; *Geum triflorum* Pursh.

A decoction made from the roots is used as a body wash in the sweat houses and baths of any kind connected with purification.

*skwelqai'ns a .tlx<sup>u</sup>ô'mex*;<sup>60</sup> "head or hair wash of adolescents"; prairie flax; *Linum lewisii* Pursh.

The flowers, leaves, and stems are soaked in cold water (sometimes warm) and used as a head and face wash, especially by girls at puberty to make them pretty and their hair and skin smooth and fair.

<sup>58</sup> For information regarding the puberty ceremonies and those connected with sweat bathing and widowhood, see J. A. Teit, *The Thompson Indians of British Columbia*, Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, vol. II, pp. 311-320.

<sup>59</sup> See *skwel qai'ns a .tlx<sup>u</sup>ô'mex*, p. 504.

<sup>60</sup> See *cêxamens a .tlx<sup>u</sup>ô'mex*, p. 504.

.spātū'nēl; *Eriogonum heracleoides* Nutt.

A decoction of the whole plant is made and used as a ceremonial wash in the sweat house.

.sululē'qt; nettle; *Urtica* sp.

This name is applied to any of the nettles. They are made into a wash which is poured on the body after the sweat bath.

.sxō.zēmē'lp; "froth plant"; russet buffaloberry; *Shepherdia canadensis* (L.) Greene.

A decoction of the fresh or dried stems and leaves is drunk in the sweat houses by young men, hunters, and warriors for purification.

toktokēletke'kēn; "yellow little head"; buttercup; *Ranunculus douglasii* Howell.

A decoction of the whole plant is used as a body wash and as a wash for purification in the sweat house.

.tsqē'lp, .tskēlp'a'ka; "leaves and branches of"; Douglas fir; *Pseudotsuga mucronata* (Raf.) Sudw.

The branches and smaller twigs are boiled in water and used as a body wash by young men and women, especially young hunters and warriors, at the time of taking a sweat bath.

tsi' tsertsart; common juniper; *Juniperus communis* L.

The stem with the whorls of small leaves are boiled and used as a body wash by hunters, warriors, and widowers.

.tsxazē'lp; Engelmann spruce; *Picea engelmanni* (Parry) Engelm.

The needles and tips of branches are boiled and the wash is used by hunters, warriors, and young men reaching the age of puberty.

#### PLANTS USED AS CHARMS

Charms play an important part in the life of the Thompson Indians. They consist of plants or parts of plants, animals or parts of animals, parts of human beings, and of minerals and other objects which are used in a special way. Some of the uses of charms are to insure long life, to obtain friendship, regard, love, wealth, and success in the hunt and in other undertakings. They are also used as preventives of headaches and other common ailments. The use of charms to gain love and success in war and hunting was perhaps most extended. Plants used as charms are often worn in the form of necklaces or around other parts of the body. Praying over the charm before wearing was usual. The charm was also frequently rubbed on some part of the body. The following 17 plants were used as charms:

kalētsū'pa; "carrots tail"; unidentified.

This plant is unidentified and called by this name because it resembles the carrot plant. It is probably a species of *Daucus*. This is a recent name, the older people calling it something else. They do not have a wide distribution nor are they found anywhere in great numbers. A few were found growing near Botani, a few back of the Thompson, a few near Lillooet, and formerly some near Douglas Lake. The root was not eaten but with

deer's fat was used as a charm for hunting. The root was tied to a piece of fat taken from a deer's back and prayed over by hunters who asked that the deer they were to hunt would become blind and tame so that they might be easily shot. Sometimes a hunter would simply tie the root around his neck and wear it as a charm for good luck when hunting.

*kī'ko*; valerian; *Valeriana sylvatica* Banks and *Valeriana sitchensis* Bong.

A decoction is made of the whole plant and is drunk by hunters. They also wash their bodies with it, believing that after this treatment the deer will become tame and the hunter will be able to approach them easily. The Indians believe that after washing in this decoction the deer can not smell them.

*kwoilo't lasa*; calypso; *Cytherea bulbosa* (L.) House.

These are sometimes used as charms.

*.nkuk<sup>u</sup>axemuske'ken*; "little buttercup flower"; avens; *Geum* L. sp.

So named because of yellow flowers like the *nkuk<sup>u</sup>axemu's* buttercup. Occasionally this was used as a charm plant.

*.shakete'lp*; "willow weed"; *Epilobium* L. sp.

This unidentified species of *Epilobium* is used as a charm for good luck in gambling. The root, which is small and round, is considered to be especially efficacious as a charm.

*skametsū'pa*; "Erythronium leaved"; orchid; *Habenaria leucostachys* S. Wats.

So called because its leaves resemble those of *Erythronium*. This charm plant is used by men for washing guns to insure good luck when hunting. Young men use it as a wash to make them lucky, good looking, and sweet smelling. Women use this wash hoping to gain a mate and have success in love. Both sexes use it to obtain riches and property. When they dig up the plant they chant, "Friend, I want wealth and much property." They believe if prayed to and treated in the right way this plant will bring wealth and great possessions.

*.skwaatī'n*, *.skwaatī'nelp*; "chew or thing for chewing"; hawkweed; *Hieracium* sp.

The root is used as a charm.

*spokexe'ns.sae*, *.spol.xī'ns*; <sup>61</sup> "scales of crow's foot"; shooting star; *Dodecatheon jeffreyi* Moore.

The flowers are used by women to obtain the love of men and to help them control men. They are also used as a charm to obtain wealth and to make people give presents to the charmer.

*spok.xī'ns a xelā'E* or *xalā<sup>a</sup>*; "scales of raven's foot"; larkspur; *Delphinium menziesii* DC.

Women use this plant as a charm to help them obtain and hold the affection of men.

*.sxola'xken*; "buck (deer) flower"; small yellow ladyslipper; *Cypripedium parviflorum* Salisb.

This receives its name from the resemblance of its lanceolate brown sepals to deer's antlers. Some Indians call this plant "a friend of the *skametsū'pa*" because of a general resemblance.

<sup>61</sup> See *tcókte e't. sk*, p. 507.



*stE'ptEpaEk tek .snałEkō's*; unidentified.

Some Indians say this is the same plant as *.snałEkosō'ē* but neither has been identified. The roots are used as a charm by married couples to keep them from quarreling and separating.

*teaā'la, tse'.la*; American wild mint; *Mentha canadensis* L.

This is used as a charm, but just in what way was not learned.

*tcāwekū'pa*; "tcāwek-leaved or stemmed"; columbine; *Aquilegia formosa* Fisch.

This is so named because of a resemblance in general appearance to *Lilium columbianum*. Women use this plant as a charm to gain the affection of men and both sexes use it to retain wealth and possessions. It is also considered good luck in gambling.

*tcōkte't.sk*;<sup>62</sup> "little red"; shootingstar; *Dodecatheon jeffreyi* Moore.

*Dodecatheon jeffreyi* is sometimes called by this name, probably because of its purplish red corolla. The other name, however, is considered the proper one.

*.łkūpEnū'pa*; bitterroot; *Lewisia pygmaea* (A. Gray) Robinson.

This plant is thought to bring luck in gambling.

*tsauzatEn*; loco weed; *Astragalus purshii* Dougl.

The flowers and leaves on the stems are tied in a bunch and used for bringing back the luck of fishing nets, traps, snares, guns, or any other such devices, which had been contaminated by a widower touching or using them. The net must be touched four times and also the surface of the water where it is to be used. Decoctions of this and various other plants are poured over nets, traps, snares, and guns which seem to have lost their luck. *Rosa gymnocarpa* Nutt. is also used in the same way.

*xłaxłū'pa, xElaxElū'pa*; "tail or growing part"; avens; *Geum* sp.

This name is given to a species of *Geum* which was not identified. It is used by men as a charm for gaining a woman's affection.

## PLANTS CONCERNING WHICH THERE ARE SPECIAL BELIEFS

Besides plants used as charms, we find plants concerning which there are special beliefs. For example, some plants when used as a shampoo are thought to produce a wealth of hair; infants may be made to rest quietly at night if certain roots are placed in their bedding; other plants, if chewed, are considered to be effective in checking storms; the armpits may be made to smell sweet by applying leaves of still other plants; the balsam-root plant is very important in that there are several beliefs connected with it and many taboos observed in relation to digging and cooking it. From these varied examples it may be seen that there is no one way to classify these beliefs. Among the Thompson the following 18 plants have some special significance if used in a prescribed way:

*cēxamENS a .łxō'mEX*; prairie flax; *Linum lewisii* Pursh.

A young girl would frequently wash her face and head with a decoction of the stems and flowers of the wild flax. She believed that this would give her a wealth of hair and a beautiful, fair face.

<sup>62</sup> See *spokEKE'ns .sāe*, p. 506.

*kakwa'mtca*; *Triteleia grandiflora* Lindl.

This is the Lytton name. The best form is said to be *.sxaivē'Em*. The Indians believe this plant gives power. They put the bulb, which they call the root, into the medicine bag, believing that it will make the medicine bag more potent.

*ki'tka'tces*; wild ginger; *Asarum caudatum* Lindl.

The whole plant, including the roots, but sometimes only the stems, are put in the bedding of infants when they are restless or ill, and this is said to make them quiet or well.

*kokwē'la*; *Peucedanum macrocarpum* Nutt.

In times of gales or strong winds the root of this plant is chewed and spit out against the wind. A calm is expected to follow. The shamans also use this plant. They prescribe eating the root as a cure for childless women.

*kwō'qwōx*, *.sko'kwōx*, *.sko'kwā'x*; blackberry; *Rubus macropetalus* Dougl.

It is the general belief that if any of the berries of this plant drop into a creek or brook they become fish.

*kwō'es*, *kwō'is*, *kō'is*; silverberry; *Elaeagnus argentea* Pursh.

When twins were born the father chose a young man to sing when they first cried. To be so chosen was considered a great honor and privilege. The man, as a part of his make-up, must wear a headband of the bark of *Elaeagnus argentea* if he could obtain it. He must hold a fir branch in each hand. He held a "male" fir branch in the right hand and a "female" fir branch in the left hand if both sexes were represented in the twins. Their use of these terms "male" and "female" in regard to plants and parts of plants is very curious. It was not clear to Mr. Teit what the Indians meant by it. They often used it. It seems that the size of the flower and branch was the basis of their classification. They call the branches bearing the staminate cones female and those bearing the carpellate cones male. This would agree with the above conclusion, as the carpellate cones are the larger and are considered by them to be the male.

Widows and widowers after the death of the mate immediately donned a narrow headband of the bark of this tree.

*meqā'a*; death camas; *Zygadenus elegans* Pursh.

Hunting or trapping for about a month can not be done successfully by a man who has a daughter reaching puberty. He has to snare a grouse, cut off its head, remove its eyes, and in their place put two small roots of this plant and another in its mouth. If this were not done he would not be able to snare any more grouse.

*panawē'uxTEN*; gromwell; *Lithospermum pilosum* Nutt.

This is a term applied to *Lithospermum pilosum* and other plants which are used for inflicting sickness or bad luck on persons. The root is prayed over and some of the plant or any part of it is put on the person, or in his clothes, or in his bed. Many people will never knowingly touch plants used as "*panawē'uxTEN*" for fear that it may bring them harm. They are considered mystery plants and liable to hurt anyone who touches them.

*.sā'tkelp*; western yellow pine; *Pinus ponderosa* Dougl.

When washing, a girl must stick four needles of the yellow pine into the flesh under her arms until it bleeds. At the same time she prays that her armpits and all her skin will always smell sweet. Frequently a girl will wash her face and head with a decoction of the tops of the yellow pine, believing that this would give her a smooth and fair skin and an abundance of hair.

*skam'ete es snikie'p*, *skam'etes a snikie'p*; "skamete of the coyote"; broom rape; *Orobancha fasciculata* Nutt.

This is often called cancer-root. It is parasitic on the roots of various plants. It is said to bring bad luck to anyone who plucks it. If anyone should be so unwise as to keep any in their house they would lose all their possessions.

*sqokič'p*; California strawberry; *Fragaria californica* Cham. & Schlecht.

Pads of the leaves of this plant were made and worn under the armpits, believing it would make them smell sweet.

*soxomke'ken*; "little soxom (balsam-root) flower"; common perennial gaillardia; *Gaillardia aristata* Pursh.

This is used for divination. If a person is sick the whole plant is boiled for a considerable time and if the decoction remains whitish or clear the person will die. If the decoction is reddish or well colored the person will get well.

*sō'xom*; balsam root; *Balsamorhiza sagittata* (Pursh) Nutt.

There are a number of restrictions referring to the use of this root, which is thick and edible. Women must abstain from sexual intercourse while cooking or digging it and no man may come near the oven where it is being baked. When they go out to dig the root they usually paint their whole faces red or else paint large red or black spots, one on each cheek. It is difficult to cook these roots and still more difficult to know when they are done. When they successfully cook the roots they sometimes say that the success has been attained by the coyote urinating on them.

It is the custom for all the young people before eating any berries or roots for the first time that season to address a prayer to the balsam root: "I inform thee that I intend to eat thee. Mayest thou always help me to ascend, so that I may always be able to reach the tops of mountains, and may I never be clumsy! I ask this from thee, balsam root. Thou art the greatest of all in mystery." If a person were to omit this he would be unable to get up in the morning.

*spazū's*; cherry; *Prunus emarginata* (Dougl.) Walp.

When many red worms are found in the wild cherries the Lower Thompson believe this a sign that there will be many salmon.

*stēptēpū'za*; "blackberry"; northern black currant; *Ribes hudsonianum* Richards.

Sprigs of the currant were thought to have a quieting effect upon the child, so they were placed in the baby's carrier.

*tesē'lp*, *tesa'lp*; great silver fir; *Abies grandis* Lindl.

Branches of the fir were used each morning by the young girl in stroking her head and her back, praying at the same time that these parts of her body would never tire of carrying burdens. Her legs and feet were also stroked with the fir branches and prayed over that they might not tire when she was walking long distances. Her moccasin strings were also so stroked, with the belief that this might keep them from breaking. During her period of training the girl was supplied with two large branches of the fir tree and she had to pick the needles off one by one, praying that she would never be lazy. These branches were placed on the roof of her hut, and it was not an easy task to perform daily. Also, four large fir branches were so placed before her hut that going in and out she had to step over them, and the first four times she went in or out she addressed the branches, saying: "If I ever step into trouble or step unknowingly into the magical spell of some person, may you help me, O fir branches, with your power!"

*tlū'xen*; horsetail; *Equisetum* sp.

The hollow stem of the *Equisetum* was used by young girls to hold lice as she picked them from her head on each four days. On the last day the stem with its contents was thrown into a stream. As it floated away the girl prayed that in after years she might not be troubled by lice on her head or on any part of her body. This was usually done during the ceremonies that were connected with reaching puberty.

No Indian name; sagebrush; *Artemisia* sp.

Bark of the sagebrush was used by a young girl to wipe her mouth after eating as the use of her hand for such a purpose would cause hair to grow. A bunch of sagebrush was always hanging from her neck for this special use. Cedar bark might be substituted for the sagebrush. No definite species seems to have been used.

### PLANTS MENTIONED IN MYTHOLOGY

In the mythology of the Indian, plants are not as important as animals. They do not commonly represent great chiefs or heroes, nor do the phenomena of plant life appear to any great extent. Plants of great economic importance in an area, or abundant in that area, will be found to be referred to repeatedly in their folklore; for example, the fir tree among the Thompson, the cedar and cottonwood among the Plains, the corn among the Pueblos and other areas, and the tobacco among many tribes, such as the Pima.

There are only eight plants specifically mentioned in the mythology of the Thompson and in most cases they are simply casual references. For example, in the myth accounting for the origin of fire, the coyote is said to have stolen it; and at that time he wore a headdress of "yellow pine" shavings and long fringes of dry "cedar" bark. These caught fire and he ran away with it and in escaping the "grass" and "trees" caught fire and have been able to burn ever since. The specific plants found mentioned by the Thompson follow. There are, of course, many others mentioned, but only in the most casual way, as explained in the "Origin of Fire" myth.

*hitchitcawī'l*; "cutting or cut vessel;" an unidentified grass.

This grass is unidentified as to genus and species. It grows in swampy places and its leaf has a very sharp edge, hence the name *hitchpem*, meaning "to cut." It is mentioned in their mythology as being used by the coyote for cutting.

*kokwē'la*; *Peucedanum macrocarpum* Nutt.

This is mentioned in their mythology. The man, Tsuntia, is said to be the offspring of the connection of this root with a woman.

*kônē'.lp*; false-hellebore; *Veratrum californicum* S. Wats.

This plant is usually considered to be poisonous if eaten, but is mentioned in their mythology as being efficacious in counteracting the power of an enemy. The use of it was by external application.

*snikiēpu'psa*; "little-coyote berry;" northwestern serviceberry; *Amelanchier alnifolia* Nutt.

This plant is repeatedly mentioned in their mythology as food for the coyote. It is the poorest tasting of the service berries.

*.sraič'em*; *Triteleia grandiflora* Lindl.

These bulbs, called "roots" by the Indian, are mentioned in one of the myths as saving a family from starvation.

*tatū'en*; spring beauty; *Claytonia lanceolata* Pursh.

In the mythology of the Nicola Valley, Coyote when traveling came upon some *tatū'en* "roots."<sup>63</sup> He was hungry and there was no game to kill, so he dug up a big *tatū'en* "root;" in the hole left he saw people walking. He repeated his action and still saw people walking, so he concluded he was in the sky country and these "roots" were stars.

*tlū'xen*; horsetail; *Equisetum* sp.

In their myths this is referred to as the canoe of the coyote.

### POISONOUS PLANTS

It is interesting that the Thompson Indians have noted some 17 plants as being poisonous if eaten. Some of them, as the bearberry honeysuckle, *Lonicera involucrata*, have very tempting berries. The snowberry, *Symphoricarpos*, is another such example. They have also realized that some of these poisonous plants may be utilized if treated properly, as the false hellebore, *Veratrum californicum*, because of medicinal properties in its root. A decoction is prepared and a very small dose will often be used as a medicine, but to eat the root would probably mean death. Small or weak decoctions are frequently prepared from poisonous plants and taken as medicines. Great caution, however, is observed to avoid overdosing because of the danger of poisoning. The root of *Zygadenus elegans*, death camas (so named because of its resemblance to the true camas, *Quamasia*), causes poisoning, but they apply it externally after making it into a poultice for reducing inflammation. A species of *Ranunculus* is used to poison arrow points. The medicinal use of poisonous plants has been fully discussed in the chapter on medicines. There follows a list of the known poisonous plants with their particular beneficial uses as discovered by the Thompson:

*cuxcux'za*, *cuxcuxhwé'lp*; bearberry honeysuckle; *Lonicera involucrata* Banks.

The first name is the common one for *Lonicera involucrata*. The *Utā'mkt*, however, use the latter term. The berries are never eaten as they are thought to be poisonous. They are black and not united, so differ in appearance from other *Lonicera* fruits.

*īax'ē'ru.lp*;<sup>64</sup> snowberry; *Symphoricarpos albus* (L.) Blake.

The stem and roots are used medicinally but the berries are never eaten.

They are considered deadly poisonous if more than two or three are eaten.

*kawau'elp*.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>63</sup> Botanically, these "roots" are corms.

<sup>64</sup> See also *.stc6'qεmsa snaiyi'*, p. 513.

<sup>65</sup> This is an *Utā'mkt* name for *.stc6'qεmsa snaiyi'*.

*kona'lp*, *kónê'lp*; false hellebore; *Veratrum californicum* S. Wats.

The root is used medicinally but the decoction prepared must be taken in small doses or the patient will be poisoned. The plant is generally considered poisonous if eaten in large quantities.

*malā'mens* *es'totz'a'tza* or *esho.tsho'.tsā*; western red baneberry and ivory baneberry; *Actaea arguta* Nutt. and *Actaea eburnea* Rydb.

A decoction of the roots is drunk as a medicine but in very small doses as it is poisonous. Some people can not stand the full-strength dose and have to have a decoction prepared which is very weak.

*mɛjā'a*; death camas; *Zygadenus elegans* Pursh.

The bulb of this plant is very similar in size and shape to that of the true camas (*Quamasia*) which is a most highly esteemed food plant. The bulb is the part which causes human poisoning but the leaves are usually fatal to cattle. Dizziness, nausea, and profuse vomiting are the usual symptoms. If the person fails to vomit freely death usually follows. All of the Indians avoid eating the bulb, or root as they call it, of this plant. The root mashed and applied externally is effective in relieving and reducing inflammation.

*mokasā'elp*, *mokmokasē'slp*; wormwood; *Artemisia dracunculoides* Pursh.

This is very important medicinally but it is said to be poisonous if it enters the blood. As it is applied externally, there is often danger that it may cause blood poisoning.

*nakanakai'elp*; ceanothus; *Ceanothus sanguineus* Pursh.

This plant is known by all the Indians for its strong smell. They do not say it is poisonous but they never use it.

*nekakekaka*; "rotten or cheese-like smell"; unidentified.

This name was given by the Lytton Indians to this unidentified plant which resembles *kalaū'pa*. It was avoided because it had a very bad smell, but it was not known whether it was poisonous or not.

*nku'kaxemu's*, *nki'kwaxemu's*, *nkwxemū's*, *kwokwaxemu's*; buttercup; *Ranunculus glaberrimus* Hook.

This is one of the first plants to blossom in the spring. The flowers alone, or sometimes the whole plant, are washed and rubbed on arrow points as a poison. *Ranunculus sceleratus* is sometimes used if *Ranunculus glaberrimus* is not available.

*pū'nelp*; Colorado juniper; *Juniperus scopulorum* Sarg.

A strong decoction is made from the berries and used to kill ticks on horses.

*sitskonê'lp*; smooth sumac; *Rhus glabra occidentalis* Torr.

The decoction, which is used as a remedy for syphilis, is a powerful and dangerous medicine as it is poisonous if made too strong or taken in too large doses.

*snūkas* a *kwokwaxemu's*; *Ranunculus* sp.

Several buttercups are used as a poison on arrowheads, as *Ranunculus glaberrimus*. They were not identified as to species, but three of them were differentiated by the following descriptive terms: *skaikakaketz*<sup>u</sup>, "round leafed"; *swilawilate'tx*<sup>u</sup>, diminutive of "fringed leaf"; *shahittalletez*<sup>u</sup>, diminutive of "serrated leaf."

*spetsenê'lp*, *spetseni'lp*; "hemp plant"; milkweed; *Asclepias speciosa* Torr.

This is a Lower Thompson Indian name for *ma'musken*. The root is medicinal but is poisonous unless small amounts are taken.

*stcô'qems a snaiyî'*;<sup>66</sup> "berries of the dead"; *Symphoricarpos racemosus* Michx.

*subulê'qts a sã'tcî'n*; "nettle of valleys"; *Rhus* sp.

This plant was unidentified as to species, but it belonged to the poison ivy group. The leaves were used as a medicine but it was not learned in what way. The plant was known to be poisonous to some but others could even eat the leaves with no ill effects.

*tciwaksü'nelp*, *tsiwakū'nelp*; "bleeding nose plant"; *Anemone multifida* Poir.

Strong decoctions of the whole plant were used for killing lice and fleas.

*zenê'ux*, *zenū 'x<sub>u</sub>*; water hemlock; *Cicuta vagans* Greene.

Roots of this plant are known by most of the Indians to be poisonous to both man and animals. Some say they have eaten the roots after first drinking oil. Pains and vomiting followed but in about three days all ill effects had disappeared and they felt better than ever before. If the person trying this treatment should omit the oil death would result.

#### PLANTS USED SPECIALLY AS HORSE AND DOG MEDICINES

There are no special medicines used only for horses and dogs, as the Indians have recognized that the different medicines used by themselves for swellings, sores, bruises, and cuts of various sorts are equally efficacious in the treatment of animals. Plants are prepared in the form of washes, ointments, and powders and used on the animals in the same way as on human beings. Some people occasionally give internal medicines to horses and dogs. When given, they are decoctions of the plants which are used as tonics and laxatives by the Indians for their own ailments. Formerly, valuable hunting dogs were steamed and sweated and bathed in the same way as the Indians steam and sweat themselves. For fresh swellings caused by too much pressure of the riding or pack saddle, human urine is much used as a wash. The urine is applied as soon as the swelling is noticed. The following plants are frequently used as medicines for horses:

*kî'ko*; valerian; *Valeriana sylvatica* (Banks) Richard and *Valeriana sitchensis* Bong.

A decoction of the roots is used as a lotion to reduce swellings and also as a wash for galls, sores, and wounds.

*tāxqa'î.n*; *Leptotaenia dissecta* Nutt.

The dried root is crushed into a fine powder or it may be grated. This is sprinkled thickly on sores and less thickly on wounds and raw spots produced by chafing. The sores are first thoroughly washed with warm water.

<sup>66</sup> See *iax'êrx'-lp*, p. 511.

. *sā'tk'elp*, *tsī'tl.ts* *ēsātkēlp*; "gum of *Pinus ponderosa*"; western yellow pine; *Pinus ponderosa* Dougl.

The best gum, which is white, is melted and mixed with an equal quantity of animal fat of good quality, preferably that of deer. The two are cooked together slowly in a pan and stirred until thoroughly mixed. While quite hot it is poured on sores after the latter have been cleaned with warm water and soap. This is a special means of treatment for old running sores. The application is repeated at intervals of two or three days until the sore has partly healed. After this ordinary ointments and powders are used to complete the healing. The horse is not used until the sore is well healed and if possible it is turned out on green pasture.

### PLANTS USED AS FOOD BY ANIMALS

The following few plants were observed by the Indians to be frequently eaten by animals. They cover forage and fodder plants, plants yielding berries and other fruits for wild animals, as well as fleshy roots and rhizomes. In the list are also several plants which yield nectar enough to be a source of food for the humming bird.

*cuxcuxū'za*, *cuxcuxō'za*; "grizzly-bear berry"; northern black currant; *Ribes hudsonianum* Richards.

Berries form a large part of the food of bears and these black currants are especially sought by them.

*iqé'lp*; bearberry; *Arctostaphylos uva-ursi* (L.) Spreng.

This is often called *ei'ak* which means "berry of *iké'lp*." The fruits, which are not berries but delicious bright red drupes, are known to be a favorite deer food.

*kó.koi.ne'lemex*,<sup>67</sup> *kozkozkenē'lemix*, *kweikwoi kenī'lemex*, *kwoikwoi mī'lemelix*; "blue bag or sack" (Lytton and Spences Bridge name); a Lytton name; "blue vessel or bag" (Nicola name); Thompson band name; *Lupinus* sp.

These names refer to lupines in general. *Lupinus rivularis* and *L. polyphyllus* are often distinguished by name, the many other species mainly by description. Deers feed on these lupines and they are an important fodder for horses and to a less extent for cattle.

*kokoim'ilziiz*, *kwokwoimilezix*; *Lupinus* sp.

This is another name given to the lupines. It is known to the Indians as a favorite horse feed.

*nhatz*, *nx"ā'.tz*, *.nxā'.tz*; sedge; *Carex rostrata* Stokes.

Some rushes (*Juncus*) are also referred to as *.nxā'.tz*. The sedges, like the grasses, are forage plants. This particular species grows abundantly in boggy places.

*nlū'mux*, *nlū'imes* a *sā'ma*; "*nlū'imes* of the whites"; milk vetch; *Astragalus giganteus* Pall., *Astragalus decumbens* A. Gray.

These names are applied to clovers, pea vines, and vetches in general, but especially to the plants named. All of the *Leguminosae* group make excellent forage for animals, but *Astragalus* is considered a particularly rich horse and deer feed.

The Indians differentiate between the different plants by using descriptive terms meaning white-flowered or red-flowered.

<sup>67</sup> Abbreviated form of the following names.



*.ntellū'timex*; vetch; *Vicia* sp.

There are several vetches which are found in the area and they are common forage plants.

*.ntelū'imex*, *.s.ntelū'imex*; American vetch; *Vicia americana* Muhl.

This name is especially given to *Vicia americana*. It is a fodder plant for horses and cattle. It is not known to be used in any other way. This is a rather tall species, growing as high as 1 meter.

*.ntellu'tlimex*; vetch; *Vicia* sp.

This is a diminutive form for the smaller or shorter pea vines.

*.ntól.tū'imex*; "congealed on the earth"; *Spirogyra* sp.

*Spirogyra* is used as a bait in fishing. Algae in general are used in this way.

*.ntól.tā'tko*; "congealed blood in the water"; water knotweed; *Polygonum amphibium* L.

This *Polygonum* grows along the ground near lakes. Its flowers are used as bait for trout.

*.npakema'tko*; "water flower."

This term is applied to any flowers growing in or near the water.

*pešenū'tlen*; wild rye; *Elymus triticoides* Buckl.

This makes good pasturage and is sometimes cut for hay. It is rare west of the Cascades but is common in the interior.

*poskaē'lp*; "humming-bird plant"; pentstemon; *Pentstemon scouleri* Dougl.

This name is also used when referring to *Pentstemon douglasii*, which is a dwarfed high-altitude form with relatively broad and short leaves. Both bees and the humming bird frequent this plant for nectar.

*.siēkemō'ē*, *.siē'qem*; "real or common grass"; slender wheat-grass; *Agropyron tenerum* Vasey.

The second term is the name for grass in general. *Agropyron tenerum* makes an excellent forage and is sometimes cut and fed to horses as hay.

*snū'kas a ikē'lp*; "friend of *ikē'lp*;" myrtle pachistima; *Pachystima myrsinites* (Pursh) Raf.

This low-branching evergreen shrub supplies food for cattle in winter.

They feed on the long narrow leaves when other food is scarce.

*.s.nteltól tu'imex*;<sup>68</sup> "congealed blood of earth"; water knotweed; *Polygonum amphibium* L.

*sólōpse'lt sīx*, *sólōpdī'l.ses*; "mountain sheep's grass," "bighorn-ram grass"; sedge; *Carex* sp.

This is so named because the mountain goat eats it. It is a general forage plant.

*spezenū'tlen*;<sup>69</sup> wild rye; *Elymus triticoides* Buckl.

*steptepū'za*, *.stepapū'za*; "blackberry"; northern black currant; *Ribes hudsonianum* Richards.

*Ribes hudsonianum* is called by most people "*cuxcuxū'za*." Some apply the above name to an entirely different plant, the bearberry honeysuckle, *Lonicera involucrata*. Both plants supply food to the bears in the form of their abundant black berries.

<sup>68</sup> See *.ntól.tā'tko*, p. 515.

<sup>69</sup> See *pešenū'tlen*, p. 515.

.stɛlū'mɛx, .stɛlū'ímɛx .stpē'k spā'kɛms; pea; *Lathyrus* sp.

The first term applies to any species of *Lathyrus*, the second is used for *Lathyrus ochroleucus*, which has an ochroleucous corolla. The other species are differentiated mainly by the color of the flower also.

.stlopei'ɛk, .stlupeiu'k; "twisted wood"; honeysuckle; *Lonicera ciliosa* Poir.

The flowers have a great deal of nectar, so they are frequently visited by bees, and especially by the humming bird. The long trumpet-shaped corolla is very well adapted to the bill of the little humming bird.

tcūɛlsta'm; *Ceanothus*; *Ceanothus velutinus* Dougl.

This small shrub is extensively eaten by deer; in fact, a common name for it is deer brush. The Indians sometimes call it *hux'xǎ'xp*.

tɛltɛlū'ímɛx; "trailing on ground"; pea; *Lathyrus nuttallii* S. Wats.

This is another species of *Lathyrus* which is eaten by deer and horses. All plants of this family make very good forage for animals.

tílemí'lp, tí'lemé'lp; honeysuckle; *Lonicera ciliosa* Poir.

This is the name given to *Lonicera ciliosa* by the Utā'mkt. The name is also applied to *Astragalus decumbens*<sup>70</sup> by the Upper Thompson Indians. The Utā'mkt have observed that the flowers are rich in nectar and are visited by bees and humming birds.

tlorkā''; common reed; *Phragmites communis* Trin.

This is a forage plant, but is not eaten when other food can be obtained.

tse'uxstɛn, se'uxstɛn, sa'uxstɛn; "thing for washing with"; loco weed; *Oxytropis campestris spicata* Hook. and *Astragalus purshii* Dougl.

These terms applied to both of the above plants. Either name was disclaimed as the real one. They are both common forage plants.

tsū'mɛmɛns a pō'ska; "thing sucked by humming bird"; columbine; *Aquilegia truncata* Fisch. & Mey.

This name is also applied to *Aquilegia formosa*, but the more common name for *Aquilegia formosa* is *tcawɛkū'pa*. The above name is applied to several other plants which the humming bird is fond of, including *Pentstemon scouleri*. This particular *Aquilegia* is a favorite flower of the humming bird.

wopke'kena; "little thick or bushy head"; brome grass; *Bromus* sp.

This is so named because of the large many-flowered spikelets in panicles. When in bloom with the lateral styles and plumose stigmas it does resemble a "bushy head." The spikelets are eaten by horses and at times the whole plant forms a forage crop.

## ALPHABETICAL LIST OF FAMILIES WITH GENERA AND SPECIES USED BY THE THOMPSON INDIANS

### CRYPTOGAMS

Agariceae.

Agaricus sp.

Equisetaceae.

Equisetum sp.

Parmeliaceae.

Alectoria jubata.

Evernia vulpina.

Polypodiaceae.

Polystichum munitum.

Pteridium aquilinum.

Polyporaceae.

Polyporus sp.

Zygnemaceae.

Spirogyra sp.

<sup>70</sup> See under .nlū'i mɛx, p. 514.

## PHANEROGAMS

- Aceraceae.  
   *Acer circinatum*.  
   *Acer glabrum*.  
 Amygdalaceae.  
   *Prunus demissa*.  
   *Prunus emarginata*.  
 Anacardiaceae.  
   *Rhus glabra*.  
 Apiaceae.  
   *Cicuta vagans*.  
   *Leptotaenia dissecta*.  
   *Heracleum lanatum*.  
   *Osmorhiza nuda*.  
   *Peucedanum leiocarpum*.  
   *Peucedanum macrocarpum*.  
   *Sium suave*.  
 Apocynaceae.  
   *Apocynum androsaemifolium*.  
   *Apocynum cannabinum*.  
   *Apocynum* sp.  
 Araliaceae.  
   *Aralia nudicaulis*.  
   *Echinopanax horridum*.  
 Aristolochiaceae.  
   *Asarum caudatum*.  
 Aselepiadaceae.  
   *Aselepias speciosa*.  
 Asteraceae.  
   *Achillea millefolium*.  
   *Anaphalis margaritacea*.  
   *Antennaria microphylla*.  
   *Antennaria rosea*.  
   *Antennaria* sp.  
   *Arnica latifolia*.  
   *Artemisia dracunculoides*.  
   *Artemisia frigida*.  
   *Artemisia tridentata*.  
   *Aster foliaceus*.  
   *Balsamorhiza sagittata*.  
   *Chaenactis douglasii*.  
   *Cirsium edule*.  
   *Cirsium hookerianum*.  
   *Cirsium undulatum*.  
   *Erigeron compositus*.  
   *Erigeron filifolius*.  
   *Erigeron salsuginosus*.  
   *Gaillardia aristata*.  
   *Helianthella douglasii*.  
   *Helianthella* sp.  
   *Helianthus lenticularis*.  
   *Helianthus petiolaris*.  
   *Helianthus* sp.  
   *Solidago decumbens*.
- Berberidaceae.  
   *Berberis aquifolium*.  
   *Berberis nervosa*.  
 Betulaceae.  
   *Alnus oregona*.  
   *Alnus rhombifolia*.  
   *Corylus californica*.  
 Boraginaceae.  
   *Lappula hispida*.  
   *Lithospermum angustifolium*.  
   *Lithospermum pilosum*.  
 Cactaceae.  
   *Opuntia polyacantha*.  
   *Opuntia* sp.  
 Caprifoliaceae.  
   *Linnaea borealis*.  
   *Lonicera ciliosa*.  
   *Lonicera involucrata*.  
   *Sambucus caerulea*.  
   *Sambucus canadensis*.  
   *Sambucus racemosa*.  
   *Symphoricarpos albus*.  
   *Viburnum pauciflorum*.  
   *Viburnum trilobum*.  
 Celastraceae.  
   *Pachystima myrsinites*.  
 Chenopodiaceae.  
   *Blitum capitatum*.  
   *Chenopodium botrys*.  
 Cichoriaceae.  
   *Agoseris villosa*.  
   *Hieracium* sp.  
   *Ptiloria tenuifolia*.  
   *Tragopogon porrifolius*.  
 Convallariaceae.  
   *Disporum oreganum*.  
   *Streptopus amplexifolius*.  
   *Streptopus roseus*.  
   *Trillium ovatum*.  
   *Vagnera racemosa*.  
   *Vagnera stellata*.  
 Cornaceae.  
   *Cornus canadensis*.  
   *Cornus nuttallii*.  
   *Cornus pubescens*.  
   *Cornus stolonifera*.  
 Crassulaceae.  
   *Sedum divergens*.  
   *Sedum spathulifolium*.  
 Cruciferae.  
   *Arabis drummondii*.  
 Cyperaceae.  
   *Carex rostrata*.  
   *Scirpus* sp.

## Elaeagnaceae.

- Elaeagnus argentea.*
- Lepargyrea argentea.*
- Lepargyrea canadensis.*

## Ericaceae.

- Artostaphylos uva-ursi.*
- Gaultheria shallon.*
- Kalmia polifolia.*
- Rhododendron albiflorum.*

## Euphorbiaceae.

- Euphorbia glyptosperma.*

## Geraniaceae.

- Geranium richardsonii.*
- Geranium viscosissimum.*

## Grossulariaceae.

- Grossularia irrigua.*
- Ribes cereum.*
- Ribes hudsonianum.*
- Ribes lacustre.*
- Ribes sanguineum.*
- Ribes viscosissimum.*

## Hydrangeaceae.

- Philadelphus lewisii.*

## Hydrophyllaceae.

- Hydrophyllum occidentale.*
- Phacelia leucophylla.*
- Phacelia menziesii.*

## Liliaceae.

- Allium acuminatum.*
- Allium cernuum.*
- Allium stellatum.*
- Calochortus macrocarpus.*
- Quamasia quamash.*
- Erythronium grandiflorum.*
- Fritillaria lanceolata.*
- Fritillaria pudica.*
- Lilium parviflorum.*
- Triteleia grandiflora.*

## Linaceae.

- Linum lewisii.*

## Loasaceae.

- Mentzelia laevicaulis.*

## Malaceae.

- Amelanchier alnifolia.*
- Crataegus douglasii.*
- Crataegus columbiana.*
- Malus fusca.*
- Sorbus sitchensis.*

## Melanthaceae.

- Veratrum californicum.*
- Zygadenus elegans.*

## Menthaceae.

- Lycopus uniflorus.*
- Mentha canadensis.*
- Prunella vulgaris.*

## Nymphaeaceae.

- Nymphaea advena.*

## Onagraceae.

- Epilobium angustifolium.*
- Epilobium sp.*

## Orchidaceae.

- Cypripedium parviflorum.*
- Cytherea bulbosa.*
- Peranium decipiens.*
- Peranium repens.*
- Habenaria leucostachys.*

## Orobanchaceae.

- Orobanche fasciculata.*

## Papilionaceae.

- Astragalus decumbens.*
- Astragalus giganteus.*
- Astragalus purshii.*
- Lathyrus nuttallii.*
- Lathyrus sp.*
- Lupinus polyphyllus.*
- Lupinus rivularis.*
- Oxytropis campestris.*
- Oxytropis monticola.*
- Vicia americana.*
- Vicia sp.*

## Pinaceae.

- Abies grandis.*
- Abies sp.*
- Juniperus communis.*
- Juniperus scopulorum.*
- Juniperus virginiana.*
- Larix occidentalis.*
- Picea engelmanni.*
- Pinus albicaulis.*
- Pinus contorta.*
- Pinus monticola.*
- Pinus murrayana.*
- Pinus ponderosa.*
- Pseudotsuga mucronata.*
- Taxus brevifolia.*
- Thuja plicata.*
- Tsuga mertensiana.*

## Poaceae.

- Agropyron tenerum.*
- Bromus sp.*
- Elymus triticoides.*
- Hierochloe odorata.*
- Phragmites communis.*

## Polemoniaceae.

- Polemonium elegans.*
- Polemonium umbellatum.*

## Polygonaceae.

- Eriogonum androsaceum.*
- Eriogonum heracleoides.*
- Polygonum amphibium.*

- Portulacaceae.  
*Claytonia lanceolata*.  
*Lewisia columbiana*.  
*Lewisia pygmaea*.  
*Lewisia rediviva*.
- Primulaceae.  
*Dodecatheon jeffreyi*.
- Pyrolaceae.  
*Chimaphila umbellata occidentalis*.
- Ranunculaceae.  
*Actaea arguta*.  
*Actaea eburnea*.  
*Anemone multifida*.  
*Anemone occidentalis*.  
*Aquilegia formosa*.  
*Aquilegia truncata*.  
*Caltha rotundifolia*.  
*Clematis columbiana*.  
*Clematis ligusticifolia*.  
*Delphinium menziesii*.  
*Ranunculus douglasii*.  
*Ranunculus glaberrimus*.
- Rhamnaceae.  
*Ceanothus sanguineus*.  
*Ceanothus velutinus*.  
*Rhamnus purshiana*.
- Rosaceae.  
*Aruncus acuminatus*.  
*Fragaria californica*.  
*Fragaria vesca americana*.  
*Geum triflorum*.  
*Geum* sp.  
*Luethea pectinata*.  
*Potentilla anserina*.  
*Potentilla glandulosa*.  
*Rosa gymnocarpa*.  
*Rubus leucodermis*.  
*Rubus macropetalus*.  
*Rubus nutkanus*.
- Rosaceae—Continued.  
*Rubus occidentalis*.  
*Rubus parviflorus*.  
*Rubus pubescens*.  
*Rubus spectabilis*.  
*Rubus strigosus*.  
*Spiraea pyramidata*.
- Salicaceae.  
*Populus tacamahacca*.  
*Populus tremuloides*.  
*Salix cordata*.  
*Salix interior*.
- Santalaceae.  
*Comandra pallida*.
- Saxifragaceae.  
*Leptarrhenia amplexifolia*.
- Scrophulariaceae.  
*Pedicularis bracteosa*.  
*Pedicularis racemosa*.  
*Pentstemon confertus*.  
*Pentstemon douglasii*.  
*Pentstemon scouleri*.
- Solanaceae.  
*Nicotiana attenuata*.
- Typhaceae.  
*Typha latifolia*.
- Urticaceae.  
*Urtica lyallii*.  
*Urtica* sp.
- Vacciniaceae.  
*Vaccinium membranaceum*.  
*Vaccinium oreophilum*.  
*Vaccinium ovalifolium*.  
*Vaccinium ovatum*.  
*Vaccinium parvifolium*.
- Valerianaceae.  
*Valeriana sitchensis*.  
*Valeriana sylvatica*.

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*Tsuntia*, p. 479.  
*Typha latifolia*, pp. 482, 496, 498.  
*Urtica lyallii*, pp. 471, 472.  
*Urtica* sp., pp. 472, 505.  
*Vaccinium membranaceum*, p. 490.  
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*Vaccinium ovalifolium*, pp. 490, 495.  
*Vaccinium ovatum*, p. 487.  
*Vaccinium parvifolium*, pp. 490, 495.  
*Vaccinium* sp., pp. 487, 490.  
*Vagnera racemosa*, pp. 450, 458, 459, 467, 486.  
*Vagnera stellata*, pp. 459, 486.  
*Valeriana* sp., pp. 460, 495, 513.  
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*Veratrum californicum*, pp. 460, 511, 512.  
*Viburnum pauciflorum*, p. 487.  
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*Vicia*, p. 515.  
*Vicia americana*, p. 515.  
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*Zygadenus elegans*, pp. 463, 508, 511, 512.



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**THE OSAGE TRIBE**  
**RITE OF THE WA-XO'-BE**

BY  
FRANCIS LA FLESCHE



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SAUCY CALF





# THE OSAGE TRIBE: RITE OF THE WA-XO'-BE

By FRANCIS LA FLESCHE

## INTRODUCTION

Ṭse-zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga-wa-da-i<sup>n'</sup>-ga, Playful-calf, is the name of the Osage Indian who recited into the dictaphone for the purpose of recording the tribal ritual entitled Wa-xo'-be A-wa-tho<sup>n'</sup>, Singing of the Wa-xo'-be songs, or songs relating to the Wa-xo'-be. The ritual is the first of the two that are presented in this volume, which is the third on "The Osage Tribe."

The "Songs Relating to the Wa-xo'-be" is a degree that stands first in the order of the seven tribal war rituals as observed by the Tho'-xe (Buffalo Bull) gens of the Ṭsi'-zhu great division. (See 36th Ann. Rept. B. A. E., p. 152.) The Tho'-xe gens, of which Ṭse-zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga-wa-da-i<sup>n'</sup>-ga is a member, is one of two gentes who are jointly credited with the introduction of the hawk to stand as a symbol of the courage and valor of the warrior (36th Ann. Rept. B. A. E., p. 65); the other gens is the Ni'-ka Wa-ko<sup>n'</sup>-da-gi, Men of Mystery.

Ṭse-zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga-wa-da-i<sup>n'</sup> is one of the sacred names belonging to the Tho'-xe gens. Its correct translation as above given is Playful-calf, but through an insufficient knowledge of the English language the name was translated by an interpreter as "Saucy-calf." This name attached itself to the genial man to the time of his death. One day, as Wa-ṭse'-mo<sup>n'</sup>-i<sup>n'</sup> and I stood talking about a certain line of a wi'-gi-e he had given me, a neighbor of his joined us. The conversation ended abruptly and I turned to the neighbor and said to him: "Brother, can you tell me the meaning of the name Ṭse-zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga-wa-da-i<sup>n'</sup>-ga?" He quickly replied, "It means Saucy-calf, but look, look!" and he pointed at a calf that leaped and gamboled around its mother that was tethered to a wagon not far away. "That's what the name means, Saucy-calf," he said. I could see the playfulness of the calf but not its sauciness. However, as the man had become generally known among his Indian and white friends by the name "Saucy-calf" the queer mistranslation will be used in this volume for the sake of brevity instead of his lengthy Indian name.

Saucy-calf (pl. 14) was a man in middle life, agreeable in manners and of a kindly and hospitable nature. A few years before this work on "The Osage Tribe" was begun he came to Washington as a member of the Osage Council that came to discuss with the Com-

missioner of Indian Affairs important matters pertaining to the development and the use of certain tribal properties. During the stay of the council in this city I spent many evenings with the Osage men and we never wearied of talking about the Osage and the Omaha, their tribal rites, religious customs, ceremonials, gentile organization, etc.

One evening I went to see the Osage and found Saucy-calf sitting in the assembly room alone. The others had gone out to the various places of amusement. Saucy-calf did not go out because, he said, he wanted to spend the evening with me and learn more about the Omaha who from our talks, he observed, had many customs in common with his own people. He desired particularly to know if the Omaha had a corn rite. I told him of the ceremonial distribution of four grains of consecrated corn every spring to each family of the tribe as a notice that the time for planting had come, and I sang for him the corn song which was given a prominent place in the group of buffalo songs that were sung in the night after the surround of a herd during the ceremonial hunting. (See 27th Ann. Rept. B. A. E., pp. 261-309.) He then gave me the information that the life symbols of his gens, the Tho'-xe, were the buffalo, the various colored corn, the squashes that were wedded to the different colored corn, and certain medicinal plants. To that gens belonged the mythical story of the great bull that miraculously gave to the people the corn, the squash, and the medicinal plants. (See 36th Ann. Rept. B. A. E., pp. 279-281, wi'-gi-e, lines 54 to 110.)

After giving me this information the old man said: "My son, the ancient No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n'</sup>-zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga have handed down to us, in songs, wi'-gi-e, ceremonial forms, symbols, and many things they learned of the mysteries that surround us on all sides. All these things they learned through their power of 'wa-thi'-gtho<sup>n'</sup>,' the power to search with the mind. They speak of the mysteries of the light of day by which the earth and all living things that dwell thereon are influenced; of the mysteries of the darkness of night that reveal to us all the great bodies of the upper world, each of which forever travels in a circle upon its own path, unimpeded by the others. They searched, for a long period of time, for the source of life and at last came to the thought that it issues from an invisible creative power to which they applied the name 'Wa-ko<sup>n'</sup>-da.'

"There are some things that are not spoken of by the No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n'</sup>-zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga in the rituals they made, things that are not confided to the thoughtless and irreverent, but are discussed only by men who are serious minded and who treasure the thoughts that are sacred and mysterious.

"There is one expression that has often set me to thinking and it is this: The ancient No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n'</sup>-zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga have likened the arch of the sky to a great head in which are contained all of the things above;

within this head life is conceived and put into bodily forms of all kinds. This thought is symbolized by the shrine ceremonially made of woven rush for the safe-keeping of the Wa-xo'-be, the symbol of the courage of the warrior, which is the central figure in some of the tribal war rites. The upper part of the shrine is made to symbolize the arch of the sky with all that it contains, the figure woven on the flap represents the single stars, the stars that move in groups, like the *Ta tha'-bthi*<sup>a</sup>, Three Deer (Orion's belt), the *Wa'-ba-ha*, Litter (the Big Dipper), the *Ta-pa'*, Deer's Head (Pleiades), and the *Wa-qi-da U-zho*<sup>a</sup>-ge, the Path (Indicator) of the Ripening of All Fruits (Milky Way). The under part, the pocket of the shrine, symbolizes the earth where life takes upon itself bodily forms of all kinds."<sup>1</sup>

When the visiting Osages were about to leave Washington for Oklahoma I went to bid them good-by, but they had all gone out. In a few minutes Saucy-calf returned alone and we at once fell into conversation concerning the two tribes, the Omaha and the Osage. As we passed from one subject to another the old man asked: "Are the men of your tribe tattooed as are those of my tribe?" "Only the Omaha women are tattooed," I replied, "on the forehead, the chest, and the back of the hands." I then gave some of the details of the Omaha ceremony and explained their symbolic significance. "The round spot put upon the forehead was the symbol of the sun; the mark on the chest represented the morning star; the picture of the turtle on the back of the hand meant a long, well-protected, and fruitful life." I also told him that the man who desired to have the ceremony performed and these symbols tattooed upon his daughters paid a fee to each member of a society called "Ho<sup>a</sup>," meaning Night. The title indicates that the members of the order had been specially favored by the Mystery God of Darkness. The man who desired to have the ceremony performed had not only to give the fee to each member but was also required to provide 100 red-handled knives and 100 awls. Just here Saucy-calf broke in, saying: "That is like the special fee required in a ceremony we call *Ça'-tha-çe Ga-xe*, The Making of the Woven Rush (Shrine). For this ceremony there must be provided 70 kettles, 70 red-handled knives, and 70 awls. (See p. 684.) The meaning of the tattoo marks of your people must be the same as those used by my people. There are many little things in the tattooing that stand for one thing or another, but they all mean that the person tattooed will live to be very old, have children, grandchildren, and great grandchildren, and an endless line of descendants. We know that the acts themselves have no mystic force,

<sup>1</sup> Wa-xthi'-zhi gave the same description of the symbolism of the shrine as given by Saucy-calf, and made the further statement that the space between the upper and the under parts of the shrine which represents the space between the sky and the earth is called "i-u'-thu-ga," cavity of the mouth. Both Saucy-calf and Wa-xthi'-zhi are recognized authorities on the tribal symbols and rites.

but the symbolic marks ceremonially put upon the body stand as a supplication to a higher power to bestow these blessings upon the person tattooed."

After a few moments of silent reflection the old man continued: "Many of the sayings of the No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n'</sup>-zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga who lived long ago have come down to us and have been treasured by the people as expressions coming from men who had been in close touch with the Mysterious Power whom the people had learned to worship and to reverence. Moreover, the men who uttered these sayings had long since departed for the spirit land and were regarded by their descendants as Wa-ko<sup>n'</sup>-da-gi, that is, as sacred and mysterious persons. These sayings had been transmitted in ritual form and during the passage of years had been jealously guarded against desecration by those persons who had succeeded in memorizing them and had taken care to teach them only to such pupils as manifested a proper spirit of reverence for things sacred. My people, particularly those of the younger class, are becoming indifferent to these old-time rites. Those who still have an interest in them and manifest a desire to be initiated in the various degrees of the rites are becoming fewer and fewer. It looks as though the sayings of the ancient men will soon be lost and forgotten. Perhaps some day you will come to Oklahoma and then I can recite to you the rituals of my own To<sup>n'</sup>-wo<sup>n'</sup>-gtho<sup>n'</sup> (gens) for you to write them upon paper and that much of our tribal rites can be preserved. I know it is not the practice of the No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n'</sup>-zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga to teach a person these things without the prescribed formalities or without fees, but, in all seriousness, I think that some, at least, of the rituals ought to be put on paper, so that Osage men and women of the future may know what their ancestors thought and said and did."

I made no reply to the old man's suggestion, for at that time I was not in a position, nor was I prepared, to undertake such a study as his suggestions implied.

Not long after Mr. F. W. Hodge, who at that time was ethnologist in charge of the Bureau of American Ethnology, requested me to undertake the study of "The Osage Tribe." With some hesitancy I consented to do the work, knowing well that even for a member of the American Indian race there would be obstacles in the way of securing information concerning tribal rites that govern the religious side of Indian life; rites that were held not only in reverence but also in superstitious awe. On going to my field of work the only ray of hope that gleamed in the distance for me was the suggestion referred to above made by Saucy-calf, and also a service I was able to perform for Wa-tse'-mo<sup>n'</sup>-i<sup>n'</sup>, who had asked me to write for him the titles of the wi'-gi-es and songs of a certain ritual that he would dictate to me. He explained that he expected to be called upon to

initiate a member of his gens in the Wa-xo'-be degree of the tribal rites and that instead of using the counting sticks he preferred to have a written record, as it would insure against any mistake in the established order. The list I made for him proved later to be substantially the same as that given by Wa-xthi'-zhi. (See 36th Ann. Rept. B. A. E., p. 153.) In this work I have undertaken both Saucy-calf and Wa-tse'-mo<sup>n</sup>-i<sup>n</sup> rendered valuable assistance in securing some of the ancient rituals.

On the day of my arrival on the Osage reservation in Oklahoma the first man I met was Saucy-calf, who pressed his hand upon his mouth, a sign of surprise and astonishment; then, as he gave my hand a friendly grasp of welcome, he said: "I knew you would come!" A few days later this old man took me to his home. As we began our study of Osage rites he remarked, "You will notice as we proceed that my memory of these rituals is misty and sometimes I shall be obliged to lead you back and forth. It is a long time since there has been any occasion for me to recite any of these rituals. The words and the songs are like birds, they fly away for a time, but they come back again. Now the first thing to do is to write down the titles of the songs of the ritual called Wa-xo'-be A-wa-tho<sup>n</sup>, Singing of the Wa-xo'-be Songs, with which we will begin our work. You have the advantage of knowing how to write. Our ancestors knew not the art of writing, but they put into ritual form the thoughts they deemed worthy of perpetuating."

The task we entered upon was both laborious and tedious, as we were without a dictaphone, but the old man was kind and patient through it all, as he was determined to make good his word. We had not gone far when he paused to say:

"In some of these initiatory rites the initiator and the initiate bear to each other the ceremonial terms 'father' and 'son,' following the idea that a father is in duty bound to instruct his son in the mysteries of life. Therefore, in speaking to me, you shall say, 'I<sup>n</sup>-da-dsi-e',' father, and I shall say to you, 'Wi-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ge',' my son." We continued to use these ceremonial kinship terms to the time of Saucy-calf's death, as it was pleasanter to so address each other than by personal names, which to the Indians is a rude custom.

Saucy-calf made a counting stick which he held in his hand all the time he worked going over the titles of the songs. Each song was represented by a line marked across the stick and the songs having a common title were arranged in groups which ran up the stick on both sides. The old man began at the lowest group on the front side of the stick and recited upward until he reached the top, when he turned the stick over lengthwise and recited upward from the lower part of the back side.

One day as he was reciting the titles of the songs to me there was a prolonged pause as I waited, pencil in hand. This pause was

unusual for such a wide-awake man and I wondered if he was suddenly taken sick. When I looked into his face there were tears on his cheeks. When he had composed himself he looked at me with a smile and said: "My son, a sudden remembrance of the old No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n'</sup>-zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga brought tears to my eyes. They were kind to me, those old men, when I was working hard to learn from them these sacred songs. As they sat around the fireplace I fed the fire to make it shed light and warmth and I ran to the spring to fetch water for them when they were thirsty. By these little services I won their affection and they were gentle and patient with me when they taught me."

This tender remembrance of his teachers marked the gentle side of the old man's nature, and he was kind to me as I strove to record his words, even as the venerable No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n'</sup>-zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga had been to him.

One afternoon in the autumn of 1910, as I sat in a corner of the agency office, which the superintendent had courteously set apart for my use, putting my notes in order, Saucy-calf drove up to the office in his buggy and called me out to him, when he said: "My son, I am to take part in the initiatory ceremonies of one of the tribal rites and I want you to go with me. You must prepare yourself to be gone about three days." It did not take me long to get ready and soon we were on the road talking about the sayings of the ancient No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n'</sup>-zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga. The old man drove slowly uphill and downhill, toward the village of the Pa-çi-u'-gthi<sup>n'</sup>, Dwellers-on-the-hill-top, to the trading post called Gray-horse (see 36th Ann. Rept. B. A. E., fig. 1, p. 46), in order that he might teach me some of the wi'-gi-es. We were passing a bunch of gumweed (*Silphium laciniatum*) that stood by the roadside and Saucy-calf, touching the stalks with his whip, asked: "What do your people call this plant?" "We call it," I answered, "zha'-pa-hi, bitterweed. The root is used for medicine and the young people chew the gum that oozes out of the stalks. What do the Osage call it?" I asked. He replied, "We call it mi'-to-(ga)-xthe hi, faces-the-sun, because the blossoms of this plant turn toward the sun from morning until night. The boys and girls chew the gum that comes from the stalks." In this way, as we drove along, we compared the Omaha and Osage names and uses of various plants.

At Gray-horse we were the guests of Wa-zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga-ça-be (Blackbird), one of the prominent men. On the first two days, after our arrival late at night, certain preliminary ceremonies were performed which I did not witness. Long before sunrise on the morning of the third day Saucy-calf and Blackbird arose and prepared themselves for the ceremonies of painting and dressing the Xo'-ğa (initiator). Saucy-calf did not feel at liberty to invite me to the ceremony, but he told me to stand close to the house so that I could see the cere-

monial approach of the Xo'-ka, his candidate, the A'-ki-ho<sup>n</sup> Xo'-ka, and the Sho'-ka, to the place arranged for the full ceremony. Saucy-calf thought it important for me to see this processional approach as it was full of symbolic meaning and significance. When these principal actors of the drama had taken their places and all the No<sup>n</sup>'-ho<sup>n</sup>'-zhi<sup>n</sup>'-ga were about to enter the "House of Mystery," Saucy-calf hastened to find me and said: "I have arranged a place for you by my side during the ceremony; follow me closely."

We took our seats and during the pause before the exercises began Saucy-calf said, "You have seen the processional approach and now I want you to give special attention to the other we'-ga-xe (dramatic acts) that occur throughout the ceremony, for they are full of mystic meaning. It will be a little confusing for you at first, but keep your book and pencil ready and don't be afraid to write down the things that are important. Pay no attention to the songs; we will take them up later. The we'-ga-xe are the processional approach, which you have just seen; the counting of o-do<sup>n</sup>' (military honors) by the Wa'-do<sup>n</sup>'-be, chosen by the candidate; the striking of the center of the earth by the candidate; the acts to be performed by the Xo'-ka when he symbolically connects the sun's pathway with the center of the earth marked by the candidate; the acts to be performed by the Xo'-ka with the cottonwood tree to be planted in the marked center of the earth; the acts of the Xo'-ka, who shoots westward the symbolic arrows representing day and night that stand for the continuity of life."

Had Saucy-calf been less patient and not given me the order of the dramatic acts at the beginning of the ceremony, I would have become hopelessly bewildered, for some of the acts included several different parts that had to be performed simultaneously by the various actors. For instance, the singer sings the songs pertaining to the counting of the o-do<sup>n</sup>'; the members of the war gentes of the Tsi'-zhu division recite the wi'-gi-e of the 13 sun rays that symbolize the o-do<sup>n</sup>'; the members of the Ho<sup>n</sup>'-ga subdivision of the Ho<sup>n</sup>'-ga great division recite the wi'-gi-e of the 13 black-bear footprints that symbolize the o-do<sup>n</sup>'; the Wa'-zha'-zhe subdivision recite the wi'-gi-e that relates to the 13 willow saplings used for counting the o-do<sup>n</sup>'; the candidate touches the heads of the No<sup>n</sup>'-ho<sup>n</sup>'-zhi<sup>n</sup>'-ga with the ceremonial pipe and the symbolic hawk and wails as he goes from man to man; the women members of the order also wail. All of these acts are given simultaneously and would be confusing and meaningless to a stranger like myself or to a member of the tribe not initiated into the rite.

Not only did my instructor give me the order of the we'-ga-xe, but as the ceremony proceeded he kept me informed as to what was to follow as each dramatic act was performed. The object of Saucy-calf in having me witness the ceremony did not fail of its purpose,

for gradually it became clear to me that the rite as a whole was of a cosmic character; that it was a dramatization of the movements of certain cosmic forces whose combined power brought forth material life upon the earth and set it in perpetual motion.

It was a daring thing for an Osage to do, the bringing of a stranger into the House of Mystery and making a seat for him in a place belonging to Saucy-calf's own gens. This act betokened the sincerity of Saucy-calf's desire to have the entire rite permanently recorded in order that the conceptions of his ancestors as expressed in their religious rites might not be altogether lost in the changes that were steadily coming over his people.

Beside the act just spoken of, the earnestness of Saucy-calf in his desire to have the tribal rites recorded manifested itself in other ways. Not long after the performance of the Wa-xo'-be ceremony at Gray-horse, when Saucy-calf and I were at work on the ritual, he paused for a few minutes in serious thought, then he said: "My son, death comes when we least expect it to take us away. It offers us no choice in the manner of our going. To-day I work with you in a happy spirit; to-morrow death may come to take me away. But whether it comes to-morrow or whether it comes later it may be well for you to seek the friendly acquaintance of two men who are well informed on the tribal rites in order to continue this work. The older of the two is the best, and he is competent to explain to you the things that may be obscure in meaning."

This talk had a depressing effect upon me and set me to thinking how I should get along without Saucy-calf, but he quickly resumed his cheerful manner and put me in a better frame of mind by telling me of amusing incidents that sometimes take place in a ceremony, arising from the blunders of an inexperienced Xo'-ka, which made the No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n'</sup>-zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga present forget their obligation to maintain their dignity in such a place and break out in a roar of laughter. Such a blunder happened during the ceremony that I witnessed at Gray-horse, but on this occasion the No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n'</sup>-zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga present received a rebuke from a certain member of the order which brought them back to a proper sense of their duty.

One morning, just as we were about to begin the day's work, the old man fixed his eyes upon me as a smile spread over his kindly face, and I wondered what was coming; then, still smiling, he quietly said: "My son, objection is made to my giving you the ritual. The ritual is mine by purchase and the right to teach it to a friend is also mine. There are some things, however, that must be given thought looking toward the continuance of this work. We are both feeling our way as we go along to avoid annoyance by meddling persons. We want to go on with the work, but it may be well to rest until the talk is blown away by the winds."

This information was a bit disconcerting to me, although I expected to meet some difficulty and had prepared myself for it. The old



man kept his eyes fixed upon my face as though to gather from it the thoughts that played within. I gathered my notes together and rose to go. "I<sup>a</sup>-da-dsi-e'," I said to him, "I am going back to the office to do some work there through the day, but I shall come back to-morrow morning early, and then I shall tell you something interesting." We parted at the door, when he said: "My son, I shall expect you to-morrow morning."

On the following morning I was at Saucy-calf's house. He had just finished his breakfast and had begun to paint his face for the day. His greeting was as cordial as ever and he insisted on my taking the big rocking-chair while he sat on the floor and with mirror in hand proceeded with deliberate care to put on his cheeks and other parts of his face the proper tinge, using for his brush a bit of otter skin. This painting, which usually took an hour or more, was decorative as well as ceremonial, but with all this he did not forget that he must be entertaining, and he opened conversation with his deer-hunting days and his knowledge of the habits of the little animal, but, as we were on a vacation, I did not bring out my notebook and pencil. However, I made mental notes when he became particularly interesting. At last the symbolic face painting was done, but to complete the ceremonial picture the old man carefully put on his head his otter-skin cap, to the back of which was fastened a fluffy eagle feather dyed red to represent the dawn that is symbolic of a long and faithful life. This done, he brought out from somewhere a box of cigars and we smoked. Then the old man looked into my face with a smile in which I read a question, to which I promptly made reply. "I<sup>a</sup>-da-dsi-e'," I said, "we are both very tired and I think it would do us lots of good to take a trip to Washington." He was completely taken by surprise, and his questioning smile ripened into a hearty laugh as he exclaimed: "Run away from the objector! Who would have thought of it?" The old man looked hard at the burning end of his cigar as he spoke again: "My son, give me three days to prepare and to arrange for the care of my ponies. We will go; we will work on the ritual and no one shall interfere."

For a fortnight or so, on our arrival at Washington, Saucy-calf and I worked undisturbed on the Wa-xo'-be ritual. No one could be better pleased than my friendly instructor when the work was done and he knew that one ritual, at least, of those formulated by the ancient No<sup>a</sup>'-ho<sup>a</sup>-zhi<sup>a</sup>-ga had been "put on paper" and permanently recorded. In Washington our work had progressed more rapidly than in Oklahoma because Secretary Walcott had kindly permitted us to use his own dictaphone.

It was Saucy-calf's desire, so he said, to record all the rituals in which he had a proprietary right. One day as he was quietly thinking

he said to me: "My son, I shall have you record only those rituals that belong to me as a member of the Tho'-xe gens." He felt the need of refreshing his memory for our future work, and to that end he returned to Oklahoma, where, in February, 1912, he suddenly died.

His loss as a historian of the tribal rites was great, but fortunately I had learned from him the names of the various degrees of the rites, so that I was enabled to inquire intelligently concerning them of the men he had recommended to me for future work. Death had, in truth, taken Saucy-calf away, but the voice of the old man, though he has been dead many years, is still held captive by the dictaphone and can be heard to-day singing the songs and reciting the rituals of the Wa-xo'-be degree of the tribal rites as they were taught him by the ancient No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n'</sup>-zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga of the Tho'-xe gens.

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PART I. SONGS OF THE WA-XO'-BE

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## PART I. SONGS OF THE WA-XO'-BE

### THE SEVEN SONGS

#### WA-XO'-BE A-WA-THO<sup>N</sup>

(SONGS OF THE WA-XO'-BE)

As in the ritual of the No<sup>n</sup>'-zhi<sup>n</sup>-zho<sup>n</sup> (rite of vigil) degree of the tribal rites, the songs of the Wa-xo'-be degree are divided into two great groups, the first of which is called Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>' Pe-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba tse, The Seven Songs, and is spoken of as belonging to the Ho<sup>n</sup>'-ga great division; the second group is called Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>' Sha-pe tse, The Six Songs, and is recognized as belonging to the Tsi'-zhu great division.

Saucy-calf, in giving the sequential order of the songs of the Wa-xo'-be degree as fixed and used by the No<sup>n</sup>'-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga of the Tho'-xe gens, began with the song that relates to the ceremonial unfolding and opening of the bags and woven rush case in which is enshrined the Wa-xo'-be, the hawk, consecrated for use as an emblem of the courage and valor of a warrior. For the first group Saucy-calf counts 18 songs and for the second 15. The fixed order of the ritual songs as observed by the Tho'-xe gens is as follows:<sup>2</sup>

#### WA-THO<sup>N</sup>' PE-THO<sup>N</sup>-BA TSE

(THE SEVEN SONGS)

1. Wa-xo'-be Thu-shke Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>, Songs of Opening of the Shrine.
2. U-dse' U-gi-no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>, Song of the Commander Standing at his Fireplace.
3. Ga-ço<sup>n</sup>'-i<sup>n</sup>-xtsi Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>, Early Morning Songs.
4. Sho<sup>n</sup>'-ge Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>, Wolf Songs.
5. Gthe-do<sup>n</sup>' Wa-tho<sup>n</sup> U-ko<sup>n</sup>-dsi, The Isolated Hawk Song.
6. Pe'-xe Thu-ça-bi Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>, Songs of Taking up the Rattle.
7. Wa-tho<sup>n</sup> Pi-zhi, The Mysterious Song. (First song of the No<sup>n</sup>'-zhi<sup>n</sup>-zho<sup>n</sup> group.)
8. No<sup>n</sup>'-zhi<sup>n</sup>-zho<sup>n</sup> Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>, Songs of the Rite of Vigil.
9. Mi<sup>n</sup>'-dse Ga-xe Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>, Making of the Bow Songs.
10. Wa-no<sup>n</sup>'-xe Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>, Spirit Songs.
11. Mi Tho'-to<sup>n</sup> do<sup>n</sup> Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>, Songs of the Mid-heaven Sun.
12. Mi Wa'-tho<sup>n</sup> Zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, Little Songs of the Sun, or Mi A'-po-ga Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>, Afternoon Songs.
13. Ho-ke' Wa-tho<sup>n</sup> I-ta, Song of the Ho-ke. (Meaning obscure.)

<sup>2</sup> The I<sup>n</sup>-gtho<sup>n</sup>'-ga and the Wa-ça'-be gentes of the Ho<sup>n</sup>'-ga subdivision begin the count of their order of the songs with the Tsi Ta'-pe Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>, Song of the Processional Approach to the House of Mystery. (See 39th Ann. Rept. B. A. E., p. 77.)

14. Sho<sup>n</sup>-ge Mo<sup>n</sup>-zho<sup>n</sup> Op-she Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>, Songs of the Wanderings of the Wolf Over the Land.
15. Wa'-i<sup>n</sup> Xa-ge Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>, The Weeping Song.
16. Wa-thu'-çe Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>, Song of the Seizing (of the Wa'-do<sup>n</sup>-be, the warrior chosen to recount his military honors).
17. Ka'-xe Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>, The Crow Songs.
18. Tse Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>, Buffalo Songs.

WA-THO<sup>n</sup>' SHA-PE TSE

(THE SIX SONGS)

19. Tse-do'-a Ni-ka I-no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>, Songs of the Rising of the Buffalo Bulls and Men.
20. Ta Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>, Deer Song.
21. Wa-ça'-be Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>, Black Bear Songs.
22. No<sup>n</sup>-xthe' I-ki<sup>n</sup>-dse Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>, Songs of the Fight for the Symbolic Charcoal.
23. Ni'-dsi Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>, Songs of the Water. (Crossing a river.)
24. Wa'-tse Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>, Star Songs.
25. Pa'-çe do<sup>n</sup> Wa-tho<sup>n</sup> To<sup>n</sup>-ga, The Great Evening Songs.
26. Wa-po'-ga, Owl, or Pa'çe do<sup>n</sup> Wa-tho<sup>n</sup> Zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, Little Evening Songs.
27. We'-ts'a Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>, Snake Songs.
28. Ni-zhiu' Wa-tho<sup>n</sup> To<sup>n</sup>-ga, The Great Rain Songs.
29. Ni-zhiu' Wa-tho<sup>n</sup> Zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, The Little Rain Songs.
30. Ki-ka'-xe I-ki-tsi<sup>n</sup> Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>, Songs of Making them Strike Each Other. (The symbolic club and a scalp.)
31. Mo<sup>n</sup>' Gthu-stse-dse Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>, Songs of Drawing the Symbolic Arrows.
32. Wa-tsi' A-dsi Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>, Victory Songs.
33. U'-thu-çe I-no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-bi Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>, Song of the Rising of the Participants (to depart).

Hi<sup>n</sup>-çi'-mo<sup>n</sup>-i<sup>n</sup>, who was also a member of the Tho'-xe gens, had an old counting stick among other ceremonial treasures which he declined to part with. However, for a small fee he consented to give the names of the groups of songs having in common the same title, which groups were represented by marks on his counting stick. The number of the titles and the order given by Hi<sup>n</sup>-çi'-mo<sup>n</sup>-i<sup>n</sup> agreed with those given by Saucy-calf with two exceptions. Saucy-calf included in his list a group of songs called No<sup>n</sup>-xthe' I-ki<sup>n</sup>-dse Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>, which does not appear in Hi<sup>n</sup>-çi'-mo<sup>n</sup>-i<sup>n</sup>'s list. The explanation of this difference accidentally came about as follows: One day when Saucy-calf and I were out walking we were met by Hi<sup>n</sup>-çi'-mo<sup>n</sup>-i<sup>n</sup>, who shook hands with me, and after the usual greetings he said to Saucy-calf: "I hear that you are giving to this man our version of the Wa-xo'-be A-wa-tho<sup>n</sup> ritual. No one can dispute your right to give it away, but in

doing so you should not make any changes in the ritual but give it in the same form as it had been handed down to us." Saucy-calf did not speak but gave the man a steady, questioning look, to which Hi<sup>n</sup>-çi'-mo<sup>n</sup>-i<sup>n</sup> responded: "You have added to the ritual the No<sup>n</sup>-xthe' I-ki<sup>n</sup>-dse Wa-tho<sup>n</sup> (line 22), which does not belong to the Tho'-xe gens." Saucy-calf then replied: "It is true that originally the No<sup>n</sup>-xthe' I-ki<sup>n</sup>-dse was not in our version of the ritual, but years ago a man of the O'-po<sup>n</sup> gens offered himself as a candidate for initiation in the Wa-xo'-be degree of the tribal rites, but he asked that the Tho'-xe version of the ritual be used instead of that of the O'-po<sup>n</sup>. The No<sup>n</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga of that gens requested my father to act as Xo'-ka at their initiation ceremony and he consented to do so. For this favor they gave to my father the right to use the No<sup>n</sup>-xthe' I-ki<sup>n</sup>-dse, and it is by his authority that I have been using the songs in this ritual."

Later, when To<sup>n</sup>-wo<sup>n</sup>-i'-hi-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga and Wa-xthi'-zhi were asked if they had heard of Saucy-calf's story, they replied that they had, and they gave the further information that those two gentes, the O'-po<sup>n</sup> and the Tho'-xe, complimented each other by one initiating a member of the other into the mystic tribal rites. This mutual exchange of ceremonial honors is called, "Ki-xo'-ka," they initiate one another.

The other difference is in the closing two songs which Hi<sup>n</sup>-çi'-mo<sup>n</sup>-i<sup>n</sup> gave but one title, Wa-tsi' A-dsi, while Saucy-calf separated the two by giving the last one a subtitle, U'-thu-çe I-no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-bi, and counted it as a song standing by itself. (Lines 32-33.)

Hi<sup>n</sup>-çi'-mo<sup>n</sup>-i<sup>n</sup> started to go, when Saucy-calf said: "Stand a moment, my younger brother. Tell me, are you well informed on the various parts of the Wa-xo'-be degree which we are discussing?" "I am," replied Hi<sup>n</sup>-çi'-mo<sup>n</sup>-i<sup>n</sup>. "Then," said Saucy-calf, "tell me, will you, how many different kinds of animal skins are required for use as symbols in the ceremony?" "There are four different kinds," Hi<sup>n</sup>-çi'-mo<sup>n</sup>-i<sup>n</sup> promptly replied. "No, my son," said Saucy-calf, using, humorously, the ceremonial kinship term, "seven animal skins are required," they are, counting on his fingers:

1. I<sup>n</sup>-gtho<sup>n</sup>'-gthe-zhe zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, the little mottled lynx.
2. Sho<sup>n</sup>'-ge hi<sup>n</sup> tu, the dark gray wolf.
3. I<sup>n</sup>-gtho<sup>n</sup>'-ga do-ga, the male puma.
4. Wa-ça'-be do-ga, the male black bear.
5. Wa-dsu'-ta to<sup>n</sup>-ga, the great animal (buffalo).
6. Wa-dsu'-ta çi-hi, the yellow animal, the elk.
7. Wa-dsu'-ta zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, the little animal, the deer.

"These are the seven sacred animal skins, my son. Do not forget this if ever you are called upon to act as master of ceremonies in this ritual."

## CEREMONY OF BLOWING ON THE SYMBOLIC SKINS

The ceremony first performed by the No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga at an initiation in the Tho'-xe version of the Wa-xo'-be degree, according to Saucy-calf, is called No<sup>n</sup>-ni' A-tha-sho-dse, literally, tobacco smoking upon. This title is understood by all Osages who have some knowledge of the tribal rites to mean the ceremony of blowing tobacco smoke upon the pelts of the seven animals chosen by the ancient No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga for use in the rites as emblems of courage. The candidate chosen for initiation into the mysteries of the degree is required to furnish the seven symbolic pelts. In the early days seven years were allowed the candidate within which to make this collection for the reason, it is thought, that in those times when the arrow was the only effective weapon known to the Osage, these animals, particularly the lynx and the puma, were difficult to procure. Since the introduction of firearms by traders the task has been less difficult for a candidate, so that he could procure the pelts within three years and be ready for his initiation.

The following is a free translation of the No<sup>n</sup>-ni' A-tha-sho-dse Wi'-gi-e as recited by Saucy-calf in the dictaphone:

## THE WI'-GI-E

(Osage version, p. 731; literal translation, p. 807)

1. What shall the little ones make to be their symbol of courage, as they travel the path of life? it has been said, in this house.
2. The little mottled lynx that lies outstretched, they said,
3. He who is their grandfather, a person of great courage, they shall make to be their symbol of courage, it has been said, in this house.
4. At break of day
5. My grandfather (the lynx) rushed forth to attack
6. A deer with curved horns.
7. My grandfather struck the deer and made it to lie outstretched in death.
8. My grandfather approached the fallen deer
9. With an air of exultation;
10. He gave a cry of triumph, and spake, saying:
11. When, toward the setting sun the little ones
12. Go forth to strike the enemy,
13. In this very manner they shall always triumph.
14. Their hands shall ever be upon the foe; as they travel the path of life.
15. Here he made a curve (or bend), it has been said, in this house.
16. And what shall the little ones make to be their symbol of courage, as they travel the path of life? it has been said, in this house.
17. The dark gray wolf that lies outstretched, they said,



18. He who is their grandfather, a person of great courage, they shall make to be their symbol of courage, it has been said, in this house.
19. At break of day
20. My grandfather (the gray wolf) rushed forth to attack
21. A half-grown deer,
22. Within the very bend of a river.
23. My grandfather brought the deer to the ground, to lie outstretched in death.
24. Whereupon he gave a cry of triumph, and spake, saying:
25. When the little ones go forth to strike the enemy,
26. In this very manner they shall always triumph.
27. When they make my hands to be their hands
28. Their hands shall ever be upon the foe, as they travel the path of life.
29. Here he made a second curve, it has been said, in this house.
30. And what shall the little ones make to be their symbol of courage, as they travel the path of life? it has been said, in this house.
31. The male puma that lies outstretched, they said,
32. He who is their grandfather, a person of great courage,
33. They shall make to be their symbol of courage.
34. At break of day
35. My grandfather (the male puma) rushed forth to attack
36. The dark-horned deer that lies outstretched,
37. Within the very bend of a river.
38. My grandfather brought the deer to the ground, to lie outstretched in death.
39. He uttered a cry of triumph, then spake, saying:
40. When the little ones go forth to strike the enemy,
41. In this very manner they shall always triumph.
42. Their hands shall ever be upon the foe, as they travel the path of life.
43. Here he made a third curve, it has been said, in this house.
44. And what shall the little ones make to be their symbol of courage, as they travel the path of life? it has been said, in this house.
45. The male black bear that lies outstretched, they said,
46. He who is their grandfather, they shall make to be their symbol of courage.
47. At break of day
48. My grandfather rushed forth to attack
49. A hummock of no particular size,
50. Which he tore up in many pieces;
51. The little insects that dwelt therein
52. He crushed between his teeth,

53. And at the left corner of his mouth
54. The blood of the insects trickled down.
55. He uttered a cry of triumph, then spake, saying:
56. When the little ones go forth to strike the enemy,
57. In this very manner they shall always triumph.
58. Their hands shall ever be upon the foe, as they travel the path of life.
59. Here he made a fourth curve, it has been said, in this house.
  
60. What shall the little ones make to be their symbol of courage, as they travel the path of life? it has been said, in this house.
61. The great animal (buffalo bull) that stands, they said,
62. He who is their grandfather, a person of great courage, they shall make to be their symbol of courage, it has been said, in this house.
63. At break of day
64. My grandfather (the bull) went forth to an attack,
65. Upon the top of a high cliff
66. Which he tore and made to fall.
67. He uttered a cry of triumph, then spake, saying:
68. When the little ones go forth to strike the enemy,
69. In this very manner they shall always triumph.
70. Their hands shall ever be upon the foe, as they travel the path of life.
  
71. What shall the little ones make to be their symbol of courage, as they travel the path of life? it has been said, in this house.
72. The yellow animal (the elk) that stands, they said,
73. He who is their grandfather, they shall make to be their symbol of courage, it has been said, in this house.
74. In the open prairie, where trees grow not,
75. He fell upon the sun-gazers (gum-weed stalks) that stand,
76. And brought them to the ground, reducing them into a twisted knot.
77. He uttered a cry of triumph, then spake, saying:
78. When the little ones go forth to strike the foe,
79. In this very manner they shall always triumph.
80. Their hands shall ever be upon the foe, as they travel the path of life.
  
81. What shall the little ones make to be their symbol of courage, as they travel the path of life? it has been said, in this house.
82. The little animal (the deer) that lies outstretched, they said,
83. He who is their grandfather, although he has no gall,
84. They shall make to be their symbol of courage.
85. He it was who came upon four villages.

86. Close along their borders he ran swiftly without harm.  
 87. Even when he runs close to the borders of a village,  
 88. The arrows of his pursuers flying about him,  
 89. He escapes all dangers.  
 90. He it was who said: When the little ones make of me their  
     symbol of courage,  
 91. They shall always escape dangers,  
 92. So shall it be even with one of the little ones,  
 93. They shall cause their hands to be ever present upon the foe,  
     as they travel the path of life, it has been said, in this house.

THE HO<sup>n</sup>-BE'-ÇU

(SHAPING THE MOCCASINS)

At sunrise of the day succeeding the one during which the smoke-offering ceremony was performed the No<sup>n</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga meet again at the house of the candidate to perform the ceremony next in order, called Ho<sup>n</sup>-be'-çu, literally, -Ho<sup>n</sup>-be, moccasins; çu, cut. This title is understood as meaning the cutting into shape of the material to be used in making the symbolic moccasins to be worn during the ceremony by the Xo'-қа and the Sho'-қа as a part of their sacerdotal attire.

When the No<sup>n</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga have entered the house and taken their places in the gentile order as described on page 562, the A'-ki-ho<sup>n</sup> Xo'-қа places in the hands of the Sho'-қа two pieces of buffalo skin, one piece larger than the other, also a blanket with other articles of value, and directs him to place them before the headman of the Tse-do'-ga I<sup>n</sup>-dse (Buffalo-bull-face) gens. The Sho'-қа, as instructed, carries these articles to the headman of the gens, who lays aside the blanket and other goods that were offered to him as fees for the part he is to perform. The Sho'-қа then spreads upon the ground in front of the headman of the gens the larger piece of the buffalo skin, hair side down, placing beside it an awl and some sinew. The Sho'-қа kneels facing the skin and the headman of the gens as he holds a knife poised ready to perform his part and thus waits for the headman of the gens to begin the recitation of his wi'-gi-e. The headman of the gens now begins to recite the Ho<sup>n</sup>-be'-çu Wi'-gi-e, in which he is joined by all the members of the gens. The recitation is not in unison, for each man recites independently of the others.

At the end of line 13 the Sho'-қа places the point of the knife upon the center of the square of the skin, then draws with it a line to the edge of the skin at his right, which is for the east.

The Sho'-қа again places the point of the knife on the center of the skin; at line 26 he quickly draws toward himself a line to the edge of the skin, which is for the south.

The recitation proceeds, and at line 39. the Sho'-ka puts the point of the knife upon the center of the skin, then draws a line to the edge at his left, which is for the west.

The recitation goes on without pause and at line 52 the Sho'-ka again puts the point of the knife upon the center of the skin, then draws a line away from him to the edge, which is for the north.

The recitation continues to line 71 without action by the Sho'-ka, but as lines 72 to 77 are being recited the Sho'-ka actually cuts the larger square piece of skin, beginning at the center and following the line first made. This cut implies a determination to destroy the chief of a hostile tribe.

During the recitation of lines 78 to 82 the Sho'-ka cuts the skin, following the second marking. This act implies a determination to destroy the woman of a hostile tribe who is honored for her virtue and who gives birth to children of tribal rank.

The cut made by the Sho'-ka during the reciting of lines 83 to 87 follows the marking of the third line. This act implies a determination to destroy the warrior of a hostile tribe who is honored for his military prowess.

During the reciting of lines 88 to 92 the Sho'-ka cuts the skin, following the fourth line he had made. This act implies a determination to destroy the woman of a hostile tribe who has given birth to her first child.

#### THE SEWING

As lines 93 to 98 are being recited the Sho'-ka takes up the awl and sinew and roughly sews together the edges of the square piece of buffalo skin and finishes the left foot of the first pair of moccasins, being careful to give this foot six stitches. The thrust of the awl implies a determination to destroy the young man of a hostile tribe who is in the period of adolescence. The strand of sinew used for sewing the edges together symbolizes the sacred snake (the rattle-snake).

As lines 99 to 104 are being recited the Sho'-ka takes up the piece of skin for the right foot and hastily sews together the edges in the same manner as the first, excepting that to this foot he is careful to give seven stitches. The awl thrust implies a determination to destroy the maiden of a hostile tribe who is in the period of adolescence. The strand of sinew used symbolizes the red-bellied snake.

As lines 105 to 110 are being recited the Sho'-ka quickly sews together the edges of the third piece of skin for the left foot of the second pair of moccasins. The awl thrust implies a determination to destroy the warrior of a hostile tribe who is honored for his military prowess. The sinew used symbolizes the spotted-bellied snake. The Sho'-ka gives this foot six stitches.

At the recitation of lines 111 to 116 the Sho'-ka sews together the fourth piece of skin for the right foot of the second pair. The awl thrust implies a determination to destroy the woman of a hostile tribe who has given birth to her first child. The sinew used symbolizes the white-bellied snake. The Sho'-ka gives to this foot seven stitches.

In this ceremonial manner are fashioned the two pairs of moccasins to be used in the ceremony by the Xo'-ka. Both pairs are emblematic of the life journey of the people as a tribe, a journey which is made in company with the sun who forever travels from the east to the west, across the sky above, across the middle of the earth below. The first pair is worn by the Xo'-ka as he, with his candidate, joins (figuratively) the pale dawn who ever comes as herald to announce the approach of the great god of day. Slowly the Xo'-ka and his candidate move with the dawn to the place prepared for the ceremony, a place emblematic of the earth and also of the sky across which the sun is to travel.

Upon the arrival of the two at the west end of the place of ceremony the Xo'-ka pauses while he slips off the first pair of moccasins and puts on his feet the second pair, an act which signifies that they are about to join the god of day and to start with him upon his westward journey.

Lines 52 to 65 relate to the pair of symbolic moccasins to be worn by the Sho'-ka during the entire ceremony. These he cuts and sews in the same way as the first pair, but at the close of the recitation of the wi'-gi-e. To the left foot he gives six stitches and to the right seven. The strand of sinew used symbolizes the pink-bellied snake.

Lines 66 to 71 relate to the knife used by the Sho'-ka when cutting the skin. This knife represents the left horn of the young buffalo bull, which also serves as a symbol in the arrangement of the tribal organization. The left side of this symbolic animal is the Tsi'-zhu great division and the right side is the Ho<sup>n'</sup>-ga great division. The young bull stands (figuratively) facing the east and as it stands thus the Tsi'-zhu side is to the north and the Ho<sup>n'</sup>-ga side is to the south.

When formulating the rites designed to hold together the people as a tribe the ancient No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n'</sup>-zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga gave serious thought to the internal and external dangers that beset the pathway of the tribal life. They clung steadfastly to the idea that the people of the two great divisions in order to successfully meet and overcome these dangers must become one in mind and one in action. This idea having become fixed, the No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n'</sup>-zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga sought to implant it in the minds of all the people. To this end these ancient seers visualized this idea by creating a symbolic man. This they did by using for the body of the man the two great tribal divisions, the Tsi'-zhu and the Ho<sup>n'</sup>-ga.

The position of the symbolic man, when not in action, was facing the east whence comes the sun whose path, typifying the path of life, lies across the heavens to the west; consequently the Tsi'-zhu great division formed the left side of the man's body and the Ho<sup>n'</sup>-ga great division the right side; but when the tribe arose as a war unit for defense the symbolic man turned, faced the west, the place of death, and the two great tribal divisions reversed their position with the turning of the symbolic man, who then stands for the war side of the tribal organization.

Sections 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, and 9 refer to the feet of this man whose strength is in the united power of the two great tribal divisions, the Tsi'-zhu and the Ho<sup>n'</sup>-ga.

THE HO<sup>n'</sup>-BE'-ÇU WI'-GI-E

(THE MOCCASIN RITUAL)

(Osage version, p. 733; literal translation, p. 809)

1. What shall the little ones make to be their foot? they said to one another.
2. The turtle whose tail has upon it six serratures
3. They shall make to be their foot, they said.
4. When they make this turtle to be their foot,
5. They shall by this act enable themselves to become free from all causes of death.
6. Their foot shall not be hurt by harmful grasses,
7. They shall crush with the weight of their foot the harmful grasses as they travel the path of life.
  
8. What shall the little ones make to be their moccasin strings? they said to one another.
9. The sacred snake (rattlesnake) that lies outstretched,
10. They shall make to be their moccasin string, they said.
11. When they make the sacred snake to be their moccasin string
12. They shall enable themselves to become free from all causes of death,
13. They shall have a moccasin string that will never break as they travel the path of life.
  
14. What shall the little ones make to be their foot? they said to one another.
15. The red-breasted turtle that sits upon the earth,
16. They shall make to be their foot, they said.
17. When they make this turtle to be their foot,
18. They shall by this act enable themselves to become free from all causes of death,
19. Their foot shall not be hurt by the harmful grasses,
20. They shall enable themselves to crush with the weight of their foot the harmful grasses, as they travel the path of life.

21. What shall the little ones make to be their moccasin string?  
they said to one another.
22. The red-bellied snake that lies outstretched,
23. They shall make to be their moccasin string, they said.
24. When they make the red-bellied snake to be their moccasin  
string,
25. They shall enable themselves to become free from all causes of  
death.
26. They shall have a moccasin string that will never break, as they  
travel the path of life.
  
27. What shall the little ones make to be their foot? they said to  
one another.
28. The spotted-breasted turtle that sits upon the earth,
29. They shall make to be their foot, they said.
30. When they make this turtle to be their foot,
31. They shall by this act enable themselves to become free from  
all causes of death.
32. Their foot shall not be hurt by the harmful grasses,
33. They shall enable themselves to crush with the weight of their  
foot the harmful grasses, as they travel the path of life.
  
34. What shall the little ones make to be their moccasin string?  
they said to one another.
35. The spotted-bellied snake that lies outstretched,
36. They shall make to be their moccasin string, they said.
37. When they make the spotted-bellied snake to be their moccasin  
string,
38. They shall enable themselves to become free from all causes of  
death,
39. They shall have a moccasin string that will never break, as they  
travel the path of life.
  
40. What shall the little ones make to be their foot? they said to  
one another.
41. The white-breasted turtle that sits upon the earth,
42. They shall make to be their foot, they said.
43. When they make this turtle to be their foot,
44. They shall by this act enable themselves to become free from  
all causes of death.
45. Their foot shall not be hurt by harmful grasses,
46. They shall enable themselves to crush with the weight of their  
foot the harmful grasses, as they travel the path of life.
  
47. What shall the little ones make to be their moccasin string?  
they said to one another.
48. The white-bellied snake that lies cutstretched,

49. They shall make to be their moccasin string, they said.
50. When they make the white-bellied snake to be their moccasin string,
51. They shall enable themselves to become free from all causes of death,
52. They shall have a moccasin string that will never break, as they travel the path of life.
53. What shall the little ones make to be their foot? they said to one another.
54. The pink-breasted turtle that sits upon the earth,
55. They shall make to be their foot, they said.
56. When they make this turtle to be their foot,
57. They shall by this act enable themselves to become free from all causes of death,
58. Their foot shall not be hurt by harmful grasses,
59. They shall enable themselves to crush with the weight of their foot the harmful grasses, as they travel the path of life.
60. What shall the little ones make to be their moccasin string? they said to one another.
61. The pink-bellied snake that lies outstretched,
62. They shall make to be their moccasin string, they said.
63. When they make the pink-bellied snake to be their moccasin string,
64. They shall enable themselves to become free from all causes of death,
65. They shall have a moccasin string that will never break, as they travel the path of life.
66. What shall the little ones make to be their knife? they said to one another.
67. The young male animal (buffalo bull) that stands upon the earth,
68. The left horn of that animal,
69. They shall make to be their knife, they said to one another.
70. When they make the left horn of that animal to be their knife,
71. The young men shall have a knife that will always be sharp and ready for use, as they travel the path of life.
72. Upon what shall the little ones do their cutting? they said to one another.
73. Toward the setting sun there dwells a tribe,
74. Verily, it is the man who governs the people of that tribe,
75. Upon whom the little ones shall always do their cutting.
76. When they do their cutting upon this ruler,
77. They shall always do their cutting with ease, as they travel the path of life.



78. Upon what shall the little ones do their cutting? they said to one another.
79. It is upon the woman who gives birth to children of tribal rank,  
80. That they shall do their cutting.
81. When they do their cutting upon that woman,  
82. They shall always do their cutting with ease, as they travel the path of life.
83. Upon what shall the little ones do their cutting? they said to one another.
84. It is upon the man who is honored for his military prowess  
85. That they shall do their cutting.
86. When they do their cutting upon that man,  
87. They shall always do their cutting with ease, as they travel the path of life.
88. Upon what shall the little ones do their cutting? they said to one another.
89. It is upon the woman who has given birth to her first child  
90. That they shall do their cutting.
91. When the little ones do their cutting upon that woman,  
92. They shall always do their cutting with ease, as they travel the path of life.
93. Upon what shall they perforate the skin to make the stitches? they said to one another.
94. Toward the setting sun there dwells  
95. A young man who is in his adolescence.
96. It is upon him that they shall perforate the skin.  
97. When they perforate the skin upon that young man,  
98. They shall always perforate the skin with ease, O younger brothers, they said to one another.
99. Upon what shall they perforate the skin to make the stitches? they said to one another.
100. Toward the setting sun there dwells  
101. A maiden who is in her adolescence.
102. It is upon that maiden that they shall perforate the skin.  
103. When they perforate the skin upon that maiden,  
104. They shall always perforate the skin with ease, O younger brothers, they said to one another.
105. Upon what shall they perforate the skin to make the stitches? they said to one another.
106. Toward the setting sun there dwells  
107. A man who is honored for his military prowess.

108. It is upon that man they shall perforate the skin.  
 109. When they perforate the skin upon that man,  
 110. They shall always perforate the skin with ease, O younger  
     brothers, they said to one another.
111. Upon what shall they perforate the skin to make the stitches?  
     they said to one another.
112. Toward the setting sun there dwells  
 113. A woman who has given birth to her first child.  
 114. It is upon that woman that they shall perforate the skin.  
 115. When they perforate the skin upon that woman,  
 116. They shall always perforate the skin with ease, O younger  
     brothers, they said to one another.

K̄i'-no<sup>n</sup>

(ADORNMENT)

The ceremony next in order is called K̄i'-no<sup>n</sup>, the adornment, and is understood by men familiar with the rites to mean the adornment of the Xo'-ka (pl. 15), the principal officer of the ceremony, by putting upon him certain symbols.

Before sunrise on the morning succeeding the day during which was performed the ceremony of making the symbolic moccasins the candidate ceremonially paints the face of the Sho'-ka with charcoal, puts upon his head a deer's tail headdress, ties to each of his arms a strip of calico, and gives to him the symbolic pair of moccasins to be worn by him through the ceremony. When this duty was performed the Sho'-ka was sent to the house of the Xo'-ka to give him formal notice that his candidate was about to come to take his initiation. When going upon this errand the Sho'-ka carries with him a filled pipe, not only as his badge of authority but also to offer it to the Xo'-ka to smoke as an expression of his determination to faithfully perform his obligation as initiator. This ceremonial notice was given the Xo'-ka three times.

At the fourth time the candidate, the Sho'-ka, and the A'-ki-ho<sup>n</sup> Xo'-ka together go to the house of the Xo'-ka. The candidate carries in his arms the Wa-xo'-be, a puma skin, one of the two pairs of symbolic moccasins, and other ceremonial articles to be put upon the Xo'-ka as his sacerdotal attire. These three men enter the house and take the places prepared for them. The Sho'-ka then presents the ceremonial pipe to the Xo'-ka, who smokes it as the Sho'-ka touches with a live coal the tobacco contained within the bowl.

The fourth formal smoking of the pipe by the Xo'-ka having come to a close, the ceremonial adornment of the Xo'-ka with the sacred emblems begins. Following the instructions of the A'-ki-ho<sup>n</sup> Xo'-ka (master of ceremonies), the candidate takes a pinch of red paint from



XO'KA DECORATED



a deerskin pouch, rubs it upon the palms of his hands, and then lifts his hands, palms outward, toward the sun rising amidst the crimson dawn. The A'-ki-ho<sup>n</sup> Xo'-ka then begins to recite for the candidate and the Xo'-ka, the Ki'-no<sup>n</sup> Wi'-gi-e. At line 4 the candidate passes his hands over, but without touching, the face and body of the Xo'-ka, who sits partly nude. At the close of line 9 of the first section the candidate hurriedly paints red the face and body of the Xo'-ka.

The A'-ki-ho<sup>n</sup> Xo'-ka then recites the second section, when the candidate takes up a downy plume secured from the wing or tail of an eagle and holds it in readiness. When line 14 is reached he quickly fastens the feather to the Xo'-ka's scalp lock at the crown of the head, so that the plume stands firmly upright. This plume has a dual symbolic significance: (1) It is a sacred emblem of life which the initiate is entitled to wear at all times. The wearing of it is a supplicatory act and expressive of a desire for the continuity of the life the initiate enjoys. (2) For ceremonial purposes in the initiatory rites it stands for the god of dawn, the beginning of day. The recognition of the god of dawn is now merged in the rites that pertain to the sun, the god of day.

As the A'-ki-ho<sup>n</sup> Xo'-ka proceeds to the third section of the wi'-gi-e the candidate takes up a gorget made from the shell of a fresh-water mussel. The gorget is suspended upon a narrow woven neckband of buffalo hair. The band was thus made before the advent of the European. It is now woven of worsted yarn, an article introduced by white traders. (See 39th Ann. Rept. B. A. E., p. 74.) The shell gorget has a dual significance; it symbolizes the sun which alone of all things in the universe, it is believed, endures forever. The mussel is also a symbol of long life. In the wi'-gi-e the mussel is made to travel up the river of life and to successfully pass each of the seven great turns in its entire length. During all this long journey up the river the mussel remained under water, thus manifesting a power which none of the other gods possess. At the end of the seventh of the sections that relate to the story of the mussel and the river of life the candidate slips upon the neck of the Xo'-ka the woven neckband, so that the pearly surface of the gorget is displayed as it hangs on his breast.

When the fourth section of the wi'-gi-e is reached the candidate puts upon the wrists of the Xo'-ka a pair of woven wristbands referred to as buffalo hair bands. These represent captive's bonds.

During the reciting of the fifth section the candidate puts around the waist of the Xo'-ka, over the puma-skin robe, a woven girdle, referred to as a captive's girdle.

At the final section of the wi'-gi-e the candidate puts upon the feet of the Xo'-ka the first pair of moccasins referred to in line 86 as captive moccasins and in line 88 as life moccasins.

K̄1'-NO<sup>N</sup> W1'-GI-E

## FREE TRANSLATION

1. What shall the little ones make to be their emblem of life? they said to one another.
2. The god of day who sitteth in the heavens,
3. He who verily appears anew each day,
4. The little ones shall make to be their emblem of life.
5. He it was who said: Even the greatest of the gods
6. Have not the power to gaze upon my face.
7. When the little ones make of me their emblem of life,
8. Even the greatest of the gods
9. Shall not have the power to gaze upon their faces, as they travel the path of life, it has been said, in this house.
10. What shall the little ones use as a plume to typify life, they said to one another.
11. The god of day who verily appears anew each day
12. Has at his left side
13. A plume-like shaft of light,
14. It is that shaft of light the little ones shall use as a plume to typify life,
15. Then shall they have a plume that will stand firmly in its full strength of life, as they travel the path of life.
16. Verily, at that time and place, it has been said, in this house,
17. What shall the little ones use as a gorget? they said to one another.
18. It is this mussel (the shell gorget),
19. He who never fails to pass the first bend of the river of life,
20. The little ones shall use as a gorget.
21. Then shall they free themselves from all causes of death, as they travel the path of life, it has been said, in this house.
22. (The words of this line are archaic and untranslatable).
23. It is this mussel (the gorget),
24. He who never fails to pass the second bend of the river of life,
25. Who said: Even the greatest of the gods
26. Have not the power to hold their breath longer than I.
27. So shall it be with the little ones,
28. Even the greatest of the gods
29. Shall not be able to hold their breath longer than they.
30. It is this mussel
31. Who never fails to pass the second bend of the river of life.
32. Even the greatest of the gods
33. Have not the power to hold their breath as long as the mussel.
34. So shall it be with the little ones,
35. Even the greatest of the gods
36. Shall not have power to hold their breath longer than they, as they travel the path of life, it has been said, in this house.

37. It is this mussel
38. Who never fails to reach the third bend of the river of life.
39. So shall it be with the little ones,
40. They shall never fail to pass the third bend of the river of life
41. Even the greatest of the gods
42. Shall not have the power to hold their breath longer than they,  
as they travel the path of life, it has been said, in this house.
  
43. It is this mussel
44. Who never fails to pass the fourth bend of the river of life.
45. It was he who said: Even the greatest of the gods
46. Have not the power to hold their breath longer than I.
47. When the little ones make of me their bodies,
48. Even the greatest of the gods
49. Shall not have the power to hold their breath longer than they,  
as they travel the path of life, it has been said, in this house.
  
50. It is this mussel
51. Who never fails to pass the fifth bend of the river of life.
52. It was he who said: When the little ones make of me their bodies,
53. Even the greatest of the gods
54. Shall not have the power to hold their breath longer than they,  
as they travel the path of life, it has been said, in this house.
  
55. Verily, at that time and place, it has been said, in this house,
56. It is this mussel
57. Who never fails to pass the sixth bend of the river of life.
58. It was he who said: When the little ones make of me their bodies,
59. They shall never fail to pass the sixth bend of the river of life.
60. Even the greatest of the gods
61. Shall not have the power to hold their breath longer than they,  
as they travel the path of life, it has been said, in this house.
  
62. It is this mussel
63. Who never fails to pass the seventh bend of the river of life.
64. It was he who said: When the little ones make of me their bodies,
65. They shall never fail to pass the seventh bend of the river, as  
they travel the path of life.
66. (The words of this line are archaic and untranslatable).
67. The little ones shall make of me their bodies.
68. It is this mussel who said:
69. I never fail to pass the seventh bend of the river of life.
70. When the little ones make of me their bodies,
71. They shall never fail to pass the seventh bend of the river.
72. Even the greatest of the gods
73. Have not the power to hold their breath longer than I.

74. When the little ones make of me their bodies,  
 75. Even the greatest of the gods  
 76. Shall not have the power to hold their breath longer than they,  
 as they travel the path of life, it has been said, in this house.
77. What shall the little ones use for a wrist band? they said to one  
 another.  
 78. It is the wrist band of a captive  
 79. They shall always use.  
 80. It is the wristband by which they shall free themselves from all  
 causes of death, as they travel the path of life.
81. What shall the little ones use as a girdle? they said to one another.  
 82. It is the girdle of a captive,  
 83. They shall always use.  
 84. It is the girdle by which they shall free themselves from all  
 causes of death, as they travel the path of life.  
 85. Behold these moccasins,  
 86. They are the moccasins of a captive,  
 87. Which they shall put upon their feet.  
 88. They are the moccasins by which they shall free themselves from  
 all causes of death, as they travel the path of life.

#### FOOTSTEP WI'-GI-E

At the conclusion of the ceremonial adornment of the Xo'-ka, as above described, the Xo'-ka, the candidate, the A'-ki-ho<sup>n</sup> Xo'-ka, and the Sho'-ka rise to go out of the house, the Sho'-ka leading. The procession halts when it has gone a few paces from the house, the Sho'-ka standing a short distance in advance; the Xo'-ka holds in his hand a little ceremonial pipe, while at his left stands the A'-ki-ho<sup>n</sup> Xo'-ka ready to prompt, for at this part of the ceremony the Xo'-ka must himself perform the acts. At his right stands the candidate, holding in his arms his Wa-xo'-be. The Xo'-ka sings the song called Tsi Ta'-pe Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>, song of approach to the house, and immediately follows it with the first section of the following wi'-gi-e, the title of which Saucy-calf gave as Wa'-ci-thu-çe Wi'-gi-e, the Footstep Wi'-gi-e.<sup>3</sup>

At the close of the recitation of the first section of the wi'-gi-e the Xo'-ka takes from the bowl of his pipe a pinch of tobacco and tosses it over his left shoulder; a second pinch he tosses over his right shoulder; a third pinch he drops on his left foot; a fourth pinch on

<sup>3</sup> For some unexplained reason Saucy-calf did not give the song in his account of this ritual. As it was my first experience in recording the Osage rites I was ignorant of the fact that there was a song to the processional approach to the "House of Mystery." Later, not long after Saucy-calf's death, I called Waxthi'-zhi's attention to the omission and asked, "Did not the Tho'-xe gens have the song?" He replied that all the gentes had the song and used the same music, although some of the gentes made slight changes in the words. (See 36th Ann. Rept. B. A. E., pp. 82, 289.)



his right foot. This done, the procession moves on toward the House of Mysteries. A second halt is made, when the song is repeated, the second section of the wi'-gi-e recited, the four pinches of tobacco tossed and dropped as above described. The procession then moves on, when a third halt is made, the song repeated, the third section of the wi'-gi-e recited, the pinches of tobacco tossed and dropped. The procession moves on and halts near the entrance, at the western end of the north side of the House of Mysteries, when once more the song is sung, the fourth section of the wi'-gi-e recited, the pinches of tobacco tossed and dropped.

## THE WI'-GI-E

(Osage version, p. 737; literal translation, p. 812)

## FREE TRANSLATION

## 1

1. Toward what shall the little ones take their footsteps, as they travel the path of life? they said to one another.
2. It is toward a little valley
3. They stand ready to take their footsteps, it has been said, in this house.
4. Truly, it is not a little valley they have in mind,
5. It is toward a group of animals (buffalo),
6. They stand ready to take their footsteps, it has been said, in this house.
7. Truly, it is not a group of animals they have in mind.
8. When the little ones go forth
9. They shall always take their footsteps in this manner.
10. It is toward a little house
11. They stand ready to take their footsteps.
12. Truly it is not a little house they have in mind,
13. It is your little shrine [in low tone to the candidate who carries in his arms his Wa-xo'-be],
14. Which you are carrying thither.

## 2

15. Toward what shall the little ones take their footsteps, as they travel the path of life? they said to one another.
16. It is toward a second little valley
17. They stand ready to take their footsteps, it has been said, in this house.
18. Truly it is not a second little valley they have in mind,
19. It is toward a second group of animals
20. They stand ready to take their footsteps, it has been said, in this house.

21. Truly it is not a second group of animals they have in mind.
22. When the little ones go forth
23. They shall always take their footsteps in this manner.
24. It is toward a second little house
25. They stand ready to take their footsteps.
26. Truly it is not a second little house they have in mind,
27. It is your little shrine (see line 13),
28. Which you are carrying thither.

## 3

29. Toward what shall the little ones take their footsteps, as they travel the path of life? they said to one another.
30. It is toward a third little valley
31. They stand ready to take their footsteps, it has been said, in this house.
32. Truly it is not a third little valley they have in mind,
33. It is toward a group of animals
34. They stand ready to take their footsteps, it has been said, in this house.
35. Truly it is not a third group of animals they have in mind.
36. When the little ones go forth
37. They shall always take their footsteps in this manner.
38. It is toward a little house
39. They stand ready to take their footsteps.
40. Truly it is not a third little house they have in mind,
41. It is your little shrine (see line 13),
42. Which you are carrying thither.

## 4

43. Toward what shall the little ones take their footsteps, as they travel the path of life? they said to one another.
44. It is toward a fourth little valley
45. They stand ready to take their footsteps, it has been said, in this house.
46. Truly it is not a fourth little valley they have in mind.
47. It is toward a fourth group of animals
48. They stand ready to take their footsteps, it has been said, in this house.
49. Truly it is not a fourth group of animals they have in mind.
50. When the little ones go forth
51. They shall always take their footsteps in this manner.
52. It is toward a fourth little house
53. They stand ready to take their footsteps.
54. Truly it is not a fourth little house they have in mind,
55. It is your little shrine (see line 13),
56. Which you are carrying thither.

To the uninitiated, and even to most of the initiated, the Footstep Wi'-gi-e is vague as to meaning, but to the men who have given serious thought to the tribal rites the wi'-gi-e has a clear and definite meaning. It teaches that all tribal affairs must always be conducted in a ceremonial and orderly mode of procedure, so that the dignity of the people as an organized body may be properly maintained and reverence expressed toward that Mysterious Power whence comes life and all divine blessings. For instance, in the tribal buffalo hunt all of the successive acts from the first choosing and sending out of runners to find a herd of sufficient size to supply all the people with food; the report of finding such a herd to the proper officials; the organization of a body of officers to enforce order when the hunters approach the herd; the sending forth of the tribal herald to give notice to the hunters to prepare for the chase; the approach of the hunters to the herd;<sup>4</sup> all of these acts must be ceremonially conducted by the recognized tribal authorities.

Such is, substantially, the theme of the Footstep Wi'-gi-e handed down from the ancient No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n'</sup>-zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga, in cryptic form, for the preservation of tribal order and authority.

The first line of each section reverts back to the ancient No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n'</sup>-zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga, who sat around their sacred fireplace in contemplative silence as they pondered over their task of formulating the tribal rites.

The second, third, and fourth lines refer to the allegorical story of the Hi'-ça-da gens who sent a runner out to explore the country for something that might be useful to the people as they travel life's pathway. Four times the runner was sent out, and each time he reported that he had been to a valley, thus measuring by valleys the distance he had traveled.

The fifth, sixth, and seventh lines refer to the finding of the buffalo, upon which the people of the tribe are to depend for the maintenance of life.

The eighth and ninth lines indicate the orderly and ceremonial manner in which the groups of buffalo must be approached in order to insure the success of the chase. By these two lines the ancient No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n'</sup>-zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga have emphasized the importance of the orderly and religious manner in which the hunters must approach the herds when they go to the chase.

The tenth, eleventh, and twelfth lines refer to the house wherein the councils and the ceremonies are to be held, whether they relate to peaceful or to warlike pursuits.

<sup>4</sup> The Omaha tribal buffalo hunting rites required four ceremonial pauses to be made in approaching the herd determined upon for the chase. At each pause the officials conducting the approach sit abreast, fill the ceremonial pipe, and smoke as a supplicatory act by which appeal is made to Wa-ko<sup>n'</sup>-da that the hunters may be protected from accident or from controversies that might lead to bloodshed and the disturbance of peace. During these pauses the police officers hold back the hunters at a respectful distance from the officers performing the rites so that there may be no confusion in the proceedings. It is said these tedious ceremonies have their practical side; the four pauses also give to the hunter who may be delayed by accident a chance to catch up and to take part in the chase. (See 27th Ann. Rept. B. A. E., p. 281.)

The thirteenth and fourteenth lines impliedly refer to the formidable foes that must be overcome in order that the people might enjoy in peace the products of the chase. (See 36th Ann. Rept. B. A. E., p. 212, lines 1-257, and p. 208, lines 1447-1542.) They also refer expressly to the emblem of military authority, the sacred hawk, folded in its shrine and carried by the candidate.

For this traditional service two offices were conferred upon the Hi'-ça-da gens who belong to the Ho<sup>n'</sup>-ga subdivision of the Ho<sup>n'</sup>-ga great division, namely, the office of conducting the rites by which runners are chosen to go out to find the herds of buffalo and the office which entitles a man to take part in the war councils. (See 36th Ann. Rept. B. A. E., p. 218, lines 227-257.)

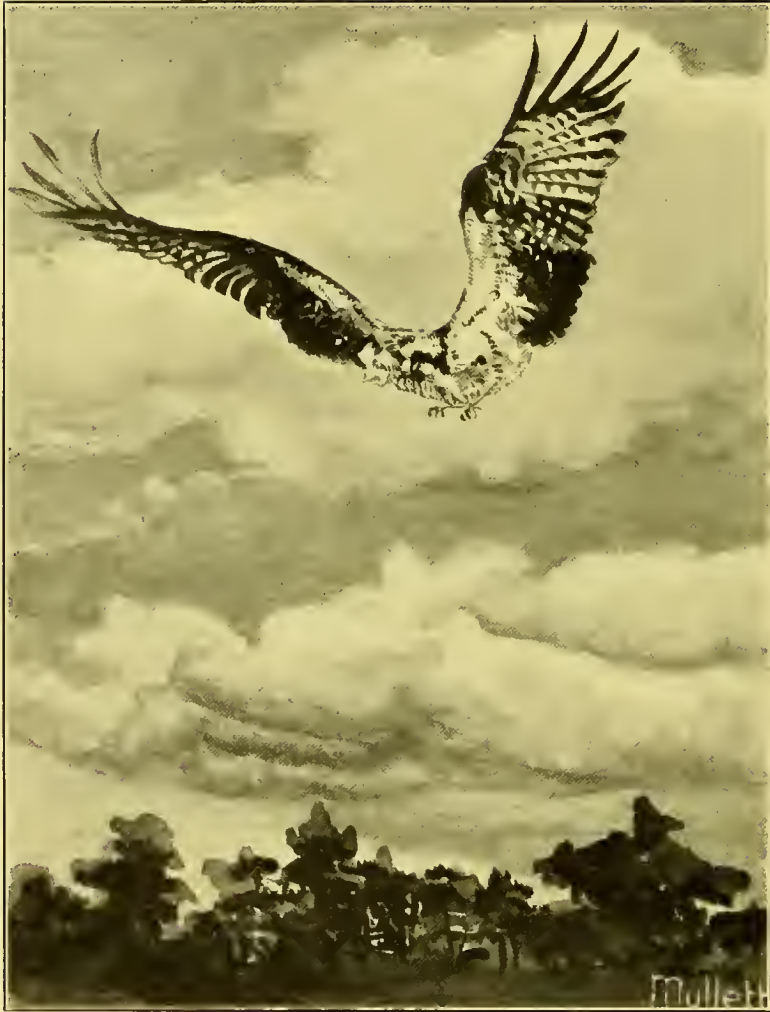
The approach that follows the fourth pause, with its ceremony, brings the four men within the space prepared for the rite at the western end of the Tsi'-zhu side, or, to use the ceremonial term, at the left side of the House of Mystery looking eastward. (See diagram, fig. 2, 39th Ann. Rept. B. A. E.) Here the four men pause while the Xo'-ka recites the wi'-gi-e. (39th Ann. Rept. B. A. E., p. 84.) At the close of the recitation the Sho'-ka removes from the scalp lock of the Xo'-ka the white plume he has been wearing and puts in its place a red plume. The red plume was taken by the Sho'-ka from inside the left foot of the second pair of symbolic moccasins, it having been placed there for this act. With a backward movement of the left foot the Xo'-ka slips therefrom its moccasin, an act which, in the wi'-gi-e, is made to be expressive of the determination to destroy the adolescent youth and maiden of any hostile tribe that might obstruct life's pathway; in the same manner he slips off the moccasin from his right foot, an act expressive of the determination to destroy the warrior of a hostile tribe who is honored for his military achievements, and the woman who has given birth to her first child. The Sho'-ka then puts upon the feet of the Xo'-ka the second pair of symbolic moccasins, beginning with the left foot.

At the close of this ceremony the procession moves on toward the east by twelve stages, at each of which the A'-ki-ho<sup>n'</sup> Xo'-ka, who now conducts the ceremony, announces for the Xo'-ka in a loud voice his arrival at a particular spot (see 39th Ann. Rept. B. A. E., p. 86), in the same manner as a successful Do-do<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n'</sup>-ga of a war party triumphantly entering the village. The twelfth stage brings the men to the eastern end of the House of Mystery, where each man takes his ceremonial seat, facing the west; the place of the Xo'-ka is the middle, the candidate with his Wa-xo'-be on the right, the A'-ki-ho<sup>n'</sup> Xo'-ka on the left, and the Sho'-ka on the right of the fireplace. (Fig. 46.)

When the four men are seated the Sho'-ka takes from the candidate his Wa-xo'-be, places it on the ground before the Xo'-ka, the



XÓ-KA WITH HANDS ON SHRINE



HAWK WITH OUTSPREAD WINGS

head of the bird within the shrine toward the Ho<sup>n'</sup>-ga side of the house; next he puts before the A'-ki-ho<sup>n</sup> Xo'-ka a gourd rattle and a bundle of tally sticks with which to keep count of the songs. These tally sticks are made, consecrated, and kept for ceremonial use; they are regarded as belonging to the same class of articles treasured for symbolic purposes. Wa-tse'-mo<sup>n-i</sup> recited in full the wi'-gi-e in which appears the mythical story relating to the origin of the tally sticks which are made of willow, a tree that is the life symbol of the Wa-zha'-zhe subdivision. (39th Ann. Rept. B. A. E., pp. 164-170, lines 327-506.)

Having performed these duties, the Sho'-ka takes his seat.

The Xo'-ka, following the instructions given by the A'-ki-ho<sup>n</sup> Xo'-ka, places his hands on the shrine, one hand at each end. (Pl. 16.) The A'-ki-ho<sup>n</sup> Xo'-ka then proceeds to sing the Song of Opening the

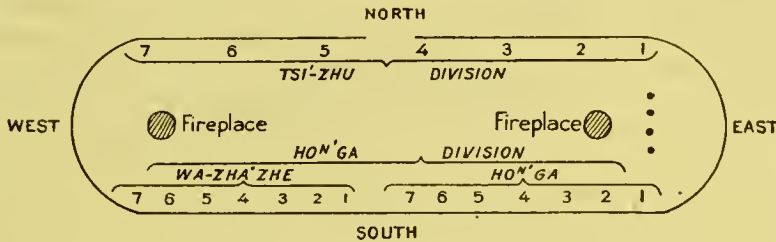


FIGURE 46.—Place of ceremony

Shrine. The song is entitled Wa-xo'-be, the shrine; Thu-shke, to untie; Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>, song.

For a better understanding of the ceremonial acts that accompany each stanza of the song it may be well to give a brief description of the movements that attend the singing.

First stanza: The Xo'-ka lays both hands upon the shrine, one at each end.

Second stanza: The Xo'-ka turns the shrine endwise, so that the head of the hawk within the shrine is toward the Tsi'-zhu side. The second stanza is sung four times in order to complete the prescribed number of turnings, for the head of the hawk must be turned twice toward the Tsi'-zhu and twice toward the Ho<sup>n'</sup>-ga great division of the tribe. At the close of these movements the Xo'-ka takes off the hanging strap of the shrine and lays it aside; then he opens, without ceremony, the buffalo-hair bag and lays that aside; next he opens the deerskin bag; and lastly the woven rush case, from the pocket of which he removes the hawk in its deerskin pouch. In the opening of the three bags the mouth of each bag must be away from the Xo'-ka and in taking one bag from the other the withdrawal must be made with a forward movement for the reason that each movement has a cosmic significance and no cosmic body moves backward.

Third stanza: The Xo'-ka puts the tips of his fingers on the knot of the narrow thong that closes and holds together the mouth of the pouch in which the hawk is kept. At the close of the stanza he unties the knot. This act is called *thu-shke*, untie.

Fourth stanza: The Xo'-ka, at the close of this stanza, loosens the thong so that in opening the mouth of the pouch it may open freely and without a catch.

Fifth stanza. At the close of this stanza the Xo'-ka opens wide the mouth of the pouch so that the hawk may freely pass out through it.

Sixth stanza: This stanza speaks figuratively of the symbolic hawk as being born.

Seventh stanza: At the close of this stanza the Xo'-ka gently grasps the head of the bird and takes it from the pouch as a child is gently taken at its birth.

At the close of the Song of Opening the Shrine, and the ceremonial acts with which the Wa-xo'-be, the sacred hawk, is brought into the light of day, the No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n'</sup>-zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga members of the initiating gens, the Tho'xe, enter the House of Mystery in single file and take their seats at the eastern end, back of the candidate, the Xo'-ka and the A'-ki-ho<sup>n'</sup> Xo'-ka. Then follow the No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n'</sup>-zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga members of the Ho<sup>n'</sup>-ga great division. This division is divided into two parts. (1) The Ho<sup>n'</sup>-ga with its various gentes, representing the dry land of the earth; (2) the Wa-zha'-zhe with its gentes, representing the water part of the earth. The members of these two subdivisions take their seats at the south side of the house. Then the No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n'</sup>-zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga members of the Tsi'-zhu great division, representing the sky, with its great cosmic bodies, enter and take their seats, according to gentes, along the north side of the house.

Two lines only of the song are translated.

## SONG 1

(Osage version, p. 739)

M.M. ♩ = 66 Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

Tsi-go hi-tho<sup>n'</sup>-ba bi the - e thi-to<sup>n'</sup> tse i - the he,

Tsi-go hi-tho<sup>n'</sup>-ba bi the - e thi-to<sup>n'</sup> tse i - the he,

Tsi-go hi-tho<sup>n'</sup>-ba bi the - e thi-to<sup>n'</sup> tse i - the he.



## 1

## FREE TRANSLATION

## 1

He is about to come into the light of day,  
Let him be touched with gentle hands.

## 2

He is about to come into the light of day,  
He will turn himself from side to side.

## 3

He is about to come into the light of day,  
Let the cord of the mouth be untied.

## 4

He is about to come into the light of day,  
Let the mouth unfold and be opened.

## 5

He is about to come into the light of day,  
Let the mouth be opened wide.

## 6

He is about to come into the light of day,  
Let him pass through and be born.

## 7

He is about to come into the light of day,  
Let him be taken with gentle hands.

## STANDING AT HIS FIREPLACE

(Osage version, p. 739)

The title of the next song in order is, Standing at His Fireplace; U-dse', fireplace; U-gi-no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>, standing at his; Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>, song. The song refers to the head of a throng of people journeying together who rises at break of day and stands at his fireplace as he gives his commands. The song refers particularly to the principal commander of a body of warriors. Two lines only of each stanza of this song are translated, as the other lines are repetitions.



The regularity of movement, the display of color by the object adored, are referred to by certain gentes in their respective versions of the "Ki'-no<sup>n</sup>" or "Adornment Wi'-gi-e."

ṬSI'-ZHU WA-SHTA-GE  
(A SUBGENS)

10. The god of day as he approaches
11. Strikes the heavens with a bright red glow,
12. That red glow shall be for the painting of the bodies of the little ones.

ṬSI'-ZHU WA-SHTA-GE  
(BA'-PO SUBGENS)

2. The god of day who sitteth in the heavens,
3. Who never fails to appear at the beginning of day,
4. Puts forth from the left side of his body
5. A fiery crimson glow.

Sho<sup>n</sup>-ge-mo<sup>n</sup>-i<sup>n</sup>, who recited this version of the wi'-gi-e, mentioned only the left side of the sun, the left being the Ṭsi'-zhu side of the symbolic division of the tribe. He does not mention the right side of the sun, as that side belongs to the Ho<sup>n</sup>-ga side of the symbolic division.

I<sup>n</sup>-GTHO<sup>n</sup>'-GA GENS

4. Verily the god who reddens the heavens as he approaches,
5. They (the little ones) shall make to be their sacred color as they go forth upon life's journey.

THO'-XE GENS

2. The god of day who sitteth in the heavens,
3. He who appears anew each day,
4. The little ones shall make to be their emblem of life.

(The wi'-gi-es here referred to are in the 36th Ann. Rept. B. A. E., p. 286; 39th Ann. Rept. B. A. E., p. 252; 39th Ann. Rept. B. A. E., p. 74; and on p. 556 of this volume.)

The theme of the Early Morning Song is the coming forth of the sun into the visible world from beyond the horizon which lies hidden in mystery. The coming of the sun is in this version likened to the coming forth of the human race from the invisible to the visible world. The song gives to the sun the form of the human body. The part that first appears is its head, then its arms; its body; its legs; and, lastly, its feet.

I spoke to Saucy-calf of this order given in the song as being the reverse of that given in other tribal ritual songs and asked him the meaning of the difference. He replied by a downward, sweeping

gesture with his hands and said that the order given in the Early Morning Song and in other songs of the ritual refers to the birth of man. The order given in the rituals of other gentes which begins with the feet and ends with the mouth refers to the growth of man, to his life's journey from infancy to old age.

The translation of the first three lines of each stanza will suffice to give the meaning of the song.

## SONG 1

(Osage version, p. 739)

M.M.  $\text{♩} = 88$  Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

Tsi-go hi ta i<sup>n</sup>-kshe no<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup>, Tsi-go hi - tho<sup>n</sup> -  
 be hi ta i<sup>n</sup>-kshe no<sup>n</sup>, Pa tse the hi ta i<sup>n</sup>-kshe no<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup>,  
 Tsi-go hi - tho<sup>n</sup> - be hi ta i<sup>n</sup>-kshe no<sup>n</sup>, Pa tse the hi ta i<sup>n</sup> - kshe  
 no<sup>n</sup>, Tsi-go hi ta i<sup>n</sup>-kshe no<sup>n</sup>, Tsi-go hi-tho<sup>n</sup>-be hi ta i<sup>n</sup>-kshe no<sup>n</sup>.

## FREE TRANSLATION

## 1

He who is in the heavens is coming anew,  
 Coming anew into the visible world,  
 His head appears first as he approaches.

## 2

He who is in the heavens is coming anew,  
 Coming anew into the visible world,  
 His arms appear as he approaches.

## 3

He who is in the heavens is coming anew,  
 Coming anew into the visible world,  
 His body appears as he approaches.

## 4

He who is in the heavens is coming anew,  
 Coming anew into the visible world,  
 His legs appear as he approaches.

## 5

He who is in the heavens is coming anew,  
 Coming anew into the visible world,  
 His feet appear as he approaches.

In Song 2 of the Early Morning Songs the sun is personified and made to speak of his going forth into the visible from the invisible world in obedience to a command; of his coming forth with all the potential strength of his head, his arms, his body, legs, and feet. In these two songs and in other songs of like character the ancient No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n'</sup>-zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga aimed to express the idea that the sun and all other forms into which life flowed in obedience to the commanding will of an unseen power move together in their endless journey. This power is continuous in its action; therefore the sun and all attendant life come anew each day and continue to travel upon an endless path. This idea is also expressed by the No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n'</sup>-zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga in the dramatic action of the ceremony. The Xo'-ka, who sits beside his candidate at the eastern end of the house facing westward, takes the part of the sun in the great life drama; the candidate represents not only human life but all other forms of life that move apace with the sun on its endless journey.

Two lines only of each stanza are translated.

## SONG 2

(Osage version, p. 740)

Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

E - tho<sup>n'</sup>-be hi tse ha bi no<sup>n'</sup> ho<sup>n'</sup>, Pa tse bthe tse bthe a-  
 thi<sup>n'</sup> he no<sup>n'</sup> ho<sup>n'</sup>, Pa tse bthe tse bthe a-thi<sup>n'</sup> he he, Bthe a-thi<sup>n'</sup>  
 he no<sup>n'</sup> ho<sup>n'</sup>, Pa tse bthe tse bthe a-thi<sup>n'</sup> he he, E - tho<sup>n'</sup> - be hi  
 tse ha bi no<sup>n'</sup> ho<sup>n'</sup>, Pa tse bthe tse bthe a-thi<sup>n'</sup> he no<sup>n'</sup> ho<sup>n'</sup>.

## FREE TRANSLATION

## 1

It is said that I must go into the visible world,  
 My head shall be first to appear.

## 2

It is said that I must go into the visible world,  
 My arms shall be next to appear.

## 3

It is said that I must go into the visible world,  
My body shall then appear.

## 4

It is said that I must go into the visible world,  
My legs shall also appear.

## 5

It is said that I must go into the visible world,  
My feet shall at last appear.

The third song of this group carries one back to the ancient No<sup>n</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, who sat around their hallowed fireplace contemplating the mystery of life. These men, in their mind's vision, beheld the onward movement of life as the onward movement of the sun that never fails to come anew each day from the unseen to the visible world, adorned in a color that awakens and pleases the sense of beauty. In their mind's vision they saw beauty and joy in human life and craved its continuity. Alongside all this they also saw the tragedies and the sorrows of life; that, at times, the best of their men must go and kill and be killed in order that the individual and the tribal life might continue. They likened such a movement to a plunge into the mysterious darkness of death. The conflict over, the living emerge from the darkness and return to the light of day.

In this song those men of the ancient days have attempted to portray such a return. They represent the people of the village as seeing in the distance the warriors returning, signaling their victory, over which they rejoice.

The first stanza tells of the emergence from the darkness and of the military honors won.

The second stanza speaks of the warriors returning, girdled with the trophies of the conflict.

The third stanza pictures the returning warriors as moving in two lines, each representing one of the two great symbolic tribal divisions.

The fourth stanza tells of the finding of the men of the enemy and of their defeat.

## SONG 3

(Osage version, p. 740)

M.M. ♩ = 104

Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

E - da hi-tho<sup>n</sup>-be a-gthi bi the, E - da hi tho<sup>n</sup> - be a-gthi bi the

the he the, E - da wa - tse to<sup>n</sup> a-gthi bi the,

E - da wa-tse to<sup>n</sup> a-gthi bi the the, E - da hi-tho<sup>n</sup>-be-gthi bi the.

## FREE TRANSLATION

1

Look you! they return to the visible,  
 They return to the visible,  
 Behold! they come with honors won in battle,  
 They come with honors won in battle,  
 Look you! they return to the visible.

2

Look you! they return to the visible,  
 They return to the visible,  
 Behold! they come girdled with trophies,  
 They come girdled with trophies,  
 Look you! they return to the visible.

3

Look you! they return to the visible,  
 They return to the visible,  
 Behold! they come as in a forked line,  
 They come as in a forked line,  
 Look you! they return to the visible.

4

Look you! they return to the visible,  
 They return to the visible,  
 Behold! they return, having found men,  
 They return, having found men,  
 Look you! they return to the visible.

## WOLF SONGS

The group of songs following the Early Morning Songs is called Sho<sup>n</sup>-ge Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>; Sho<sup>n</sup>-ge, wolf; Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>, songs. The name Sho<sup>n</sup>-ge is also applied to the domesticated dog.

These songs refer to the eight men chosen as active commanders of the warriors when a large war party is ceremonially organized; four commanders for the warriors of the Tsi'-zhu great division and four for those of the Ho<sup>n'</sup>ga great division. These commanders are subordinate to the Do-do<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-ga, whose office throughout the expedition is that of a mediator between Wa-ko<sup>n'</sup>-da and the people of the tribe by whom he is chosen for that duty. Only in the first stanza of Song 1 are these commanders referred to as men. In the other four stanzas they are spoken of as wolves.

These commanders are spoken of as wolves because they are men of great fortitude; men who, like wolves, are ever alert, active, and tireless; men who can resist the pangs of hunger and the craving for sleep and who can also overcome nostalgia, that disheartening mental condition that sometimes seizes a man and unfits him for military duty.

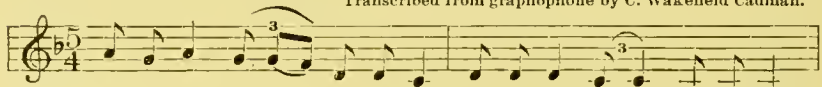
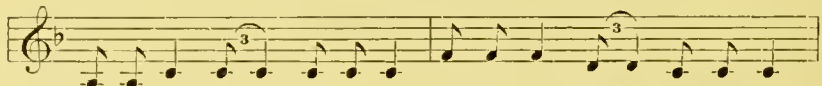
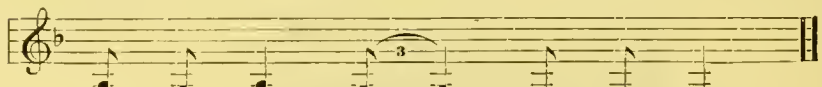
The word Ho<sup>n'</sup>-ba, day, which is frequently used in the two wolf songs, is not used in its ordinary sense but as an expression of an earnest desire that the commanders shall be made to be as tireless as is the day, in order that they may be able to succeed in their undertaking.

Only two lines of each stanza of Song 1 are translated.

## SONG 1

(Osage version, p. 741)

Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

Ho<sup>n</sup>-ba wa - dsi the a ba e no<sup>n</sup>, Ho<sup>n</sup>-ba wa - dsi the a ba e no<sup>n</sup>,Ho<sup>n</sup>-ba wa - dsi the a ba e no<sup>n</sup>, Ho<sup>n</sup>-ba wa - dsi the a ba e no<sup>n</sup>,Ni - ka do - ba the a ba e no<sup>n</sup>, Ho<sup>n</sup>-ba wa - dsi the a ba e no<sup>n</sup>,Ho<sup>n</sup> - ba wa - dsi the a ba e no<sup>n</sup>.

## FREE TRANSLATION

1

On what day shall they begin their journey,  
The four men who are to go forth.

2

On what day shall they begin their journey,  
They who are to go like blue-gray wolves.



3

On what day shall they begin their journey,  
They who are to go like black wolves.

4

On what day shall they begin their journey,  
They who are to go like brown wolves.

5

On what day shall they begin their journey,  
They who are to go like yellow wolves.

In Song 2 a commander is represented as speaking; speaking of the mystery amid which move the day, the man, the wolf, and which makes them all akin. The song implies an appeal to this mystery, the invisible power that controls the actions of all life in whatever form. The commander, conscious of his own limitations, craves the enduring qualities of the ever-moving day, and those of the wolf who, undaunted, travels far and wide over strange lands.

Four lines of the first stanza and one line from each of the other four will suffice to give the meaning of the song.

## SONG 2

(Osage version, p. 741)

M.M. ♩ = 106      Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

Ho<sup>n</sup> - ba ge dsi mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup> a - thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup> a,

Ho<sup>n</sup>-ba e - ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup> a - thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>, Mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup> a - thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>,

mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup> a - thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup> ha a. Sho<sup>n</sup>-ge to no<sup>n</sup> e - ki-the

mo<sup>n</sup> - bthi<sup>n</sup> a - thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>, Mo<sup>n</sup> - bthi<sup>n</sup> a - thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>,

mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup> a - thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>, Ho<sup>n</sup> - ba ge dsi mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> a - thi<sup>n</sup>

he no<sup>n</sup> a, Ho<sup>n</sup>-ba e - ki - the mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup> a - thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>.

## FREE TRANSLATION

1

Lo! I am ever traveling with the day,  
 With the day I am traveling as its kin,  
 I am ever traveling, ever traveling,  
 With the gray wolf I am traveling as its kin.

2

With the black wolf I am traveling as its kin.

3

With the roan wolf I am traveling as its kin.

4

With the yellow wolf I am traveling as its kin.

5

With the white wolf I am traveling as its kin.

## ISOLATED SONG OF THE HAWK

The title of the next song sung by the  $\Lambda'$ - $\dot{\kappa}$ i-ho<sup>n</sup> Xo'- $\dot{\kappa}$ a is Isolated Song of the Hawk. The title in Osage, Gthe-do<sup>n'</sup> Wa-tho<sup>n</sup> U- $\dot{\kappa}$ o<sup>n</sup>-dsi, isolated or standing alone or apart from others.

There is no intimation as to what particular part of the tribal rites this song refers, but it may be said that the song belongs to two gentes, namely, the Ni'- $\dot{\kappa}$ a Wa- $\dot{\kappa}$ o<sup>n</sup>-da-gi, Men of Mystery, gens who made of the hawk their life symbol and took from it their sacred gentile names (see 36th Ann. Rept. B. A. E., pp. 278-279, lines 30-53), and also to the Tho'-xe gens. These two gentes are jointly credited with the ownership of the hawk symbol, representing the courage of the warrior. (See 36th Ann. Rept. B. A. E., pp. 64-65.)

The Osage warrior adores the hawk for the power he displays when "far above the earth he spreads his wings," in search of his prey; for his courage and the intrepidity with which he drops upon his victim and strikes it with unerring precision. (Pl. 17.)

When about to attack the foe the Do-do<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-ga of a war party puts upon the back of each of his eight commanders a hawk, then gives the signal for the attack. There can be no turning back, no turning aside, for the warrior must charge straight upon the foe.

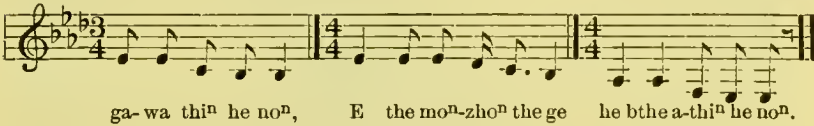
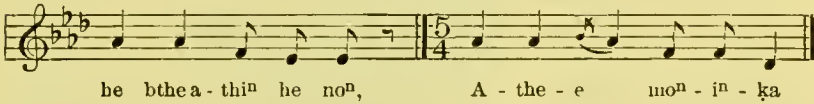
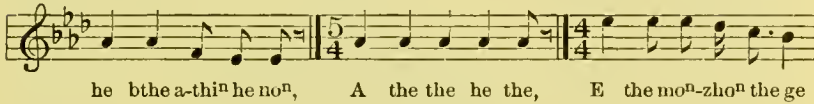
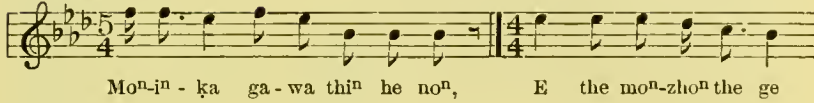
When old Saucy-calf sang this song his face brightened with pleasure as though he saw at a glance all the movements of the hawk and the impetuous charge of the warriors upon the enemy.

## SONG 1

(Osage version, p. 742)

M.M. ♩ = 88

Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.



## FREE TRANSLATION

1

Far above the earth I spread my wings,  
 Over these broad lands I fly,  
 A the, the, he the,  
 Over these broad lands I fly,  
 Far, far above the earth I spread my wings,  
 As over these broad lands I fly.

2

Far above the earth I spread my wings,  
 As over these grassy plains I fly,  
 A the, the, he the,  
 Over these grassy plains I fly,  
 Far, far above the earth I spread my wings,  
 As over the grassy plains I fly.

3

Far above the earth I spread my wings,  
 As over the wide valleys I fly,  
 A the, the, he the,  
 Over these wide valleys I fly,  
 Far, far above the earth I spread my wings,  
 As over these wide valleys I fly.

4

Far above the earth I spread my wings,  
 As over the great forests I fly,  
 A the, the, he the,  
 Over the great forests I fly,  
 Far, far above the earth I spread my wings,  
 As over the great forests I fly.

## 5

Far above the earth I spread my wings,  
 As over the lofty trees I fly,  
 A the, the, he the,  
 Over the lofty trees I fly,  
 Far, far above the earth I spread my wings,  
 As over the lofty trees I fly.

## 6

Far above the earth I spread my wings,  
 As over the high hills I fly,  
 A the, the, he the,  
 Over the high hills I fly,  
 Far, far above the earth I spread my wings,  
 As over the high hills I fly.

The song following the Isolated Song of the Hawk is called Song of Taking the Rattle, *Pe'-xe Thu-çe Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>*; *Pe'-xe*, rattle; *Thu-çe*, taking; *Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>*, song.

This group composes one *wi'-gi-e* and five songs. Up to the rattle songs the *A'-ki-ho<sup>n</sup>* *Xo'-ka* does not use the rattle to beat time to the music, but as he sings he strikes his thigh with the palm of his hand to accentuate the time. The assistant singers who sit at his left use bunches of the tally sticks which they strike against each other and make a clashing sound like that of gourd rattles.

The gourd rattle (pl. 18) to be taken up and used from this time on is a sacred symbol of the *Ho<sup>n'</sup>-ga U-ța-no<sup>n</sup>-dsi* gens, whose people did not come from the sky but always belonged to the earth, as told by their origin myth. (See 36th Ann. Rept. B. A. E., pp. 59-61.) These people, the *Ho<sup>n'</sup>-ga U-ța-no<sup>n</sup>-dsi*, used for their weapons the four winds that were destructive to life.

The name *Ho<sup>n'</sup>-ga U-ța-no<sup>n</sup>-dsi* may be interpreted thus: *Ho<sup>n'</sup>-ga*, a sacred object, or something that occupies the most prominent place among things sacred; *U-ța-no<sup>n</sup>-dsi*, isolated, or an object that occupies a place that is apart from the other sacred objects. In other words, the name *Ho<sup>n'</sup>-ga* as here used refers to the earth that occupies a great space by itself and is surrounded by other *Ho<sup>n'</sup>-ga* that move in the heavens, singly and in groups, as the sun, the moon, the morning and evening stars, and also the various constellations.

The *wi'-gi-e* is a cryptic reference to the military organization of the *Ho<sup>n'</sup>-ga U-ța-no<sup>n</sup>-dsi*, an organization which it held before the reorganization took place. (See 36th Ann. Rept. B. A. E., pp. 65-67.) In those days the *Ho<sup>n'</sup>-ga U-ța-no<sup>n</sup>-dsi* had seven fireplaces (*gentes*), and it may be that the tribe mentioned in the *wi'-gi-es* as having seven divisions refers to the ancient war organization of the *Ho<sup>n'</sup>-ga U-ța-no<sup>n</sup>-dsi*.

A few words concerning the emblematic character of the ceremonial gourd rattle of the *Ho<sup>n'</sup>-ga U-ța-no<sup>n</sup>-dsi* may be helpful toward



GOURD RATTLE



CROW BELT

a clearer understanding of what the authors of the tribal rites intended it to represent.

The ancient No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n'</sup>-zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga when formulating the tribal rites persistently held up before the people the fundamental principle that in all their activities as an organized body, a tribe, they must have unity of purpose and unity of action.

They gave iterative emphasis to this fundamental principle for the reason that during their long years of contemplation of the great cosmic bodies that move through the heavens in orderly precision they had discerned the strength and power of this principle. Moreover, they thought they discerned that all cosmic and other movements in the sky and upon the earth were governed and guided by an All-controlling, though unseen, Power.

At the time when the No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n'</sup>-zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga formulated the tribal rites, rites observed even down to the present day, these ancient men had no written literature to shed a light from the past upon their days of thoughtful search, nor could they fix in writing the thoughts that played in their minds as they sat around the sacred fire in silent contemplation of the cosmic wonders that on every side surrounded them. Nevertheless the men of the days gone by used means, although crude in character, by which to transmit to their posterity something of what they had learned from nature's open book.

Thus these old men formulated for their people rites composed of wi'-gi-es, spoken passages in which was set forth the relation in which the tribe stood to nature in all its various forms. These wi'-gi-es were frequently accompanied by dramatic action and broken by songs that illustrated the meaning or intent of the spoken words. The underlying principle that had led to the formulating of these rites was embodied in a symbol.

This symbol was the figure of a man, perfect in physical form, possessed of mental powers and the ability to express thought. This symbolic man stood as the unification of the two great tribal divisions, the Tsi'-zhu representative of the sky with its cosmic bodies, and the Ho<sup>n'</sup>-ga, the earth into which life descends to take on bodily forms.

When the tribe was at peace with all the world the face of the symbolic man was always turned toward the east whence arises the sun, the great life symbol. As he thus stands his left side is toward the north, the place of the Tsi'-zhu great division, representing the sky, and his right side toward the south, where is the Ho<sup>n'</sup>-ga great division, representing the earth with its teeming life on land and in water. When the tribe goes forth to war against its enemies to protect the life of the people, their cultivated fields, or their hunting grounds, then the symbolic man who represents the tribe as a unit in purpose in its action turns and stands facing the west, the direc-

tion of the darkness of death. His left side is then turned to the south and his right side toward the north.

This turning of the symbolic man of the tribe is mentioned in all the rites, controls the movements of the two great divisions of the tribe, and emphasizes the unity of purpose and action of the tribe in peace and in war.

The gourd rattle, the symbolism of which is the theme of the *wi'-gi-e* belonging to this group of songs, was the official insignia of the *Ho<sup>n'</sup>-ga U-ṭa-no<sup>n</sup>-dsi*, which was at the head of the military affairs of the tribe in the early part of its ceremonial life. The *Ho<sup>n'</sup>-ga U-ṭa-no<sup>n</sup>-dsi* was a tribal division having seven fireplaces (*gentes*), as have at the present time the *Ṭsi'-zhu* great division and the *Ho<sup>n'</sup>-ga* and *Wa-zha'-zhe* subdivisions of the great *Ho<sup>n'</sup>-ga* division of the tribe. It appears that at the reorganization, referred to in the first volume of this work (36th Ann. Rept. B. A. E., pp. 59-63), the number of *gentes* of the *Ho<sup>n'</sup>-ga U-ṭa-no<sup>n</sup>-dsi* was reduced to one *gens*, to which was given a new office, but the property right to the insignia of the gourd rattle, with its songs, was undisturbed and still remains with the *Ho<sup>n'</sup>-ga U-ṭa-no<sup>n</sup>-dsi* *gens* and is counted as one of its life symbols.

The gourd rattle symbolizes a head; this symbol has two aspects. In one it represents the head of a puma, a symbol of the relentless fire of which the charcoal is a sign when a warrior puts it upon his face in preparing to attack the enemy. In the other aspect it represents the head of a man, figuratively, the seventh *gens* of the *Ho<sup>n'</sup>-ga U-ṭa-no<sup>n</sup>-dsi*, the head of the division.

When, at an initiation, the Rattle *Wi'-gi-e* is recited by a member of the *Ho<sup>n'</sup>-ga* great tribal division, the rattlers within the rattle were referred to as being the teeth of the right jaws and the handle of the rattle as the right forearm of the symbolic animal or man.

If the *A'-ḳi-ho<sup>n</sup> Xo'-ḳa* recited the *wi'-gi-e* as a member of the *Ṭsi'-zhu* great tribal division, he would designate the rattlers as the teeth from the left jaws and the handle of the rattle as the left forearm of the symbolic animal or man. (See secs. 1 and 2 of the *wi'-gi-e*.)

Thus the fundamental principle of the unity of the tribe in purpose and in action is emphasized in the rattle, the ancient life symbol of the *Ho<sup>n'</sup>-ga U-ṭa-no<sup>n</sup>-dsi*.

This fundamental principle of unity of purpose and of action was expressed, as has been shown, in various ways in the tribal rites, but it was set forth clearly by a symbolic pipe in the custody of the *Wa-zha'-zhe Wa-no<sup>n</sup>*, a war *gens* of the *Wa-zha'-zhe* subdivision of the *Ho<sup>n'</sup>-ga* great tribal division.

The bowl of this pipe is of black pipestone; under the bowl is carved the face of a man. On the thong which holds the bowl and stem together are threaded seven native beads made of shell, to



represent the Ho<sup>n'</sup>-ga great tribal division, and on the same thong are strung six native copper tubes to represent the Tsi'-zhu great tribal division. This unique symbolic pipe, both by its workmanship and symbolic decoration, shows that it was made before articles of European manufacture were in use by the Osage, but the organization of the tribe as it is known to-day was even then in active existence.

The first act performed by the warriors when preparing to go to war is to seek divine aid by certain ceremonial acts, the first of which is to call upon the head of the Wa-zha'-zhe Wa-no<sup>n</sup> gens to lay before the council the sacred pipe in his custody. Upon the performance of this duty the council proceeds to select a man who is to act as mediator between the people and Wa-ko<sup>n'</sup>-da. When this man accepts the office of Do-do<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-ga the sacred pipe is solemnly filled and then placed in the hands of the mediator whose duty it is to offer it to Wa-ko<sup>n'</sup>-da. Within the sacred pipe was placed, figuratively, the prayers of all the people of the two great tribal divisions.

To perform this sacred duty, undisturbed by human activities, the Do-do<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-ga goes far away from the village to the hills, where he remains thinking only of the prayers of the people to Wa-ko<sup>n'</sup>-da, to whom he cries continually, carrying in his hand the prayer-pipe. For the period of seven days he must fast and cry, resting only at night.

Thus by the use of the symbolic pipe the ancient No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga brought together in the pipe the people of the two great tribal divisions with their cry for aid, and Wa-ko<sup>n'</sup>-da, to whom they offered their prayers vicariously.

#### WI'-GI-E AND SONGS OF THE RATTLE

(RECITED BY A TSI'-ZHU)

(Osage version, p. 742)

#### THE WI'-GI-E

##### 1

1. What shall the little ones make to be their rattle, as they travel the path of life? it has been said, in this house.
2. There dwell together a people who are divided into seven villages (gentes),
3. It is the seventh one of these villages, the odd one in number,
4. Whose head
5. They shall make to be their rattle,
6. Then shall they travel the path of life, free from all causes of death, it has been said, in this house.
7. When they use the rattle against those seven villages,
8. They shall easily overcome them, as they travel the path of life.

## 2

9. What shall the little ones make to be the handle of their rattle?
10. There dwell together a people who are divided into seven villages,
11. It is the seventh one of these villages
12. Whose left forearm
13. They shall make to be the handle of their rattle.
14. When they make the forearm of the seventh village to be the handle of their rattle,
15. They shall travel the path of life, free from all causes of death.
16. When they use the rattle against those seven villages,
17. They shall easily overcome them, as they travel the path of life.

## 3

18. What shall the little ones make to be the rattlers of their rattle?
19. In the direction of the setting sun
20. There dwell together a people who are divided into seven villages (gentes),
21. It is the seventh one of these villages
22. Whose teeth of the left jaws
23. They shall make to be the rattlers of their rattle.
24. When they use the rattle against those seven villages,
25. They shall easily overcome them, as they travel the path of life.

## 4

26. Verily at that time and place, they said,
27. Behold the opening at the top of the rattle,
28. Which they did not make without a purpose.
29. They made the opening in order that their petitions may readily pass to Wa-ko<sup>n'</sup>-da.
30. Behold the opening at the lower part,
31. Which they did not make without a purpose.
32. They made the opening in order that their petitions may readily pass to Wa-ko<sup>n'</sup>-da.

## 5

33. Behold the dust that stirs within the rattle from each stroke,
34. Which they did not make without a purpose.
35. There are peoples toward the setting sun
36. Who have possessions in great numbers,
37. They have made that dust to represent all those spoils.

## 6

38. They gave the first stroke of the rattle,
39. When the hollows of every part of the earth.
40. Trembled with the shock of the blow.

## 7

41. They gave the second stroke,  
 42. And all the little creatures of the earth  
 43. Became deafened with the shock of the sound.

## 8

44. They gave the third stroke,  
 45. And all the little creatures of the earth  
 46. Fell and lay scattered over the length and breadth of the land.

## 9

47. They gave the fourth stroke,  
 48. And all the little creatures of the earth  
 49. Became motionless throughout all the land.

The first song of the group of Rattle Songs refers to the hawk. Birds of this species were the life symbol of the Ni'-ka Wa-ko<sup>n</sup>-da-gi gens, so that to the members of this gens all hawks were sacred.

The first two stanzas of this song refer to the black hawk and the red hawk. These are not realistic birds, but they are symbols. The black hawk represents the night. It is spoken of first because it is the greater of the two, for out of the darkness of the night proceed the mysteries of life. The red hawk typifies the glowing color of the luminous day. These two, the god of night and the god of day, are forever coming and going, and it is to this endless recurrent movement that the song refers. The third and fourth stanzas mention the gray and the little hawk. These are also cosmic symbols.

The translation of two lines of each stanza will suffice to give the meaning.

## SONG I

(Osage version, p. 744)

M.M. ♩ = 80

Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

The-thu ba a . . . hi-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba do<sup>n</sup> hi-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba a . . . .

hi-tho<sup>n</sup> ba do<sup>n</sup>, The-thu ba a . . . hi-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba do<sup>n</sup> the-thu

ba a, He-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba do<sup>n</sup> the-thu ba a, he-tho<sup>n</sup> -

be e tho, Wa-zhu<sup>n</sup>-ça - be gthie-do<sup>n</sup> gie-e . . . .

he-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba do<sup>n</sup> the-thu ba a, . . He-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba do<sup>n</sup> the-thu ba a,

He-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba do<sup>n</sup> the-thu ba . a he-tho<sup>n</sup> - be e tho.

## FREE TRANSLATION

1

At this place he shall appear, he shall appear,  
The black bird, the hawk shall appear.

2

At this place he shall appear, he shall appear,  
The red hawk, the hawk shall appear.

3

At this place he shall appear, he shall appear,  
The gray hawk, the hawk shall appear.

4

At this place he shall appear, he shall appear,  
The little hawk, the hawk shall appear.

It was explained that the theme of the second and third songs of this group is the birth of mankind.

In this general creative movement man is seen emerging from the invisible to the visible world. The actual appearance of the fathers of the Osage people is definitely spoken of in these two songs. Although their emerging to view in this world is not definitely stated, it is implied in the words that picture the appearance.

There is no expression in either of the songs of emotion or of marvel; only the bare fact is given of the appearance of the fathers as they came to view.

A translation of two lines of the first song and one line from each of the other four stanzas will give the import of the song.

## SONG 2

(Osage version, p. 744)

Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

I<sup>n</sup> - da - di he - tho<sup>n</sup> - ba - bi the, i<sup>n</sup> - da - di he - tho<sup>n</sup> - ba bi the, I<sup>n</sup> -  
 da - di he - tho<sup>n</sup> - ba bi - the, i<sup>n</sup> - da - di he - tho<sup>n</sup> - ba bi the he  
 the, Pa - to<sup>n</sup> - thi<sup>n</sup> he - tho<sup>n</sup> - ba bi the, pa - to<sup>n</sup> - thi<sup>n</sup> he - tho<sup>n</sup> - ba bi the, I<sup>n</sup>  
 da - di he - tho<sup>n</sup> - ba bi the, i<sup>n</sup> - da - di he - tho<sup>n</sup> - ba bi the.

## FREE TRANSLATION

1

My fathers appeared, they appeared,  
 Their heads first appeared, first appeared.

2

Their arms first appeared, first appeared.

3

Their bodies first appeared, first appeared.

4

Their legs first appeared, first appeared.

5

Their feet first appeared, first appeared.

## SONG 3

(Osage version, p. 744)

M.M.  $\text{♩} = 88$ 

Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

In - da - di hi - tho<sup>n</sup> - ba bi tho<sup>n</sup> - de, hu - wa - the  
 to<sup>n</sup> - thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>, Hu - wa - the to<sup>n</sup> - thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>,  
 hu - wa - the to<sup>n</sup> - thi<sup>n</sup> he, In - da - di hi -  
 tho<sup>n</sup> - ba bi tho<sup>n</sup> - de, pa no<sup>n</sup> - thi<sup>n</sup> . . . to<sup>n</sup> - thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>,  
 Hu - wa - the to<sup>n</sup> - thi<sup>n</sup> he, in - da - di hi - tho<sup>n</sup> - ba bi tho<sup>n</sup> de.

## FREE TRANSLATION

1

When my fathers appeared, how did they appear?  
 Their heads first appeared, their heads first appeared.

2

When my fathers appeared their arms first appeared.

3

When my fathers appeared their bodies first appeared.

4

When my fathers appeared their legs first appeared.

5

When my fathers appeared their feet first appeared.

In composing the fourth and fifth songs of this group the ancient No<sup>n'</sup> - ho<sup>n</sup> - zhi<sup>n</sup> - ga seem to have been suddenly struck with the marvelousness of the coming of their ancestors, their emergence from the unseen to the visible world.

The people sing of their fathers with fervor, particularly in the fifth song. When their ancestors emerged from the unseen world they appeared with a perfect physical structure, with the additional capabilities of thinking and of bringing to pass, capabilities not possible to the animals who also drew their life from Wa-ko<sup>n'</sup> - da.

Hence the fathers of the Osage are spoken of as Wa-ko<sup>n</sup>-da-gi, men of mystery.

The A'-ki-ho<sup>n</sup> Xo'-ka sings the fifth song with vim and the Xo'-ka rises and joyfully dances to the rhythm of the music.

The translation of two lines of the first stanza of the fourth song and one of each of the other four stanzas is here given.

## SONG 4

(Osage version, p. 745)

M.M. ♩ = 88 Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

Wa-ko<sup>n</sup>-da-gi he-tho<sup>n</sup>-ha bi tho<sup>n</sup>-de, hu-wa-the

to<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>, Hu-wa-the . . to<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>, hu-wa-the

to<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> he, Wa-ko<sup>n</sup>-da-gi he-tho<sup>n</sup>-ha bi tho<sup>n</sup>-de,

pa no<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> . . to<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>, Hu-wa-the

to<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> he the, wa-ko<sup>n</sup>-da-gi he-tho<sup>n</sup>-ha bi tho<sup>n</sup>-de.

## FREE TRANSLATION

1

When the Wa-ko<sup>n</sup>-da-gi appeared, how did they appear?  
Their heads were the first to appear, the first to appear.

2

Their arms were the first to appear, the first to appear.

3

Their bodies were the first to appear, the first to appear.

4

Their legs were the first to appear, the first to appear.

5

Their feet were the first to appear, the first to appear.

Three lines only of the first stanza of the fifth song of this group and one of each of the other four stanzas are given.

## SONG 5

(Osage version, p. 745)

M.M.  $\text{♩} = 88$ 

Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

Wa-ko<sup>n</sup> - da - gi he - tho<sup>n</sup>-ba bi tho<sup>n</sup> de the, Hu - wa-the to<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>

he no<sup>n</sup> hi no<sup>n</sup>, A the the pa no<sup>n</sup> the to<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>,

A the the pa no<sup>n</sup> the to<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>, A the the he the.

A the the pa no<sup>n</sup> the to<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>, A the the pa

no<sup>n</sup> the to<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>, Wa-ko<sup>n</sup>-da - gi he-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba bi tho<sup>n</sup> de.

## FREE TRANSLATION

1

When the men of mystery appeared,  
 What part of their bodies was the first to appear?  
 Look you, their heads were the first to appear.

2

Look you, their arms were the first to appear.

3

Look you, their bodies were the first to appear.

4

Look you, their legs were the first to appear.

5

Look you, their feet were the first to appear.

## SONGS OF THE RITE OF VIGIL

The title of the next group of five songs is, Songs of the Rite of Vigil; No<sup>n</sup>'-zhi<sup>n</sup>-zho<sup>n</sup>, Rite of Vigil; Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>, Songs.

The rite of vigil, it is said, was instituted by the people of the Mo<sup>n</sup>'-shko<sup>n</sup> (crawfish) gens of the Ho<sup>n</sup>'-ga subdivision of the great Ho<sup>n</sup>'-ga tribal division. Sometimes the people of this gens speak of themselves as Mo<sup>n</sup>-i<sup>n</sup>'-ka-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, Little-earth, a name that refers to the various colored soils of the earth the crawfish (according to the myth) revealed to the people in order that they might use them as a sign of the presence of Wa-ko<sup>n</sup>'-da in the earth as well as in the sky, when they offer their supplications. (See 36th Ann. Rept. B. A. E., pp. 116-117; also pp. 169-172, lines 434-524.)



A detailed explanation is given in the second volume of this work as to the occasions on which the Osage observe the Rite of Vigil. (See 39th Ann. Rept. B. A. E., p. 41.)

The first song of this group has a subtitle, Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>, Song; Pi-zhi, meaning in ordinary usage bad, but as used in the subtitle the word is a trope for mysterious.

The No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, who represent the entire tribe, when about to organize a war party, select a man to act as Do-do<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-ga. This man, in his turn, chooses from his gens a Xo'-ka, a master of ceremonies, who must be versed in all the details of the war ritual.

The song points to the first act of this "master of ceremonies," who instructs the Do-do<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-ga that he must withdraw and exclude himself from every human association in order that he may perform the rite of vigil. This means that he is to go far away from home and be in solitude when he offers to Wa-ko<sup>n'</sup>-da the supplications of the people in behalf of their proposed hazardous undertaking. The supplicatory prayers of the people are contained, figuratively, in the pipe which is to be continually carried by the Do-do<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-ga.

For seven days and nights this Do-do<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-ga must be watchful and wakeful and must abstain from food while amid his physical and mental anguish he continues to appeal to Wa-ko<sup>n'</sup>-da in behalf of the people.

If on any of the days mentioned in the song some sign should be given that his prayers are heard the Do-do<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-ga becomes at liberty to return to the House of Mystery wherein he had been instructed to take the rite of vigil.

A translation of two lines from each stanza will be sufficient to give the meaning of the song.

## SONG 1

(Osage version, p. 745)

M.M.  $\bullet = 84$  Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

Wa - xpa - thi<sup>n</sup> tha thi<sup>n</sup> - she e, Ho<sup>n</sup> wi<sup>n</sup> zho<sup>n</sup> do<sup>n</sup>

gthi e-sha bi<sup>n</sup> do ho, Wa-xpa - thi<sup>n</sup> tha thi<sup>n</sup> she e,

Ho<sup>n</sup> wi<sup>n</sup> zho<sup>n</sup> do<sup>n</sup> gthi e-sha bi<sup>n</sup> do a, Wa - xpa-thi<sup>n</sup> tha thi<sup>n</sup>

she e. Ho<sup>n</sup> wi<sup>n</sup> zho<sup>n</sup> do<sup>n</sup> gthi e - sha bi<sup>n</sup> do ho.

## FREE TRANSLATION

1

Go thou, and pass through the period of anguish,  
To return, mayhap, on the first night.

2

Go thou, and pass through the period of anguish,  
To return, mayhap, on the second night.

3

Go thou, and pass through the period of anguish,  
To return, mayhap, on the third night.

4

Go thou, and pass through the period of anguish,  
To return, mayhap, on the fourth night.

5

Go thou, and pass through the period of anguish,  
To return, mayhap, on the fifth night.

6

Go thou, and pass through the period of anguish,  
To return, mayhap, on the sixth night.

7

Go thou, and pass through the period of anguish,  
To return, mayhap, when the number of days is completed.

In the second song the man delegated to offer the prayers of the people is represented as speaking. He speaks of the sanctity of the bits of the soil of the earth he puts upon his forehead and head as a sign that he recognizes the earth as one of the abiding places of Wa-ko<sup>n'</sup>-da.

The word *ki'-no<sup>n</sup>* which is used in the song means a ceremonial adornment with a sacred sign.

A translation of two lines of the first stanza and one line of each of the other stanzas will suffice to give the meaning of the song.

## SONG 2

(Osage version, p. 746)

Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

M.M. ♩ = 84

A - ki - no<sup>n</sup> a - ki - no<sup>n</sup> a do<sup>n</sup> xti tha, I<sup>n</sup> - de to

tha a do<sup>n</sup> xti tha, Ki - no<sup>n</sup> a - ki - no<sup>n</sup> a do<sup>n</sup> xti tha.

## FREE TRANSLATION

1

I adorn myself, adorn myself with the sacred sign,  
Upon my face I put the blue soil, the sacred sign.

2

Upon the hair of my head I put the sacred sign.

3

A waving line I put upon my face, a sacred sign.

4

Upon my smoothed hair I put the sacred sign.

5

A straight line I put upon my face, a sacred sign.

6

Upon my hair, whitened with down, I put the sacred sign.

In the third song that portion of the No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga who established the sacred tribal rites of the Osage are represented as addressing the general membership of the order, who are told that it is obligatory upon all the No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga when preparing themselves about sunrise to enter the House of Mystery to adorn their face and head with the sacred signs and also to fast throughout the ceremonies that follow. This part of the ceremony is called No<sup>n'</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-zho<sup>n</sup>, the Rite of Vigil.

The first stanza refers to the blue soil of the earth which is put upon the forehead and upon the top of the head; the second and fourth, to the act of putting the clay upon the hair of the head; the third and fifth stanzas, first, a waving line which typifies those northern and southern parts of the earth which the sun in its westward course does not pass directly over but which are touched with the life-giving power of the sun as it passes; second, a straight line which typifies the straight path of the sun over the earth from east to west; the sixth, to the eagle down which a No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga puts upon his head when he prepares to enter the House of Mystery.

A translation of the first two lines of the first stanza and one line from each of the other stanzas will suffice to give the meaning of the song.

## SONG 3

(Osage version, p. 747)

M.M. ♩ = 84

Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

Wi - e ċi no<sup>ᵃ</sup> ċi-no<sup>ᵃ</sup> wi - ʒa u - the ha bi no<sup>ᵃ</sup> ho<sup>ᵃ</sup>,

Wi - e ċi no<sup>ᵃ</sup> i<sup>ᵃ</sup>-de ʒo the u - the ha bi no<sup>ᵃ</sup>

ho<sup>ᵃ</sup>, U - the ha bi no<sup>ᵃ</sup> ho<sup>ᵃ</sup>, Wi -

e ċi no<sup>ᵃ</sup> i<sup>ᵃ</sup> - de ʒo the u - the ha bi no<sup>ᵃ</sup>.

## FREE TRANSLATION

1

You are one of us and use our saered signs,  
 You must put upon yourselves the saered blue soil.

2

You must put upon your hair the saered sign.

3

You must put upon your face the waving line.

4

You must put upon your smoothed hair the saered sign.

5

You must put upon your face the straight line.

6

You must put upon your head the white down, a saered sign.

The fourth song of the No<sup>ᵃ</sup>-zhi<sup>ᵃ</sup>-zho<sup>ᵃ</sup> group differs from the third only in the music and in a few of the words. The song represents the head of the order as addressing the younger or subordinate members, telling them of the signs with which they had adorned themselves in order to indicate them as being a part of the No<sup>ᵃ</sup>-ho<sup>ᵃ</sup>-zhi<sup>ᵃ</sup>-ga order.

A translation of two lines of each stanza will suffice to give the meaning of the song.

## SONG 4

(Osage version, p. 747)

M.M. ♩ = 88

Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

Wi-e çi no<sup>ᵐ</sup> kı - no<sup>ᵐ</sup> wi - ʔa she o - the ha  
 bi no<sup>ᵐ</sup> ho<sup>ᵐ</sup>, Kı - no<sup>ᵐ</sup> wi - ʔa she o - the ha bi  
 no<sup>ᵐ</sup> ho<sup>ᵐ</sup>, Kı - no<sup>ᵐ</sup> wi - ʔa she o - the ha bi no<sup>ᵐ</sup> ho<sup>ᵐ</sup>,  
 Wi-e çi no<sup>ᵐ</sup> in - de ʔo the she o - the  
 ha bi no<sup>ᵐ</sup> ho<sup>ᵐ</sup>, Kı - no<sup>ᵐ</sup> wi - ʔa she o - the ha bi no<sup>ᵐ</sup> ho<sup>ᵐ</sup>,  
 Wi-e çi no<sup>ᵐ</sup> kı - no<sup>ᵐ</sup> wi - ʔa she o - the ha bi no<sup>ᵐ</sup> ho<sup>ᵐ</sup>.

## FREE TRANSLATION

1

The sign on your face marks you as one of us,  
 The blue soil on your face marks you as one of us.

2

The sign on your head marks you as one of us,  
 The blue soil on your hair marks you as one of us.

3

The sign on your face marks you as one of us,  
 The waving line on your face marks you as one of us.

4

The sign on your head marks you as one of us,  
 The soil on your smoothed hair marks you as one of us.

5

The sign on your face marks you as one of us,  
 The straight line on your face marks you as one of us.

6

The sign on your head marks you as one of us,  
 The white down on your hair marks you as one of us.

The fifth song represents a member of the No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga as expressing his contentment that he has put upon himself the sacred emblems of the order and invites the members to look upon him as having fulfilled the requirements of adornment.

A translation of two lines from each stanza will suffice to give the meaning of the song.

## SONG 5

(Osage version, p. 748)

M.M.  $\text{♩} = 88$  Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

Ki - no<sup>n</sup> the mo<sup>n</sup> the gi - do<sup>n</sup> - be tha, E . the the  
 mo<sup>n</sup> the gi - do<sup>n</sup> - be the, the gi - do<sup>n</sup> - be, I<sup>n</sup> - de to  
 the . the mo<sup>n</sup> the gi - do<sup>n</sup> - be tha, E . the the  
 mo<sup>n</sup> the gi - do<sup>n</sup> - be tha, Ki - no<sup>n</sup> the mo<sup>n</sup> - the gi - do<sup>n</sup> - be.

## FREE TRANSLATION

1

Look you, I am adorned with the sacred emblems,  
Adorned with the blue soil of the earth.

2

Look you, I am adorned with the sacred emblems,  
On my hair is the sacred soil of the earth.

3

Look you, I am adorned with the sacred emblems,  
Adorned with the waving line, the sacred emblem.

4

Look you, I am adorned with the sacred emblems,  
On my smoothed hair is the sacred soil of the earth

5

Look you, I am adorned with the sacred emblems,  
Adorned with the straight line, the sacred emblem.

6

Look you, I am adorned with the sacred emblems,  
On my hair is the white down, the sacred emblem.

## MAKING OF THE BOW

The next group of three songs bears the title *Mi<sup>n'</sup>-dse Ga-xe Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>*, Songs of Making of the Bow. *Mi<sup>n'</sup>-dse*, bow; *Ga-xe*, make; *Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>*, songs.

The theme of the first song of this group is the conclusion of the rites and ceremonies by which a war party is ceremonially organized, when the chief commander is ready to march against the enemies of the tribe. The duty imposed upon this officer is to pray continually for his men and for the success of the undertaking. To enable the *Do-do<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-ga*, the holy commander, to perform his duties with freedom, eight subordinate officers are chosen to perform the actual duties of commanders. These officers are chosen from the warriors of the two great tribal divisions, four from the *Ṭsi-zhu* and four from the *Ho<sup>n'</sup>-ga*.

The words of the song imply that the chief commander, the *Do-do<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-ga*, is speaking of the completion of the rites instituted by the *No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga*; of the ceremonial pipe which he carries; of the ceremonial war club, which typifies all the war clubs of the warriors; of the ceremonial knife, which typifies all the knives to be used by the warriors; of the scalp that is tied to the shrine; of the bows and his men; of the arrows of the warriors; of the standards carried by the subordinate commanders; and of the sacred eagle down used in the ceremonies. All of these articles are regarded as the property of the *Do-do<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-ga*, as are also all the honors attending the success of the expedition, the trophies, the captives, and spoils taken by his warriors.

A translation of two lines of each stanza will suffice to give the meaning of the song.

## SONG 1

(Osage version, p. 748)

M.M. ♩ = 84 Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

E - da sho<sup>n</sup> ba do<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup>e tha, E - da .

mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup> da a ha tha, I - ba thi<sup>n</sup> a-do<sup>n</sup> sho<sup>n</sup> ba do<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup>e

tha, E - da sho<sup>n</sup> ba do<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup>-e tha, E - da mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup> da.

## FREE TRANSLATION

1

Lo, the rites are ended, I march against the foe,  
Bearing the mystic pipe, I march.

2

Lo, the rites are ended, I march against the foe,  
Bearing the mystic club, I march.

3

Lo, the rites are ended, I march against the foe,  
Bearing the mystic knife, I march.

4

Lo, the rites are ended, I march against the foe,  
Bearing the mystic scalp, I march.

5

Lo, the rites are ended, I march against the foe,  
Bearing the bows, I march.

6

Lo, the rites are ended, I march against the foe,  
Bearing the arrows, I march.

7

Lo, the rites are ended, I march against the foe,  
Bearing the standards, I march.

8

Lo, the rites are ended, I march against the foe,  
Bearing the symbol of spoils, I march.

The theme of the second song is the selection of he Do-do<sup>u</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-ga by the No<sup>u</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, to whom that officer speaks. He refers to his selection as bearer of the mystic pipe in which are placed (figuratively) the prayers of the people; to the ceremonial articles used in the rites and also to the weapons of his warriors.

A translation of one line from each stanza will suffice to give the meaning of the song.

## SONG 2

(Osage version, p. 749)

M.M. ♩ = 84      Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

Wi-e - o<sup>n</sup> - ba hi-a dse      i - ba thi<sup>n</sup> o<sup>n</sup> - shpa - hic the the,

Wi-e . . on - ba hi-a dse      i - ba thi<sup>n</sup> o<sup>n</sup> shpa-hi-e the the,

Wi-e o<sup>n</sup> - ba hi-a dse      i - ba thi<sup>n</sup> o<sup>n</sup> - shpa - hi-e the the.



## FREE TRANSLATION

1

At dawn you made me bearer of the mystic pipe.

2

At dawn you made me bearer of the mystic club.

3

At dawn you made me bearer of the mystic knife.

4

At dawn you made me bearer of the mystic scalp.

5

At dawn you made me bearer of the bows.

6

At dawn you made me bearer of the arrows.

7

At dawn you made me bearer of the standards.

8

At dawn you made me bearer of the symbol of spoils.

In the third song the Do-do<sup>n</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-ga warns the foe of his coming to destroy them, the people having determined in solemn council to move against the enemy. The No<sup>n</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga are represented in this song as bringing their mystic pipe and other ceremonial articles to the assembly.

A translation of two lines from each stanza will suffice to give the meaning of the song.

## SONG 3

(Osage version, p. 749)

M.M.  $\text{♩} = 84$  Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

Ts'e wi - the - e . . . . du - da the ts'e

wi - the - e, Du - da the ts'e wi - the - e he - e,

ʒ - ha gtha-thi<sup>n</sup> the-thu ki-ʒtu ba do<sup>n</sup>, Ts'e wi - the - e du - da

the ts'e wi - the - e, Du - da the ts'e wi - the - e he - e.

## FREE TRANSLATION

1

Look ye, I come to slay you, to make you die,  
The holy men have assembled, bringing their mystic pipe.

2

Look ye, I come to slay you, to make you die,  
The holy men have assembled, bringing their mystic club.

3

Look ye, I come to slay you, to make you die,  
The holy men have assembled, bringing their mystic knife.

4

Look ye, I come to slay you, to make you die,  
The holy men have assembled, bringing their mystic scalp.

5

Look ye, I come to slay you, to make you die,  
The holy men have assembled, bringing the bows of the warriors.

6

Look ye, I come to slay you, to make you die,  
The holy men have assembled, bringing the warriors' arrows.

7

Look ye, I come to slay you, to make you die,  
The holy men have assembled, bringing the standards.

## SPIRIT SONGS

The next group of songs in order is called Wa-no<sup>n'</sup>-xe Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>.  
Wa-no<sup>n'</sup>-xe, Spirit; Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>, Songs.

The belief in a future spiritual state of existence is strong among the Osage people. This belief is expressed in the spirit songs here given and in those of the I<sup>n</sup>-gtho<sup>n'</sup>-ga gens recorded in the second volume (39th Ann. Rept. B. A. E.) on "The Osage Tribe." It is also expressed by the ceremonies attending the dismissal of the spirit of a man who has died a natural death or one who was killed in battle. The office of conducting the spirit ceremonies belongs to the I'-ba-tse Ta-dse or Wind gens. The ceremonies will be described in detail in a later volume.

The words of the first song of this group imply that the singer speaks of his visits to the land of spirits.

A translation of two lines from each stanza will suffice to give the meaning of the song.

## SONG 1

(Osage version, p. 750)

M.M. ♩ = 76      Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

Wa - no<sup>a</sup> - xe a-dsi bthe do<sup>a</sup> e - dsi pshi thi<sup>a</sup> hi<sup>a</sup> do,

Wa - no<sup>a</sup> - xe a-dsi bthe do<sup>a</sup>, e - dsi pshi thi<sup>a</sup> hi<sup>a</sup> do,

Wa - no<sup>a</sup> - xe a-dsi bthe do<sup>a</sup> e - dsi pshi thi<sup>a</sup> hi<sup>a</sup> do ho,

Ho<sup>a</sup> - ba hi - a hi bthe do<sup>a</sup>, e - dsi pshi thi<sup>a</sup> hi<sup>a</sup> do,

Wa - no<sup>a</sup> - xe a - dsi bthe do<sup>a</sup>, e - dsi pshi thi<sup>a</sup> hi<sup>a</sup> do.

## FREE TRANSLATION

1

Often in my travels I come to the land of spirits,  
As day approaches I travel and come to the land of spirits.

2

Often in my travels I come to the land of spirits,  
As the sun drops, I travel and come to the land of spirits.

3

Often in my travels I come to the land of spirits,  
In my dreams I travel and come to the land of spirits.

4

Often in my travels I come to the land of spirits,  
As a spirit I travel and come to the land of spirits.

The second spirit song has but one stanza. The theme of the song is the spirit path which every living creature must finally take on entering the unseen world.

The singer speaks of his footprints as being already upon that mystic path, even as he lives.

## SONG 2

(Osage version, p. 750)

M.M.  $\text{♩} = 88$  Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

Wa - no<sup>n</sup> - xe u - wa - çi - gthe xtsi min-kshi<sup>n</sup> do .

ho, . Wa - no<sup>n</sup> - xe u - zho<sup>n</sup> - ge tho kshe no<sup>n</sup>,

U - wa - çi - gthe xtsi mi<sup>n</sup>-kshi<sup>n</sup> do . ho, .

Wa - no<sup>n</sup> - xe u - wa - çi - gthe xtsi mi<sup>n</sup>-kshi<sup>n</sup> do - o. .

## FREE TRANSLATION

## 1

Lo, my footprints are even now upon the mystic path,  
 The spirit path that ever lies before us,  
 Verily my footprints are on that path.  
 My footprints are even now upon that mystic path.

In the third song of this group there is no mention of a spirit or of the spirit land, but the theme of the song is of the sorrow that fills the heart of the singer as he approaches the House of Mystery where are assembled the holy men; they of the Sacred Eagle; they of the Red Eagle; they of the Shining Eagle; and they of the Little Eagle, who are about to perform the solemn rites.

A translation of two lines from each stanza will suffice to give the meaning of the song.

## SONG 3

(Osage version, p. 750)

M.M.  $\text{♩} = 84$  Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

Ho<sup>n</sup>-ga dsi bthe do<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> wa-xpa-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>, Ho<sup>n</sup>-ga dsi  
 bthe do<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> wa - xpa - thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>, Ho<sup>n</sup>-ga dsi  
 bthe do<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> wa-xpa-thi<sup>n</sup> he he, Xu - tha ho<sup>n</sup> -  
 ga, Ho<sup>n</sup>-ga dsi bthe do<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> wa-xpa-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>, Ho<sup>n</sup>-ga dsi  
 bthe do<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> wa-xpa-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>, Ho<sup>n</sup>-ga dsi bthe do<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup>.

## FREE TRANSLATION

1

Sorrow fills my heart as I go to the holy men,  
 To those of the Sacred Eagle.

2

Sorrow fills my heart as I go to the holy men,  
 To those of the Red Eagle.

3

Sorrow fills my heart as I go to the holy men,  
 To those of the Shining Eagle.

4

Sorrow fills my heart as I go to the holy men,  
 To those of the Little Eagle.

## SONGS OF THE MERIDIAN SUN

The group of songs following the spirit songs is called Mi Tho- $\text{to}^n$ -do<sup>n</sup> Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>. Mi, sun; Tho- $\text{to}^n$  do<sup>n</sup>, vertical; Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>, songs; songs of the meridian sun.

The theme of the first song of this group is the rite performed by the Do-do<sup>n</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-ga of a war party whereby he seeks for a sign in the meridian sun that will give him hope for success in his hazardous undertaking. This rite is performed on approaching the home of the enemy when there is most need for courage.

A translation of two lines from each stanza will suffice to give the import of the song

## SONG 1

(Osage version, p. 751)

M.M.  $\text{♩} = 84$ 

Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

Wi-e ƙi - ƙo<sup>n</sup> - ƙe      ƙa - thi<sup>n</sup> he the hi tha,  
 Wi - e ƙi - ƙo<sup>n</sup> - ƙe      ƙa thi<sup>n</sup> he the hi tha,  
 Mi - wa - ga - xe the      ƙa thi<sup>n</sup> he the hi tha.  
 Wi-e ƙi - ƙo<sup>n</sup> - ƙe      ƙa thi<sup>n</sup> he the hi tha,  
 Wi-e ƙi - ƙo<sup>n</sup> - ƙe      ƙa thi<sup>n</sup> he the hi tha.

## FREE TRANSLATION

1

I go to learn if I shall go on  
 To learn of the sun if I shall go on.

2

I go to learn if I shall go on  
 To make the foe to lie reddened on the earth.

3

I go to learn if I shall go on  
 To make the foe to lie blackened on the earth.

4

I go to learn if I shall go on  
 To make the earth brown with the bodies of the foe.

5

I go to learn if I shall go on  
 To make the foe to lie scattered on the earth.

6

I go to learn if I shall go on  
 To make their bones to lie whitened on the earth.

7

I go to learn if I shall go on  
 To make their locks to sway in the wind.

The second song of this group implies that the Do-do<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-ga has received the desired sign that he is to proceed upon his journey to punish the troublesome foe. Encouraged by a hopeful sign from the meridian sun, he continues his journey and assumes the title Wa-ko<sup>n</sup>-da-gi, man of mystery.

A translation of two lines from each stanza will suffice to give the import of the song.

## SONG 2

(Osage version, p. 751)

M.M.  $\text{♩} = 88$  Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

Wa-ko<sup>n</sup> - da - gi mi tho-<sup>to</sup><sup>n</sup> xti do<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup> - bthi<sup>n</sup>

a-thi<sup>n</sup> he the, Da-<sup>ce</sup> wa-the mi tho-<sup>to</sup><sup>n</sup> xti do<sup>n</sup> bthi<sup>n</sup> a -

thi<sup>n</sup> he the the, E tha ha - we, . e, tha ha we.

## FREE TRANSLATION

1

Verily, by the meridian sun, I, as a man of mystery, go  
To fall, unawares, upon the foe.

2

Verily, by the meridian sun, I, as a man of mystery, go  
To make the foe to lie reddened on the earth.

3

Verily, by the meridian sun, I, as a man of mystery, go  
To make the foe to lie blackened on the earth.

4

Verily, by the meridian sun, I, as a man of mystery, go  
To make the earth brown with the bodies of the foe.

5

Verily, by the meridian sun, I, as a man of mystery, go  
To make the foe to lie scattered on the earth.

6

Verily, by the meridian sun, I, as a man of mystery, go  
To make the bones of the foe to lie whitened on the earth.

7

Verily, by the meridian sun, I, as a man of mystery, go  
To make the locks of the foe to wave in the winds.

The theme of the third song of this group is the continuance of the march of the Do-do<sup>n</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-ga, with his warriors, toward the enemy with all confidence that he will overcome.

A translation is given of two lines from each stanza of this song.

## SONG 3

(Osage version, p. 752)

RECITATIVO.

Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

Mo<sup>n</sup> - thi<sup>n</sup> a - thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup> dsi tho ho ho,

Mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> a - thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup> dsi tha a - thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup>,

Da - ce wa-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> a - thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup> dsi tho ho.

## FREE TRANSLATION

1

Onward I march toward the foe,  
To fall upon them unawares.

2

Onward I march toward the foe,  
To make them to lie reddened on the earth.

3

Onward I march toward the foe,  
To make them to lie blackened on the earth.

4

Onward I march toward the foe,  
To make the earth brown with the bodies of the foe.

5

Onward I march toward the foe,  
To make them to lie scattered on the earth.

6

Onward I march toward the foe,  
To make their bones to lie whitened on the earth.

7

Onward I march toward the foe,  
To make their locks to wave in the winds.

## LITTLE SONGS OF THE SUN

The next group of three songs is called Mi Wa-tho<sup>n</sup> Zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga. Mi, sun; Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>, songs; Zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, little; little songs of the sun. There is also a subtitle to this group, Mi A-po-ga, Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>. Mi, sun; A-po-ga, downward; postmeridian songs. These titles are com-



plex as to their significance. They probably refer to the birth of the hawk, the mythical child of the goddess of night and the god of day, of the godlike greatness of the sun at dawn, of its dominance at mid-day, and its unabated greatness as it travels downward to the west.

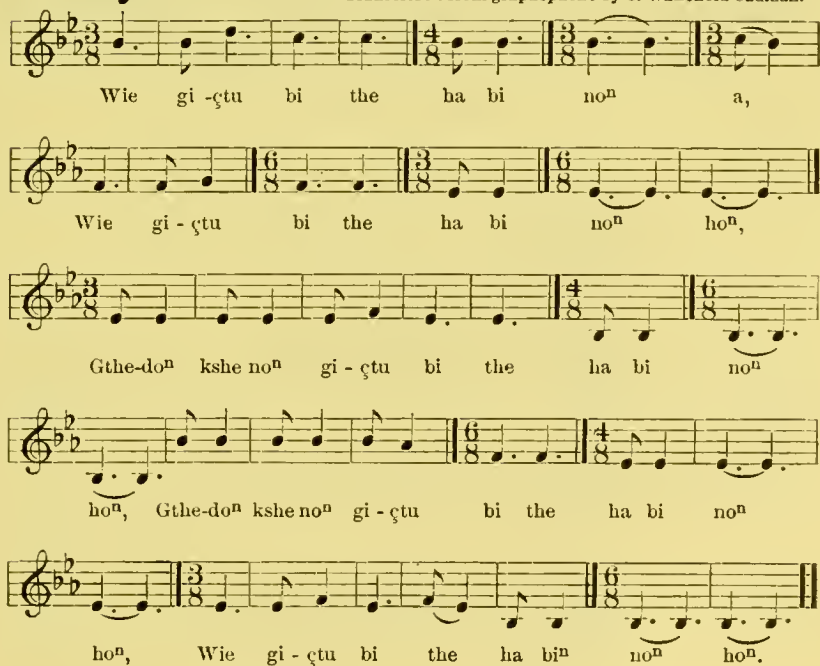
The words of these songs were given in the first volume (36th Ann. Rept. B. A. E.) of the work on "The Osage Tribe" (pp. 63-64) in order that the story of the reorganization of the tribe might be unbroken. They are now repeated in their proper place in the ritual of the Wa-xo'-be as given by Saucy-calf. This old man took pride in the accuracy of his work when he conducted the ceremonies of the tribal rites and as he gave me the Wa-xo'-be ritual he felt troubled lest it be not recorded in the way he had given it. He was willing to give the ritual because he knew that it was going to be lost as the people came more under the influences of civilization. The old man was much amused when he gave the songs of the birth of the hawk and told me the mythical story of that event. The No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n'</sup>-zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga of his gens had something to do with the birth of the blackbird and he knew the purposes of its institution in the tribal rites, that there was nothing in it of a supernatural character, yet the very people who made the symbolic article became afraid of it, thinking that it had become possessed with power to do harm.

Two lines only of the first song are translated; the other two songs are given in full.

SONG 1

(Osage version, p. 752)

M.M. ♩ = 84 Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.



Wie gi-çtu bi the ha bi no<sup>n</sup> a,

Wie gi-çtu bi the ha bi no<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup>,

Gthe-do<sup>n</sup> kshe no<sup>n</sup> gi-çtu bi the ha bi no<sup>n</sup>

ho<sup>n</sup>, Gthe-do<sup>n</sup> kshe no<sup>n</sup> gi-çtu bi the ha bi no<sup>n</sup>

ho<sup>n</sup>, Wie gi-çtu bi the ha bi no<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup>.

## FREE TRANSLATION

## 1

I go to the call of those who are assembled,  
To the call of those who are gathered around the hawk.

## 2

I go to the call of those who are assembled,  
To the call of those who are gathered around the blackbird.

## 3

I go to the call of those who are assembled,  
To the call of those who are gathered around the One of the Night.

## 4

I go to the call of those who are assembled,  
To the call of those who are gathered around the One of the Day.

## SONG 2

(Osage version, p. 753)

M.M. ♩ = 84

Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

I - da hi<sup>n</sup> do, . i - da hi<sup>n</sup> do . ho, . E - da  
gthe - do<sup>n</sup> kshe no<sup>n</sup> i - da - the . the, a  
bi<sup>n</sup> do hi<sup>n</sup> do hi<sup>n</sup> do . ho, . I - da hi<sup>n</sup> do . ho.

## FREE TRANSLATION

## 1

He is born! He is born!  
Behold, the hawk, he is born,  
They have said. They have said,  
He is born!

## 2

He is born! He is born!  
Behold, the blackbird, he is born,  
They have said. They have said,  
He is born!

## 3

He is born! He is born!  
Behold, he is born of the One of the Night,  
They have said. They have said,  
He is born!

## 4

He is born! He is born!  
Behold, he is born of the One of the Day,  
They have said. They have said,  
He is born!

## SONG 3

(Osage version, p. 753)

M.M.  $\text{♩} = 84$  Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

E the da - do<sup>m</sup> he the he the, E da gthe - do<sup>m</sup>  
 kshe no<sup>m</sup>, I - da - the ha ba i<sup>m</sup> do, i - da - the ha  
 ba i<sup>m</sup> do, Ha - we tha he, da - do<sup>m</sup> he . . the.

## FREE TRANSLATION

1

Lo, it has come to pass,  
 Behold, the hawk that lies outstretched,  
 Is now born they proclaim. Is now born they proclaim.  
 Welcome! be it said. Lo, it has come to pass.

2

Lo, it has come to pass,  
 Behold, it is of the One who is of the Day,  
 He is born they proclaim. He is born they proclaim.  
 Welcome! be it said. Lo, it has come to pass.

3

Lo, it has come to pass,  
 Behold, the blackbird that lies outstretched,  
 Is now born they proclaim. Is now born they proclaim.  
 Welcome! be it said. Lo, it has come to pass.

4

Lo, it has come to pass,  
 Behold, it is of the One who is of the Night,  
 He is born they proclaim. He is born they proclaim.  
 Welcome! be it said. Lo, it has come to pass.

## FISH-TURTLE SONG

The title of the song next in order is Ho-Ḳe' Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>; Ho-Ḳe', fish-turtle; Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>, song. The name Ho-Ḳe' is archaic and its true meaning has become obscured by careless transmission. I asked Saucy-calf its significance and he replied, "It is Ho, fish; and Ḳe, turtle, of course." He gave a hearty laugh as he explained that the meaning had become lost and the No<sup>n</sup>'-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga formed the habit of defining the name as Ho-Ḳe', fish-turtle.

Hi<sup>n</sup>-ḡi'-mo<sup>n</sup>-i<sup>n</sup>, a member of the Tho'-xe gens, gave me the title of the songs belonging to this ritual. When he came to this one I asked him the meaning of the title. With a smile he said, "Fish-turtle, of course, but nobody knows its real meaning."

It would appear, however, from the theme of the song that it is a part of the group of wolf songs which follow it. The theme of each song in the group is *mo<sup>n</sup>-zho<sup>n</sup>'*, land.

A translation of one line of the Fish-Turtle Song, which has but one stanza, will suffice to give its meaning.

## SONG 1

(Osage version, p. 754)

M.M.  $\text{♩} = 88$  Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

E - da mo<sup>n</sup>-zho<sup>n</sup> a - do<sup>n</sup> dsi the he the, E - da mo<sup>n</sup>-zho<sup>n</sup> a - do<sup>n</sup>

dsi the he the, Ho - ꞑe mo<sup>n</sup>-zho<sup>n</sup> a - do<sup>n</sup> dsi the he the,

E - da mo<sup>n</sup>-zho<sup>n</sup> a - do<sup>n</sup> dsi the he the.

## FREE TRANSLATION

1

Lo, there lies the land whither I am going.

## WOLF SONGS

The group of songs next taken up by the *A'-ꞑi-ho<sup>n</sup> Xo'-ꞑa* is called *Sho<sup>n</sup>'-ge Mo<sup>n</sup>-zho<sup>n</sup>' Op'-she Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>*; *Sho<sup>n</sup>'-ge*, wolves; *Mo<sup>n</sup>-zho<sup>n</sup>'*, lands; *Op'-she*, march upon; *Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>*, songs; songs of the wolves who march upon the land.

The theme of these two wolf songs is the authority conferred upon the eight commanders of a war party, four chosen from the *Ho<sup>n</sup>'-ga* great tribal division and four from the *ꞑsi'-zhu* great tribal division. These two songs refer only to the four commanders chosen from the *ꞑsi'-zhu* division, the *ꞑsi'-zhu* being in this ritual the initiating division. The eight commanders form a council to designate each day the lands over which the warriors are to march.

There is another group of wolf songs in which are mentioned these eight officers. (See 39th Ann. Rept. B. A. E., p. 126.)

Of Song 1 the first stanza is translated in full and two lines of each of the other stanzas.

## SONG 1

(Osage version, p. 754)

M.M.  $\text{♩} = 96$  Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

Mo<sup>n</sup> - zho<sup>n</sup> thu - we a - thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup> wa - zho<sup>n</sup> - gi - the  
 a - thi<sup>n</sup> he the, Mo<sup>n</sup> - zho<sup>n</sup> thu - we a - thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>  
 wa - zho<sup>n</sup> - gi - the a - thi<sup>n</sup> he the, Ni - ka do - ba mo<sup>n</sup> - zho<sup>n</sup>  
 thu - we a - thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>, Wa - zho<sup>n</sup> - gi - the a - thi<sup>n</sup> he the, Mo<sup>n</sup> -  
 zho<sup>n</sup> thu - we a - thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>, mo<sup>n</sup> - zho<sup>n</sup> thu - we a - thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>.

## FREE TRANSLATION

1

'Tis mine to say on what lands the warriors shall march,  
 'Tis mine to say on what lands the warriors shall march,  
 'Tis mine, as one of four men, to say on what lands  
 The warriors shall march,  
 'Tis mine to say on what lands the warriors shall march.

2

'Tis mine, I the gray wolf, to say on what lands  
 The warriors shall march.

3

'Tis mine, I the black wolf, to say on what lands  
 The warriors shall march.

4

'Tis mine, I the brown wolf, to say on what lands  
 The warriors shall march.

5

'Tis mine, I the yellow wolf, to say on what lands  
 The warriors shall march.

6

'Tis mine, I the white wolf, to say on what lands  
 The warriors shall march.

The theme of Song 2 of this group is the same as that of Song 1. In Song 2 no mention is made of the lands over which the warriors

are to march. In this song each of the four commanders (the wolves) is represented as singing of his general authority as a commander.

A translation of two lines of each stanza will suffice to give the meaning of the song.

SONG 2

(Osage version, p. 754)

Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

M.M.  $\text{♩} = 132$ . Drum beats in 8th notes.

Hi - tho - wa - he - no<sup>n</sup> wa - zho<sup>n</sup> - gi - the a - thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>, Ili -

tho - wa - he no<sup>n</sup> wa - zho<sup>n</sup> - gi - the a - thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>,

Sho<sup>n</sup> - ge to no<sup>n</sup> wi - e a - thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>,

Hi - tho - wa - he no<sup>n</sup> wa - zho<sup>n</sup> - gi - the a - thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>.

FREE TRANSLATION

1

Upon me has fallen the authority to speak,  
Upon me, the gray wolf.

2

Upon me has fallen the authority to speak,  
Upon me, the black wolf.

3

Upon me has fallen the authority to speak,  
Upon me, the brown wolf.

4

Upon me has fallen the authority to speak,  
Upon me, the yellow wolf.

5

Upon me has fallen the authority to speak,  
Upon me, the white wolf.

SEIZING THE WA'-DO<sup>n</sup>-BE

The next group of songs is entitled Wa-thu'-çe Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>; Wa-thu'-çe, to seize or to take; Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>, songs; freely translated, seizing of the Wa'-do<sup>n</sup>-be, the warrior who was chosen by the candidate to recount his o-do<sup>n</sup>', or the military honors, 13 in number, which is required to count at this ceremony.

Before the A'-ki-ho<sup>n</sup> Xo'-ka begins to sing he formally announces to the No<sup>n</sup>'-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga that he has arrived at this point of the ceremony, saying: "Ha! No<sup>n</sup>'-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, Wa-thu'-çe Wa-tho<sup>n</sup> a-tsi i<sup>n</sup> do. The ga Wa'-do<sup>n</sup>-be tsi ga-xa bi a, No<sup>n</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e'." Ho! No<sup>n</sup>'-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, I have come to the Wa-thu'-çe Songs. Here, at this time, the Wa'-do<sup>n</sup>-be is made to come, O No<sup>n</sup>'-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga.

At the close of this announcement the Xo'-ka rises and informs the No<sup>n</sup>'-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga that he has performed all the acts required of him to make complete the ceremony of initiation; that he has presented to the warrior who is to act as Wa'-do<sup>n</sup>-be and recount his o-do<sup>n</sup>, a horse, together with other valuable goods, which have been by him accepted. Thereupon the No<sup>n</sup>'-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga signify their approval by saying, "How!"

The Sho'-ka then prompts the candidate as to the part he is to perform during the singing of the Wa-thu'-çe songs. Following the Sho'-ka's instructions, the candidate crosses over to the south side of the House of Mystery to his Wa'-do<sup>n</sup>-be, where he "seizes" the warrior by the edge of his blanket and conducts him to a place ceremonially prepared for him at the west end of the house. (See fig. 46, p. 563.) A horse led by a lariat is brought to the Wa'-do<sup>n</sup>-be as a part of his fee.

In the autumn of 1910 I was present at the giving of the Wa-xo'-be degree of the tribal rites to Alex Tallechief, jr., by Henry Tallechief, both belonging to the Tse-do'-ga I<sup>n</sup>-dse gens. Ni'-ka-wa-zhi<sup>n</sup>-to<sup>n</sup>-ga of the Po<sup>n</sup>'-ka Wa-shta-ge gens was chosen to act as Wa'-do<sup>n</sup>-be. At that time the following little byplay took place: The candidate came toward the warrior, who pretended not to see him, and feigned much surprise when he was seized by the blanket and forced to rise and follow the candidate. The horse that was to be presented to the Wa'-do<sup>n</sup>-be had been brought in; then it was led away while the candidate returned to his place beside the Xo'-ka.

The Sho'-ka brought to the A'-ki-ho<sup>n</sup> Xo'-ka a bunch of willow saplings which he divided into two parts, one containing seven and the other six. The A'-ki-ho<sup>n</sup> Xo'-ka crossed the lower ends of the bunches of saplings and handed them to the Sho'-ka without saying a word. The Sho'-ka put these in the hands of the candidate, observing the same manner that they had been put into his hands. He then directed the candidate to take them to the Wa'-do<sup>n</sup>-be and place the saplings on the ground before him, keeping the two bunches of saplings as they had been handed to him. Having performed this duty, the candidate then returned to his place at the right of the Xo'-ka.

At this initiation I<sup>n</sup>'-do-ka, the A'-ki-ho<sup>n</sup> Xo'-ka, used the same ritual as here given by Saucy-calf. As soon as the candidate had taken his seat the Sho'-ka arose, took from the shrine the symbolic

hawk and the sacred pipe, and put them in the hands of the candidate, who went over to the Ho<sup>n</sup>-ga side of the house and began wailing as he passed from man to man touching the heads of the men, two at a time, with the sacred symbols. When the candidate began to wail the women members of the order lifted up their voices and wailed with the candidate and the men began to recite the A'-ho<sup>n</sup>-btha-bi (dream) Wi'-gi-e.

#### DREAM WI'-GI-E

Saucy-calf regretted that he could not recite the dream ritual in ceremonial or wi'-gi-e form for the reason that his memory of it had become indistinct, owing to the fact that a long time had passed since he had officiated as A'-ki-ho<sup>n</sup> Xo'-ka at the tribal rites. However, in his usual cheerful manner, he voluntarily gave it in paraphrase, which, although fragmentary, contains suggestions as to the significance and purposes of the ritual. I asked the old man for the meaning of its title, "A'-ho<sup>n</sup>-btha-bi," and he replied, "Things of which to dream." He explained further that when the warriors were about to organize for war they chose a man to act as representative, not only of the warriors but of all the people, to offer to Wa-ko<sup>n</sup>-da their prayers for divine aid in the hazardous undertaking. In performing this duty the representative of the people must observe the rite of vigil for a period of seven days, during which he must keep his mind fixed upon Wa-ko<sup>n</sup>-da and the things mentioned in the dream wi'-gi-e. If the man performing this rite dreams of any of these things he may interpret the dream as a sign that the prayers are accepted by the Mysterious Power.

Saucy-calf prefaced the paraphrase of the wi'-gi-e with a part of the tradition of its origin as handed down by his gens, the Tho-xe, as follows:

"In the olden times, far beyond memory, it was the habit of the young men to walk through the village in groups of three or more, painted in gala style and dressed in all their finery. Each man carried upon his arm an i'-tsi<sup>n</sup> (war club), which had no significance beyond that of a mere ornament designed to set off the fine clothes and accompanying decorations, for the thought of war was not in the minds of these young men.

"One day, as the sun passed midheaven and was on its downward course, a man came out of his house and stood at the left of the door thoughtfully watching the groups of young men who strode through the village, conscious only of their pleasing appearance. Their stature, the manner in which they carried their war clubs, the firmness of their footsteps, all suggested strength. Their proud bearing stirred the admiration of the observing man, but the thought of the uselessness of it all came upon him as he murmured to himself, 'O'-ga-xe i<sup>n</sup>-ge' (there is in it no profit).



"The sun went down, leaving the land in shadowy gloom, but the man stood, unmindful of the time, being held by the thought that in some way the latent strength of the 'newly grown men' should be awakened and directed to a useful purpose. Suddenly a consciousness of the stillness of the village broke upon him and he became aware that half of the night had already passed, and wondering if the thoughts that had so disturbed his mind might not themselves be idle, he turned to go into his house with the hope that sleep might drive them away. But, alas, stronger than ever they crowded upon him, so that instead of entering he dropped to the ground at the left of the door and sat leaning against the side of his dwelling, when at last sleep overcame him. When he awoke the sun was shining in his face and he said to himself: 'Day has come, and all the thoughts that took so strong hold on my mind have come to nothing, so I will think no more of them.' He entered his dwelling and ate his morning meal in silence. Soon a feeling of unrest came upon him and he went to the hills, where he wandered all the day long. The sun went down and the shadow of night covered the land as the man approached his village. When he came to the little ridge formed by the ashes thrown along the outskirts he paused as though undecided about his movements. He dropped to the ground and lay reclining against the ridge all the night long in restless sleep. The chill of the morning awakened him; he sat up and saw the dawn rising. Reaching his hand to the ground, he took from it a bit of the soil which he moistened and rubbed it on his head and forehead as though in the act of mourning, for he was sore distressed in mind. Then he arose, left the village that he might go where he could be quite alone and cry to Wa-ko<sup>o</sup>'-da for some sign as to the meaning of the thoughts that had taken possession of his mind in so mysterious a manner. For six days he wandered without eating or drinking, always crying to the mysterious and invisible power known to him and to his people as 'Wa-ko<sup>o</sup>'-da.' On the morning of the seventh day the man tottered to his feet, for his strength was nearly gone. He said to himself: 'For six days I have kept vigil and cried, and nothing has come of it. I will go to my home before I die, for I feel as though death is near.'

"He started for home, but he was obliged to stop frequently, for he was weak from hunger and thirst. He came to a brook and broke from a yellow willow tree a branch to use as a staff. All day he traveled until the sun went down. As the gloom of dusk came he found himself where two footworn paths joined and became one, leading to the village. With a sigh of exhaustion he fell to the ground, saying: 'Death must be near; I can go no farther. I will lie here. If in the night I die, my brothers will find me when the morrow comes.'

"It was not long before the man's eyes began to close with the sleep of exhaustion, when he heard sounds like the voices of men

speaking in low tones. Strengthened by the hope that his brothers had come to seek for him, the man lifted his head and looked around, but could see no one. Once more his eyes began to close, for his weary body craved rest; again he was aroused by the sound of rustling grass as though disturbed by approaching feet. He raised his head, believing that his brothers had indeed come in search of him, but the sound died away and he could hear nothing save his labored breathing. When he was nearly unconscious he heard footsteps coming toward him and he felt sure that his brothers had indeed come; but as he looked to see, the sound of the footsteps ceased. Again he lay down and was about to fall asleep, when he was aroused by the heavy thud of a foot close to him. He looked up as quickly as he could but saw nothing, nor could he hear any sound. Then he said to himself: 'In some way I have displeased Wa-ko<sup>n'</sup>-da, and in this way he is making me feel his anger. I will listen no more to these strange sounds.'

"The man covered his head with his robe and as he was falling into a quiet sleep his feet were suddenly kicked violently aside as by a heavy foot, and a strange voice spoke:

"STRANGER. Arise! In your vigil and your cries you have fixed your thoughts longingly upon all the peoples of the earth. Turn your face this way and look upon me.

"The MAN. My grandfather, I turn my face and I look upon you.

"STRANGER. In what aspect do you see me?

"The MAN. My grandfather, I see you standing before me having in your arms seven pipes, each one adorned with human hair.

"STRANGER. In your vigils and your cries you have fixed your thoughts longingly upon all the peoples of the earth. These pipes shall be yours. In your journey toward the setting of the sun you shall use these to make your enemies to fall.

"(The man, in fear, turned his face away and again the voice spoke.)

"STRANGER. Turn your face this way and look upon me.

"The MAN. My grandfather, I turn my face and I look upon you.

"STRANGER. In what aspect do you see me?

"The MAN. I see you standing before me, and clasped firmly under your left arm I see a number of sacred birds (hawks, symbols of courage), each of which is folded in mysterious wrappings.

"STRANGER. In your vigils and in your cries you have fixed your thoughts longingly upon all the peoples of the earth. These sacred birds shall be yours. In your journey toward the setting of the sun you shall use them to overcome your enemies.

"(The man in fear turned his face away, and again the voice spoke.)

"STRANGER. Turn your face this way and look upon me.

"The MAN. My grandfather, I turn my face and look upon you.

"STRANGER. In what aspect do you see me?

"The MAN. My grandfather, I see you standing before me as though in the midst of the sky, your naked body, in every part, tinged with the crimson color of the dawn.

"STRANGER. In your vigils and cries you have fixed your thoughts longingly upon all the peoples of the earth. The crimson color that you have seen upon my body shall be yours. In your journey toward the setting of the sun you shall use it to make your enemies fall.

"(The man turned his face away in fear, and again the voice spoke.)

"STRANGER. Turn your face this way and look upon me.

"The MAN. My grandfather, I turn my face and look upon you.

"STRANGER. In what aspect do you see me?

"The MAN. My grandfather, I see you standing before me; clinging to your body are animals of all kinds, their faces turned toward me.

"STRANGER. In your vigils and in your cries you have fixed your thoughts longingly upon all the peoples of the earth. The animals you have seen shall be yours. In your journey toward the setting of the sun you shall use them to make your enemies to fall. Turn your face this way and look upon me.

"The MAN. My grandfather, I turn my face, I look upon you.

"STRANGER. In what aspect do you see me?

"The MAN. My grandfather, I see you standing before me as an aged man with wrinkled brows and bent shoulders; a white downy feather adorns your head, and pressed against your breast is a little pipe, from the stem of which smoke issues with a hissing sound.

"STRANGER. In your vigils and your cries you have fixed your thoughts longingly upon all the peoples of the earth. The little pipe you have seen shall be yours. In your journey toward the setting of the sun you shall use it to make your enemies fall. You shall live to see your brows furrowed with wrinkles and your shoulders bent with age. Turn your face this way and look upon me.

"The MAN. My grandfather, I turn my face, I look upon you.

"STRANGER. In what aspect do you see me?

"The MAN. My grandfather, I see you standing before me. At your side stands a little house (a ceremonial sudatory).

"STRANGER. In your vigils and your cries you have fixed your thoughts longingly upon all the peoples of the earth. The little house you have seen shall be yours. In your journey toward the setting of the sun you shall use it to make your enemies fall. Turn your face this way and look upon me.

"The MAN. My grandfather, I turn my face and look upon you.

"STRANGER. In what aspect do you see me?

"The MAN. My grandfather, I see you standing before me, and firmly grasped in your right hand I see a war club.

"STRANGER. In your vigils and in your cries you have set your thoughts longingly upon the peoples of the earth. The war club

you have seen shall be yours. In your journey toward the setting of the sun you shall use it to make your enemies fall. Turn your face this way and look upon me.

"The MAN. My grandfather, I look upon you.

"STRANGER. In what aspect do you see me?

"The MAN. My grandfather, I see you standing before me. In your right hand is firmly grasped a wa-xthe'-xthe (a symbolic standard).

"STRANGER. In your vigils and in your cries you have fixed your thoughts longingly upon all the peoples of the earth. The standard you see shall be yours. In your journey toward the setting of the sun you shall use it to make your enemies fall." <sup>5</sup>

#### SONGS OF WAILING

The A'-ki-ho<sup>n</sup> Xo'-ka and his assistants sang the Wa'-i<sup>n</sup>-xa-ge song when the candidate and the women began to wail and the No<sup>n</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga to recite the dream wi'-gi-e.

Wa-xthi'-zhi explained that the wailing of the candidate was an appeal for long life and an endless line of descendants; the reciting of the dream wi'-gi-e was in the nature of a supplication to Wa-ko<sup>n</sup>-da that the cry of the candidate might be heard and his prayer granted; the wailing of the women was in remembrance of their husbands or sons who had gone to the spirit land and whose places they filled in the organization of the No<sup>n</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga.

While it is true, as explained by Wa-xthi'-zhi, that this entire ceremony is in the nature of a supplication, it is also clear that it is a dramatization of the rite of the seven days' vigil which a man is required to take who is chosen to offer the appeal of the people for divine aid in overcoming their enemies, as also the continuance of the rite throughout the entire war expedition.

The pipe referred to in the first stanza of the Wa'-i<sup>n</sup>-xa-ge Song contains (figuratively) the petitions of all the people and is in the possession of their priestly representative throughout the seven-day period of the rite and throughout the entire war expedition. The other stanzas mention certain ceremonial articles used in the war rites.

A translation of two lines from each stanza of the first song are here given.

<sup>5</sup> This ritual is given in full, in wi'-gi-e form, by Wa-xthi'-zhi, in 39th Ann. Rept. B. A. E., pp. 138-144.

## SONG I

(Osage version, p. 755)

M.M. ♩ = 92

Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

A - xa - ge bthe do hi<sup>n</sup> do a, I - ba thi<sup>n</sup> a-do<sup>n</sup> bthe do hi<sup>n</sup>  
do ho, I - ba thi<sup>n</sup> a-do<sup>n</sup> bthe do hi<sup>n</sup> do, ho, Bthe  
do ho<sup>n</sup> do a, I - ba thi<sup>n</sup> a-do<sup>n</sup> bthe do<sup>n</sup> hi<sup>n</sup> do ho,  
I - ba thi<sup>n</sup> a-do<sup>n</sup> bthe do hi<sup>n</sup> do, A - xa - ge bthe do hi<sup>n</sup> do a.

## FREE TRANSLATION

1

I cry to Wa-ko<sup>n'</sup>-da for aid as I go forth,  
Bearing the mystic pipe I go.

2

I cry to Wa-ko<sup>n'</sup>-da for aid as I go forth,  
Bearing the mystic club I go.

3

I cry to Wa-ko<sup>n'</sup>-da for aid as I go forth,  
Bearing the mystic knife I go.

4

I cry to Wa-ko<sup>n'</sup>-da for aid as I go forth,  
Bearing the mystic trophy I go.

5

I cry to Wa-ko<sup>n'</sup>-da for aid as I go forth,  
Bearing my bow I go.

6

I cry to Wa-ko<sup>n'</sup>-da for aid as I go forth,  
Bearing my arrows I go.

7

I cry to Wa-ko<sup>n'</sup>-da for aid as I go forth,  
Bearing the mystic standards I go.

8

I cry to Wa-ko<sup>n'</sup>-da for aid as I go forth,  
Bearing the symbol of trophies I go.

When the candidate had touched the heads of all the No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n'</sup>-zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga sitting on both sides of the house he stood still but continued

to wail, as did the women, until the last word of the Dream Wi'-gi-e had been spoken. When all had become quiet the candidate resumed his seat at the right of the Xo'-ka.

After a brief pause the A'-ki-ho<sup>n</sup> Xo'-ka again took up his rattle and began to sing Song 2, which is a call to the Wa'-do<sup>n</sup>-be to retrace his steps, meaning, that he must now count his o-do<sup>n'</sup> in the order that he had won them. As the Wa'-do<sup>n</sup>-be arose he picked up one of the bunches of saplings, the one containing six, and began to count. At the same moment all the No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga present began to recite three different wi'-gi-es. The No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga of the Ho<sup>n'</sup>-ga subdivision of the Ho<sup>n'</sup>-ga great tribal division recited the Wi'-gi-e of the Thirteen Footprints of the Black Bear. (See 39th Ann. Rept. B. A. E., pp. 148-151.) The No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga of the Wa-zha'-zhe subdivision of the Ho<sup>n'</sup>-ga great division recited the Wi'-gi-e of the Male Beaver and the Thirteen Willow Saplings. (See 39th Ann. Rept. B. A. E., pp. 151-154.) The No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga of the Tsi'-zhu great division recited the Wi'-gi-e of the Thirteen Sun-rays. (See 39th Ann. Rept. B. A. E., pp. 170-171.) The No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga of the Tho'-xe and the Ni'-ka Wa-ko<sup>n</sup>-da-gi gens recited the Wi'-gi-e of the Male Beaver and the Thirteen Willow Saplings as here given by Saucy-calf.

As the singing of the second and third songs of this group continued without pause, and the reciting of the three wi'-gi-es took place at the same time, the Wa'-do<sup>n</sup>-be, in a steady, deliberate, and even voice recounted his o-do<sup>n'</sup>, seven for the Ho<sup>n'</sup>-ga great division and six for the Tsi'-zhu great division. The Wa'-do<sup>n</sup>-be dropped a sapling on the earth at his feet as he finished giving the history of the o-do<sup>n'</sup> it represented.

#### WI'-GI-E OF THE BEAVER AND THE THIRTEEN WILLOW SAPLINGS

(Osage version, p. 755; literal translation, p. 815)

##### 1

1. Verily at that time and place, it has been said, in this house,
2. The male beaver
3. At the left side of one end of his house,
4. Lay with moistened soil upon his face.
5. He spake, saying: The soil upon my face
6. I have not put there without a purpose.
7. When the little ones go toward the setting sun against their enemies,
8. It shall serve them as a sign of their appeal for divine aid to overcome with ease their enemies.
9. From the left side of his house
10. The male beaver
11. Pushed forth, rippling the surface of the water,

12. And he spake, saying: Behold the ripples upon the water,
13. Which I have made to be the sign of old age.
14. May even one of the little ones
15. Live to see his skin furrowed as the ripples on the water.
16. The splashing of the water as I push forth
17. Is not without a purpose,
18. The voices of the little ones, lifted in appeal, shall be heard by  
Wa-ko<sup>n'</sup>-da, as are the splashes I make on the water.

## 2

19. Verily at that time and place, it has been said, in this house,
20. The male beaver came to a bend of the river,
21. Where stood a yellow willow tree,
22. Which he quickly cut down,
23. Then spake, saying: This act of cutting down the tree
24. Is not performed without a purpose.
25. The people who dwell toward the setting sun
26. I have made this fallen tree to represent.
27. May even one of the little ones
28. Enable himself to cut down with ease his enemies, as he travels  
the path of life.

## 3

29. After a pause
30. He started to drag the tree.
31. Against the current of the river
32. He dragged the tree.
33. Splashing with his tail the surface of the water as he pushed forth,
34. He spake, saying: These splashes of the water
35. Are as my voice that is heard by Wa-ko<sup>n'</sup>-da.
36. So shall it be with the little ones,
37. Their voices, lifted in appeal, shall always be heard by Wa-ko<sup>n'</sup>-da.
38. After a pause
39. He put at the left side of the entrance of his house
40. The lower part of the trunk of the willow tree.

## 4

41. After a pause,
42. At the right side of one end of his house,
43. The male beaver
44. Lay with moistened soil upon his face.
45. He spake, saying: The soil upon my face
46. I have not put there without a purpose.
47. When the little ones go toward the setting sun against their  
enemies
48. It shall serve them as a sign of their supplication for divine aid  
to overcome with ease their enemies.

49. Verily at that time and place, it has been said, in this house,
50. From the left side of his house,
51. The beaver pushed forth, rippling the surface of the water,
52. Then spake, saying: Behold the ripples upon the water,
53. Which I have made to be the sign of old age.
54. May even one of the little ones
55. Live to see his skin furrowed with age as the ripples on the water.

## 5

56. The beaver came to another bend of the river,
57. Where stood a yellow willow tree,
58. Which he quickly cut down,
59. Then spake, saying: This act also
60. I have performed not without a purpose.
61. There dwell toward the setting sun many people,
62. It is for the counting of these people I cut down this tree.
63. When the little ones go toward the setting sun against their  
enemies,
64. And they appeal for divine aid, they shall always overcome their  
enemies with ease.
65. After a pause
66. He started to drag the willow tree.
67. Against the current of the river
68. He dragged the willow tree.
69. Splashing the surface of the water with his tail as he pushed forth,
70. He spake, saying: The splashes that I make as I push forth,
71. Are as my voice that is heard by Wa-ḵo<sup>u</sup>-da.
72. So shall it be with the little ones,
73. Their voices, lifted in appeal, shall always be heard by Wa-ḵo<sup>u</sup>-da.

## 6

74. Verily at that time and place, it has been said, in this house,
75. The male beaver,
76. From the left side of his house,
77. Pushed forth, rippling the surface of the water,
78. He reached another bend of the river,
79. Where stood a yellow willow tree,
80. Which he quickly cut down.
81. Then spake, saying: This act also
82. I have performed not without a purpose.
83. There dwell many people toward the setting sun,
84. It is for the counting of those people that I have cut this tree.
85. When the little ones go to cut down their enemies,
86. They shall always cut them down with ease, as they travel the  
path of life.



## 7

87. After a pause  
 88. He went on and reached the seventh bend of the river,  
 89. Then spake, saying: This bend of the river, also,  
 90. I have made to represent the honors of the warrior.  
 91. The little ones shall use this river's bend for counting their honors.  
 92. When they use it to count their military honors,  
 93. They shall count with ease their honors, as they travel the path of life.

SONG OF THE WA'-DO<sup>n</sup>-BE

The second song has two stanzas. The words are addressed to the Wa'-do<sup>n</sup>-be, the man of valor chosen by the candidate to recount the deeds he performed when he fought in defense of the tribe.

By the first stanza the honored warrior is commanded to go to the place prepared for him, there to travel again (retrospectively) the path of honor he had made in his warlike career.

In the second stanza the Wa'-do<sup>n</sup>-be is commanded to go to the seat of honor and there count, one after the other, the thirteen military honors he has won, in accordance with the tribal rites.

A free translation of one sentence of each of the two stanzas of the song is given.

## SONG 2

(Osage version, p. 758)

Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

RECITATIVO

U - gi - ha e - dsi tho, u - gi - ha e - dsi tho,  
 u - gi - ha e - dsi tho. Tha - wa - wa e - dsi tho,  
 tha - wa - wa e - dsi tho, tha - wa - wa e - dsi tho.

## FREE TRANSLATION

1

Go thou and travel again the path thou hast made.

2

Go thou and count in sequence the honors thou hast won.

The third song has 13 stanzas. These are divided into two groups, one containing six and the other seven stanzas. The group of six stanzas is for the Tsi'-zhu great division and that of seven stanzas for the Ho<sup>n'</sup>-ga great division. When the ceremony is given by a gens of the Ho<sup>n'</sup>-ga great division the group of seven stanzas is sung

first, and when the ceremony is given by a gens of the T̄si'-zhu division the group of six stanzas is sung first. Sauey-calf, who gave this ritual, belonged to a gens of the T̄si'-zhu, so he sang first the group with six stanzas.

In order to avoid repetition, the seven stanzas only are here given, the words of all the stanzas except the seventh being the same.

The numbers given throughout the seven stanzas may be read as ordinal numbers, thus: First, second, third, etc. They refer to the willow saplings to be used by the Wa'-do<sup>n</sup>-be in recounting his o-do<sup>n</sup>' (military honors) at the singing of the song. The words of the song are addressed to the Wa'-do<sup>n</sup>-be and as though offering to him the saplings one by one.

The words of two lines of each stanza of this song are freely translated. In the last or seventh stanza the ordinal number is not used for the reason that the Osage word for the ordinal form of the number seven contains four syllables, so that the word does not fit the music; therefore the word "e'-no<sup>n</sup>" is substituted, a word which means the last one to complete the prescribed number.

## SONG 3

(Osage version, p. 758)

M.M. ♩ = 92 Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

Ni - ƙa no<sup>n</sup> do<sup>n</sup>. . ga wa-do<sup>n</sup> - be, . ga wa-do<sup>n</sup> - be, . Wi<sup>n</sup> -  
 xtsi thu - ƙa, . wi<sup>n</sup>-xtsi thu - ƙa, . Ni - ƙa no<sup>n</sup> do<sup>n</sup>. . ga  
 wa-do<sup>n</sup> - be, . Wi<sup>n</sup>-xtsi thu - ƙa, . wi<sup>n</sup>-xtsi thu - ƙa, . Ni -  
 ƙa no<sup>n</sup> do<sup>n</sup> . ga wa - do<sup>n</sup> - be . . wi<sup>n</sup>-xtsi thu ƙa . .

## FREE TRANSLATION

1

Thou art a man, O Wa'-do<sup>n</sup>-be, O Wa'-do<sup>n</sup>-be,  
 Take thou the first of these, the first of these.

2

Thou art a man, O Wa'-do<sup>n</sup>-be, O Wa'-do<sup>n</sup>-be,  
 Take thou the second of these, the second of these.

## 3

Thou art a man, O Wa'-do<sup>n</sup>-be, O Wa'-do<sup>n</sup>-be,  
Take thou the third of these, the third of these.

## 4

Thou art a man, O Wa'-do<sup>n</sup>-be, O Wa'-do<sup>n</sup>-be,  
Take thou the fourth of these, the fourth of these.

## 5

Thou art a man, O Wa'-do<sup>n</sup>-be, O Wa'-do<sup>n</sup>-be,  
Take thou the fifth of these, the fifth of these.

## 6

Thou art a man, O Wa'-do<sup>n</sup>-be, O Wa'-do<sup>n</sup>-be,  
Take thou the sixth of these, the sixth of these.

## 7

Thou art a man, O Wa'-do<sup>n</sup>-be, O Wa'-do<sup>n</sup>-be,  
Take thou the final one of these, the final one.

## CROW SONGS

At the close of the Wa-thu'-çe songs Saucy-calf gives the following notice: "Ha! No<sup>n</sup>'-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga Қа'-xe Wa-tho<sup>n</sup> a-tsi i<sup>n</sup> do. Ni'-қа Xo-be A-ka the ga ni tha-то<sup>n</sup> bi<sup>n</sup> do." "O No<sup>n</sup>'-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga I have come to the Crow songs. At this time the holy men drink water." Thereupon the women bring in water and the "holy men," in accordance with ancient custom, proceed to refresh themselves and to wash from their faces the sign of the rite of vigil which they had put on their faces before the dawn.

The Sho'-қа and his assistants also bestir themselves and apportion to the families of the holy men the provisions supplied by the candidate and his relatives, first serving the Wa'-do<sup>n</sup>-be a large portion. The activity in the serving of cold water and food to the holy men at the singing of the Crow songs, of which there are two, is a dramatization of the scenes that take place upon a battle field when the conflict is over, and the combatants, both the living and the slain, have departed.

The theme of the first Crow song is the person (the crow) who first approaches the abandoned field of conflict where lie the bodies of the slain. In the song the crow is represented as speaking while he approaches to feast upon the fallen warrior, from the back, from the left side, from the breast, and, lastly, from the right side.

In this song two men only are mentioned as having gone. Saucy-calf could not explain what was meant by this, but thought it meant one of the slain from each side, as the bodies of the slain on both sides are left upon the field of combat.

A free translation is given of three lines from each stanza.

## SONG 1

(Osage version, p. 759)

M.M.  $\text{♩} = 88$ 

Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

Ni - ka tho - ba tha do<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>, A he the ni - ka tho -

ba tha do<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>, A he the ni - ka tho<sup>n</sup>-ba tha do<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>, Da-

ce ta to<sup>n</sup> wa-tha-pa-pa ha-dsi bthe hi<sup>n</sup> do, Ni - ka tho<sup>n</sup>-ba a, a

da-do<sup>n</sup> he, Da - ce ta to<sup>n</sup> wa - tha-pa - pa ha - dsi bthe hi<sup>n</sup> do.

## FREE TRANSLATION

## 1

Lo, two men have gone to the spirit land,  
 A he the, two men have gone to the spirit land,  
 I go to feast upon their backs with zest.

## 2

Lo, two men have gone to the spirit land,  
 A he the, two men have gone to the spirit land,  
 I go to feast upon their left sides with zest.

## 3

Lo, two men have gone to the spirit land,  
 A he the, two men have gone to the spirit land,  
 I go to feast upon their breasts with zest.

## 4

Lo, two men have gone to the spirit land,  
 A he the, two men have gone to the spirit land,  
 I go to feast upon their right sides with zest.

The second Crow song, which Saucy-calf next takes up, when he acts as A'-ki-ho<sup>n</sup> Xó'-ka, is descriptive of the actions of the crows when feasting upon the bodies of the slain warriors. The first stanza refers to the cries of the birds as they spring into the air and tear each other in fight over the bodies of the fallen. The second stanza refers to the ravenous manner in which they feed. The third refers again to the fighting and to the way in which the birds tumble through the air in their struggles. The fourth to the peaceful manner in which the crows depart from the battle field, flying abreast by twos, having satisfied their hunger.

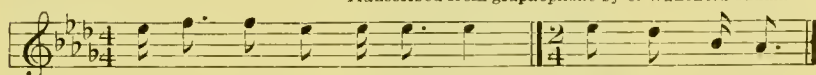
In the He-thu'-shka ceremonies of many of the Siouan tribes the warriors who are the most valorous are permitted to wear, in the form of a belt, a symbolic decoration called *Ḳa'-xe*, or crow. (Pl. 19.) This military decoration symbolizes the scenes pictured in these crow songs.

A translation of one line from each stanza will suffice to make clear the meaning.

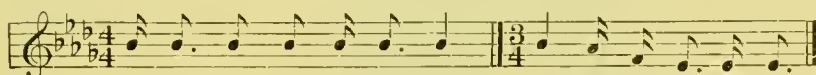
## SONG 2

(Osage version, p. 759)

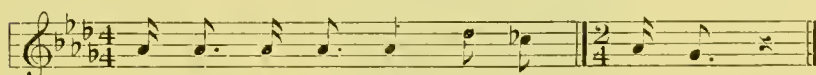
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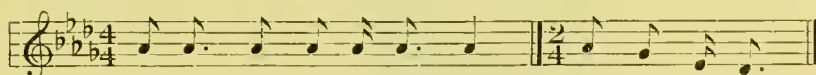
· Ḳa - xe ga - tse tho<sup>n</sup> - ba dse ḳi - gthi - xa - xa,



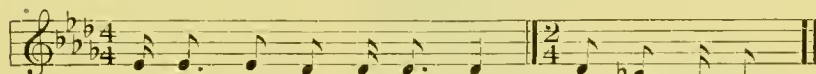
Ḳa - xe ga - tse tho<sup>n</sup> - ba dse ḳi - gthi - xa - xa, Ḳa - xe



ga - tse tho<sup>n</sup> - ba dse ḳi - gthi - xa - xa.



Ḳa - xe ga - tse tho<sup>n</sup> - ba dse ḳi - gthi - xa - xa,



Ḳa - xa ga - tse tho<sup>n</sup> - ba dse ḳi - gthi - xa - xa.

## FREE TRANSLATION

1

The crows fight and scream where lie the two.

2

The crows eat with zest where lie the two.

3

The crows wrestle in the air above the two.

4

The crows, in pairs, leave the place where lie the two.

## BUFFALO SONGS

Two themes are united in the group of songs next in order. The first theme is of an animal life form, the buffalo, and the second is of a vegetal life form, the maize. These two forms of life are held by the Osage and cognate tribes as specially sacred, for they are

recognized as special gifts from Wa-ko<sup>n'</sup>-da, the power that is the source of all forms of life. This composite group of songs bears the title Ṭse Wa'-o<sup>n</sup>, Buffalo Songs. The myth (36th Ann. Rept. B. A. E., p. 279, lines 54-110), which tells of the buffalo and the maize, implies that the buffalo was first to become the principal food supply of the people and later the maize took an important and a permanent place in the secular and religious life of the tribe.

The maize must be ceremonially planted by a woman; therefore when the buffalo and the maize songs are to be sung the candidate's wife and her uninitiated woman relatives are invited to be present in order to receive instructions in the rites which must be observed when planting the maize. (See 36th Ann. Rept. B. A. E., p. 192.)

The annual tribal buffalo hunt of the Omaha was always conducted with elaborate and solemn rites (27th Ann. Rept. B. A. E., pp. 270-309), as was also the ceremonial planting of the maize. (See same report, pp. 261-270.)

In both of these related tribes the duty of preparing the soil and of planting the seeds of the maize belongs strictly to a woman. (Pl. 20.) If a man assists, he must work under the direction of the woman who is the owner of the field. This sacred duty of attending to the maize has a dual significance; it is the woman who conceives and brings forth the child to its place in the physical world. No one is, therefore, better fitted than she to perform the sacred symbolic act of preparing the soil, planting therein the seed of the maize, and helping it to come into the light of day.

When Saucy-calf is about to sing the buffalo and maize songs he gives the following notice to the members of the order: "No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga! Ṭse Wa'-o<sup>n</sup> a-tsi mi<sup>n</sup>-kshi<sup>n</sup> do. The ga ki'-no<sup>n</sup> tsi ga-xa bi-a, No<sup>n</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e'!" which, translated into free English, means: "No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga! I have come to the Buffalo Songs. On arriving at these songs it is customary to have the ki'-no<sup>n</sup> present, O No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga!"

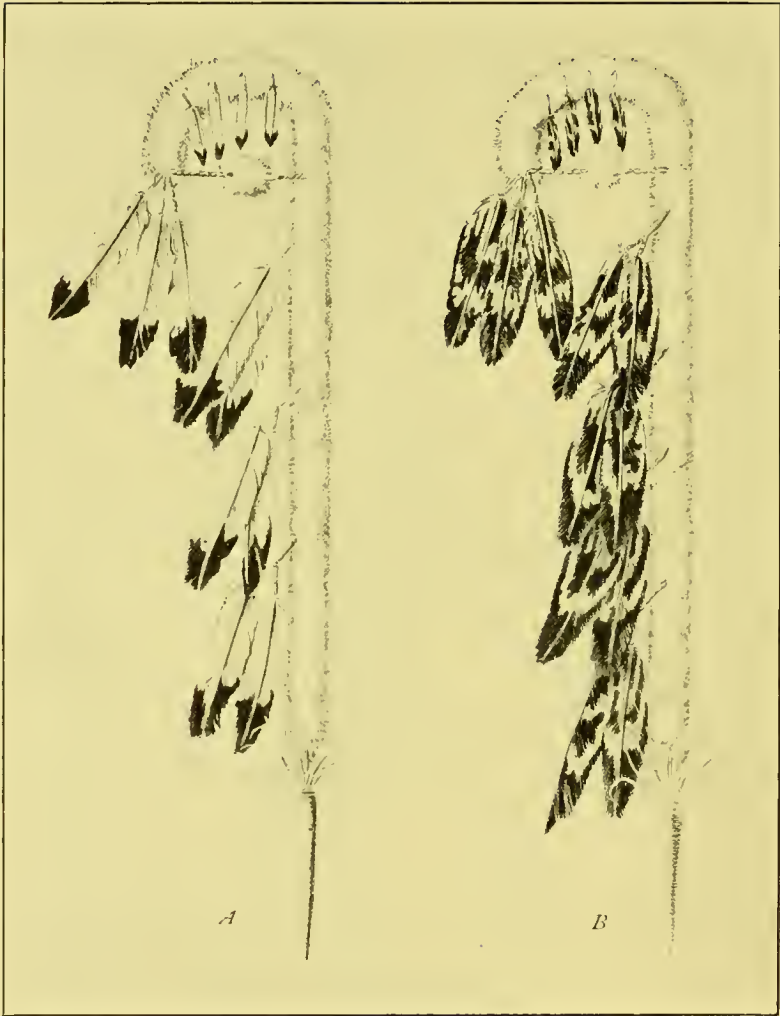
The Sho'-ka, who has gone to gather the women, reenters, followed by the wife of the candidate and her friends, who take seats in front of and facing the Xo'-ka, the A'-ki-ho<sup>n</sup> Xo'-ka, and the candidate to be instructed in the rites pertaining to the ceremonial planting of the maize.

The first song of this composite group relates to the coming of the buffalo from the mysterious invisible world to the material and visible world. The first two stanzas imply the creation of the male and female with their full procreative powers; the third stanza speaks of the birth of the young buffalo; the fourth stanza refers to the completion of this creative act, the appearance of the father, mother, and the little one in the material world, in the light of day.

A free translation of all the five lines of the first stanza and two lines from each of the three other stanzas will suffice to give the meaning of the song.



WOMAN STANDING BY HER CORN PATCH



STANDARD



## SONG 1

(Osage version, p. 760)

RECITATIVO

Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

Wi - tsi - go ho no<sup>n</sup> - zhi<sup>n</sup> hi no<sup>n</sup> a hi<sup>n</sup> do,  
 A ho wi - tsi - go ho no<sup>n</sup> - zhi<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup> a hi<sup>n</sup> do,  
 A ho wi - tsi - go ho no<sup>n</sup> - zhi<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup> a hi<sup>n</sup> do  
 ho, Mi the he, mi the he no<sup>n</sup> - zhi<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup> a hi<sup>n</sup> do  
 ho, Do - ga no<sup>n</sup> - zhi<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup> a hi<sup>n</sup> do ho

## FREE TRANSLATION

1

My grandfathers are rising,  
 A ho! my grandfathers are rising,  
 A ho! my grandfathers are rising,  
 I shall go to them, go to them, when they have risen,  
 When the males have risen.

2

I shall go to them, go to them, when they have risen,  
 When the females have risen.

3

I shall go to them, go to them, when they have risen,  
 When the young one has risen.

4

I shall go to them, go to them, when they have risen,  
 And come into the light of day.

The first and second songs of this group differ in both character and expression. The first song indicates a thoughtful, contemplative mood, having for its object the performance of an act that will greatly affect the welfare of the people; the music of the song expresses dignity, solemnity, and a reverence for the power that gives thought to a vast and far-reaching movement. The words of the second song, the rhythm, and quick time of the music indicate a happy spirit that

rejoices at the actual coming of the buffalo into the material world, together with the promise of continuance through natural increase for the lasting benefit of the tribe.

A free translation of the first stanza in full and two lines of each of the other stanzas of the second song is given.

## SONG 2

(Osage version, p. 760)

M.M. ♩ = 92 Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

Wi - t̄si - go no<sup>n</sup> - zhi<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup>, Wi - t̄si - go no<sup>n</sup> - zhi<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup>,

Wi - t̄si - go no<sup>n</sup> - zhi<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup>, A ha no<sup>n</sup> - zhi<sup>n</sup> bi

no<sup>n</sup>, A ha, a ha, Do-ga-e no<sup>n</sup> - zhi<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup>, do-ga-e

no<sup>n</sup> - zhi<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup> A ha, no<sup>n</sup> - zhi<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup>, A ha, a ha.

## FREE TRANSLATION

1

My grandfathers rise, they rise,  
They rise; Look ye! they rise,  
Look ye! Look ye!  
The males rise, the males rise,  
Look ye! they rise. Look ye! Look ye!

2

The females rise, the females rise,  
Look ye! they rise. Look ye! Look ye!

3

The little one rises, the little one rises,  
Look ye! the little one rises. Look ye! Look ye!

4

In the light of day they stand, they stand,  
Look ye! they stand. Look ye! Look ye!

The third song of this group differs from the second only in the music. The words and rhythm have the same tone of happiness at the coming of the buffalo into the visible world. Saucy-calf gave only the first and fourth stanzas of this song, leaving the words of the second and the third to be implied.

It is the practice of the singers of the ritual songs to give only the first and last stanzas of the songs that have the same theme and which dwell upon the same subject. This practice is called "Pa-çi a-ki'-tha-ha thu-çe," taking only the first and the last.

The first and fourth stanzas are translated in full.

## SONG 3

(Osage version, p. 760)

M.M.  $\text{♩} = 96$  Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

Wi - tsi - go, wi - tsi - go no<sup>n</sup> - zhi<sup>n</sup> da

ha, A ha no<sup>n</sup> - zhi<sup>n</sup> da ha, a ha no<sup>n</sup> - zhi<sup>n</sup> da

ha, A ha no<sup>n</sup> - zhi<sup>n</sup> da ha, do - ga no<sup>n</sup> - zhi<sup>n</sup> da ha,

Do - ga no<sup>n</sup> - zhi<sup>n</sup> da ha, a ha no<sup>n</sup> - zhi<sup>n</sup> da ha.

## FREE TRANSLATION

1

My grandfather, my grandfather rises,  
 Look you! he rises; look you! he rises,  
 Look you! he rises; the male rises,  
 The male rises; look you! he rises.

4

My grandfather, my grandfather rises,  
 Look you! he rises; look you! he rises,  
 Look you! he rises; he stands in the light of day,  
 He stands in the light of day. Look you! he stands.

It was explained by Saucy-calf that the fourth song of this group speaks of the readiness of the buffalo to come to the material world, into the light of day, and that all things necessary to be accomplished for their coming are completed.

A free translation is given of the first stanza and one line from each of the other stanzas.

## SONG 4

(Osage version, p. 761)

M.M.  $\text{♩} = 96$  Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

Wi-tsi-go ho tsi no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e the he the, E - ni-the he tho-he mi

the the, e - ni - the the, E - ni - the he tho - he mi

the the, E - ni - the he do - ga no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e the he.

## FREE TRANSLATION

1

My grandfather comes and stands,  
 It is done, soon shall I go! It is done,  
 It is done, soon shall I go,  
 It is done! I, the male, stand

2

It is done! I, the female, stand.

3

It is done! I, the little one, stand.

4

It is done! In the midst of day we stand.

The fifth song dwells upon the continued approach of the buffalo to the world that is sensible to the sight as well as to the touch.

The music and the words of the song denote happiness and faith that the buffalo will come into the world, not once, but for all time. The final stanza sings of that day. A word, o<sup>n</sup>'-ba, is here used in two senses, namely, the light of day into which all things come and live, and the attainment or the accomplishment of a desired end. The bringing of the buffalo from the world of mystery into the material world was for a definite purpose, and when that purpose was accomplished the object stood in the light of day, as a thing completed.

All of the lines of the first stanza are translated and one line from each of the other three stanzas.

## SONG 5

(Osage version, p. 761)

M.M. ♩ = 96 Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

Mo<sup>n</sup> - i<sup>n</sup> - ɣau - ho<sup>n</sup> - ge dsi tha thi<sup>n</sup> - she no<sup>n</sup>, Tho -  
 ge no<sup>n</sup> do-ga gi ɣa hi the the he the, Do-ga gi ɣa bi the  
 the, Tho - ge no<sup>n</sup> do - ga gi ɣa bi the the he.

## FREE TRANSLATION

1

Along the borders of the earth ye move,  
 Amidst the visible forms the male will come,  
 The male will come,  
 Amidst the visible forms the male will come.

2

Amidst the visible forms the female will come.

3

Amidst the visible forms the little one will come.

4

Amidst the visible forms, in the light of day they will come.

The next two songs, the sixth and seventh, bear the subtitle Wa-dsu'-ɣa Gi-bo<sup>n</sup> Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>, Songs of Calling the Animals.

In many of the Siouan tribes there are rites by which the people call the buffalo to come to their aid in the struggle to maintain life. From the words of the ritual songs of this character a stranger who is not familiar with the Indian ceremonial mode of thought and expression would fall into the belief that the supplications for aid were addressed to the animal itself, but a closer, thoughtful study would lead him to the understanding that the call for aid was made through the animal to the Mysterious Power that gave it life and form.

The ancient No<sup>n</sup>'-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga who composed these songs mention the buffalo in the sequential order of their creation as dictated to them by wa-thi'-gtho<sup>n</sup>, or a carefully studied reasoning, namely, the male first, the female next, and lastly the little one. While by the final stanza they call the three in their triple relationship to come into the light of day, the call is, in reality, a song of adoration of the power that made the light of day for the benefit of all living creatures.

By the same process of reasoning as that of the Osage men the ancient No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n'</sup>-zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga of the Omaha, a cognate tribe, arranged in the same order the stanzas of their buffalo calling songs. In the final stanzas of the two Omaha songs here referred to is used the word *te'-xi*, which means difficult to accomplish. The word, however, as used here is an expression of those men of the ancient days, of their marvel at the accomplishment of so great an act by Wa-ko<sup>n'</sup>-da as the bringing into existence a living creature of such widespread usefulness. (See 27th Ann. Rept. B. A. E., pp. 291-295.)

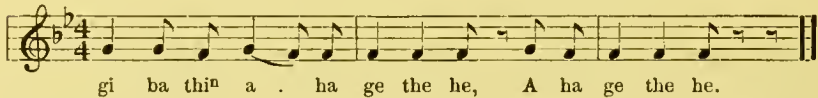
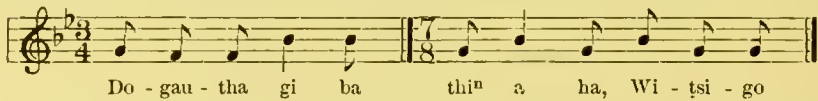
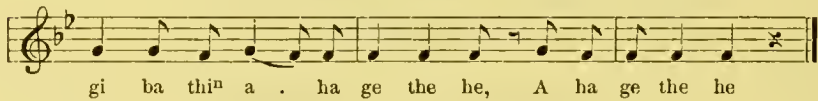
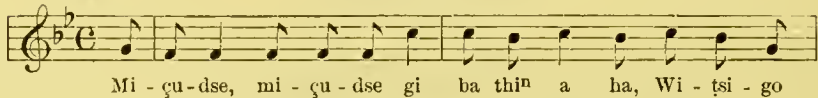
All of the lines of the first stanza of the sixth song are given a free translation and one line only from each of the three other stanzas is translated.

## SONG 6

(Osage version, p. 761)

M.M. ♩ = 96

Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.



## FREE TRANSLATION

1

O ye with new-grown hair, new-grown hair, come,  
My grandfathers, come ye, come ye,  
Come ye hither, come;  
Come ye with the males, come ye;  
My grandfathers, come ye hither, come ye;  
Come ye hither, come.

2

Come ye with the females, come ye.

3

Come ye with the little ones, come ye.

4

Come ye with the day, come ye.

In the seventh song the ancient No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n'</sup>-zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga continue to call to the buffalo, the valued gift coming from Wa-ko<sup>n'</sup>-da, the Giver of Life. Those men of the ancient days gave to this song words that are undisguised and can be understood by any person having a knowledge of the language. The music has a mysterious tone which, to them, was one of reverence and of adoration.

## SONG 7

(Osage version, p. 762)

M.M. ♩ = 88 Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

Gi ba dse ha tho o, gi ba dse ha tho, Gi  
 ba dse ha tho o, gi ba dse ha tho, . I - wi -  
 the tha ha tho - o, do-ga no<sup>n</sup> ha tho - o, . Gi ba dse  
 ha tho - - o, . gi ba dse ha tho. .

## FREE TRANSLATION

1

Come ye hither, Come ye hither;  
 Come ye! Come ye!  
 Where I may see thee, ye of the males,  
 Come ye hither! Come ye hither!  
 Come ye! Come ye!

2

Where I may see thee, ye of the females.

3

Where I may see thee, ye of the little ones.

4

Where I may see thee, here in the light of day!

In songs 1 to 7 of this group the ancient No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n'</sup>-zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga have attempted to give expression, in music and words, to their belief in the coming of the buffalo from the unseen to the visible, material world, not of its own accord but out of and guided by a divine creative mind.

This belief concerning the source of the life, not only of the buffalo, but of life in all its forms, fixed itself firmly upon the minds of the Osage men of the ancient days after they had spent years of studious

thought upon the activities of nature, upon the great cosmic bodies, and particularly upon those of the earth and the sun.

The buffalo was an animal of widespread usefulness. It gave to the Indians of the plains food, clothing, and shelter. It was given prominence in the myths, rituals, sacred songs, tribal ceremonials, and the gentile organizations. In the tribal hunting of the buffalo the herd was approached with solemn rites, always with recognition of the Great Creative Power that brought this sacred animal to man. (See 27th Ann. Rept. B. A. E., pp. 280-283; 36th Ann. Rept. B. A. E., pp. 262-582, lines 303-582.)

The theme of the eighth song is the actual arrival of the buffalo to the visible world, into the light of day.

The song is in the form of a little drama. The first stanza dwells upon the shooting of the buffalo by man; the second, upon the death of the animal; in the third, the man is joined by another who is asked to assist and to hold steady the hind leg as the first man performs the task of cutting up the flesh; in the fourth, he is asked to hold steady the head; in the fifth, he is asked to hold the foreleg.

A translation of one line only from each stanza will suffice to give the meaning.

## SONG 8

(Osage version, p. 762)

M.M. ♩ = 88 Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

Tsi - go ki - da bi - no<sup>n</sup>, ki - da bi - no<sup>n</sup>,

Ki - da bi - no<sup>n</sup>, ki - da bi no<sup>n</sup> ha,

Ki - da bi no<sup>n</sup>, ki - da bi - no<sup>n</sup>, Ki - da bi no<sup>n</sup> ha.

## FREE TRANSLATION

- 1  
My grandfather<sup>6</sup> I have shot; I have shot.
- 2  
My grandfather I have killed, I have killed.
- 3  
Hold for me his leg, hold for me his leg.
- 4  
Hold for me his head, hold for me his head.
- 5  
Hold for me his arm, hold for me his arm.

<sup>6</sup> The kinship term, grandfather, is not used here in its ordinary meaning but as a trope for a feeling of reverence for the divine power that brought the animal from the realms of mystery to a material existence.



Before passing to the Osage song next in order it may be well to call attention to the relationship of Song 8, just given, to certain Omaha buffalo songs. The Osage and the Omaha tribes are closely related linguistically and have the same cultural peculiarities. The first two stanzas of the Osage song dwell upon the shooting and killing of the buffalo; the third, fourth, and fifth stanzas upon the cutting up of the flesh of the animal for convenience in carrying it to camp. Thus the Osage use two themes in this one song.

Years before the Osage work was begun the Omaha buffalo-hunting rite was recorded. Among the songs of this rite are two that correspond to the Osage buffalo song above referred to. The theme of the eighth song of the Omaha buffalo rite (see 27th Ann. Rept. B. A. E., p. 305) is the same as the first and second stanzas of the eighth song of the Osage. The Omaha song is descriptive of a bit of the scene of the hunting field when the chase is over. It makes a picture of the hunter who is seeking for the animal he had wounded with his arrow. The words of the song, freely translated, are as follows:

1

One I have wounded, yonder he moves,  
Yonder he moves, bleeding at the mouth.

2

One I have wounded, yonder he moves,  
Yonder he moves, with staggering steps.

3

One I have wounded, yonder he moves,  
Yonder he falls, yonder he falls.

The ninth song of the Omaha rite (see 27th Ann. Rept. B. A. E., p. 306) corresponds to the third, fourth, and fifth stanzas of the Osage song and is descriptive of the work of removing the skin and cutting up the flesh of the animal killed. In both the Osage and Omaha songs two men are represented as performing the work, although one man could do it without assistance. The assistant is called by the Osage "U-ki'-stse-ḱ'i<sup>n</sup>," he who is entitled to half, and by the Omaha "ṭe'-t'e," he who is entitled to a portion. A free translation of one line only of this Omaha song will suffice to give the meaning.

1

Hold for me the foot, my son, hold for me the foot.

2

Hold for me the head, my son, hold for me the head.

3

Hold for me the tail, my son, hold for me the tail.

The close resemblance of the Osage and Omaha buffalo songs is not accidental. For certain political reasons a number of gentes

withdrew from the great Osage tribe and in later times became known as the Omaha tribe. For a long time, however, these gentes retained the old gentile name "Ho<sup>n'</sup>-ga," but they finally adopted the distinctive name of Omaha, or Upstream People. When these gentes departed from the Osage tribe they took with them their gentile versions of the tribal rites, including the buffalo songs, thus leaving gaps in the old Osage No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n'</sup>-zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga arrangement of the ancient tribal rites. (For tradition of the separation see Nineteenth Internat. Cong. Americanists, 1915, pp. 459-462.)

The ninth song of this group is the first of the Songs of the Maize. It is thought that the No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n'</sup>-zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga represent the people as speaking in this song, each for himself or herself, the men who guard the village and the women who work in the fields.

The words and the music of the song express joy at the awakening of the earth from its long winter sleep; the smoke arising from the fields where the women are preparing the soil for planting; the sight of the long rows of little hills within which are to be put the precious seeds from which the people hope for a rich harvest; the sight of the young stalks as they spread their blades in the winds and take their place amid other living forms; the sight of the bright light of day that touches every form of life and urges each onward toward maturity.

Amid all this awakening, this activity of life, the old No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n'</sup>-zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga perceived a first token of the presence of the Divine, Creative Power, a presence that is indicated by some visible mark, like foot-prints upon the earth's surface.

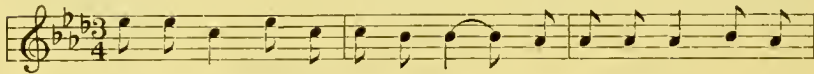
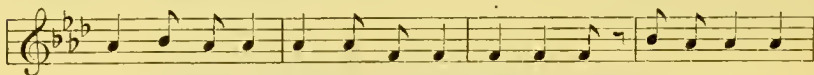
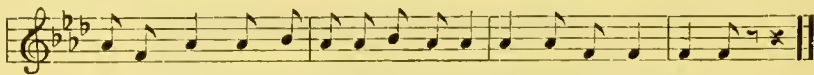
All the lines of the first stanza are translated and the last two lines from each of the other three stanzas.

## SONG 9

(Osage version, p. 762)

M.M. ♩ = 96

Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

Mo<sup>n</sup> - i<sup>n</sup> - ƙa tse - ga ge no<sup>n</sup> dse . he, Wi - tsi - go a - ƙi -gthe sho-dse ge, To<sup>n</sup> - be mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup>-e the he the, Sho-dse ge to<sup>n</sup> -be mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup>-e the, Tho ge no<sup>n</sup> sho-dse ge To<sup>n</sup> - be mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup>-e the he.

## FREE TRANSLATION

## 1

Amid the earth, renewed in verdure,  
 Amid rising smoke, my grandfather's footprints  
 I see, as from place to place I wander,  
 The rising smoke I see as I wander.  
 Amid all forms visible, the rising smoke  
 I see, as I move from place to place.

## 2

Amid all forms visible, the little hills in rows  
 I see, as I move from place to place.

## 3

Amid all forms visible, the spreading blades  
 I see, as I move from place to place.

## 4

Amid all forms visible, the light of day  
 I see, as I move from place to place.

The tenth song of this group is expressive of a feeling of reverence for woman, a feeling akin to that of adoration, for it is she upon whom nature has imposed the sacred duty of motherhood.

In this song the No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n'</sup>-zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga have represented the woman as speaking of her task of planting, cultivating, and harvesting the maize for food for her children. This plant must bear the fruit which the children must eat that they may live and the woman has learned that the plant will require as much care from her as the little ones in order to bring it to maturity and fruition.

Stanzas 1 to 5 are descriptive of the work of preparing the soil to receive the seeds to be planted. Stanzas 6 to 8 refer to the sacred act of the woman and to the seeds she must plant in the seven consecrated hills. Stanzas 9 to 17 tell of the successive stages of the growth and fruition of the plant. Stanzas 18 to 20 speak of the harvesting that brings joy in the woman's house and to the day that marks the fulfillment of her duty.

A translation of one line from each stanza will give the meaning of the song.

## SONG 10

(Osage version, p. 763)

M.M. ♩ = 100

Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

A - çi - gthe he sho - de no<sup>n</sup> - zhi<sup>n</sup>-e the he the,

A - çi - gthe he sho - de no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e the he the,

A - çi - gthe . he sho - de no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e the, A - çi - gthe

he sho - de no<sup>n</sup> - zhi<sup>n</sup>-e the he.

## FREE TRANSLATION

- 1  
Footprints I make! Smoke arises from their midst (burning of the old stalks).
- 2  
Footprints I make! The soil lies mellowed.
- 3  
Footprints I make! The little hills stand in rows.
- 4  
Footprints I make! Lo, the little hills have turned gray.
- 5  
Footprints I make! Lo, the hills are in the light of day.
- 6  
Footprints I make! Lo, I come to the sacred act.
- 7  
Footprints I make! Give me one (grain), two, three, four.
- 8  
Footprints I make! Give me five, six, the final number (7).
- 9  
Footprints I make! Lo, the tender stalk breaks the soil.
- 10  
Footprints I make! Lo, the stalk stands amidst the day.
- 11  
Footprints I make! Lo, the blades spread in the winds.
- 12  
Footprints I make! Lo, the stalks stand firm and upright.
- 13  
Footprints I make! Lo, the blades sway in the winds.

14

Footprints I make! Lo, the stalk stands jointed.

15

Footprints I make! Lo, the plant has blossomed.

16

Footprints I make! Lo, the blades sigh in the wind.

17

Footprints I make! Lo, the ears branch from the stalk.

18

Footprints I make! Lo, I pluck the ears.

19

Footprints I make! Lo, there is joy in my house.

20

Footprints I make! Lo, the day of fulfillment.

In the Omaha song of the maize (see 27th Ann. Rept. B. A. E., pp. 262-269) the sacred plant is represented as speaking of its successive stages of growth, from the formation of its roots to fruition and its use by man as food.

In the eleventh song the No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n'</sup>-zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga represent the woman as being in a thoughtful mood upon the arrival of the season when the seeds she had planted amidst her footprints should have grown to maturity and fruition. As she plans to visit the field her thoughts run back to the time when she finished making the little hills in which to plant the seeds of the maize. She follows again, in memory, the plant in its various stages of growth, from the time it pushed upward through the soil and spread its leaves in the sun to the time when the stalk strengthened and stood with broad leaves swaying in the four winds; to the time when it stood in full maturity, crowned with yellow blossoms. She pictures in her mind the ripening ears reaching out like arms from the stalks, and she fancies herself standing in the clear day of reality, the day of the fulfillment of her motherly duty.

All the lines of the first stanza are translated and one line from each of the other stanzas.

## SONG 11

(Osage version, p. 764)

M.M. ♩ = 96 Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

Do<sup>n</sup> - be the t̄se the he, do<sup>n</sup> - be the t̄se the,

A - ç̄i - gthe no<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup> do<sup>n</sup> - be the t̄se the he,

Do<sup>n</sup> - be the t̄se the he, do<sup>n</sup> - be the t̄se the the

he the, Gthe-ça ge no<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup> do<sup>n</sup> - be the t̄se the he,

Do<sup>n</sup> - be the t̄se the he, do<sup>n</sup> - be the t̄se the the he.

## FREE TRANSLATION

1

I shall go to see, I shall go to see,  
 The footprints I have made, I shall go to see,  
 I shall go to see, I shall go to see,  
 The hills standing in rows, I shall go to see,  
 I shall go to see, I shall go to see.

2

The stalks with outspreading leaves, I shall go to see.

3

The stalks standing upright, I shall go to see.

4

The leaves swaying in the wind, I shall go to see.

5

The yellow blossoms, I shall go to see.

6

The overhanging ears, I shall go to see.

7

The final day of my task, I shall see.

In the twelfth song the woman, the tiller of the soil, is represented as hastening to the field with light footsteps. As she enters the field she stands with exultant pride amidst the rustling leaves of the fruit-laden stalks crowned with yellow blossoms. She gathers some of the fruit for the evening meal. When she finds red, blue, or

speckled ears she keeps them separate for the little ones and anticipates the joy of hearing their cries of delight when they see the corn. With a heavy load, but a light heart, she hastens homeward, enters her house and meets the demonstrations of joy in the "Welcome home." To the mother it is a day of contentment.

One line is translated from each stanza of this song.

The music is the same as that which accompanies the tenth song.

SONG 12

(Osage version, p. 764)

FREE TRANSLATION

1

Footprints I make! I go to the field with eager haste.

2

Footprints I make! Amid rustling leaves I stand.

3

Footprints I make! Amid yellow blossoms I stand.

4

Footprints I make! I stand with exultant pride.

5

Footprints I make! I hasten homeward with a burden of gladness.

6

Footprints I make! There's joy and gladness in my home.

7

Footprints I make! I stand amidst a day of contentment!

At the close of this song, when Saucy-calf presides as master of ceremonies, he speaks to the No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n'</sup>-zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga in a voice that all can hear:

"Ha! No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n'</sup>-zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga, Tse Wa'-tho<sup>n'</sup> the ga she'-no<sup>n'</sup> i<sup>n'</sup> do. Wa-tho<sup>n'</sup> Sha-pe thi<sup>n'</sup>-kshe, No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n'</sup>-zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga, a-tsi a'-to<sup>n'</sup>-he i<sup>n'</sup> do. Wa-ga'-xe the she-to<sup>n'</sup> ha a-the'ta a-ka i<sup>n'</sup> do. A'-ki-hi-dse go<sup>n'</sup>-tha thi<sup>n'</sup> he no<sup>n'</sup>-e!

"Ha! No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n'</sup>-zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga, this closes the Buffalo Songs. I have now come to the "Six Songs." Henceforth, many of the songs will be accompanied with ceremonial forms and acts. Therefore, you will give us all your attention."

The Buffalo Songs, just given, close the first part of the Ritual known to the No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n'</sup>-zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga as the "Seven Songs."

THE SIX SONGS

The second part of each ritual belonging to the tribal war rites bears the title Wa-tho<sup>n'</sup> Sha-pe tse, The Six Songs. The mythical story of its institution and its symbolic character is given in detail in the 39th Ann. Rept. B. A. E., pp. 205-206. Therefore it will not be necessary to repeat it here.

## BUFFALO SONGS

The Six Songs, as given by Saucy-calf, begins with four buffalo songs, bearing the common title Tse-do'-a Ni'-ka I-no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>. Tse-do-a, Buffalo; Ni-ka, Men; I-no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>, Stand-by; Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>, Songs; freely translated, Songs of the Buffalo, the Stand-by of Men.

At the singing of these songs the Xo'-ka, A'-ki-ho<sup>n</sup> Xo'-ka and the candidate rise and stand throughout the singing. The theme of these songs tells of the coming of the buffalo from the unseen to the visible world in order to give support to the lives of men.

The third and fourth lines of each stanza of the song are translated.

## SONG 1

(Osage version, p. 765)

M.M.  $\text{♩} = 100$  Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

Wi - tsi - go no<sup>n</sup> - zhi<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup>, Wi - tsi - go no<sup>n</sup> - zhi<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup>,

Wi - tsi - go no<sup>n</sup> - zhi<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup>, Pa - hi btha-zho<sup>n</sup>

no<sup>n</sup> - zhi<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup>, Wi - tsi - go no<sup>n</sup> - zhi<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup>.

## FREE TRANSLATION

1

Lo, my grandfathers rise and stand,  
They of the shaggy mane, rise and stand.

2

Lo, my grandfathers rise and stand,  
They of the curved horns, rise and stand.

3

Lo, my grandfathers rise and stand,  
They of the humped shoulders, rise and stand.

4

Lo, my grandfathers rise and stand,  
They whose tails curl backward in anger, rise and stand.

5

Lo, my grandfathers rise and stand,  
They, the four-legged ones, rise and stand.

6

Lo, my grandfathers rise and stand,  
They who paw the earth in anger, rise and stand.



In the second song of this group the buffalo are represented as advancing from the unseen to the visible world. The third and fourth lines of each stanza are translated.

The music is the same as that of Song 1.

## SONG 2

(Osage version, p. 765)

## FREE TRANSLATION

1

Lo, my grandfathers are advancing,  
They of the shaggy mane, are advancing.

2

Lo, my grandfathers are advancing,  
They of the curved horns, are advancing.

3

Lo, my grandfathers are advancing,  
They of the humped shoulders, are advancing.

4

Lo, my grandfathers are advancing,  
They whose tails curl in anger, are advancing.

5

Lo, my grandfathers are advancing,  
They, the four-legged ones, are advancing.

6

Lo, my grandfathers are advancing,  
They who paw the earth in anger, are advancing.

The third song represents the buffalo as rising with cheerful quickness, to move to the visible world. Two lines from each stanza are translated.

## SONG 3

(Osage version, p. 766)

M.M.  $\text{♩} = 96$  Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

Wi - t̄si - go no<sup>n</sup> - zhi<sup>n</sup> t̄si - tha, . Wi - t̄si - go no<sup>n</sup> - zhi<sup>n</sup>

t̄si - tha thi<sup>n</sup> ha, Pa - hi btha-zho<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> - zhi<sup>n</sup> - t̄si - tha, Wi -

t̄si - go no<sup>n</sup> - zhi<sup>n</sup> t̄si - tha, . Wi - t̄si - go no<sup>n</sup> - zhi<sup>n</sup>

t̄si - tha thi<sup>n</sup> ha, Pa - hi btha-zho<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> - zhi<sup>n</sup> t̄si - tha thi<sup>n</sup> ha.

## FREE TRANSLATION

1

Look you, my grandfathers rise,  
They of the shaggy manes, rise quickly.

2

Look you, my grandfathers rise,  
They of the curved horns, rise quickly.

3

Look you, my grandfathers rise,  
They of the humped shoulders, rise quickly.

4

Look you, my grandfathers rise,  
They whose tails curl in anger, rise quickly.

5

Look you, my grandfathers rise,  
They, the four-legged ones, rise quickly.

6

Look you, my grandfathers rise,  
They who paw the earth in anger, rise quickly.

In the fourth song the rising of the buffalo is again referred to. They are represented as approaching from every corner of the earth, the west, east, south, and north. The song is an expression of joy at the coming of the animals so useful to the life of men.

It has been stated elsewhere that when the Omaha separated from the Osage tribe the people took with them their version of certain parts of the tribal rites. (The Omaha version of this buffalo song is given in the 27th Ann. Rept. B. A. E., p. 293.) In the Osage version which deals with the same theme the herds are said to be approaching from the west, east, south, and north, whereas the Omaha song tells that the buffalo are to come from ten different directions of the earth, each direction being given a stanza in the song. In the eleventh stanza they are represented as coming from "o<sup>n'</sup>-ge-da," from every direction. This phrase, o<sup>n'</sup>-ge-da (from every direction), was consecrated to use as a personal gentile name by the Ho<sup>n'</sup>-ga gens and is given to children of this gens to this day.

The third and fourth lines of each stanza of the fourth Osage song are translated.

## SONG 4

(Osage version, p. 766)

M.M. ♩ = 84

Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

Wi - t̄si - go ho no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> da ha, Wi - t̄si - go ho no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> da,  
 Wi - t̄si - go ho no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> da-a ha-a, No<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> da ha, mo<sup>n</sup> - ha ʔa ha  
 no<sup>n</sup> - zhi<sup>n</sup> da, Wi - t̄si - go ho no<sup>n</sup> - zhi<sup>n</sup> da-a ha,

## FREE TRANSLATION

1

Look you, my grandfathers rise to come,  
They rise and come from the land of the west.

2

Look you, my grandfathers rise to come,  
They rise and come from the land of the east.

3

Look you, my grandfathers rise to come,  
They rise and come from the land of the south.

4

Look you, my grandfathers rise to come,  
They rise and come from the land of the north.

## DEER SONG

The song next in order is the ʔa Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>, Deer Song. ʔa, deer; Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>, song. ʔa is the modern Osage name for the deer; the archaic name is ʔa'-xtsi. The archaic name for the deer is used in Song 6, in the Puma version of the Ni'-ki No<sup>n</sup>-k'o<sup>n</sup> Ritual. (See 39th Ann. Rept. B. A. E., p. 191.)

Saucy-calf sang but one deer song, although in the list of songs permanently fixed by the No<sup>n</sup>'-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga he gives the number as four. Hi<sup>n</sup>-ci'-mo<sup>n</sup>-i<sup>n</sup>, of the same gens, gives three in his list. The name of the deer appears in the song only in the title.

This song refers to the choice of the deer as one of the seven animals chosen for use in the tribal war rites as symbols of courage. The deer, having no gall, is not a courageous animal, yet it so happens sometimes that when hotly pursued by the hunter he will run into the village amidst the houses and escape harm as though by some supernatural influence. It was because of its fleetness that the old No<sup>n</sup>'-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga gave the deer a prominent place in the war rites. (See lines 81-83, p. 546.) Two lines of the first stanza and one of each of the other stanzas are translated.

## SONG 1

(Osage version, p. 767)

M.M.  $\text{♩} = 92$  Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

Hiu - wa - ge no<sup>n</sup> - no<sup>n</sup> - ge the, Hiu - wa - ge no<sup>n</sup> - no<sup>n</sup> - ge the, Hiu -  
 wa - ge no<sup>n</sup> - no<sup>n</sup> - ge the, Hiu - wa - ge no<sup>n</sup> - no<sup>n</sup> - ge. O -  
 ho-o tsi the ge no<sup>n</sup> - no<sup>n</sup> - ge the, Hiu - wa - ge no<sup>n</sup> - no<sup>n</sup> -  
 ge the, Hiu - wa - ge no<sup>n</sup> - no<sup>n</sup> - ge.

## FREE TRANSLATION

1

O where shall I run? where shall I run?  
 O ho, amidst these houses I shall run.

2

O ho, I run along the rear of the houses.

3

O ho, amid the light of day I run in safety.

## BLACK BEAR SONGS

The next group of songs is called Wa-ça'-be Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>, Black Bear Songs. These songs refer to the close of the great war ceremony that takes place in the House of Mysteries, after which the warriors march toward the country of the enemy. While the office of setting up the House of Mysteries was specifically conferred upon the Black Bear gens, it was understood that the Puma, a kindred gens, was included in the appointment. (See 36th Ann. Rept. B. A. E., p. 62.)

The black bear and the puma are both symbols of the fire that knows no mercy when once it takes a destructive course. The sign of this ruthless quality is charcoal made from the redbud tree which was consecrated for the purpose. The warriors when about to attack the enemy blacken their faces with the sacred charcoal, and he who neglects to put upon his face this sign is ignored when honors are conferred upon the men who had performed the prescribed acts of valor.

In each stanza of the two songs here given an archaic term is used which could not be translated or analyzed by any of the men who

gave the tribal rituals. Saucy-calf expressed the belief that the archaic term "wa'-ça-qi-the" refers to a person or a group of persons appointed to perform certain mystic acts by which success may be brought about in a tribal enterprise. The term is also frequently used in the penalty wi'-gi-es, wherein certain birds, animals, and insects are appealed to to punish, by supernatural means, any person who may violate his initiatory obligations. (See 39th Ann. Rept. B. A. E., pp. 47 and 51.)

Two lines from each stanza of this song are translated.

## SONG 1

(Osage version, p. 767)

M.M.  $\frac{1}{4} = 84$  Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

Wa - ça - qi - the shpa - no<sup>n</sup> - tha bi the he, Shpa -  
no<sup>n</sup> - tha bi the he, shpa - no<sup>n</sup> - tha bi the he, Shpa -  
no<sup>n</sup> - tha bi the the he the, Ça -  
be - to<sup>n</sup>-ga shpa-no<sup>n</sup> - tha bi the he, Shpa - no<sup>n</sup> - tha bi the.

## FREE TRANSLATION

1

You have closed the mystic rites, O Wa'-ça-qi-the,  
You have closed the rites, O Great Black Bear.

2

You have closed the mystic rites, O Wa'-ça-qi-the,  
You have closed the rites, O Great Puma.

The second song of this group refers again to the closing of the final mystic rites performed by the No<sup>n</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga within the House of Mysteries set up by the Black Bear and the Puma gentes. The closing of the rites is a signal to the warriors that they are to hold themselves in readiness to march against the enemy. The warriors with their weapons are figuratively assembled in the House of Mysteries.

A translation of three lines from each stanza will suffice to give the meaning of the song.

## SONG 2

(Osage version, p. 767)

M.M. ♩ = 84

Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

Wa - ça - qi - the shpa - no<sup>n</sup> - tha bi the, Ha - dsi  
 tha . bthe do<sup>n</sup> he the the, Ha - dsi tha bthe do<sup>n</sup> he  
 the he the, Ça - be - to<sup>n</sup> - ga shpa - no<sup>n</sup> - tha bi the, Ha - dsi tha  
 bthe do<sup>n</sup> he, Wa - ça - qi - the shpa - no<sup>n</sup> - tha bi the.

## FREE TRANSLATION

1

Thou hast closed the mystic rites, O Wa'-ça-qi-the,  
 Wheresoever thou goest, there I shall go.  
 Thou hast closed the mystic rites, O Great Black Bear.

2

Thou hast closed the mystic rites, O Wa'-ça-qi-the,  
 Wheresoever thou goest, there shall I go.  
 Thou hast closed the mystic rites, O Great Puma.

## WI'-GI-E AND SONGS OF THE RUSH FOR CHARCOAL

The next group of songs is called No<sup>n</sup>-xthe' I-ki<sup>n</sup>-dse Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>, Songs of the Rush for the Charcoal. It is an epitome of the Fire Ritual that belongs to the great war ceremony which is performed when the two tribal divisions organize a war party to go against a common enemy. In preparing for the ceremonies that pertain to this ritual two great fires are built in the morning while it is yet dark. Around these fires are gathered the warriors, each man stripped of all clothing excepting the loin cloth and moccasins. At a signal given by the two priests who conduct the ceremony, the warriors rush upon the fires, striving to secure a burning brand from which to gather the sacred charcoal which he must use to blacken his face when about to fall upon the foe. In a later volume the "Fire Ritual" with all its ceremonial acts will be given in its established place in the great war rite called Wa-sha'-be A-thi<sup>n</sup>.

Saucy-calf gave only four songs belonging to this rite, including the charcoal wi'-gi-e, although in his formal list of the ritual songs he gave the number as 10.

The black bear, the male puma, and the golden eagle are mentioned in the charcoal *wi'-gi-e* as the animals who gave to the "little ones" the sacred symbolic color (black) to use in their war rites. While these animals and the color of the charcoal are brought into prominence in the ritual, they are solely as the color emblem of a mysterious force—fire. This force, fire, has a dual character; it is a destructive power, and it is a beneficial power. When the warrior blackens his face with the symbolic charcoal as he is about to attack the enemy the color (black) symbolizes the destructive character of fire. To that characteristic of fire the appeal is made. The act of putting the black on the face is equivalent to the warrior taking a vow to show no mercy to his enemy.

The fire emblem is clearly set forth in the Thirty-sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, p. 192, lines 1000–1005, in which the puma is represented as speaking. The lines are here quoted:

1000. I am a person whom the little ones may well choose to be a symbol of their courage.  
 1001. Thereupon he expanded his tail as though in great anger and spake,  
 1002. Saying: Behold the dark tip of my tail.  
 1003. The little ones shall make of it a symbol of fire.  
 1004. When they make of it a symbol of fire.  
 1005. They shall have fire that can not be extinguished.

And on page 193, lines 1025–1029, the black bear is represented as speaking as follows:

1025. The Black Bear spake, saying: I am a person whom the little ones may well choose to be a symbol of courage.  
 1026. Behold my outspread claws,  
 1027. I have made them to be as my flames of fire.  
 1028. When the little ones make them to be their symbols of fire,  
 1029. They shall always have fire that can not be extinguished.

#### WI'-GI-E OF THE BLACK BEAR, THE PUMA, AND THE EAGLE

(Osage version, p. 768; literal translation, p. 817)

1. What shall the little ones use as charcoal? they said to one another, it has been said, in this house.
2. Then arose the male black bear with a stubby tail, and spake,
3. Saying: I am a person who is fit to be used as charcoal for blackening the face.
4. When the little ones make of me their charcoal,
5. Black indeed shall be the charcoal they use in their life's journey.
6. The color of the tip of my nose, which is black,
7. Is fit for the little ones to use for blackening their faces.
8. When they use this to blacken their faces,

9. Black indeed shall be the charcoal they use in their life's journey.
10. When they go against the enemy who dwell toward the setting sun,
11. And use the color as a symbol of their supplications for divine aid,
12. Their prayers shall always be readily granted, in their life's journey.
13. Then shall they always succeed in making the foe to fall.
14. The color of the edges of my mouth, which is black,
15. Is also for use as a symbolic color.
16. When the little ones make use of this as a sacred color,
17. Black indeed shall be the charcoal they use to blacken their faces.
18. When they go toward the setting sun, against their enemies,
19. And use this color as a symbol of their supplications for divine aid
20. Their prayers shall always be readily granted.
21. Then shall they always succeed in making the foe to fall.
22. The color of the tips of my ears
23. Is also fit for use as a symbolic color.
24. When the little ones use it as a sacred color,
25. Black indeed shall be the charcoal they use to blacken their faces.
26. When they go toward the setting sun, against their enemies,
27. They shall use the color as a sign of their supplication for aid.
28. Then shall they never fail to make fall the foe, as they travel the path of life.
29. The color of the hair along the ridge of my back, which is black,
30. Is also fit for use as a symbolic color.
31. When the little ones use it as a sacred color,
32. Black indeed shall be the charcoal they use to blacken their faces.
33. When they go toward the setting sun, against their enemies,
34. They shall use the color as a sign of their supplication for aid.
35. Then shall they never fail to make fall the foe.
36. The color of the tip of my tail, which is black,
37. Is also fit for use as a symbolic color.
38. When the little ones use it as a sacred color,
39. Black indeed shall be the charcoal they use to blacken their faces.
40. When the little ones use it as a sacred color,
41. As they go toward the setting sun, against their enemies,
42. They shall use it as a sign of their supplication for divine aid.
43. Then shall they never fail to make fall the foe.
44. The color of my toes, which is black,
45. Is also fit for use as a symbolic color.
46. When the little ones use it as a sacred color,
47. Black indeed shall be the charcoal they use to blacken their faces.
48. When they go toward the setting sun, against their enemies,
49. They shall use the color as a sign of their supplication for aid.
50. Then shall they never fail to make fall the foe.



51. What shall they use as charcoal? they said to one another, it has been said, in this house.
52. Then the male puma spake,
53. Saying: I also am a person fit to be used as charcoal for blackening the face.
54. When the little ones make of me their charcoal,
55. Black indeed shall be the charcoal they use in their life's journey.
56. The color of the tip of my nose, which is black,
57. Is fit for the little ones to use for blackening their faces.
58. When they use this for blackening their faces,
59. Black indeed shall be the charcoal they use, in their life's journey.
60. The color of the edge of my mouth, which is black,
61. The little ones shall use as a symbolic color.
62. When the little ones use this as a sacred color,
63. Black indeed shall be the charcoal they use to blacken their faces.
64. What shall they use as charcoal? they said to one another, it has been said, in this house.
65. Then spake the eagle, the faultless in plumage,
66. Saying: I am a person who is fit for use as charcoal.
67. The color of my beak, which is black,
68. They shall also use as a sacred color.
69. I am a person who is ever under the watchful care of Wa-ko<sup>n'</sup>-da.
70. May some of the little ones also
71. Come under the watchful care of Wa-ko<sup>n'</sup>-da.
72. When they make of me their sacred charcoal,
73. As they go toward the setting sun, against their enemies,
74. They shall never fail to make the foe to lie low.
75. The color of the feathers on the crown of my head, which is black,
76. Shall be as charcoal to the little ones a symbolic color.
77. When the little ones make of me their charcoal,
78. Black indeed shall be the charcoal they use to blacken their faces.
79. When they go toward the setting sun, against their enemies,
80. They shall use it as a sign of their supplication for aid.
81. Then shall they easily make fall their foe, in their life's journey.
82. The black tip of my tail
83. Shall also be as charcoal to them.
84. When they make of it their charcoal, a symbolic color,
85. Black indeed shall be the charcoal they use to blacken their faces.
86. When they go toward the setting sun against their enemies
87. They shall use this color as a sign of their supplication for aid.
88. Then shall they easily make the foe to fall, in their life's journey.

89. The color of my feet, which is black,  
 90. Shall also be to them as charcoal, a symbolic color.  
 91. When the little ones make of it a sacred color,  
 92. Black indeed shall be the charcoal they use to blacken their faces.  
 93. When they go toward the setting sun, against their enemies,  
 94. They shall use it as a sign of their supplication for aid.  
 95. Then shall it be easy for them to make the foe to lie low, as they  
     travel the path of life.

The three songs of this group relate to the hereditary office of the men of certain gentes to assemble the various symbolic articles to be used in the fire ceremony and the reciting of the rituals pertaining thereto.

These articles are feathers from the immature golden eagle to be used in the making of the dark standards; feathers of the mature eagle to be used in making the white standards. (Pl. 21.) Eight standards are made, four for the commanders chosen from the Ṭsi'-zhu great tribal division and four for the commanders chosen from the Ho<sup>n</sup>-ga great division; the eight standards; the deerskins which are to be attached to the lower part of each of the standards; the sacred wood (redbud) to be burned to make the symbolic charcoal to be used by the warriors on the successful day hoped for.

A translation of two lines from the first stanza and one line from each of the other stanzas of the song is given.

## SONG 1

(Osage version, p. 771)

M.M. ♩ = 96

Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

Ni - ka çtu bi wa - tho<sup>n</sup> te he tha, He tha,  
 e - he tha, he tha e tha he tha, Ni - ka çtu bi wa -  
 tho<sup>n</sup> te he tha, He tha, . e . . he tha,  
 he tha e tha he tha, Ni - ka çtu bi wa - tho<sup>n</sup> te he tha.

## FREE TRANSLATION

1

Let the men gather here to sing, I say!  
I say! I say! I say!

2

They who have the sacred bird, I say!

3

They who have the mystic standards, I say!

4

They who have the golden eagle, I say!

5

They who have the deerskins, I say!

6

They who have the mystic fires, I say!

7

They who have the mystic charcoal, I say!

8

They who have the day of success, I say!

After a short pause the A'-ki-ho<sup>n</sup> Xo'-ka sings the second song, when the Xo'-ka rises and dances to the music.

Lines 1 and 2 of the first stanza and 1, 2, and 3 of the other stanzas are translated.

## SONG 2

(Osage version, p. 771)

M.M. ♩ = 92      Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

Ni - ka çtu bi wa - tho<sup>n</sup> te, he he wa - ni - da,  
E he wa - ni - da, e he the he the,  
Ni - ka çtu bi wa - tho<sup>n</sup> te, He he wa - ni - da, e he wa - ni - da,  
Ni - ka çtu bi wa - tho<sup>n</sup> te, he he wa - ni - da.

## FREE TRANSLATION

## 1

The men here gathered shall sing, they alone,  
They alone, e he the he the,

## 2

The men here gathered shall sing, they alone,  
They alone, e he the he the,  
They who have the sacred bird shall sing.

## 3

The men gathered here shall sing, they alone,  
They alone, e he the he the,  
They who have the standards shall sing.

## 4

The men here gathered shall sing, they alone,  
They alone, e he the he the,  
They who have the white eagle shall sing.

## 5

The men here gathered shall sing, they alone,  
They alone, e he the he the,  
They who have the deerskins shall sing.

## 6

The men here gathered shall sing, they alone,  
They alone, e he the he the,  
They who have the mystic fire shall sing.

## 7

The men here gathered shall sing, they alone,  
They alone, e he the he the,  
They who have the mystic charcoal shall sing.

## 8

The men here gathered shall sing, they alone,  
They alone, e he the he the,  
They who have the day of success shall sing.

As the second song is coming to a close the Sho'-ka places in the hands of the Xo'-ka a standard made for this ceremony. The A'-ki-ho<sup>n</sup> Xo'-ka goes on to the third song without pause while the Xo'-ka continues to dance, holding aloft the standard. The chorus sings louder, the rattles are beaten faster, and the A'-ki-ho<sup>n</sup> Xo'-ka calls to the Xo'-ka: "Dance, young man! You may never have another chance to dance before these people!"

The officiating priest who recites the wi'-gi-e and sings the songs at the fire ceremony points to the fire with his standard when he comes to the third line of the sixth stanza of this song. Then the warriors rush upon the flames with war cries and snatch from each other the burning brands.

At the end of the last stanza in this ceremony the Xo'-ka with a dramatic motion tosses the standard toward the Deer gens of the

Wa-zha'-zhe subdivision as he cries out: "Wa-zha'-zhe, Ṭa-tha'-xi, ha ṭa ni kshe do<sup>n</sup>, ga ke gi-do<sup>n</sup>-be tsi-gtha thi<sup>n</sup> ho!" "Oh! Deer's lung of the Wa-zha'-zhe, what doest thou! look upon this, an emblem of thy making!" Whereupon the member of that gens who had made the standard picks it up, takes it to his seat and then recites the wi'-gi-e relating to the emblem.

The first and third lines of each stanza of this song are translated.

## SONG 3

(Osage version, p. 772)

M.M.  $\text{♩} = 100$  Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

Ha - ni - da, ha - ni - da, hi hi i,

Ha-ni - da, ha - ni-da hi hi i, Ni-ka çtu bi tha ha-no<sup>n</sup> tse he the,

Ni-ka çtu bi tha ha-no<sup>n</sup> tse he, Ha-ni - da, ha - ni - da hi hi i,

## FREE TRANSLATION

1

They alone, they alone, hi hi-i,  
The men here gathered shall stand alone.

2

They alone, they alone, hi hi-i,  
They who have the sacred bird shall stand alone.

3

They alone, they alone, hi hi-i,  
They who have the standards shall stand alone.

4

They alone, they alone, hi hi-i,  
They who have the white eagle shall stand alone.

5

They alone, they alone, hi hi-i,  
They who have the deerskins shall stand alone.

6

They alone, they alone, hi hi-i,  
They who have the mystic fires shall stand alone.

7

They alone, they alone, hi hi-i,  
They who have the mystic charcoal shall stand alone.

8

They alone, they alone, hi hi-i,  
They who have the day of success shall stand alone.

## SONGS OF THE WATERS

The next group of songs is the *Ni'dsi Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>*, Songs of the Waters. When a war party comes to a stream that looks dangerous these songs are sung as supplications to *Wa-ko<sup>n</sup>-da*, the Holy One, for permission to cross safely and without harm. Certain water animals are also appealed to for strength and courage, for *Wa-ko<sup>n</sup>-da* had given to them a power not given to man, that of successfully overcoming the dangers of angry waters. These animals are: (1) The *A'-hi<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>-ge*, the wingless, or the finless one. No definite information could be obtained as to what fish is meant, but Saucy-calf believed it to be the eel; (2) the sacred beaver. This animal is at home in both land and water and is a powerful swimmer; (3) the great otter, whose home is in the water and on the land and is known to be one of the strongest swimmers; (4) and the great turtle, who is another swimmer who is never afraid of dangerous waters.

Three land animals are also appealed to because they are known to be great and courageous swimmers. When crossing a river too deep to be waded the warriors make little boats of the skins of these animals into which they put their shrines and clothing and tow them as they swim across. These animals are: (1) The great black bear, who is mysterious in its habits; (2) the great puma, possessed of great courage; (3) the sacred gray wolf, an animal always tireless and alert.

Three lines of each stanza of this song are translated.

## SONG 1

(Osage version, p. 772)

M.M. ♩ = 88

Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

Wa - ko<sup>n</sup> - da ho<sup>n</sup> - ga, ni a-dsi wa - kshi tha, Ni

a-dsi wa-kshi tha, ni a-dsi wa-kshi tha ha, A - hi<sup>n</sup> thi<sup>n</sup> - ge

wi - tsi - go, Ni a-dsi wa - kshi tha, ni

a-dsi wa-kshi tha, Wa-ko<sup>n</sup>-da ho<sup>n</sup> - ga ni a-dsi wa-kshi tha.

## FREE TRANSLATION

## 1

Wa-ko<sup>n'</sup>-da, thou holy one, permit us to cross this water,  
 Permit us to cross, permit us to cross,  
 Thou wingless one, thou who art our grandfather.

## 2

Wa-ko<sup>n'</sup>-da, thou holy one, permit us to cross this water,  
 Permit us to cross, permit us to cross,  
 Thou Sacred Beaver, thou who art our grandfather.

## 3

Wa-ko<sup>n'</sup>-da, thou holy one, permit us to cross this water,  
 Permit us to cross, permit us to cross,  
 Thou Great Otter, thou who art our grandfather.

## 4

Wa-ko<sup>n'</sup>-da, thou holy one, permit us to cross this water,  
 Permit us to cross, permit us to cross,  
 Thou Great Black One, thou who art our grandfather.

## 5

Wa-ko<sup>n'</sup>-da, thou holy one, permit us to cross this water,  
 Permit us to cross, permit us to cross,  
 Thou Great Puma, thou who art our grandfather.

## 6

Wa-ko<sup>n'</sup>-da, thou holy one, permit us to cross this water,  
 Permit us to cross, permit us to cross,  
 Thou Great Wolf, thou who art our grandfather.

## 7

Wa-ko<sup>n'</sup>-da, thou holy one, permit us to cross this water,  
 Permit us to cross, permit us to cross,  
 Thou Great Turtle, thou who art our grandfather.

In the second song the warriors address the animals mentioned in the first song, calling upon them for aid in crossing the angry waters. Four lines of the first stanza and two lines of the other stanzas of this song are translated.

## SONG 2

(Osage version, p. 773)

Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

M.M.  $\text{♩} = 88$

Tsi - go ni u-ho<sup>a</sup> - ge dsi mi - kshi<sup>a</sup> da,  
 Ni u-ho<sup>a</sup> - ge dsi mi-kshi<sup>a</sup> da, E tha [he tha, e tha  
 he the he the, A - hi<sup>a</sup> thi<sup>a</sup> - ge-e, Ni u-ho<sup>a</sup> -  
 ge dsi mi - kshi<sup>a</sup> da, E tha he tho, e tha he - e.

## FREE TRANSLATION

1

O grandfather, here I stand at the water's edge,  
 Thou Finless One,  
 Lo, at the water's edge I stand,  
 Look you, look you.

2

Thou Sacred Beaver,  
 Lo, at the water's edge I stand.

3

Thou Great Otter,  
 Lo, at the water's edge I stand.

4

Thou Great Black One,  
 Lo, at the water's edge I stand.

5

Thou Great Puma,  
 Lo, at the water's edge I stand.

6

Thou Sacred Wolf,  
 Lo, at the water's edge I stand.

7

Thou Great Turtle,  
 Lo, at the water's edge I stand.

The third of the water songs speaks in definite terms of the dwelling place that is in a great lake of the land and water animals appealed to for aid.

The idea that land animals as well as water animals dwell in great bodies of water is common among some of the Siouan tribes. This



belief is expressed in the mystic rites and in the ordinary myths. In the ritual of the Omaha Shell Society it is definitely mentioned. (See 27th Ann. Rept. B. A. E., p. 514.)

Two lines of each stanza of this song are translated.

## SONG 3

(Osage version, p. 773)

M.M.  $\text{♩} = 132$  Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

The - thu ba he - tho<sup>n</sup> - be no<sup>n</sup>, the - thu ba he -  
 tho<sup>n</sup> - be no<sup>n</sup>, A - hi<sup>n</sup> thi<sup>n</sup> - ge dse - to<sup>n</sup> dsi to<sup>n</sup> he -  
 The - thu ba he - tho<sup>n</sup> - be no<sup>n</sup>, A - hi<sup>n</sup> thi<sup>n</sup> - ge dse -  
 to<sup>n</sup> dsi to<sup>n</sup> he - tho<sup>n</sup> - be no<sup>n</sup>, The - thu ba he - tho<sup>n</sup> - be no<sup>n</sup>.

## FREE TRANSLATION

1

Here he shall appear, he shall appear,  
 Out of the great lake the Finless One shall come.

2

Here he shall appear, he shall appear,  
 Out of the lake the Sacred Bear shall come.

3

Here he shall appear, he shall appear,  
 Out of the lake the Great Otter shall come.

4

Here he shall appear, he shall appear,  
 Out of the lake the Great Black One shall come.

5

Here he shall appear, he shall appear,  
 Out of the lake the Great Puma shall come.

6

Here he shall appear, he shall appear,  
 Out of the great lake the Sacred Wolf shall come.

7

Here he shall appear, he shall appear,  
 Out of the lake the Great Turtle shall come.

## SONGS OF THE STARS

The group following the Songs of the Waters is the Wa'-tse Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>, Songs of the Stars.

The two songs here given belong to the Tho'-xe gens and both songs refer to the morning star. The Tsi'-zhu Wa-no<sup>n</sup>, a war gens, has two cosmic war symbols, a single star and a constellation, namely, the Red Star (Pole Star) and "The Wolf that hangs at the Side of the Heavens" (Canis Major).

Wa'-tse is the archaic name of the stars; the modern name is Mi-ka'-ke. The first song has only one stanza.

A translation of one line of the stanza will be sufficient to give the meaning.

## SONG 1

(Osage version, p. 774)

M.M. ♩ = 84 Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

Wa - tse hi - tho<sup>n</sup> - ba gthi - no<sup>n</sup> - zhi<sup>n</sup> - e, Wa -

tse hi-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba gthi-no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e, Wa - tse hi-tho<sup>n</sup> ba gthi-no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e, Wa -

tse hi - tho<sup>n</sup> - ba gthi - no<sup>n</sup> - zhi<sup>n</sup> - e, Wa -

tse hi-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba gthi-no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e, Wa - tse hi-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba gthi-no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e.

## FREE TRANSLATION

Lo, the star again appears, yonder he stands.

The second song has only one stanza. A translation of one line will suffice to give the meaning of the song.

## SONG 2

(Osage version, p. 774)

M.M.  $\text{♩} = 84$  Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

Wa - tse kı - wa - wa gthi - no<sup>n</sup> - zhi<sup>n</sup> - e, Wa -  
 tse kı-wa-wa gthi-no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e, Wa - tse kı-wa-wa gthi-no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e, Wa -  
 tse - kı - wa - wa gthi - no<sup>n</sup> - zhi<sup>n</sup> - e, Wa -  
 tse kı-wa - wa gthi-no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e, Wa - tse kı-wa - wa gthi-no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e.

## FREE TRANSLATION

Lo, the star! Yonder he stands with throbbing brilliancy.

## THE GREAT EVENING SONGS

The next group of songs is the Pa'-çe do<sup>n</sup> Wa-tho<sup>n</sup> To<sup>n</sup>-ga, The Great Evening Songs.

The words of the Great Evening Songs are clear but are obscure as to what part of the tribal rite they refer. Saucy-calf passed them without any remarks. Both songs perhaps refer to the Night People or to some rite of the people of the Night gens, the sixth of the Tsi'-zhu gentes (see 36th Ann. Rept. B. A. E., p. 53), and to the people of all the gentes who have put symbolic marks upon their foreheads and bodies. The night is regarded by the Osage and the Omaha tribes as one of the greatest of the mystic, cosmic powers.

Among the Omaha there still exists a society called Ho<sup>n</sup>' I-tha'e-the, Men Who Have Been Favored by the Night—that is, men who have been permitted by the great night power to live, to bring up their daughters, and to put upon their foreheads, chests, shoulders, and hands the life symbols, the sun and the stars, the former representing day and the latter night.

Only lines 1 and 5 of the stanzas of this song are translated.

## SONG 1

(Osage version, p. 774)

M.M.  $\text{♩} = 76$ 

Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

Ho<sup>n</sup> e - dsi a - ka do<sup>n</sup> dsi the hi<sup>n</sup> do, A ho<sup>n</sup> e - dsi  
 a-ka do<sup>n</sup> dsi the hi<sup>n</sup> do, A ho<sup>n</sup> e - dsi a-ka do<sup>n</sup> dsi the  
 hi<sup>n</sup> do, Dsi the hi<sup>n</sup> do, A pe ba - xthe - xthe dsi a -  
 ka do<sup>n</sup> dsi the hi<sup>n</sup> do, A ho<sup>n</sup> e-dsi a-ka do<sup>n</sup> dsi the hi<sup>n</sup> do.

## FREE TRANSLATION

1

To the people of the night I am going,  
 To the people whose foreheads bear a mystic mark.

2

To the people of the night I am going,  
 To the people on whose bodies there are mystic marks.

Lines 1 and 4<sup>o</sup> of the stanzas of the second song are translated.

## SONG 2

(Osage version, p. 774)

M.M.  $\text{♩} = 108$ 

Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

Ho<sup>n</sup> e - dsi a - ka e-sha bi<sup>n</sup> do, Ho<sup>n</sup> e - dsi a -  
 ka e-sha bi<sup>n</sup> do, Ho<sup>n</sup> e - dsi a - ka e-sha bi<sup>n</sup> do,  
 Pe ba - xthe - xthe dsi a - ka e-sha bi<sup>n</sup> do, Ho<sup>n</sup> e - dsi a -  
 ka e-sha bi<sup>n</sup> do, Ho<sup>n</sup> e - dsi a - ka e-sha bi<sup>n</sup> do.

## FREE TRANSLATION

## 1

There are peoples of the night, you have said,  
Peoples whose foreheads bear a mystic mark.

## 2

There are peoples of the night, you have said,  
Peoples on whose bodies there are mystic marks.

## THE LITTLE EVENING SONGS

The next group of songs is the Pa'-çe-do<sup>n</sup> Wa-tho<sup>n</sup> Zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, Little Evening Songs, or Wa-po'-ga Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>, Songs of the Gray Owl.

In each of the three songs of the Little Evening Songs the chief commander of a war party is represented as speaking. This officer, who acts as mediator between his warriors and the Mysterious Power that governs all things, travels apart from his men throughout the day and at night he stands alone, far away from the camp, to listen, in the gloom of evening, for the word of approval that might come through the medium of the gray owl, the horned owl, the gray wolf, or the peculiar sounds made by a snake.

It is implied by the words of the first song of this group that the chief commander listens for the voices of the owls or the wolf or for the sounds made by the snake during his nightly vigil and accepts as a favorable answer to his supplications the first one of these he hears.

The first two lines of each stanza of this song are translated.

## SONG 1

(Osage version, p. 775)

M.M.  $\text{♩} = 80$  Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

Pa - çe u - tha - ga . . . . . tha tsi - the he

he the, Wa - po - ga-e tha pa - çe u tha-ga . . . . . tha tsi -

he . . . . . he the, Tsi - the he the Wa - po - ga-e

tha pa - çe u-tha - ga . . . . . tsi - the he.

## FREE TRANSLATION

1

Hark! I hear a voice in the evening gloom,  
Lo! it is the gray owl who speaks in the dark of evening.

2

Hark! I hear a voice in the evening gloom,  
Lo! it is the horned owl who speaks in the dark of evening.

3

Hark! I hear a voice in the evening gloom,  
Lo! it is the gray wolf who speaks in the dark of evening.

4

Hark! I hear a sound in the evening gloom,  
Lo! it is the snake who moves in the dark of evening.

## SONG 2

(Osage version, p. 775)

M.M.  $\text{♩} = 80$ 

Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

Pa - çe u - tha - ga . . the t̄se the the he the, Wa - po -

ga - e tha pa - çe u - tha - ga . . the t̄se the . . the t̄se

the the he the, Wa - po - ga - e tha pa - çe u - tha -

ga . . the t̄se the, . . The t̄se the the the he.

## FREE TRANSLATION

1

Lo! from the dark of the evening I am bidden to go,  
It is the gray owl who speaks, bidding me go.

2

Lo! from the dark of the evening I am bidden to go,  
It is the horned owl who speaks, bidding me go.

3

Lo! from the dark of the evening I am bidden to go,  
It is the gray wolf who speaks, bidding me go.

4

Lo! from the dark of the evening I am bidden to go,  
It is the snake who, from the gloom of night, signals me to go.

Three lines of the first stanza of the third song and two lines of each of the other stanzas are translated.

SONG 3

(Osage version, p. 775)

M.M. ♩ = 92

Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

Ni-ka wi<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup>-da - do<sup>n</sup> i - e hi - the to<sup>n</sup> - no<sup>n</sup>, Ni - ka  
 wi<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup>-da - do<sup>n</sup> i - e hi - the to<sup>n</sup>, I - e hi - the to<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup>,  
 wa - po - ha - ga, Pa - çe u - tha - ga i - e hi - the to<sup>n</sup>  
 no<sup>n</sup>, Ni - ka wi<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup> - da - do<sup>n</sup> i - e hi - the to<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup>.

FREE TRANSLATION

1

Lo, a man speaks, telling me of my success,  
 'Tis the gray owl who speaks to me,  
 Amid night's gloom he gives to me the word.

2

'Tis the horned owl who speaks to me,  
 Amid night's gloom he gives to me the word.

3

'Tis the gray wolf who speaks to me,  
 Amid night's gloom he gives to me the word.

4

'Tis the snake who gives to me the signal,  
 Amid night's gloom he gives to me the sign.

THE SNAKE SONGS

The next group of songs is called We'-ts'a Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>, Snake Songs; literally, he-who-kills; Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>, songs. These songs refer to those snakes that have a death-dealing power. The rattlesnake is referred to particularly. The name We'-ts'a is applied to the harmless as well as to the poisonous snakes.

Two peculiarities of the poisonous snake are mentioned in these songs, namely, its skill in secreting itself in the grass and the quickness with which it reveals itself and strikes. The first song refers to the rattlesnake, the second song to the other venomous snakes.

The first and third lines of each stanza of the first song are translated.

## SONG 1

(Osage version, p. 776)

M.M. ♩ = 96

Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

Hi-tho<sup>n</sup>-be tsi-gthe he the, hi-tho<sup>n</sup>-be tsi-gthe he the,  
 Hi-tho<sup>n</sup>-be tsi-gthe he the, Pe-xe wi<sup>n</sup> hi-tho<sup>n</sup>-be  
 tsi-gthe he the, Hi-tho<sup>n</sup>-be tsi-gthe he the, hi-tho<sup>n</sup>-be  
*Fourth measure, second stanza*  
 tsi-gthe he the.

## FREE TRANSLATION

1

Look you! how quickly it reveals itself, reveals itself,  
 A rattle <sup>7</sup> reveals itself.

2

Look you! how quickly they reveal themselves, reveal themselves,  
 Four rattles <sup>7</sup> quickly reveal themselves.

In the second song the venomous snake is represented as speaking of itself.

The first and fourth lines of each stanza are translated.

## SONG 2

(Osage version, p. 776)

M.M. ♩ = 100

Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

Wa-ko<sup>n</sup>-da-gi wi-e mi-kshe no<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup>, Wa-ko<sup>n</sup>-da-gi wi-e  
 mi-kshe no<sup>n</sup>, Wi-e mi-kshe no<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup>, Bei-tha zhi wi-e  
 mi-kshe no<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup>, Wa-ko<sup>n</sup>-da-gi wi-e mi-kshe no<sup>n</sup>, Wi-e mi-kshe  
 no<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup>, Wa-ko<sup>n</sup>-da-gi wi-e mi-kshe no<sup>n</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> The name "rattle" is used as a trope. The real name of the rattlesnake is "she'-ki."



## FREE TRANSLATION

## 1

Lo, it is I, the mysterious one,  
I am he who is invisible to all.

## 2

Lo, it is I, the mysterious one,  
I, who makes them to lie low in death.

## THE GREAT RAIN SONGS

Ni-zhiu' Wa-tho<sup>n</sup> To<sup>n</sup>-ga, The Great Rain Songs, is the title of the next group. As here given, this group is composed of three songs, including a wi'-gi-e, which is first recited.

The wi'-gi-e dwells upon the punishment meted out by supernatural means to a candidate who violates his initiatory vow. The swallow, the great dragon fly, and the great butterfly are mentioned as the mystic avengers. These three creatures of the air are appointed to guard the vows of a candidate and to impose the penalties when a candidate violates his vows and treats the "little ones" with contempt.

These guardians of the penalties are ever at the back of the candidate, or hover around his head from the time he makes his vow, but the moment he violates his vow they let fall upon him the awarded penalty.

A little pipe is used when calling upon these guardians to impose the penalty that follows the violation of the obligations.

All of these avengers are associated with the rain and thunder and travel amidst the winds that rush in advance of the approaching storms. They are spoken of as possessing a power of discernment from which no harmful act can be concealed.

## THE WI'-GI-E

(Osage version, p. 776; literal translation, p. 818)

1. It has been said, in this house,
2. That an avenger of the little ones,
3. Amid the winds of the west,
4. My grandfather, the avenger, travels.
5. Even amidst the winds that rush before the storms,
6. He travels and moves
7. With a power of discernment from which no evil act can be concealed.
8. It is he who is chosen to guard with watchful care the penalties.
9. It is the swallow,
10. My grandfather, who travels amidst the winds,
11. Verily with a power from which no evil act can be concealed.

12. He stands ever at the back of the man who takes the vow,
13. Or ever hovers about his head.
14. Even as the man violates his vow and goes upon his life journey,  
unmindful of his broken vow,
15. The skin of his face shall become sallow and of sickly hue;
16. Blood shall gush from his nostrils with twirling motion,
17. Even as the man goes upon his journey, unmindful of his broken  
vow,
18. His spirit shall be suddenly taken from him, when demanded.
  
19. The avenger of the little ones
20. Shall forever stand.
  
21. Amidst the winds of the rising sun,
22. Amidst the rushing winds that lead the storms,
23. The great dragonfly,
24. My grandfather, moves and travels
25. With a power from which no evil act can be concealed.
26. He it is who is chosen to guard with watchful care the penalties.
27. As the man who violates his vow goes upon his life journey,
28. The dragonfly ever follows at his back,
29. Or ever hovers around his head,
30. Making the skin of his face to become sallow upon the breaking  
of his vow,
31. Making the blood to gush from his nostrils, when it is demanded.
32. Thus will he punish the man who breaks his vow, even to the  
taking of his spirit.
  
33. The avenger of the little ones
34. Shall forever stand.
  
35. Amidst the winds of the north,
36. The great butterfly,
37. My grandfather, moves and travels
38. With a power from which no evil act can be concealed.
39. He it is who was chosen to guard with watchful care the penalties.
40. He is ever at the back of the man who makes the vow,
41. He ever hovers around his head.
42. Upon the violation of the vow he makes the face of the candidate  
to become sallow,
43. Makes the blood to gush from his nostrils with a twirling motion,
44. He even takes from the man his spirit, when it is demanded.
  
45. The avenger of the little ones
46. Shall forever stand.

47. Amidst the winds of the south,  
 48. Amidst the rushing winds that lead the storms,  
 49. The little mystic pipe,  
 50. My grandfather, moves and travels  
 51. With a power from which no evil act can be concealed.  
 52. He is ever at the back of the man who makes the vow,  
 53. Ever hovers around his head.  
 54. Upon the breaking of the vow he makes the face of the man to  
     become fallow,  
 55. Makes the blood to gush from his nostrils, in a twirling motion,  
 56. Even takes from the man his spirit, when it is demanded.

The first song is descriptive of the approaching thunderclouds, of their varying colors and awe-inspiring movements. The power that moves the clouds with fear-inspiring, angry violence is addressed as "grandfather."

Two lines of each stanza of the first song are translated.

## SONG 1

(Osage version, p. 778)

M.M.  $\text{♩} = 120$  Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

Wi - tsi - go gi ta ba the the he the,

Wi - tsi - go gi ta ba the the he the,

Mo<sup>n</sup> - xe ça - be-a gi ta ba the the he the,

Wi - tsi - go gi ta ba the the he the,

Mo<sup>n</sup> - xe ça - be-a gi ta ba the the he the,

Wi - tsi - go gi ta ba the the he the.

## FREE TRANSLATION

1

Lo, my grandfather is coming,  
Darkening the heavens with black clouds.

2

Lo, my grandfather is coming,  
Amid gray clouds that overspread the sky.

3

Lo, my grandfather is coming,  
Amid yellow clouds that overspread the sky.

4

Lo, my grandfather is coming,  
Amid angry clouds rolling through the sky.

The second song is descriptive of the movements of the approaching clouds with flashes of lightning, ever controlled by the Mysterious Power.

Two lines from each stanza are translated.

## SONG 2

(Osage version, p. 778)

M.M. ♩ = 92

Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

Wi - t̄si - go gi ʔa ba the he, Wi - t̄si - go gi ʔa ba the  
 he the he - e, Gi ʔa ba the he, Ga - niu ha ha gi  
 ʔa ba the he, Wi - t̄si - go gi ʔa ba the he the he the.

## FREE TRANSLATION

1

Lo, my grandfather is coming,  
Moving hither and thither with the winds.

2

Lo, my grandfather is coming,  
Lightening up the heavens with fire.

3

Lo, my grandfather is coming,  
With jagged bolts of lightning.

4

Lo, my grandfather is coming,  
With the gray clouds moving onward.

5

Lo, my grandfather is coming,  
Swiftly, swiftly through the heavens.

## THE LITTLE RAIN SONGS

The group following the Great Rain Songs is the Ni-zhiu' Wa-tho<sup>n</sup> Zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, the Little Rain Songs.

The first song has a composite significance: First, the seizure of the sky by the earth. This act is indicated by a symbolic mark, a dent made on the ground with a ceremonial club. Second, the path of the sun from the eastern horizon to the midheavens, thence to the western horizon. These paths are indicated by two straight lines, made on the ground with the club. Third, the spreading of the sun's life-giving touches to the earth, upon the right and the left side of the path. These touches of the life-giving power of the sun are shown by undulating lines made upon the earth with the club. (Fig. 47.)

The five stanzas of this song are accompanied by dramatic acts performed by the candidate and his Xo'-ka. When the A'-ki-ho<sup>n</sup> Xo'-ka comes to the song the Sho'-ka takes up a club which he puts in the hands of the candidate, then leads him to a certain spot on the Tsi'-zhu side of the House of Mystery (fig. 46) and instructs him as to what he is to do when the singer comes to the third line of the first stanza. The Sho'-ka gives a signal to the A'-ki-ho<sup>n</sup> Xo'-ka, who then begins to sing.

At the third line the candidate strikes the earth with the end of the club, imitating as he does so the roar of the thunder; then he puts the club down on the dent made in the ground and returns to his seat.

The Xo'-ka then picks up the club and the singer goes on to the second stanza. At the third line the Xo'-ka strikes the dent made by the candidate, imitating the sound of thunder, and quickly makes a straight line westward.

Without pause the singer goes on to the third stanza, and at the third line he again strikes the central spot and with a quick motion makes a waving line northward.

The singer proceeds to the fourth stanza; at the third line the Xo'-ka strikes the central spot and quickly makes a straight line eastward.

The singing continues and at the third line of the fifth stanza the Xo'-ka strikes the central spot and with a violent motion makes a waving line southward.

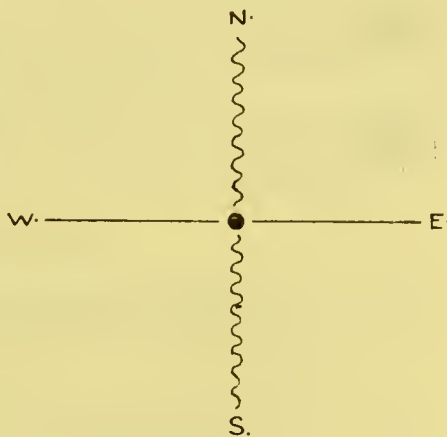


FIG. 47.—Symbol of the sun's path across the earth

The singing ceases and the Xo'-ka goes to his seat having, in this dramatic fashion, brought together the sky and the earth, the two great cosmic forces whence proceeds life in all material forms.

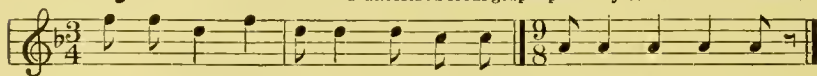
The first and third lines of each stanza of this song are translated.

## SONG 1

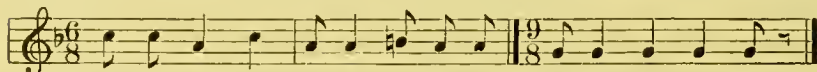
(Osage version, p. 779)

M.M. ♩ = 116

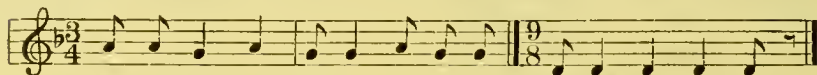
Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.



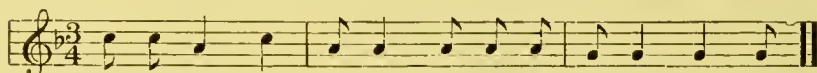
Wi - tsi - go thi<sup>n</sup> - ga bi to<sup>n</sup> - be the tse the the he the,



Wi - tsi - go thi<sup>n</sup> - ga bi to<sup>n</sup> - be the tse the the he the,



Mo<sup>n</sup> - in - ka o - thi<sup>n</sup> - ga bi to<sup>n</sup> - be the tse the he the,



Wi - tsi - go thi<sup>n</sup> - ga bi to<sup>n</sup> - be the tse the the he.

## FREE TRANSLATION

1

I go to see my grandfather who is to be seized,  
He who is to be seized by the earth I go to see.

2

I go to see my grandfather who is to be seized,  
He will mark the earth with a straight line.

3

I go to see my grandfather who is to be seized,  
He will mark the earth with a waving line.

4

I go to see my grandfather who is to be seized,  
He will mark the earth with a straight line.

5

I go to see my grandfather who is to be seized,  
He will mark the earth with a waving line.

At the close of the first rain song the Sho'-ka brings the branch of a cottonwood tree which he plants in the central mark of the symbolic figure roughly made by the Xo'-ka, and which represents the unity of the sky and the earth.

When this was done the Xo'-ka took his place beside the tree (pl. 22) and the A'-ki-ho<sup>n</sup> Xo'-ka took up the second song which relates to the cottonwood tree, used here as a symbol of the continuity of the life jointly given by the sky and the earth.

At the third line of the first stanza the Xo'-ka touches caressingly the buds of the cottonwood tree which symbolize the continuity of life; those on the west side, the north side, the east side, and on the south side of the tree.

At the third line of the second stanza he breaks off a bud from the west side of the tree, one from the north side, one from the east side, and one from the south side, tossing each bud over his shoulder. The buds represent the distribution of life over the earth.

At the third line of the third stanza he breaks the tree into pieces, downward from the top to the root. The broken pieces of the tree represent the natural end of life.

At the third line of the fourth stanza he gathers up the broken pieces of the tree into one bunch and throws it backward over his head toward the setting of the sun, a setting toward which all life forms travel.

All of the acts accompanying the first and the second rain songs are a dramatization of the activities of the sky and the earth which affect all forms of life.

A translation of the first and third lines of each stanza of the song will suffice to give the meaning.

## SONG 2

(Osage version, p. 779)

M.M.  $\text{♩} = 123$  Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

Tsi - go do - ba ha mo<sup>n</sup> - thi<sup>n</sup> a-kshi - the no<sup>n</sup>,  
 Tsi - go do - ba ha mo<sup>n</sup> - thi<sup>n</sup> a-kshi - the no<sup>n</sup>,  
 Tsi - go zho<sup>n</sup> thi - to<sup>n</sup> i-tha - tha mo<sup>n</sup> - thi<sup>n</sup> a -  
 kshi - the no<sup>n</sup>, Hi tha - a he . . . no<sup>n</sup>,  
 Tsi - go do - ba ha mo<sup>n</sup> - thi<sup>n</sup> a - kshi - the no<sup>n</sup>,  
 Tsi - go do - ba ha mo<sup>n</sup> - thi<sup>n</sup> a - kshi - the no<sup>n</sup>.

## FREE TRANSLATION

## 1

In four stages my grandfather shall walk around the tree,  
Touching, touching the buds of the sacred tree.

## 2

In four stages my grandfather shall walk around the tree,  
Breaking off here and there the buds of the sacred tree.

## 3

In four stages my grandfather shall walk around the tree,  
Breaking in pieces the body of the sacred tree.

## 4

In four stages my grandfather shall walk around the tree,  
Throwing westward the broken pieces of the sacred tree.

## SONGS OF MAKING ONE STRIKE THE OTHER

The group of songs following the Little Rain Songs is called *Ki-ka'-xe I-ki-tsi*<sup>2</sup>, freely translated, Making One Strike the Other.

In the first song the warrior is represented as speaking at a time when the men are about to go forth to attack a troublesome foe. In the first and third stanzas the warrior speaks of the red hawk which he holds up as being closest to him, particularly in times of peril; in the second and fourth stanzas he speaks of the black hawk also as being close to him when threatened with danger.

Not only do these birds symbolize the courage of the warrior but they are also emblematic of the unerring precision of the night and day in their movements, a quality necessary for the fighting man, and the weapons he must use to overcome his enemy. When going upon the warpath each commander carries with him one of these symbolic hawks, and must have it upon him as he charges with his men upon the foe.

A translation of the first two lines of the first and second stanzas will suffice to give the meaning of the song.



## SONG 1

(Osage version, p. 779)

M.M. ♩ = 76

Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

Gthe - do<sup>n</sup> zhu - dse da - do<sup>n</sup> pa - ha thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>,

Ha - we bthe a - thi<sup>n</sup> a - thi<sup>n</sup> - he no<sup>n</sup>, Ha - we bthe a - thi<sup>n</sup>

a - thi<sup>n</sup> - he the he the, Ha - we bthe a - thi<sup>n</sup> a - thi<sup>n</sup> - he no<sup>n</sup>,

Ha - we bthe a - thi<sup>n</sup> a - thi<sup>n</sup> - he the he the.

## FREE TRANSLATION

1

I am ever close to the red hawk, the bird of courage,  
Lo, I go against the foe, having close to me the bird.

2

I am ever close to the black hawk, the bird of courage,  
Lo, I go against the foe, having close to me the bird.

The second song, which has but one stanza, speaks of the warriors returning in triumph, having overcome the foe, and bringing home the birds, emblematic of courage and precision of action.

A translation of the first and third lines of the stanzas will be sufficient to give the meaning of the song.

## SONG 2

(Osage version, p. 780)

M.M. ♩ = 76

Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

Gtha - thi<sup>n</sup> the - tho gi . bi no<sup>n</sup>, the - tho gi . bi no<sup>n</sup>,

The - tho gi . bi no<sup>n</sup> tho<sup>n</sup> ha a, Gthe - do<sup>n</sup> gtha - thi<sup>n</sup>

the - tho gi . . bi no<sup>n</sup>, The - tho gi . . bi no<sup>n</sup>,

the - tho gi . . bi no<sup>n</sup> tho<sup>n</sup> tho<sup>n</sup> ha.

## FREE TRANSLATION

## 1

Lo, the warriors are coming home,  
Bringing home their sacred hawks.

At the third song of this group the Xo'-ka puts upon the ceremonial club a scalp and holds the two together in his left hand; in his right hand he holds one of the sacred hawks. With these symbolic articles in his hands the Xo'-ka dances to the song which speaks of the red hawk and the black bird as coming home in triumph and standing side by side before the waiting throng. At a signal from the A'-ki-ho<sup>n</sup> Xo'-ka he steps forward, facing the west, holds aloft the club and gently strikes the scalp with the hawk (see 39th Ann. Rept. B. A. E., pl. 11), an act which implies that the courageous warrior, armed with a club, is able to overcome the enemies of the tribe.

This act the Xo'-ka performs to each of the stanzas of the song. One line from each of the first and second stanzas is translated.

## SONG 3

(Osage version, p. 780)

M.M. ♩ = 80

Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

Gthe-do<sup>n</sup> zhu - dse the the - tho go<sup>n</sup> - çe - go<sup>n</sup> gthi - no<sup>n</sup> - zhi<sup>n</sup> - e the he

the, Go<sup>n</sup> - çe - go<sup>n</sup> gthi - no<sup>n</sup> - zhi<sup>n</sup> - e the he the, go<sup>n</sup> - çe - go<sup>n</sup> gthi - no<sup>n</sup> - zhi<sup>n</sup> - e, Gthe - do<sup>n</sup>

zhu - dse the the - tho go<sup>n</sup> - çe - go<sup>n</sup> gthi - no<sup>n</sup> - zhi<sup>n</sup> - e the he

the, E the go<sup>n</sup> - çe - go<sup>n</sup> gthi - no<sup>n</sup> - zhi<sup>n</sup> - e the he

the, Go<sup>n</sup> - çe - go<sup>n</sup> gthi - no<sup>n</sup> - zhi<sup>n</sup> - e the he the, go<sup>n</sup> - çe - go<sup>n</sup> gthi - no<sup>n</sup> - zhi<sup>n</sup> - e, Gthe - do<sup>n</sup>

zhu - dse the the - tho go<sup>n</sup> - çe - go<sup>n</sup> gthi - no<sup>n</sup> - zhi<sup>n</sup> - e the he the.

## FREE TRANSLATION

## 1

Lo, the red hawk is home, and stands beside the black bird.

## 2

Lo, the black bird is home, and stands beside the red hawk.

## SONGS OF RELEASING THE ARROWS

The title of the group of songs next in order is *Mó<sup>n'</sup>-gthu-stse-dse Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>*, Songs of Releasing the Arrows.

These songs with their mystic symbols and dramatic action are supplicatory in character; they are expressions of a craving for divine aid toward the perpetuity of the tribal existence and the continuity of the life of the individual by an unbroken lineage.

As a means of expressing this idea symbolically and dramatically two arrows are ceremonially made, one painted red to represent day and the other black to represent night. The breast of the bow to be used for setting the mystic arrows in flight is painted red and its back is painted black to correspond in meaning to the symbolic arrows. The office of making the mystic bow and arrows belongs to a gens of the *Wa-zha'-zhe* subdivision bearing the name *E-no<sup>n'</sup> Mi<sup>n</sup>-dse to<sup>n</sup>*, Sole Owner of the Bow. The duty of setting the mystic arrows in flight belongs to the man acting as *Xo'-ka*, either in the rite of vigil or the shrine degrees of the tribal rites.

This symbolic and dramatic invocation is addressed to the Mysterious Power in all its abiding places but directly to the day and the night wherein it makes its everlasting abode.

In the shrine degree, as described by Saucy-calf, the *Xo'-ka*, when he releases the two arrows to pursue the day and night, bearing the message of the people, acts for the red hawk (the bird of day) and the black hawk (the bird of night).

Saucy-calf gave only one song of this group, although on his counting stick five songs were given to the group.

When the *A'-ki-ho<sup>n</sup> Xo'-ka* comes to this song the *Sho'-ka* puts into the hands of the *Xo'-ka* the symbolic bow and arrows, and also places around the neck of the *Xo'-ka* the band attached to the hawk used in the ceremonies of this degree, so that the symbolic bird hangs at the *Xo'-ka's* back.

When this is done the *A'-ki-ho<sup>n</sup> Xo'-ka* sings and the *Xo'-ka* rises to dance to the music. There are four stanzas to the song, two for the red and two for the black hawk. At the fourth line of each stanza the *Xo'-ka* steps forward, adjusts an arrow to the bowstring, and (figuratively) releases the arrow and sets it in flight toward the setting sun to pursue forever the day and night that mark the duration of all life. (See 39th Ann. Rept. B. A. E., pl. 16.) The singing and dancing continue without pause to the end of the four stanzas.

(For music see third song of the group preceding this one.)

The first and the fourth lines of each stanza are translated.

## SONG 1

(Osage version, p. 780)

## FREE TRANSLATION

1

Behold! the red hawk releases the arrow,  
Lo, he releases the arrow of the day.

2

Behold! the blackbird releases the arrow,  
Lo, he releases the arrow of the night.

3

Behold! the red hawk releases the arrow,  
Lo, he releases the arrow of the day.

4

Behold! the blackbird releases the arrow,  
Lo, he releases the arrow of the night.

## VICTORY SONG

"The next song bears the title *Wa-tsi'-a-dsi Wa-tho*", which may be freely translated as Victory Song.

The song is in praise of the hawk. This bird symbolizes the courage and the unity of purpose of the warriors in action, regardless of the number of men who achieve victory. A war party may be small or composed of men drawn from the tribe as a whole, but the hawk represents the spirit that actuates the warrior, irrespective of the number engaged, and the song glorifies this fundamental quality of the tribal warriors.

The hawk is here personified as a fighting man. The song speaks of the parts that are vital to his physical structure, beginning with the head and ending with the feet. In songs of this character belonging to other gentes the enumeration begins with the feet and closes with the mouth. Saucy-calf, in explaining the difference of the order, said, "This song refers to the birth of man, and the songs of the other gentes refer to both the physical and mental growth of man."

## SONG I

(Osage version, p. 781)

M. M.  $\text{♩} = 112$  Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

He - no<sup>n</sup> pa - thi - ʒo pa no<sup>n</sup> ʒa - bthe tha - ʒo<sup>n</sup> ʒe,

He - no<sup>n</sup> pa - thi - ʒo pa no<sup>n</sup> ʒa - bthe tha - ʒo<sup>n</sup> ʒe, Pa thi - ʒo

pa no<sup>n</sup> ʒa - bthe tha - ʒo<sup>n</sup> ʒe, He - no<sup>n</sup> pa - thi - ʒo pa no<sup>n</sup> ʒa - bthe tha -

ʒo<sup>n</sup> ʒe, He - no<sup>n</sup> pa - thi - ʒo. Pa no<sup>n</sup> ʒa - bthe tha - ʒo<sup>n</sup> ʒe.

## SONG OF CLOSING THE CEREMONY

The last song of this ritual is called U'-thu-ʒe I-no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>, which, freely translated, means song by which the participants of the ceremony rise to go home. At the singing of this song the No<sup>n</sup>'-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga rise in their places and march out in ceremonial order, those belonging to the ʒsi'-zhu division passing out by the south side of the house and those belonging to the Ho<sup>n</sup>'-ga division of the tribe by the north side.

This song again refers to the hawk, the symbol of the warrior, but the use of archaic and corrupted words make it practically impossible to give a literal translation.

When the initiatory ceremony is over the wa-xo'be that had been used remains in the initiate's possession until such time as an initiation is applied for by some member of the gens.

## SONG 1

(Osage version, p. 781)

M.M. ♩ = 84

Transcribed from graphophone by C. Wakefield Cadman.

He-no<sup>n</sup> pa-thi-ko ta, he-no<sup>n</sup> pa-thi-ko ta hi-tho we,

O - tha - hi - hi - tha, he-no<sup>n</sup> pa - thi - ko ta hi-tho-we,

O - tha - hi - hi - tha, . he - no<sup>n</sup> pa - thi - ko ta,

He - no<sup>n</sup> pa - thi - ko ta hi - tho - we, O - tha - hi - hi - tha.

At the beginning of the work Sauey-ealf explained that for a long time he had not attended any of the initiations or had occasion to recite the rituals; consequently his memory of the songs in their established sequential order had become faulty. He made the further remark that if he had lost any of the songs it would be those that are of no particular importance, or would be songs that are merely repetitions. He did not give all the songs marked on his counting stick, but he gave enough to indicate what each group of songs signified.

In closing this version of the ritual of the shrine as used by the Tho'-xe gens a fairly accurate picture of this ancient rite has been given.

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PART II. SHRINE DEGREE

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## PART II. SHRINE DEGREE

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### INTRODUCTION

The second part of this volume is a description of the shrine degree of the great Osage tribal rites. It deals particularly with the innermost covering of the shrine which was ceremonially made for the hawk that symbolizes the courage of the warrior. After the hawk was formally adopted by the Osage people as a tribal symbol it was for a long period of time carried without a cover to protect it from the accidents of travel and camp life. Any material that could be conveniently secured would have served as a covering for the emblematic bird. When, however, it was finally determined to make for the bird a suitable and lasting receptacle, the No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n'</sup>-zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga who had always given careful thought to the tribal rites and to their symbolic treasures deemed that the sacred shrine should be worthy and of equal dignity and sanctity with the object to be enclosed therein.

Accordingly, those men of the ancient days gave to their sacred emblem, the hawk, child of the sun and the moon, a shrine that was to typify, not only the earth, but the space between the earth and the sky; the vast dome of blue wherein move singly or in groups all the celestial bodies.

It was not an idle fancy nor an unformulated thought that urged those "holy men" to the determination to make a permanent shrine. They had during a long period of time been delving into the mysteries of nature with its manifold living forms and had at last fallen into the firm belief that the abode of the Giver of Life is always in the earth and in the sky wherein the cosmic bodies travel with unflinching regularity and precision. They were also actuated by the desire to transmit to their successors their conception of the Giver of Life and the places wherein that Mysterious Power forever dwells and moves. They gave expression to these ideas in this peculiar fashion.

The mystery of all life and the desire for the continuity of the tribal life played constantly in the minds of the early No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n'</sup>-zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga. Life was the theme of their rituals and the burden of their songs.

The two tribal rituals brought together in this volume, namely, the rite of the hawk and the rite of the emblematic shrine, express two fundamental ideas, touching the welfare of the Osage people: (1) The rite of the hawk sets forth the teaching that upon the valor of the

warrior depends the continued existence of the people as an organized body, and that among the warriors there must be none who lack courage. (2) That for the desired numerical growth of the people the favor of the Giver of Life must be sought in the sky and in the earth where that Mysterious Power forever abides.

The ceremonial shrine for the hawk had three coverings. The first is a woven buffalo-hair bag, furnished by the Tho'-xe gens; the second a deerskin bag furnished by the Ța Tha'-xi<sup>n</sup> gens; the third a woven rush bag, which is adorned with the symbols of the sky and the earth, the abiding places of Wa-ko<sup>n</sup>-da. Consequently, the woven-rush bag is the holiest of the three coverings and has a ritual of its own. The kind of rush of which the inner shrine of the sacred hawk is made must always be furnished by the Mi-ke'-stse-dse (Cat-tail) gens of the Wa-zha'-zhe subdivision which represents the water part of the earth.

#### WEAVING OF THE RUSH

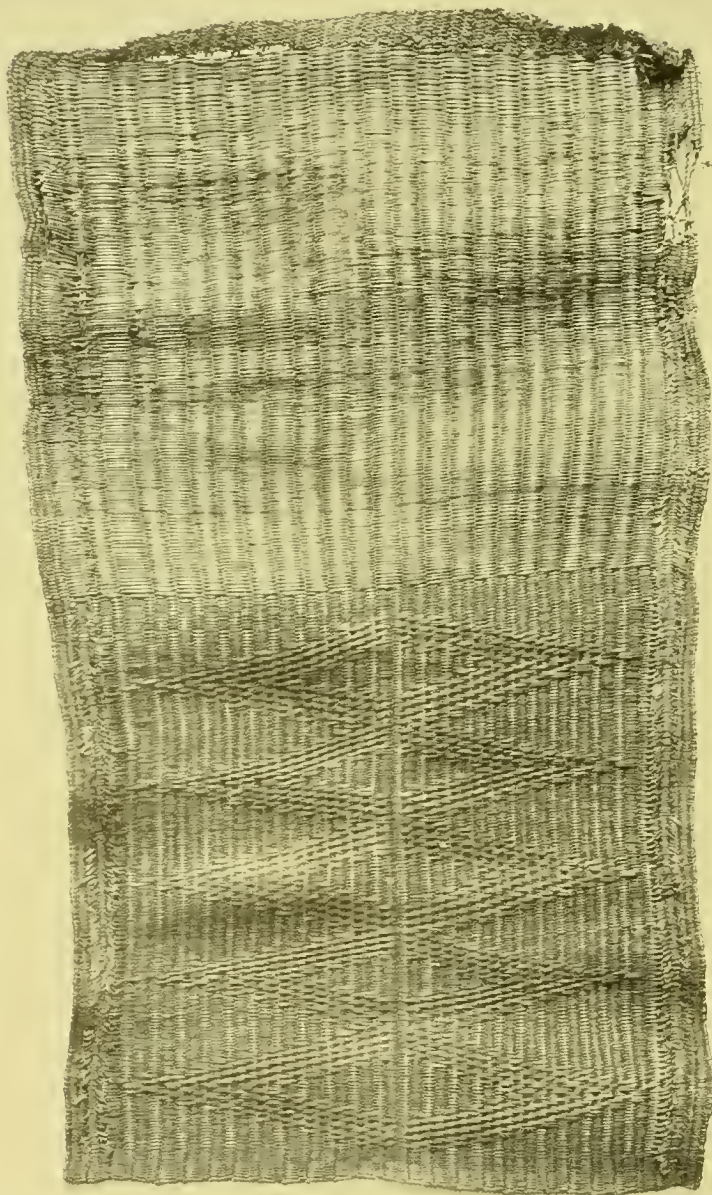
The title of this degree of the war rites is Ța Tha-çe Ga-xe: Ța, rush; Tha-çe, weave; Ga-xe, make; weaving of the rush. In the Tho'-xe version of the established sequential order of the seven degrees of the war rites, as given by Saucy-calf, the Ța Tha-çe Ga-xe is second in the order, and in that of the I<sup>n</sup>-gtho<sup>n</sup>-ga (Puma) gens, as given by Wa-xthi'-zhi, it is the fourth in the order.

The ritual of this degree of the tribal rites deals with the making of the shrine for the wa-xo'-be, the symbolic hawk. First, the No<sup>n</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga determine to make a shrine for the hawk. Second, the ceremonial search for suitable material to use in making the shrine. Third, the finding of the Ța-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga (spike rush) for the woof of the matting out of which the shrine is to be made. Fourth, the finding of the ha'-do-ga, nettle weed (*Urtica gracilis*) for the warp. Fifth, the ceremonial weaving and final making of the shrine. (Pl. 23.)

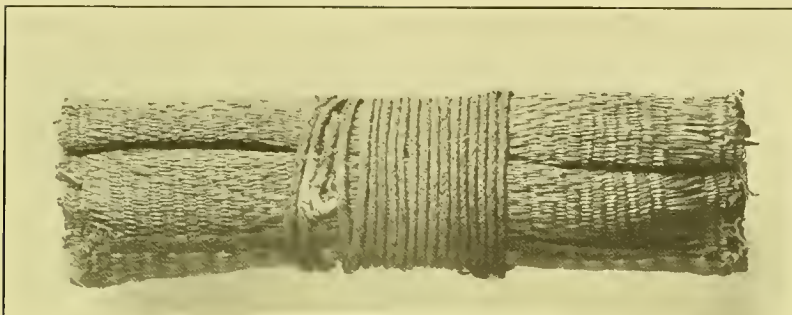
From the three wi'-gi-es that relate particularly to the mythical story of the shrine it is clear that it was the No<sup>n</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga of the Wa-zha'-zhe division of the tribe, representing the water part of the earth, who instituted and conducted the search for the proper material to be employed for the making of the shrine. When the decision was reached to use the Ța-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, the rush, for the woof, and the ha'-do-ga, the nettle weed, for the warp, because of their durable nature, these articles were declared to be wa-xo'-be (sacred), to become consecrated to "the little ones," the descendants of the water people. Later, all the parts of the universe, as represented by the tribal organization, were included in this rite. The Țsi'-zhu division was mentioned in direct terms. This division represented the sky, with all the stars that travel therein, singly or in groups. Also the Ho<sup>n</sup>-ga division which embraced all the dry land with its animal and plant life.



XÓ-KA AND SYMBOLIC TREE



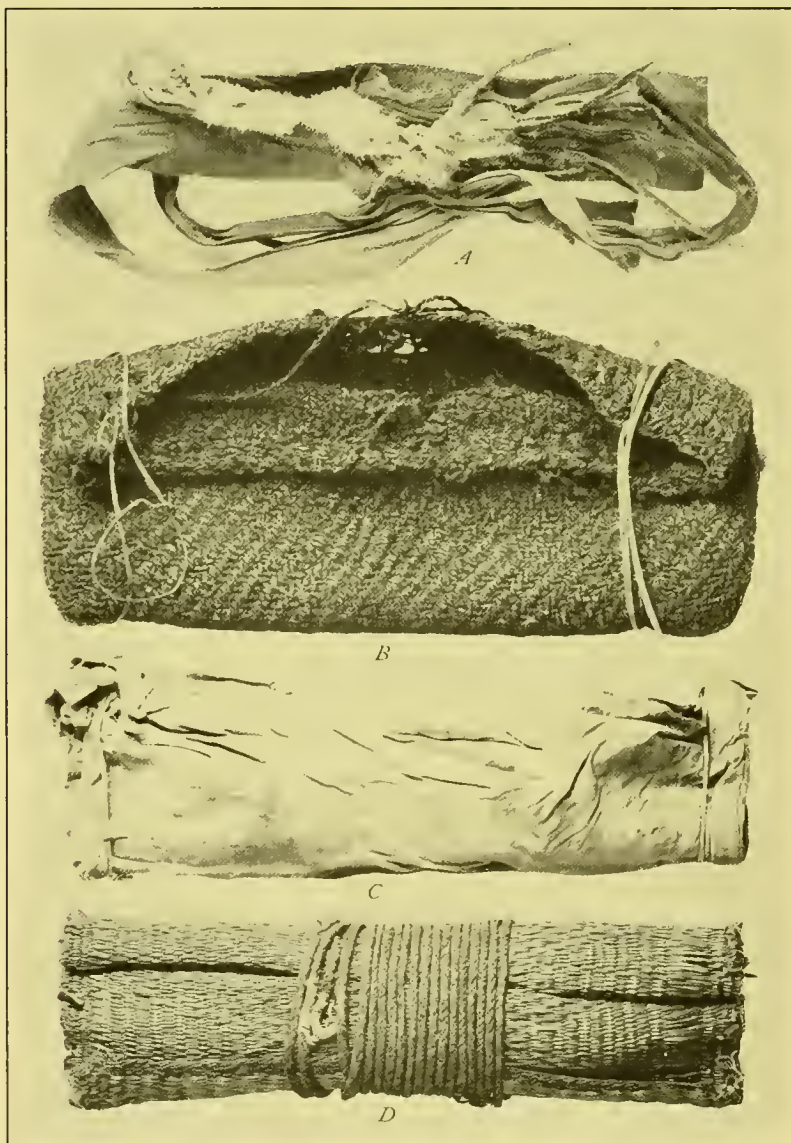
RUSH MAT FOR NEW SHRINE



*a*, Shrine and symbolic rope



*b*, Mat showing cord knots in each end



SHRINE TAKEN APART

For initiation purposes all the gentes of the tribe were free to use the ritual of the shrine degree, but the office of conducting the ceremonies pertaining to the making of the shrine remained in the Wa-zha'-zhe division and was filled by three of its gentes, namely, the Wa-zha'-zhe Wa-no<sup>n</sup> (Elder Wa-zha'-zhe), the K'e'-k'i<sup>n</sup> (turtle carriers), and the Wa-ke'-the-stse-dse, cat-tail (*Typha latifolia*).

The matting out of which the shrine was made was woven in one piece (pl. 24, *b*) but divided by the symbolic designs into two equal parts, one part representing the sky, the other part the earth. The two parts also represented night and day. The part that represented the earth and the sky had conventional designs woven into the matting and symbolized the clouds that move between the sky and the earth. The portion of the matting that symbolized the day is left undyed and is of a very light color. Across the entire width of this portion of the mat are woven, equidistant, narrow dark lines that represent night. The pocket in which were to be placed the hawk and other sacred articles was made by doubling that part of the matting having on it the symbols representing the sky and the earth, and was fastened at the ends with cords made of the nettle fiber, the same consecrated material that had been used for the warp. The space within the pocket symbolizes the expanse between the earth and the sky into which all life comes through birth and departs therefrom by death. The knots fastening the ends of the pocket of the shrine are not without significance. Seven knots were tied to the end of the shrine that points, when in ceremonial position, to the Ho<sup>n</sup>-ga division, representing the earth, that the knots may correspond to the seven songs that are accredited to that division, and six knots were tied at the end of the pocket that will point to the Tsi'-zhu division which represents the sky, so as to correspond in number to the six songs belonging to the Tsi'-zhu division. The act of perforating the holes in the edge of the matting through which to string the cords for the fastenings was performed with solemnity and as an expression of the purpose for which the war rite was formulated. The act of cutting the ends of the cords after tying the knots was performed in the same solemn manner.

When the hawk was put into the pocket of the shrine its head was placed toward the end having the seven fastenings and its feet toward the end having six. After the hawk and other sacred articles had been put into the pocket the flap that represents day and night was drawn over the upper part of the shrine and a ceremonial rope was then wound around the middle. (Pl. 24, *a*.)

The act of ceremonially removing the sacred hawk from the pocket of the shrine at an initiation also had its meaning. (Pl. 25.) It not only symbolized birth but it also symbolized the continuous onward flow of life.

## THE INITIATION

A man to whom a wa-xo'-be has been transferred may elect one of the seven degrees of the rite into which he desires to be initiated. When he determines to take the Ça Tha-çe Ga-xe degree he prepares for it by collecting: (1) One black bearskin. (2) One buffalo robe. (3) Seventy and sixty (130) copper or brass kettles. (4) Seventy and sixty (130) sinews. The sinew is taken from the back of the buffalo, two from each one, so that the candidate would have to kill 65 buffalo in order to secure the required number of sinews, a difficult task for one man to perform, but he was usually assisted by his relatives in collecting the fees and the articles required for use in the initiation. (5) Seventy and sixty (130) awls. (6) Seventy and sixty (130) red-handled knives.<sup>1</sup> Aside from the foregoing, the candidate had to collect 70 and 60 țse-zhu', side meat of the buffalo, and other food supplies for the entertainment of the No<sup>n</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga during the initiation ceremonies.

Before the advent of traders among the Osage it was difficult for a man to procure all the articles required for the initiation, even with the assistance of relatives; therefore only a few men could afford to take more than one or two of the seven degrees of the tribal rites. The greater number of the people could not take even one of the degrees, although they could help a relative to prepare himself to take a degree.

When the man has finally procured the necessary articles and is prepared to take the chosen degree, he sends by a messenger for the Sho'-ka (ceremonial messenger) of his gens. Upon the arrival of the Sho'-ka, the man addresses him as follows: "My younger brother, I wish to sing the songs of the Ça Tha-çe Ga-xe and it is to avail myself of your official services as Sho'-ka that I have sent for you. It will be necessary for you to have an assistant whom you could choose from among the members of our gens."

The kinship term, "my younger brother," as here used by the man when speaking to the Sho'-ka, is employed ceremonially and not as a blood kinship term. The gentes having the office of Sho'-ka are always addressed by the other gentes as "younger brothers" during the performance of a tribal ceremony.

"I will now ask you to go to my father," referring to the man who had transferred to him the wa-xo'-be, "and tell him that I wish him to come to my house that I may speak with him."

The man then places in the hands of the Sho'-ka a pipe to carry while performing this duty in order to show that his mission is official and authoritative.

<sup>1</sup> In the tattooing ceremony of the Omaha tribe the man who is to have that ceremony performed is required to furnish 100 red-handled knives and 100 awls. (See 27th Ann. Rept. B. A. E., p. 503.)



When the person sent for has come, in response to the summons, the man speaks to him after the usual greetings, saying: "My father, I wish to sing the songs of the Ça Tha-çe Ga-xe, and it is for that reason I have sent for you, and to ask that you initiate me in that part of the tribal rite."

The term "my father," used by the man offering himself as candidate for initiation is a ceremonial and not a blood kinship term.

The father, in reply, says: "My son, it shall be as you say. I will act as Xo'-ka for you in the Ça Tha-çe Ga-xe. The first step is to send your Sho'-ka to the No'-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga of the two great tribal divisions, the Tsi'-zhu and the Ho<sup>n</sup>-ga, and tell them to assemble at your house on a certain day."

The candidate having fixed a day for summoning the No'-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, the Sho'-ka is again sent out with his official badge, the pipe, to give notice to the members to come together at a certain day. The day appointed for the meeting is always set far enough ahead to give the messenger time to visit the house of every member of the organization.

On the appointed day the No'-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga arrive at the place of meeting. When all have taken their accustomed places, according to gentes, the Xo'-ka addresses them on behalf of the candidate, his "son," saying: "O No'-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, you have come in response to the call of my son, and in his behalf I will say that he is ready to sing the songs of the Ça Tha-çe Ga-xe, and it is for that purpose that he has called you. He wishes to renew his wa-xo'-be."

To this the No'-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga respond, saying, "Ho-we'!" which signifies their approval. The Xo'-ka then directs the Sho'-ka to bring before him the kettles, awls, sinews, knives, and other articles above enumerated, that have been collected by the candidate for use at his initiation. This duty performed, the Xo'-ka directs the Sho'-ka to bring the wa-xo'-be, which is done.

As in the conferring of the other degrees of the war rite, the Xo'-ka, whether or not he is versed in the rituals, avails himself of the privilege of having an A'-ki-ho<sup>n</sup> Xo'-ka, or assistant, who must be one well informed in the rituals, and under whose direction the Xo'-ka must act.

When the ceremonial articles collected by the candidate, together with the wa-xo'-be, have been placed before the Xo'-ka, the leader of the "Tsi'-zhu Ho<sup>n</sup>-ga" directs the Sho'-ka to count the kettles, awls, sinews, and knives. This the Sho'-ka quickly proceeds to do and reports to the "Tsi'-zhu Ho<sup>n</sup>-ga" that these articles represent the full number required for the ceremony. The "Tsi'-zhu Ho<sup>n</sup>-ga" then speaks a word signifying his acceptance of the report, after which the Xo'-ka proceeds with the ceremony called Wa-the'-the, the act of sending. This act consists in taking apart the various articles

that make up the wa-xo'-be that had been transferred to the candidate, that is, the shrine and its contents. Each part is then sent to the gens which originally contributed it, in order that it may be repaired, renewed, and reconsecrated.

THE WA-THE'-THE  
(DISTRIBUTING THE SYMBOLIC ARTICLES)

1. If the candidate belongs to the Wa-ça'-be or the I<sup>n</sup>-gtho<sup>n'</sup>-ga gens the Sho'-ka would be instructed to remove from the hanging strap of the wa-xo'-be, the scalp attached to it, put with it an awl, a sinew, and a knife into one of the kettles and to place it before the candidate, as the scalp was contributed by these two related gentes for use in making the wa-xo'-be.

2. The Sho'-ka is directed to remove from the strap the eagle leg that is fastened to it, put with it an awl, sinew and knife into one of the kettles and place it before the Ho<sup>n'</sup>-ga A-hiu-*to*<sup>n</sup>, an Eagle gens.

3. The outer bag, made of the woven buffalo hair, together with an awl, sinew, and knife, are put in a kettle and set before the Tho'-xe, Buffalo Bull gens. In making a bag of this kind for a member of the Ho<sup>n'</sup>-ga subdivision or a member of the Wa-zha'-zhe subdivision, the Tho'-xe furnish the hair, always taking it from the right shoulder of the buffalo bull. If the bag is to be made for a member of the Tsi'-zhu great division the hair must be taken from the left shoulder of the bull. This is figurative of the young buffalo bull, one of the tribal emblems of courage, that is represented in the emblematic arrangement of the gentes, those of the Ho<sup>n'</sup>-ga great division from the right side of the bull, and those of the Tsi'-zhu great division from the left side.

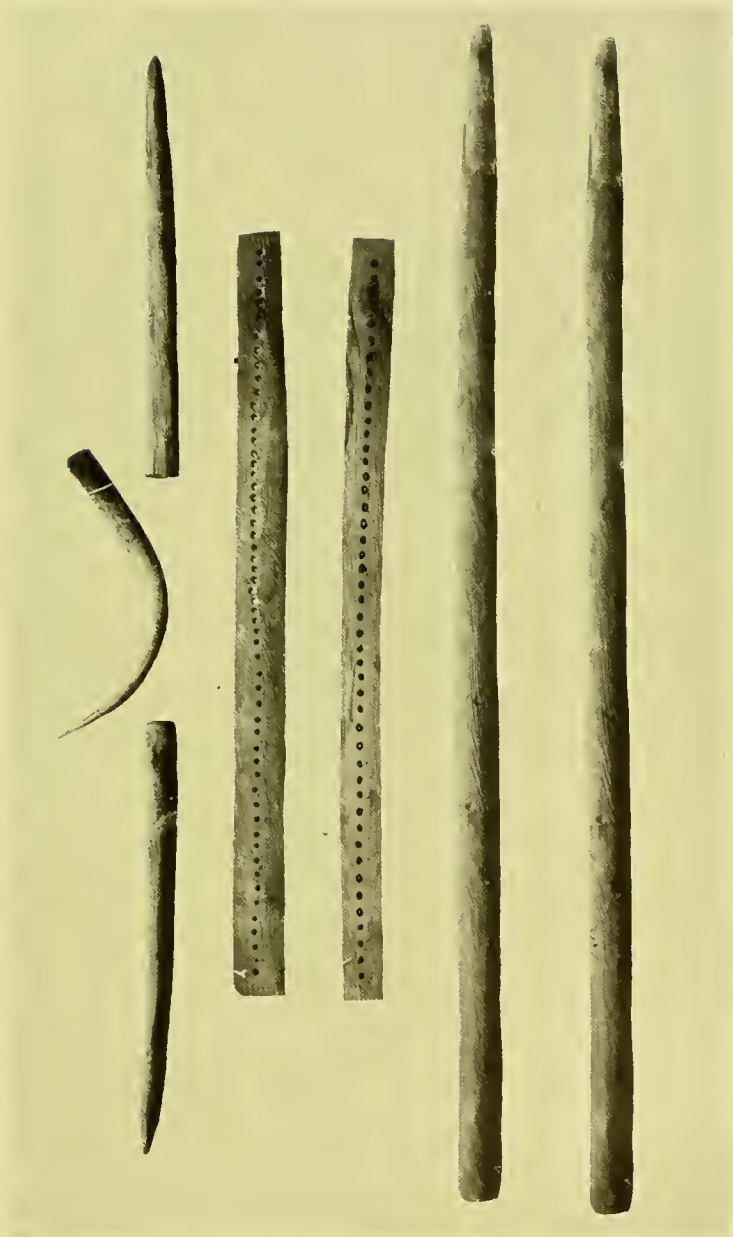
4. The deerskin bag next to the buffalo-hair bag, together with an awl, sinew, and knife, are put in a kettle and sent to the Wa-zha'-zhe Ta I-ni-ka-shi-ga, Wa-zha'-zhe Deer People.

5. The ceremonial rope wound around the middle of the shrine, together with an awl, sinew, and knife, are put into a kettle and sent to the Tsi'-zhu Wa-no<sup>n</sup>, Elder Tsi'-zhu, and to the Tse-do'-ga I<sup>n</sup>-dse, Buffalo Face, two related gentes.

6. The Ça, woven rush shrine, with several kettles, awls, sinews, and knives, are sent to the Wa-zha'-zhe Wa-no<sup>n</sup>, Ke'-k'i<sup>n</sup>, and the Wa-ke'-the-stse-dse gentes.

7. The deerskin tobacco pouch, with a kettle, awl, sinew, and knife, are sent to the Wa-zha'-zhe Wa-no<sup>n</sup>.

8. The deerskin pouch which covers the hawk, together with an awl, sinew, and knife, is placed in a kettle and sent to the Wa-zha'-zhe Ta-tha'-xi<sup>n</sup>, Wa-zha'-zhe, Deer's Lungs, and the Wa-zha'-zhe E-no<sup>n'</sup> Mi<sup>n</sup>-dse *to*<sup>n</sup>, Wa-zha'-zhe, who alone own the bow. Two extra kettles were also sent to these two gentes.



Stakes, perforated slats, and deer's antler used for the loom and batten when weaving rush mat and buffalo-hair covering required in making a portable shrine for the sacred hawk



KU-ZHI-WA-TSE



BACON RIND



NI-KA-WA-ZHE-TO<sup>a</sup>-GA

9. The marked counting stick, together with an awl, sinew, and knife, are sent with a kettle to the Wa-zha'-zhe E-no<sup>n'</sup> Mi<sup>n</sup>-dse to<sup>n</sup>.

10. The wa-xo'-be (hawk), together with an awl, sinew, and knife, are placed in a kettle and sent to the Ni'-ka Wa-ko<sup>n</sup>-da-gi, the men of mystery.

11. To the Mi-ki'<sup>n'</sup> Wa-no<sup>n</sup>, Elder Sun Carriers, and the Ho<sup>n</sup> I-ni-ka-shi-ga, people of the night, are sent two kettles, without the awls, sinew, and knife. This was done in recognition of their contribution of the drum as a part of the articles contributed by the various gentes for the paraphernalia of the rites. The drum was used at the ceremonies of the Wa-sha'-be A-thi<sup>n</sup>, the great war ceremony.

#### THE WEAVER

At the close of the Wa-the'-the ceremony the leader of the Wa-zha'-zhe Wa-no<sup>n</sup> gens, or the candidate, instructs the Sho'-ka to go for the woman who had been chosen by the candidate to do the work of weaving the rush mat from which the new shrine is to be made. (Pl. 26.) The Sho'-ka goes after the woman and ceremonially conducts her to a place in front of the Xo'-ka and his assistant. Then, at the direction of the A'-ki-ho<sup>n</sup> Xo'-ka, the Sho'-ka places before the woman the buffalo robe, the black bearskin, and other articles of value which the candidate has procured for her ceremonial use and for her fees.

The A'-ki-ho<sup>n</sup> Xo'-ka then formally addresses the woman, using an ordinary kinship term, when asking her as a great favor to the No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga to weave for them the emblematic matting. The woman accepts the office of ceremonial weaver thus offered and remains seated until she is ceremonially dismissed.

When the woman has consented to act as weaver the A'-ki-ho<sup>n</sup> Xo'-ka proceeds to recite a double wi'-gi-e. The first relates to the plant which forms the woof and the second to the plant from which the fiber is to be taken and used for the warp. The first of the wi'-gi-es is called Ça' Do-ka Wi'-gi-e, the Green Rush Wi'-gi-e; the second, the Hi<sup>n'</sup>-dse<sup>2</sup> Wi'-gi-se, the Linden Wi'-gi-e.

Each part of this double wi'-gi-e is a story of the search for and the finding of the material to be used for the woof and the warp used in weaving the mat to form the holy shrine for the sacred symbolic hawk. To the first part is given in six sections the finding of the woof; to the second part the finding of the material used for the warp.

<sup>2</sup> The name Hi<sup>n'</sup>-dse is used to this day and refers specifically to the fiber taken from the bark of the tree for various uses. Out of the trunk of the hi<sup>n'</sup>-dse-hi, linden tree, bowls used to be made and the name is applied to china plates since their introduction by traders. The Omaha used the name in a slightly modified form, Hi<sup>n'</sup>-de. The people of this tribe also used the bark of the linden for making twine and ropes, and the wood for bowls and spoons.

In the younger brother's efforts to find material for the woof he brought home (1) the *Andropogon furcatus* Muhl, white; (2) *Andropogon furcatus* Muhl, red; (3) *Phragmites phragmites*; (4) *Eleocharis mutata*. These plants the elder brothers rejected as being unfit for use in making the shrine. One familiar with the qualities of these plants could readily see why they were rejected. (5) *Scirpus occidentalis*. Wa-xthi'-zhi explained that this plant was rejected because it lacked symmetry of form, that is, it is larger at the lower part than at the top, and with it the weaver could not make a smooth matting; (6) *Eleocharis interstincta*. The elder brothers accepted this plant because the stalk was very nearly of the same size from the root to the top and the weaver could do neater work with it. In searching for material for the warp, the younger brother brought home (1) the elm whose limbs turned downward; (2) the young white elm. These were rejected because the fiber could not be used for anything. (3) Gray linden; (4) red linden; (5) dark linden. These were rejected because of the coarseness of the fiber, which could be used only for rough work. (6) *Asimina*, or *Annona triloba*. The fiber of this wood is much finer than that of the other woods brought home, but (7) the nettleweed, *Urtica gracilis*, was accepted because its fiber was finer, stronger, and more flexible than that of the *Asimina*. It is said that the fiber of the *Asimina* was sometimes used as a substitute for the fiber of the nettleweed in weaving the matting for the shrine.

THE ÇA' DO-KA WI'-GI-E  
(THE RUSH GREEN RITUAL)

(Osage version, p. 782; literal translation, p. 819)

1

1. Verily at that time and place, it has been said, in this house,
2. The Wa-zha'-zhe, a people who possess seven sacred fireplaces,
3. Verily a people among whom there were no cowards,
4. Spake to one another, saying: O younger brothers,
5. The little ones have no material of which to make their shrines.
6. Go and cause search to be made for the proper materials.
7. Even as these words were spoken one went forth
8. To the prairie where trees grow not;
9. To the tall blue-joint that stood therein,
10. And stood close by its side.
11. Then, as he returned and stood before his elder brothers, he spake,  
saying: How will this serve, O elder brothers?
12. They replied: It is not exactly what we want, O younger brother.



## 2

13. Verily at that time and place
14. The elder brothers spake again, saying: You will cause further search to be made, O younger brothers.
15. Even as these words were spoken a younger brother went forth
16. To a prairie where trees grow not,
17. To the red blue-joint that stood therein,
18. And stood close by its side.
19. Then he returned, stood before his elder brothers, and spake, saying: How will this serve, O elder brothers?
20. They replied: It is not exactly what we want, O younger brother.

## 3

21. Verily at that time and place
22. The elder brothers spake, saying: Cause further search to be made, O younger brothers.
23. Then, even as these words were spoken, one went forth
24. To a prairie where trees grow not,
25. To the marsh-reed that stood therein,
26. And close by its side he stood.
27. Then, quickly he returned with it to his elder brothers,
28. Before whom he stood, saying: How will this serve?
29. They replied: It is not exactly what we want, O younger brother.

## 4

30. Then, even as these words were spoken, one of the younger brothers went forth
31. To the borders of a lake
32. Where stood the rush with the ribbed stalk,
33. And close by its side he stood.
34. Quickly he returned with it to his elder brothers, before whom he stood, saying: How will this serve?
35. They replied: It is not exactly what we want, O younger brother,
36. It is not suitable for the little ones to use for making their shrines.

## 5

37. Then, even as these words were spoken, one of the younger brothers went forth
38. To the borders of a lake,
39. To the large rush that stood therein,
40. And close by its side he stood.
41. He returned with it to his elder brothers and spake, saying: How will this serve, O elder brothers?
42. They replied: It is not exactly what we want, O younger brother.

## 6

43. Verily at that time and place,
44. Even as these words were spoken, a younger brother went forth
45. To the center of a lake
46. Where stood a bunch of slender rush.
47. Seven in number were the stalks in the bunch.
48. Quickly he returned with the bunch
49. To his elder brothers and spake, saying: How will this serve?
50. They replied: That has ever been the object of your search.
51. This shall be to the little ones a sacred plant, O younger brother.
52. Being consecrated to the use of the little ones,
53. They shall make of it a receptacle for their holy emblem.

## 7

54. Verily at that time and place
55. The elder brothers spake, saying: Let the plant be cut, O younger brothers.
56. Then, at that very time,
57. The turtle having seven notches on his tail
58. Came to the bunch of rush having seven stalks,
59. Moved among its roots,
60. And repeatedly shook the stalks.
61. Then, with their heads toward the setting sun,
62. The stalks fell to the earth,
63. Whereupon the elder brothers spake, saying:
64. This shall ever be to the little ones a sacred plant.

## 8

65. Verily at that time and place, it has been said, in this house,
66. The turtle having six notches on his tail
67. Came to a bunch of rush having six stalks.
68. Close to it he came,
69. Buried himself among its roots,
70. And repeatedly shook the stalks.
71. Then, with their heads toward the setting sun,
72. The stalks fell to the earth.
73. The turtle spake, saying: I have made these stalks to fall.
74. It is not without a purpose that I have performed the act.
75. Toward the setting of the sun,
76. Where dwell many people, I have made the stalks to fall.
77. When the little ones make these stalks fall toward the setting sun
78. It shall be easy for them to make their enemies to fall.
79. When they make of this plant a sacred emblem (a shrine),
80. Their wa-xo'-be (the symbolic hawk) shall lie secure within its folds.

THE HI<sup>N'</sup>-DSE WI'-GI-E

(THE LINDEN RITUAL)

(Osage version, p. 784; literal translation, p. 821)

## 1

1. Verily at that time and place, it has been said, in this house,
2. The Wa-zha'-zhe, a people who possess seven sacred fireplaces,
3. Verily a people among whom there were no cowards,
4. Spake to one another, saying: Ho! younger brothers,
5. The little ones have nothing of which to make their shrines.
6. Even as these words were spoken a younger brother went forth
7. To a very little stream,
8. Where stood a young elm with limbs growing downward,
9. Which he quickly brought home to his elder brothers, to whom  
he spake, saying:
10. How will this serve, O elder brothers?
11. They replied: Ho! younger brother,
12. It is not fit for the little ones to use in making their shrines.

## 2

13. Go, and make further search, O younger brother.
14. Even as these words were spoken the younger brother went forth
15. To a very small stream,
16. Where stood a young white elm,
17. Which he quickly brought home
18. To his elder brothers and spake, saying: How will this serve?
19. They replied: It is not fit for the little ones to use in making  
their shrines.

## 3

20. Go, and make further search, O younger brother.
21. Even as these words were spoken, one went forth
22. To the borders of a forest,
23. Where stood a gray (sapling) linden.
24. Quickly he returned with the young tree,
25. Stood before his elder brothers and spake, saying:
26. How will this serve, O elder brothers?
27. They replied: It is not fit for the little ones to use in making  
their shrines.
28. It is not exactly what we want, O younger brother.

## 4

29. Go, and make further search, O younger brother.
30. Even as these words were spoken, one went forth
31. To the very depths of a forest,
32. Where stood a red linden.
33. Quickly he returned with the tree,
34. To his elder brothers, to whom he spake, saying: How will this  
serve?
35. They replied: It is not exactly what we want.

## 5

36. You will make further search, O younger brother.
37. Even as these words were spoken one went forth
38. To the very center of a forest,
39. Where stood a dark linden.
40. Quickly he returned with the tree,
41. Stood before his elder brothers and spake, saying: How will this  
serve?
42. They replied: It is not exactly what we want.

## 6

43. You will make further search, O younger brother.
44. Even as these words were spoken one went forth
45. To the very center of a forest,
46. Where stood a papaw tree.
47. Close to the tree he stood,
48. Then quickly he returned with it,
49. Stood before his elder brothers and spake, saying: How will  
this serve?
50. They replied: Ho! younger brother,
51. It is not exactly what we want,
52. It is not fit for the little ones to use in making their shrines.

## 7

53. Even as these words were spoken one went forth
54. To the opposite border of the forest,
55. Where stood the nettleweed.
56. Close to it he stood,
57. Then quickly returned with it,
58. Stood before his elder brothers and spake, saying: How will  
this serve?
59. They replied: Ho! younger brother,
60. That which you hold in your hand has ever been the object of  
your search.
61. It shall be to the little ones a sacred plant, as they travel the  
path of life.
62. When the little ones make of it their shrine,
63. Their wa-xo'-be shall always lie secure within its folds, as they  
travel the path of life.
64. It shall be to the people of the Tsi'-zhu,
65. And to those of the Ho<sup>n'</sup>-ga,
66. A sacred plant, as they travel the path of life.
67. When they use it to make their shrines
68. Their wa-xo'-be shall lie secure within its folds, as they travel  
the path of life.

After the recital of the Çà' Dò-ka Wi'gi-e the old rush shrine is put in a kettle and placed before the weaver, who carries both kettle and shrine to her house. When the woman departed with the shrine the Nò''-hò''-zhi''-ga adjourned to meet again in four days. This length of time was considered to be sufficient to enable the weaver and the other workers to properly finish their tasks in time for the reassembling of the members.

On arriving at her home the weaver prepares for her task by partitioning her house so that she can seclude herself while setting up her loom and doing her work. Her desire to seclude herself was for the following reasons:

1. The work being a part of a great rite must be performed ceremonially.
2. While the work is in progress she must go through the rite of vigil as a supplication for the success of the candidate in all his aims in life.
3. To be free from her household cares and from all her social duties.
4. To exclude persons who might be curious to learn the symbolic designs to be woven into the matting and to put them to profane uses.

If it was inconvenient for the weaver to partition her house she erected a small house near her dwelling.

On the following morning, as the "great star" appears above the horizon, the woman arises and goes out for a bit of earth to put upon her head and forehead as a token of her vigil and supplication. She moistens the earth and divides it into two parts, one of which she rubs on the left side of her forehead and the other on the right side. This she does as a sign that in her supplications for the candidate she also includes the two great tribal divisions, craving supernatural aid for the tribe in its efforts to perpetuate its existence. Having placed upon herself the sign of vigil, she puts on her buffalo robe, spreads her bearskin rug before her loom, sits down upon the rug and waits.

The candidate had also arisen when the "great star" showed itself above the eastern horizon and had put upon himself the sign of vigil. Having done this he walked over to the house of the weaver and, standing before the door, began to wail as men do when they go far away from the village to take the rite of vigil. On hearing the voice of the candidate, whom she had been expecting, the weaver begins her song of lamentation, after which she recites her Çà' Wi-gi-e, wi'-gi-e of the rush, and the candidate continues to wail until she comes to the end. Then he goes forth to the prairies and keeps vigil through the entire day. The woman takes no food, nor does she remove from her head the sign of vigil as she steadily works all the day long.

At the time Wa-xthi'-zhi gave this description of the ceremonies pertaining to the making of a new shrine for the wa-xo'-be, or the repairing of an old one, it was not possible to get into communication with the wife of Btho'-ga-hi-ge to whom he referred as having a knowledge of the wi'-gi-e that the weaver must recite during the ceremonial weaving of the mat. He declined to recite it himself because it belonged to the woman's part of the rite, consequently there had to be a gap in this particular part of his description. Subsequently Mrs. Btho'-ga-hi-ge was asked if she would be willing to recite the wi'-gi-e. She replied that she would do so, provided Wa-xthi'-zhi could be present to prompt her. There were difficulties in the way of bringing the two together, so any effort to secure the ritual was not possible at the time.

In the month of January, 1917, when the writer was at Grayhorse endeavoring to secure information from certain Indians concerning the rites of the Osage, Ho<sup>n</sup>-be'-do-ka, an old woman, called upon him to tell him that she had an i'-ça-gthe da-pa, a set of looms, which she wished to dispose of. She was informed that the writer already had a loom presented to him by Mrs. Btho'-ga-hi-ge, but if the writer could purchase the wi'-gi-e with the loom he would be glad to buy it. After some hard thinking she replied that she was willing to recite the wi'-gi-e in order to dispose of the loom, adding that she did not wish to leave it behind on her death to her son for the reason that he would be in constant fear of it on account of his children, lest harm should come to them through inadvertence or misuse of the sacred articles. To relieve him of this possible embarrassment she decided to dispose of the wi'-gi-e, although she would prefer not to do so.

In some mysterious manner old Ku'-zhi-wa-ṭse (pl. 27), a member of the Po<sup>n</sup>-ka Wa-shta-ge gens, became aware of Ho<sup>n</sup>-be'-do-ka's purpose to dispose of, not only the loom, but the wi'-gi-e as well. He hastened to the old woman's house, commanded her to withdraw her offer, and warned her that by making the offer she placed herself under a wa'-xpe-gthe, a punishment that would come to her through some supernatural agency. The old woman was not to be frightened out of her determination. She boldly told the old man that she understood the meaning of the term wa'-xpe-gthe, and as she had fulfilled all the obligations she had taken upon herself as a candidate for initiation into the mysteries of her office she had no fear of punishment. She also said that the knowledge of the wi'-gi-e came to her by purchase and it was hers to dispose of, the same as any other property.

Old Ku'-zhi-wa-ṭse had interfered in the proposed transfer because the wi'-gi-e in Ho<sup>n</sup>-be'-do-ka's possession is a part of the rituals used by the Wa-zha'-zhe division of which he is a member, and he was also opposed to making public any part of the No<sup>n</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga rites.

Ho<sup>n</sup>-be'-do-ka herself belongs to the Tsi'-zhu Wa-shta-ge gens, but her husband, who was of the Wa-zha'-zhe division, taught her the rituals and secured for her the office of ceremonial weaver.

Ho<sup>n</sup>-be'-do-ka gave the weaver's song of lamentation and the weaving wi'-gi-e, so that the gap in the Shrine Ritual, occasioned by the hesitancy of Wa-xthi'-zhi to recite it, is now partly filled.

#### THE WEAVER'S LAMENTATION

The cry of longing and of desolation uttered by the weaver in the following song of sorrow is for her relatives who had gone on to the spirit land and who had been close companions in the joys and griefs of life.

SONG OF SORROW

Transcribed from graphophone by Alice C. Fletcher.

M.M. ♩ = 80. *Sung softly and flowingly*

Time beats

E gi the da do<sup>n</sup> go<sup>n</sup> tha xtsi o<sup>n</sup> tha gi tha, E wa thi<sup>n</sup> the go<sup>n</sup> tha

Zhi xtsi o<sup>n</sup> tha gi the no<sup>n</sup> wa-xpa thi<sup>n</sup> a thi<sup>n</sup> he o<sup>n</sup> tha gi tha. . . . . Wa-xpa

thi<sup>n</sup> a thi<sup>n</sup> he o<sup>n</sup> tha gi tha thi<sup>n</sup> tha tha a-tha a-tha. E wa thi<sup>n</sup> the go<sup>n</sup> tha

Zhi xtsi o<sup>n</sup> tha gi the no<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> wa-xpa thi<sup>n</sup> a-thi<sup>n</sup> he o<sup>n</sup> tha gi tha a - tha.

Wa-xpa thi<sup>n</sup> a-thi<sup>n</sup> gi tha gi tha a-tha a, . . . a-tha a-tha a. . . .

*D.C.*

E da go<sup>n</sup> tha xtsi o<sup>n</sup> tha gi tha Wa-xpa thi<sup>n</sup> the thi<sup>n</sup>-ge xtsi o<sup>n</sup> tha gi tha bi no<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup>,

Wa-xpa thi<sup>n</sup> i tha the ta thi<sup>n</sup> he o<sup>n</sup> tha gi tha a-tha a-tha. Wa-xpa thi<sup>n</sup> i tha the ta

thi<sup>n</sup> he o<sup>n</sup> tha gi tha E da go<sup>n</sup> tha xtsi o<sup>n</sup> tha gi tha Wa-xpa thi<sup>n</sup> the

thi<sup>n</sup>-ge xtsi o<sup>n</sup> tha gi tha bi no<sup>n</sup> Wa-xpa thi<sup>n</sup> i tha the ta thi<sup>n</sup> he tha

a - tha a - tha a - tha a - tha a - tha a - tha

a - tha a - tha. E do<sup>n</sup> tho<sup>n</sup> the go<sup>n</sup> tha Zhi-xtsi o<sup>n</sup> tha gi tha no<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> *D.C.*

Wa-xpa thi<sup>n</sup> a-thi<sup>n</sup> he o<sup>n</sup> tha gi tha, a - tha a - tha a - tha a - tha.



## FREE TRANSLATION

## 1

1. You have left me to linger in hopeless longing,
2. Your presence had ever made me feel no want,
3. You have left me to travel in sorrow.
4. Left me to travel in sorrow; Ah! the pain, the pain,
5. Your presence had ever made me feel no want,
6. You have left me to travel in sorrow; Ah! the pain,
7. Left me to travel in sorrow; Ah! the pain, the pain, the pain.

## 2

8. You have left me to linger in hopeless longing,
9. In your presence there was no sorrow,
10. You have gone and sorrow I shall feel, as I travel, Ah! the pain, the pain.
11. You have gone and sorrow I shall feel as I travel,
12. You have left me to linger in hopeless longing.
13. In your presence there was no sorrow,
14. You have gone and sorrow I shall feel as I travel; Ah! the pain, the pain, the pain,
15. Content with your presence, I wanted nothing more,
16. You have left me to travel in sorrow; Ah! the pain, the pain, the pain

## THE ÇA' WĪ'-GI-E

After a brief pause, at the close of the Song of Sorrow, the weaver, breaking in upon the wailing of the candidate, recites the Ça' Wi-gi-e, the wi'-gi-e of the rushes.

The application of the name Wa-ko<sup>n'</sup>-da in the wi'-gi-e to the sun, moon, sky, and to certain phases of the night and day is figurative and is not to be understood as in the ordinary sense. All of these phases that come and go with unvarying regularity were looked upon by the ancient No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n'</sup>-zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga as mysterious and as signs of the presence within them of the great invisible power to which they had given the name Wa-ko<sup>n'</sup>-da. To each of these four phases of the night, and to the sun and to the sky, was given a symbolic line in the shrine that typifies all the visible universe.

Section 1 speaks of the sun; 3, of the yellowish line which appears along the eastern horizon and which is first indication of the passing of night and the coming of day; 4 speaks again of the moon to make it clear that it must not be confused with the next phase; 5 speaks of the pallid hue that succeeds the yellow, and indicates that the night has gone farther away, and that the day comes nearer; 6 speaks of the crimson line which stretches along the horizon and indicates the departure of night and the near approach of day; 7 speaks of the appearance of the sun, the god of day that sits upon the horizon, adorned in a glory of deep red; 8 speaks of the blue sky across which the god of day is to make its westward journey; 9 speaks of the blue-black line which appears along the western horizon as the sun dis-

appears beyond; 10 speaks of the completion of the shrine that is emblematic of the visible universe, and of life, amidst which the sacred hawk shall lie in safety.

## THE WI'-GI-E

(Osage version, p. 786; literal translation, p. 823)

## 1

1. It is not the great god (the sun) they had in mind,
2. Although that also is a god, they have said.

## 2

3. It is not the great god they had in mind,
4. The god that is ever spoken of as of the night (the moon),
5. Although that also is a god, they have said.

## 3

6. It is a god that is ever spoken of as of the night,
7. The god that comes and lies outstretched in yellow hue,
8. It is the god that lies in yellow, they had in mind.

## 4

9. It is not the great god they had in mind,
10. The god that is ever spoken of as of the night (the moon),
11. Although that also is a god, they have said.

## 5

12. It is a god that is ever spoken of as of the night,
13. The god that comes and lies outstretched in pallid hue,
14. That lies outstretched in pallid hue, they had in mind.
15. That also is a god, they have said.

## 6

16. It is a god that is ever spoken of as of the night,
17. Not the great god (the sun) they had in mind,
18. But the god that comes and lies outstretched in crimson,
19. For that also is a god, they have said.

## 7

20. It is the great god (the sun) they had in mind,
21. That also is a god, they have said,
22. The god that appears in deep red and sits (upon the horizon),  
they had in mind,
23. For that also is a god, they have said.

## 8

24. It is the god that lies outstretched in blue (the sky),
25. Whose border is like that of a flower, they had in mind.

## 9

26. It is not the afterglow of evening they had in mind,  
 27. But a god that is ever spoken of as of the night,  
 28. A god who comes and lies outstretched in blue-black hue.

## 10

29. Verily, here lies a new shrine, they exclaimed,  
 30. A new shrine wherein shall lie, unharmed, the sacred emblem,  
 they exclaimed.

When the last line of the *wi'-gi-e* has been spoken the candidate quietly goes away to wander in solitude among the hills as he takes the rite of vigil, while the weaver works upon the shrine.

On the evening of the same day the candidate returns to his house and removes from his head and face the signs of vigil. At the same time a close relation of the weaver prepares for her a supper. She then puts away her work, removes the signs of vigil from her head and face and sends for the candidate to come and take supper with her, a proceeding that is a part of the ceremony being performed by the two. When the candidate has taken the seat assigned to him the weaver recites a *wi'-gi-e* (not yet secured) called *U'-no<sup>n</sup> U-tha-ge*, which tells of the symbols that pertain to the reaching of old age. At the close of the recitation the two partake together of the food set before them. This ceremony is repeated during the four days allowed the weaver to finish her task and to make ready the rush mat for the final ceremony of putting into shape the sacred shrine.

## THE MOCCASIN CEREMONY

On the morning of the fifth day the *Sho'-ka* is sent to summon the *No<sup>n</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga* for the ceremonial making of the symbolic moccasins to be worn throughout the ceremony by the *Xo'-ka* and the *Sho'-ka*. The ceremony of smoking the seven animal skins is omitted from the *Ça' Tha-çe* degree of the tribal rites.

In the afternoon the *No<sup>n</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga* assemble at the house of the candidate. When all have taken their places according to tribal divisions and gentes, the *A'-ki-ho<sup>n</sup> Xo'-ka* directs the *Sho'-ka* to spread in front of the head of the Buffalo-bull-face gens a square piece of buffalo skin, hair side down, also to lay beside it a blanket for his fee for reciting the *wi'-gi-e* relating to the symbolic acts of cutting the skin into four parts for the shaping of the ceremonial moccasins. The *Sho'-ka* then takes a seat on the opposite side of the buffalo skin, picks up a knife that has been placed there, and sits in readiness to perform the symbolic acts that accompany the reciting of the moccasin-cutting *wi'-gi-e*. Taking this as a signal to begin, the head of the Buffalo-bull-face gens proceeds to recite the *wi'-gi-e*, in which the other members of the *No<sup>n</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga* join.

At lines 22 and 23 the Sho'-ka simulates the act of cutting the skin, beginning at the center and ending at the edge at his right, which is toward the east; he begins again at the center and goes through the motion of cutting a line to the edge at his front, which is toward the south. These express the determination of the warriors to destroy all the men of any tribe at enmity with the Osage who had won military honors.

The Buffalo-bull-face man continues reciting, without pause, and at lines 48 and 49 the Sho'-ka again begins at the center of the skin and goes through the motion of cutting a line therefrom to the edge at his left, which is toward the west; he begins again at the center and pretends to cut a line therefrom to the edge on the farther side of the skin, which is toward the north. These cuts express the determination of the warriors to show no mercy to a woman of an enemy tribe who had given birth to her first child.

At line 51 the Sho'-ka puts aside the knife; the Buffalo-face man continues without pause, and at line 52 the Sho'-ka picks up an awl which he holds in readiness; then at lines 54 and 55 he pretends to thrust a hole with the awl through one corner of the skin. This act expresses the determination of the warriors not to spare the adolescent youth of an enemy tribe. Lines 59 and 60 are reached and the Sho'-ka pretends to thrust a hole through the second corner of the skin. This thrust expresses the determination of the warriors not to spare the adolescent maiden of an enemy tribe. The thrust through the third corner of the skin, given at lines 65 and 66, is for the warrior of an enemy tribe who was distinguished for his military honors. The thrust through the fourth corner, given at lines 70 and 71, is for the woman of an enemy tribe who had given birth to her first child.

#### THE MOCCASIN WI'-GI-E

(Osage version, p. 787; literal translation, p. 824)

##### 1

- t. Verily at that time and place, it has been said, in this house,
2. They spake to one another, saying: The turtle with seven serratures upon his tail
3. We shall make to be our foot, O younger brothers.
4. When we make this turtle to be our foot,
5. And go forth against our enemies who dwell toward the setting sun,
6. We shall enable ourselves to trample down the harmful grasses.

## 2

7. What shall we use for a moccasin string? they said to one another.
8. The water snake, they said,
9. We shall use for a moccasin string.
10. When we use the water snake for a moccasin string
11. It will be difficult even for the harmful grasses
12. To cut or break the string, O younger brothers, they said to one another.

## 3

13. What shall we use for a knife? they said, it has been said, in this house.
14. It is the young buffalo bull
15. Whose right horn
16. We shall use for a knife.
17. When we use the right horn of the young buffalo bull for our knife,
18. And go forth against our enemies who dwell toward the setting sun,
19. Sharp and effective shall always be our knife, O younger brothers, they said to one another.

## 4

20. Upon what shall we cut this skin? they said to one another.
21. There is, among our enemies, who dwell toward the setting sun,
22. A man who is honored for his military prowess.
23. It is upon that man we shall cut this skin.
24. When we cut this skin upon the men of valor,
25. It shall always be easy for us to do our cutting, they said to one another.

## 5

26. Verily at that time and place, it has been said, in this house,
27. They spake to one another, saying: The turtle that has six serratures upon his tail,
28. We shall make to be our foot, O younger brothers.
29. When we make this turtle to be our foot,
30. And go forth against our enemies who dwell toward the setting sun,
31. We shall enable ourselves to trample down the harmful grasses.

## 6

32. What shall we use for a moccasin string? they said to one another.
33. The water snake, they said,
34. We shall use for a moccasin string.
35. When we use the water snake for a moccasin string
36. It will be difficult even for the harmful grasses
37. To cut or break the string, O younger brothers, they said to one another.

## 7

38. What shall we use for a knife? they said, it has been said, in this house.
39. It is the young buffalo bull
40. Whose left horn
41. We shall use for a knife.
42. When we use the left horn of the young buffalo bull for our knife,
43. And go forth against our enemies who dwell toward the setting sun,
44. Sharp and effective shall always be our knife, O younger brothers, they said to one another.

## 8

45. Verily at that time and place, it has been said, in this house,
46. They said to one another: Upon what shall be cut this skin?
47. There is among our enemies who dwell toward the setting sun
48. A woman who has given birth to her first child.
49. It is upon that woman we shall cut this skin.
50. When we cut this skin upon such a woman,
51. It shall always be easy for us to do our cutting, O younger brothers, they said to one another.

## 9

52. Upon what shall we perforate this skin? they said to one another.
53. There is among our enemies who dwell toward the setting sun
54. An adolescent youth.
55. It is upon him that we shall perforate this skin, they said.
56. When we perforate this skin upon the adolescent youth,
57. It will always be easy for us to do our perforating, O younger brothers, they said to one another.

## 10

58. Upon what shall we perforate this skin? they said to one another.
59. It is an adolescent maiden, of the enemy,
60. Upon whom we shall perforate this skin.
61. When we perforate this skin upon the maiden of the enemy,
62. It will always be easy for us to do our perforating, O younger brothers, they said to one another.

## 11

63. Verily at that time and place, it has been said, in this house,
64. They said to one another: Upon what shall we perforate this skin?
65. It is a man of the enemy who is honored for his military prowess,
66. Upon whom we shall perforate this skin.
67. When we perforate this skin upon the men of valor,
68. It shall always be easy for us to do our perforating, O younger brothers, they said to one another.

## 12

69. Upon what shall we perforate this skin? they said to one another.  
 70. It is a woman of the enemy who has given birth to her first child,  
 71. Upon whom we shall perforate this skin.  
 72. When we perforate this skin upon such women of the enemy,  
 73. It shall always be easy for us to do our perforating, O younger brothers, they said to one another.

At the close of the *wi'-gi-e* the *Sho'-ka*, without further ceremony, fashions the moccasins and roughly sews together the edges of the skin. Three pairs of moccasins are thus made, two pairs for the *Xo'-ka* and one pair for the *Sho'-ka*. The pair to be worn by the *Xo'-ka* in the processional approach to the place of the principal part of the ceremony represents the successive phases of the dawn. This pair he slips off on reaching the west entrance of the House of Mystery and slips on the other pair which is placed there for him. This pair, which he wears throughout the rest of the ceremony, represents the going forth of the sun on its westward journey over the earth. (For moccasins, see p. 709.)

While the moccasins are being sewed the *A'-ki-ho<sup>n</sup>* *Xo'-ka* quietly instructs the candidate as to how he shall decorate the *Sho'-ka* and the *Xo'-ka* for the ceremonies to be performed on the next day.

On coming to the meeting for the ceremony of making the symbolic moccasins the *No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga* bring with them all the articles belonging to the old shrine, and also the new ones that have just been completed. The old shrine they again put together to be used in performing the ceremony until the arrival of the time for consecrating the new one for ceremonial purposes.

When the work on the moccasins is finished and the old shrine is put together, provisions are distributed to the *No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga* from the stores of the candidate and his relations. In olden times these provisions consisted of jerked meat (130 pieces) with dried roots of the *Psoralea esculenta* Pursh and of the *Nelumbo lutea*, of which the Osage, Omaha, and other Plains Indians are very fond. In recent times beef, flour, coffee, and sugar were provided by the candidate. The wives and daughters enter and carry away the provisions and the *No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga* adjourn to assemble again on the next day.

On the following morning, before sunrise, the *No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga* assemble at the house of the candidate, where they decorate themselves for the final and principal part of the initiatory ceremony. From this place the candidate, his initiator (the *Xo'-ka*) the *A'-ki-ho<sup>n</sup>* *Xo'-ka*, and the *Sho'-ka* go to the house of the *Xo'-ka*, taking with them the sacerdotal attire to be put on him in preparation for the performance of the ceremony. The act of clothing the *Xo'-ka*

in his ceremonial attire is called  $\text{K}\dot{\text{I}}'\text{-no}^n$ , a term which may be interpreted as meaning the decorating. This term applies principally to the act of the painting of the  $\text{Xo}'\text{-}\dot{\text{k}}\text{a}$ 's face and body with red paint, which typifies the sun as it appears just above the horizon in a glory of red. This ceremony is performed by the candidate himself as the  $\text{A}'\text{-}\dot{\text{k}}\text{i}\text{-ho}^n$   $\text{Xo}'\text{-}\dot{\text{k}}\text{a}$  recites the  $\text{wi}'\text{-gi-e}$  relating to the symbolic significance of the various articles used for the  $\text{Xo}'\text{-}\dot{\text{k}}\text{a}$ 's ceremonial attire.

The music and words of the songs used in this degree of the rites, together with a detailed description of the  $\text{K}\dot{\text{I}}'\text{-no}^n$  ceremony, will be found in the  $\text{No}^n\text{'-zhi}^n\text{-zho}^n$  ritual. (39th Ann. Rept. B. A. E., pp. 79-103.) The  $\text{K}\dot{\text{I}}'\text{-no}^n$   $\text{wi}'\text{-gi-e}$  recited in the shrine degree of the rites differs in some respects from that used in the  $\text{No}^n\text{'-zhi}^n\text{-zho}^n$  degree and will therefore be given here.

The ceremonial movements that accompany the two  $\text{wi}'\text{-gi-es}$  are about the same.

THE  $\text{K}\dot{\text{I}}'\text{-NO}^n$   $\text{WI}'\text{-GI-E}$   
(THE PAINTING RITUAL)

(Osage version, p. 789; literal translation, p. 826)

1

1. Verily at that time and place, it has been said, in this house,
2. They spake to one another, saying: What shall they (the little ones) use for painting their faces and bodies?
3. Verily, of the gods that appear at the beginning of day,
4. The god (sun) that never fails to come, clothed in deep red,
5. The little ones shall use for decorating their faces and bodies, as they travel the path of life.
6. When the little ones use the color of this god to decorate their faces and bodies,
7. They shall cause themselves to be difficult to overcome by death, as they journey upon the path of life.

2

8. Verily at that time and place,
9. They spake to one another, saying: What shall the little ones use for a plume?
10. The god (sun) that never fails to appear at the beginning of day,
11. Has at his right side a plume-like light.
12. That plume-like light
13. The little ones shall use as a sacred plume.
14. When the little ones use this light as a plume
15. They shall have a plume that will not droop or fall for want of life.
16. They shall cause themselves to be difficult to overcome by death.



## 3

17. Verily at that time and place,
18. They spake to one another, saying: What and who is he who is to be decorated with this shell gorget?
19. He is a captive, they said,
20. Who is to be decorated with this shell gorget, it has been said, in this house.

## 4

21. What and who is he on whose arms shall be put these armlets?
22. He is a captive, they said,
23. On whose arms shall be put these armlets.
24. They shall enable themselves to take many captives, as they travel the path of life.

## 5

25. What and who is he upon whom shall be put this girdle?
26. He is a captive, they said,
27. On whom shall be put this girdle.
28. When the little ones go forth to take captives,
29. They shall succeed in finding the comely captives, as they travel the path of life.

## 6

30. Verily at that time and place,
31. They spake to one another, saying: What and who is he, on whose feet are to be put these moccasins?
32. He is a captive, on whose feet are to be put these moccasins.
33. When they put on the feet of the captive these moccasins,
34. They shall always succeed in finding the comely captives, it has been said, in this house.

## 7

35. Verily at that time and place,
36. They spake to one another, saying: What and who is he, on whose body is to be put this robe?
37. He is a captive, they said,
38. On whose body is to be put this robe.
39. When they (the little ones) go forth to find the comely captives,
40. They shall never fail to reach old age, as they travel the path of life, O, younger brothers, they said to one another.

When the Xo'-ka is about to be ceremonially decorated and clothed he removes his ordinary clothing and sits waiting for the master of ceremony and the candidate to perform their part of the rite. As the A'-ki-ho<sup>n</sup> Xo'-ka proceeds to recite the Ki'-no<sup>n</sup> Wi'-gi-e, the candidate, who had put red paint upon the palms of his hands, lifts them, outwardly, toward the dawn that is passing through its last phase, grad-

ually taking on the color of the rising sun; then, as the sun itself appears and sits upon the horizon clothed in deep red, the candidate makes a motion as though receiving upon his hands the sun color; this done, he transfers his hands from the sun to the Xo'-ka and paints his face and body a deep red. In this manner the Xo'-ka is made to represent both the red dawn and the sun that is to go on its life-giving journey from east to west across the blue sky.

The A'-ki-ho<sup>n</sup> Xo'-ka goes on without pause to the second section and the candidate, picking up a white downy feather taken from the wing of an eagle, holds it poised over the head of the Xo'-ka, then at lines 10 to 16 he quickly fastens to the hair of the Xo'-ka, at the crown of the head, the plume so that it stands upright and firm. This act is an expression of a wish that the candidate shall be granted a long and fruitful life.

As the A'-ki-ho<sup>n</sup> Xo'-ka goes on to section 3 the candidate quickly puts around the neck of the Xo'-ka a woven neckband to which is attached a gorget made from the shell of the fresh-water mussel. The neckband is put on so that the gorget hangs at the breast of the Xo'-ka. This gorget is a life emblem which belongs to the Wa-zha'-zhe Çka, a gens belonging to the Wa-zha'-zhe subdivision representing the water part of the earth. (See 36th Ann. Rept. B. A. E., p. 94.) The gorget represents the sun and also the mussel itself that is enabled by its hard shell to reach in safety the seventh bend of the great river of life.

At section 4 the candidate takes up a pair of woven armlets and fastens them on the arms of the Xo'-ka. These woven bands represent the thongs the warriors carry when they go on the warpath and use them for tying captives when they take any.

The candidate takes up a woven girdle, and as the fifth section is being recited he puts it around the waist of the Xo'-ka. In former times the girdle was made of buffalo hair. This article also represents a captive's bond.

At section 6 the candidate takes up the first pair of the symbolic moccasins and puts them on the feet of the Xo'-ka. This pair of moccasins symbolizes the journey of the dawn that precedes the approaching sun. The journey of the dawn comes to an end at the west entrance of the House of Mystery, where the dawn moccasins are slipped off. Here the Sho'-ka helps the Xo'-ka to put on the second pair of ceremonial moccasins. These represent the journey of the sun from the east across the sky to the west, giving life to the earth as it travels.

As the A'-ki-ho<sup>n</sup> Xo'-ka goes on to the seventh section the candidate puts upon the body of the Xo'-ka a buffalo robe which makes

up his full ceremonial attire. In the No<sup>n'</sup>-zhi<sup>n'</sup>-zho<sup>n'</sup>, Wa-xo'-be, Wa-do'-ka and the Wa-zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga-o degrees of the tribal rites a puma skin is used as a robe for the Xo'-ka because those degrees have to do with aggressive warfare, and as the Shrine Degree is concerned with the defense of the tribe a buffalo robe is used. This closes the ceremony of decorating and clothing the Xo'-ka.

At the close of the Ki'-no<sup>n'</sup> ceremony the Xo'-ka sings the first stanza of the rising song. (See 39th Ann. Rept. B. A. E., p. 76.) Then the Sho'-ka takes him by the arm and assists him to rise. After the second stanza the candidate, the Xo'-ka, the Sho'-ka and the A'-ki-ho<sup>n'</sup> Xo'-ka go out of the house and begin their processional march toward the House of Mystery.

#### APPROACH TO THE HOUSE OF MYSTERY

The principal ceremony opens with a long procession of the No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n'</sup>-zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga, who move in groups according to their gentes, and are led by the Sho'-ka, the Xo'-ka and the candidate from the house of the Xo'-ka to the place set apart for its performance. When all have come out into the open the Xo'-ka pauses while the Sho'-ka advances a short distance ahead and stops. The Xo'-ka in this particular part of the ceremony is denied the assistance of the A'-ki-ho<sup>n'</sup> Xo'-ka and must himself sing the Tsi Ta'-pe Wa-tho<sup>n'</sup>, Song of Approach to the sacred house, after which he recites the first section of the wi'-gi-e belonging to the song. At the end of the last line the Xo'-ka takes from the little pipe he carries a pinch of tobacco and drops it on his right foot, which he then puts forward to take the initial step in the first stage of the approach. The Sho'-ka, who now remains apart from the Xo'-ka, moves forward again for some distance and then stops as a signal that the procession has come to the second stage. The Xo'-ka repeats the Song of Approach and then recites the second section of the wi'-gi-e, at the end of which the Xo'-ka takes from his little pipe another pinch of tobacco and drops it on his left foot, which he puts forward to travel the second stage, and again the whole procession moves forward, the Sho'-ka in the lead as before. The fourth stage brings the procession to the west entrance of the grounds set apart for the ceremony.

The music and the words of the Song of Approach are the same as those used in the No<sup>n'</sup>-zhi<sup>n'</sup>-zho<sup>n'</sup> Degree (see 39th Ann. Rept. B. A. E., p. 80), and will therefore not be repeated here. The words of the wi'-gi-e as given here are modified and so it will be necessary to give them in full.

## THE FOOTSTEP WI'-GI-E

(Osage version, p. 790; literal translation, p. 827)

## 1

1. Toward what shall they (the little ones) direct their footsteps?  
they said to one another, it has been said.
2. There is, in the direction of the setting sun,
3. A valley toward which they shall direct their footsteps.
4. In truth it is not a valley they had in mind,
5. It is a buffalo toward which they shall direct their footsteps.
6. In truth it is not a single buffalo they had in mind,
7. There are buffalo that keep together in a group.
8. It is such a group toward which they shall direct their footsteps.
9. When they direct their footsteps toward such a group,
10. They shall always take their footsteps with ease, O younger  
brothers, they said to one another.

## 2

11. Toward what shall they direct their footsteps? they said to one  
another.
12. There are, in the direction of the setting sun,
13. Two valleys toward which they shall direct their footsteps.
14. In truth, it is not two valleys they had in mind,
15. It is two animals toward which they shall direct their footsteps.
16. In truth, it is not two animals they had in mind,
17. There are animals (buffalo) that keep together in two groups.
18. It is toward such groups that they shall direct their footsteps,
19. When they direct their footsteps toward such groups,
20. They shall always take their footsteps with ease, O younger  
brothers, they said to one another.

## 3

21. Toward what shall they direct their footsteps? they said to one  
another.
22. There are, in the direction of the setting sun,
23. Three valleys toward which they shall direct their footsteps.
24. In truth, it is not three valleys they had in mind,
25. It is three animals (buffalo) toward which they shall direct their  
footsteps.
26. In truth, it is not three animals they had in mind,
27. There are animals that keep together in three groups.
28. It is toward such groups that they shall direct their footsteps.
29. When they direct their footsteps toward such groups,
30. Their little wa-xo'-be
31. They shall always bring with them to make easy their footsteps.

## 4

32. Toward what shall they direct their footsteps? they said to one another.
33. There are, in the direction of the setting sun,
34. Four valleys toward which they shall direct their footsteps.
35. In truth, it is not four valleys they had in mind,
36. There are four animals toward which they shall direct their footsteps.
37. In truth, it is not four animals they had in mind.
38. There are animals that keep together in four groups.
39. It is toward such groups that they shall direct their footsteps.
40. When they direct their footsteps toward such groups,
41. They shall bring with them their little wa-xo'-be, to make easy their footsteps.

The mention of the "little wa-xo'-be" in lines 30 and 41 in this wi'-gi-e implies that the wa-xo'-be was also used in the rites pertaining to the hunting of the buffalo. In this wi'-gi-e no words are used that would imply a reference to war; indeed a distinction is made between this ritual and those that pertain strictly to war. In the rituals that relate to war a puma skin is used for the ceremonial robe of the Xo'-ka, and in the ritual that has to do with hunting a buffalo skin is used as the sacerdotal robe of the Xo'-ka. The puma symbolizes the merciless, destructive fire and is a war emblem; the buffalo is a life-giving, peaceful animal.

The purpose of the ancient No<sup>n</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga in formulating the "Footstep Wi'-gi-es" and ceremonies was to impress their people with the importance of proceeding in an orderly ceremonial manner when deliberating upon the question of going forth against the enemy, or upon the question of going on the tribal buffalo hunt. Only by observing an orderly procedure in deliberating on all tribal matters can the people take with tribal sanction, with safety, and with "ease" their "footsteps."

## CHANGING OF THE CEREMONIAL MOCCASINS

The final act of the processional approach to the House of Mystery begins at the west end of the house when the Sho'-ka removes from the head of the Xo'-ka the white downy plume, which may be called the dawn plume, and replaces it with a red one, which may be referred to as the day plume. The first pair of symbolic moccasins are then removed and the second pair put on the feet of the Xo'-ka.

## "THE WALK ON THE SEVEN ANIMAL SKINS"

At the close of the plume and moccasin ceremony the Xo'-ka, his candidate, the A'-ki-ho<sup>n</sup> Xo'-ka, and the Sho'-ka enter, passing by the seven sacred animal skins, that are hung on racks, as they march toward their place at the east end of the lodge.

A detailed description of the plume and moccasin ceremony as performed at the west entrance of the House of Mystery and the ceremonial approach of the four men to the east end of the lodge will be found in the Thirty-ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, pages 83-88.

#### CEREMONIAL OPENING OF THE SHRINE

When the candidate, the Xo'-ka, the A'-ki-ho<sup>n</sup> Xo'-ka and the Sho'-ka have taken their places at the east end of the lodge (see fig. 46, p. 563), the A'-ki-ho<sup>n</sup> Xo'-ka sings the songs of opening the shrine, while the Xo'-ka opens the sacred receptacle, following the order of the movements as arranged in sequence in the stanzas of the song. A detailed description of this ceremony, together with the songs, is given in the Thirty-ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, pages 88-99.

#### SONGS OF THE RATTLE

The group of songs next in order includes a wi'-gi-e, with its ceremonial movements. This group is called Pe'-xe Thu-çe Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>, songs of taking up the rattle. A detailed description of the rattle ceremony, with the wi'-gi-e and songs, is given in the No<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-zho<sup>n</sup> degree of the rites, in the Thirty-ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, pages 114-120. The words of the rattle wi'-gi-e used in this degree vary in some of the lines from those of the wi'-gi-e used in the No<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-zho<sup>n</sup> degree and will therefore be given in full. In the No<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-zho<sup>n</sup> the rattle symbolizes the head of a puma and the handle its lower right arm. The rattle, in the shrine degree, symbolizes the head of a man, an enemy, and the handle his right forearm. Members of the gentes belonging to the Tsi'-zhu great division, in reciting the wi'-gi-e, speak of the handle as the left forearm of the man to make it correspond to the left arm of the symbolic man, whose left side is represented by the Tsi'-zhu.

Wa-xthi'-zhi gave the rattle wi'-gi-e of the Ho<sup>n</sup>-ga subdivision to which his gens (the Puma) belongs; he also gave that of the Wa-zha'-zhe subdivision which represents the water portion of the earth. These two wi'-gi-es differ from each other in some of the lines and in their meaning, also in the strokes directed against enemy tribes. The people of the Ho<sup>n</sup>-ga subdivision direct the strokes against the adolescent youth, the adolescent maiden, the man who is honored for his warlike achievements, and the woman who has given birth to her first child. The people of the Wa-zha'-zhe subdivision direct the strokes against all the peoples of the enemy tribes.

RATTLE WĪ'-GI-E OF THE HO<sup>N'</sup>-GA GENS

(Osage version, p. 792; literal translation, p. 829)

## 1

1. Verily at that time and place, it has been said, in this house,
2. They spake to one another, saying: What shall the little ones use as a rattle?
3. Toward the setting sun there are people,
4. Who dwell in groups of seven villages.
5. It is the odd one in number, of these villages,
6. Whose head
7. They shall make to be their rattle.
8. When they use as a rattle the head of these villages,
9. They shall enable themselves to act with ease, as they travel the path of life, O younger brothers.

## 2

10. Verily at that time and place, it has been said, in this house,
11. They spake to one another, saying: What shall the little ones use as sounding gravel for the rattle? they said.
12. Toward the setting sun there are people,
13. Who dwell in groups of seven villages.
14. It is the odd one in number, of these villages,
15. Whose teeth, on the right side,
16. They shall use as sounding gravel for their rattle, O younger brothers.
17. When they use the teeth of the head of those villages as sounding gravel,
18. As they go toward the setting sun against their enemies,
19. They shall enable themselves to act with ease, O younger brothers, they said to one another.

## 3

20. Verily at that time and place, it has been said, in this house,
21. They spake to one another, saying: What shall the little ones use as a handle for their rattle?
22. Toward the setting sun there are people,
23. Who dwell in groups of seven villages.
24. It is the odd one in number, of these villages,
25. Whose right forearm
26. The little ones shall use as a handle for their rattle.
27. When they use the right forearm of this village,
28. They shall enable themselves to act with ease, O younger brothers, they said to one another.

## 4

29. Verily at that time and place, it has been said, in this house,
30. They spake to one another, saying: Behold the perforation at the top of this rattle.
31. That, also,
32. Is not put there without a purpose.
33. Verily it is as the hollows of all the earth.
34. Into which we shall cause all creatures, it matters not whose little ones they may be,
35. To fall as into a snare, O younger brothers, they said to one another.

## 5

36. Verily at that time and place, it has been said, in this house,
37. They spake to one another, saying: Behold the particles of dust within this rattle.
38. That, also, is
39. Not there without a purpose.
40. Toward the setting sun there are peoples,
41. Who have possessions of all kinds.
42. The dust within this rattle is made to represent those possessions.
43. The little ones,
44. When they go toward the setting sun against the enemy,
45. Shall find and take the possessions, the spoils,
46. In profusion, as they travel the path of life, O younger brothers, they said to one another.

## 6

47. Verily at that time and place, it has been said, in this house,
48. They gave a forward stroke with the rattle,
49. A stroke they did not make without a purpose.
50. It is a youth in his adolescence
51. Toward whom they direct the stroke of the rattle.
52. When the little ones direct the stroke of their rattle toward the adolescent youth,
53. They shall, with ease, direct their strokes, as they travel the path of life, O younger brothers, they said to one another.

## 7

54. They gave a second stroke with the rattle, as they said:
55. It is a maiden in her adolescence
56. Toward whom this stroke of the rattle is directed.
57. When the little ones direct the stroke of their rattle toward the adolescent maiden,
58. They shall, with ease, direct their strokes, as they travel the path of life, O younger brothers, they said to one another.



## 8

59. They gave a third stroke with the rattle, as they said:
60. It is the man who is honored for his military achievements,
61. Toward whom they direct this stroke of the rattle.
62. When the little ones direct their stroke toward the man of valor,
63. They shall, with ease, direct their strokes, as they travel the path of life, O younger brothers, they said to one another.

## 9

64. They gave a fourth stroke with their rattle, as they said:
65. It is the woman who has given birth to her first child
66. Toward whom they direct this stroke of the rattle.
67. When the little ones direct the stroke toward such a woman,
68. They shall, with ease, direct their strokes, as they travel the path of life.
69. When we use the rattle on going against the enemy
70. We shall always overcome them with ease, as we travel the path of life, they said to one another.

In the Ho<sup>n'</sup>-ga version of the Rattle Wi'-gi-e the magic strokes were given at lines 48, 54, 59, and 64. In the Wa-zha'-zhe version the strokes were given at lines 39, 45, 53, and 61.

Wa-xthi'-zhi felt free to give the Wa-zha'-zhe version of the Rattle Wi'-gi-e because both of these subdivisions are as one, the Ho<sup>n'</sup>-ga representing the dry land of the earth and the Wa-zha'-zhe the water portion, and both bore the same general title Ho<sup>n'</sup>-ga, meaning, as used here, the great sacred one, the earth as a whole. He was, however, very careful to avoid giving any songs or wi'-gi-es belonging to the Tsi'-zhu great division, which he had no authority to give.

## RATTLE WI'-GI-E OF THE WA-ZHA'-ZHE GENS

(Osage version, p. 794; literal translation, p. 831)

## 1

1. What shall the little ones use as a rattle? it has been said, in this house
2. Toward the setting sun there is
3. A group of seven villages.
4. It is the odd one in number of these villages
5. Whose head
6. The little ones shall use as a rattle.
7. When they use the head of this village as a rattle,
8. Their rattle shall always remain firm, as they travel the path of life.

## 2

9. What shall they use as sounding gravel for their rattle?
10. Toward the setting sun there is
11. A group of seven villages.
12. It is the odd one in number of these villages,
13. Whose teeth on the right side,
14. The little ones shall use as sounding gravel for their rattle.
15. When they use the teeth of this village as sounding gravel,
16. Their rattle shall ever be resonant, as they travel the path of life.

## 3

17. What shall the little ones use as a handle for their rattle? it was said, in this house.
18. Toward the setting sun there is
19. A group of seven villages.
20. It is the odd one in number of these villages,
21. Whose right forearm,
22. The little ones shall use as a handle for their rattle.
23. When they use the right forearm of this village for the handle,
24. They shall enable themselves to be free from all causes of death, as they travel the path of life.

## 4

25. Verily at that time and place, it has been said, in this house,
26. Behold the particles of dust within this rattle.
27. That, also, is
28. Not without a purpose.
29. Toward the setting sun
30. There are possessions (spoils),
31. Which this dust is made to represent.

## 5

32. Verily at that time and place, it has been said,
33. Behold the perforation at the top of this rattle.
34. That, also, is
35. Not without a purpose.
36. It is a place into which all creatures
37. Shall throw themselves as into a snare, so it is said.

## 6

38. Verily at that time and place, it has been said,
39. They took up the rattle and gave with it a forward stroke,
40. And in every valley and hollow of the earth
41. The creatures dwelling therein were stunned by the shock of the sound.
42. When the little ones give a forward stroke of the rattle,
43. The creatures dwelling in all the valleys and hollows of the earth
44. Shall be stunned with the crashing noise.

## 7

45. They gave with the rattle a second forward stroke,
46. And the ears of the creatures
47. That dwell in all parts of the earth
48. Were touched by the sound of the rattle
49. When the little ones give a stroke with their rattle
50. The ears of the creatures
51. That dwell in all parts of the earth
52. Shall be touched by the sound, O younger brothers, they said to one another.

## 8

53. They gave with the rattle a third forward stroke,
54. And the creatures
55. That dwell in all parts of the earth
56. Fell to the ground and became motionless.
57. When the little ones give a stroke with their rattle
58. The creatures
59. That dwell in all parts of the earth
60. Shall fall to the ground and become motionless, O younger brothers, they said to one another.

## 9

61. They gave with the rattle a fourth stroke,
62. And the creatures
63. That dwell in all parts of the earth
64. Fell to the ground, where they lay scattered in death.
65. When the little ones give a forward stroke with the rattle
66. The creatures
67. That dwell in all parts of the earth
68. Shall fall to the ground and lay scattered in death, O younger brothers, they said to one another.

The songs following the rattle *wi'-gi-e* to the *Wa'-i<sup>n</sup> Xa-ge Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>*, the wailing songs, need not be repeated here, for they have already been given and explained in the *No<sup>n'</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-zho<sup>n</sup>* degree, in the Thirty-ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, and will be found in their sequence from pages 118 to 120. They are, by title: *Pe'-xe Thu-çe Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>*, songs of taking up the rattle; *No<sup>n'</sup>-ni-o<sup>n</sup>-ba Ba-ha Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>*, songs of the pipe offering; *Sho<sup>n</sup>-ge Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>*, wolf songs; *Ka-xe Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>*, crow songs; and the *Ṭa Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>*, deer songs.

## THE WAILING SONGS AND CEREMONY

When the *A'-ki-ho<sup>n</sup> Xo'-ka* comes to the wailing songs he lifts his voice and addresses the *No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga* on behalf of the *Xo'-ka*, saying: "Ho! *No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga*, I beg you to have compassion upon

me and to perform faithfully your duty in this particular part of the rite." He then proceeds to send the articles that make up the old shrine to the various gentes who ceremonially contributed them, to wit, the scalp attached to the hanging strap of the shrine, the strap with the eagle's leg attached to it, the buffalo-hair bag, the deerskin bag, the rope tied around the rush-mat shrine, the rush-mat shrine itself, the deerskin tobaccopouch, and the deerskin pouch for the symbolic hawk. The pipe and the hawk are retained for the candidate to carry when performing his part of the wailing ceremony, a detailed description of which will be found in the No<sup>n'</sup>-zhi<sup>n'</sup>-zho<sup>n'</sup> degree.<sup>3</sup> When the Sho'-ka has delivered the last article and has taken his seat the A'-ki-ho<sup>n'</sup> Xo'-ka begins to sing the wailing songs, while the men to whom the articles were returned at the same time recite the wi'-gi-e relating to each article, at the same time the candidate wails and as he passes along the line of No<sup>n'</sup>-ho<sup>n'</sup>-zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga, beginning on the Tsi'-zhu side, placing his hands that grasp the pipe and the hawk upon the heads of the men, two at a time, in the same manner as described in the No<sup>n'</sup>-zhi<sup>n'</sup>-zho<sup>n'</sup> degree.<sup>4</sup> The women join the candidate in the wailing. Others of the men who did not receive one of the sacred articles recite the A'-ho<sup>n'</sup>-btha-bi Wi'-gi-e, dream wi'-gi-e.<sup>5</sup>

#### MAKING OF THE NEW SHRINE

At the conclusion of the wailing ceremony the Sho'-ka and his assistant go to the Wa-zha'-zhe Wa-no<sup>n'</sup> gens. The leader of that gens places in the hands of the Sho'-ka the rush matting out of which the new shrine is to be made, also seven knives, seven awls, and some of the cord made of the nettleweed fiber. In the hands of the Sho'-ka's assistant he places six knives, six awls, and some of the nettleweed cord. The matting is then stretched upon the floor, the part which is to form the body toward the Sho'-ka and his assistant. One half of the matting is made light in color to represent the sky, and is decorated to typify night and day; the other half, which is dark in color, represents the earth, and the decorations, which are geometrical figures, stand for the galaxy and the clouds that move above the earth. The Wa-zha'-zhe officiating grasps with both hands the edge of the matting at his end while the Sho'-ka and his assistant fold over their end so that the edge is on the dividing line. The Sho'-ka then holds an awl and the cord in readiness to make the symbolic thrusts and to tie the fastenings at the edge of the matting so as to form the pocket of the shrine. The end that is to be on the Ho<sup>n'</sup>-ga side of the two great tribal divisions is to be given seven

<sup>3</sup> Thirty-ninth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 137-147.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 138.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., pp. 139-144.

fastenings. When the Sho'-ka is ready the Wa-zha'-zhe Wa-no<sup>a</sup> begins to recite the Wa'-ba-xtho-ge Wi'-gi-e, or Perforating Wi'-gi-e.

At the close of section 1 of the wi'-gi-e the Sho'-ka thrusts the edge of the matting with his awl, draws through the perforation a piece of the nettle-fiber cord and ties it securely. The thrust is an expression of a wish that in hunting the buffalo the tribe will succeed in securing one herd.

The Sho'-ka lays aside the awl and takes up the knife he is to use to cut the cord, and the Wa-zha'-zhe Wa-no<sup>a</sup> continues to the second section which speaks of the knife as typifying the right horn of the young buffalo bull. In the Tsi'-zhu version of the wi'-gi-e the knife is spoken of as symbolizing the left horn of the young bull.

The Wa-zha'-zhe continues to section 3, at the close of which the Sho'-ka cuts the cord. The act of cutting the cord is the expression of a wish that the warriors will always succeed in destroying the adolescent youth of the tribes at enmity with the Osage.

The recitation goes on without pause to section 4, which is a repetition of the first from line 1 to line 28. The only difference made is the number of herds of buffalo desired for the tribe, which is increased to two.

Section 5 is a repetition of section 2 without change.

Section 6 is the same as section 3 excepting that the person desired to be destroyed by the warriors is the adolescent maiden of the tribes at enmity with the Osage.

Section 7 differs from section 1 in the number of the herds desired for the tribe, which is three. Lines 47 and 48 are added, which cryptically refer to the importance of hunting the buffalo in an orderly manner so that there may be no confusion in approaching the herd.

Section 8 is the same as section 2.

Section 9 differs from section 3 in the wish for the destruction of an enemy. In this section the enemy whose destruction is wished for is the warrior who is honored for his valor.

Section 10 expresses the wish that the tribe will secure four herds of buffalo in the tribal hunts.

Section 11 is the same as section 2.

Section 12 expresses the wish for the destruction of the woman who has given birth to her first child.

In section 13 five herds of buffalo are wished for in order that the tribe may live.

Section 14 is the same as section 2.

Section 15 expresses the wish for the destruction of the man who holds together, by his official position, the people of the village.

Section 16 expresses the wish that the tribe may secure six herds of buffalo in the tribal hunt.

Section 17 is the same as section 2.

Section 18 expresses the wish for the destruction of the man who caused the people to live together in a village, or by tribal organization. (Sections 15 and 18 probably refer to the two chiefs of the tribe, with the idea that other tribes are organized as the Osage tribe with two great divisions, each having a chief.)

Section 19 expresses the wish for seven herds of buffalo for the tribe.

Section 20 is the same as section 2.

Section 21 wishes for the destruction of the woman of the enemy tribe who is honored for her tribal position and her virtues.

The six fastenings of the end of the shrine which should point toward the Tsi'-zhu side of the lodge are made in the same ceremonial manner by the Sho'-ka's assistant. The assistant finishes his work with the final line of section 6 of the wi'-gi-e.

For each fastening of the two ends of the shrine a new awl and a new knife was used by the Sho'-ka and his assistant.

#### WI'-GI-E OF THE MAKING OF THE NEW SHRINE

(Osage version, p. 796)

##### 1

1. Verily at that time and place, it has been said, in this house,
2. The Wa-zha'-zhe, a people who possess seven fireplaces,
3. A people among whom there were none that were weak and cowardly,
4. Spake to one another, saying: Behold the little ones have nothing of which to make their shrine.
5. Verily at that time and place;
6. They spake, saying: Upon what shall this thrust be made?
7. Let the thrust be made upon an animal (bull), O younger brothers, they said to one another.
8. Truly it is not one animal that is here spoken of,
9. There are animals that keep together in a single herd.
10. Let the thrust be made upon a single herd of animals, O younger brothers, they said to one another.

##### 2

11. What shall they use for a knife? they said, it has been said.
12. There is the young male animal (young bull),
13. Whose right horn
14. They shall use for a knife, O younger brothers.
15. When they use for a knife the right horn of the young male animal,
16. Their knife shall always be sharp, O younger brothers, they said to one another.

## 3

17. Upon what shall they cut this cord?
18. Toward the setting sun there are people,
19. Among whom there dwells an adolescent youth.
20. It is upon that youth they shall always cut this cord.
21. When they cut this cord upon that youth
22. They shall always cut their cord with ease, O younger brothers,  
they said to one another.

## 4

23. Upon what shall this thrust be made?
24. Let the thrust be made upon two animals, O younger brothers,  
they said to one another.
25. Truly it is not two animals that are here spoken of.
26. There are animals that keep together in two herds.
27. Let the thrust be made upon two herds of animals, O younger  
brothers, they said to one another.

## 5

28. What shall they use for a knife? they said, it has been said.
29. There is the young male animal (bull),
30. Whose right horn
31. They shall use for a knife, O younger brothers.
32. When they use for a knife the right horn of the young male animal,
33. Their knife shall always be sharp, O younger brothers, they said  
to one another.

## 6

34. Upon what shall they cut this cord?
35. Toward the setting sun there are people,
36. Among whom there dwells an adolescent maiden.
37. It is upon that maiden they shall always cut this cord.
38. When they cut this cord upon that maiden,
39. They shall always cut their cord with ease, O younger brothers,  
they said to one another.

## 7

40. Upon what shall this thrust be made?
41. Let the thrust be made upon three animals, O younger brothers.
42. Truly it is not three animals that are here spoken of.
43. There are animals that keep together in three herds.
44. Let the thrust be made upon such herds, O younger brothers.
45. When they make their thrust upon such herds,
46. They shall always make their thrusts with ease, O younger  
brothers, they said to one another.

## 8

47. What shall they use for a knife? they said, it has been said.
48. There is the young male animal (bull),
49. Whose right horn
50. They shall use for a knife, O younger brothers.
51. When they use for a knife the right horn of the young male animal,
52. Their knife shall always be sharp, O younger brothers, they said to one another.

## 9

53. Upon what shall they cut this cord?
54. Toward the setting sun there are people,
55. Among whom there dwells a man who is honored for his valor.
56. It is upon the valorous man they shall always cut the cord.
57. When they cut this cord upon the valorous man,
58. They shall always cut their cord with ease, O younger brothers, they said to one another.

## 10

59. Verily at that time and place, they said,
60. Upon what shall this thrust be made?
61. Let the thrust be made upon four animals, O younger brothers.
62. Truly it is not four animals that are here spoken of,
63. There are animals that keep together in four herds.
64. Let the thrust be made upon such herds, O younger brothers.
65. When they make the thrust on such herds,
66. They shall always make the thrusts with ease, O younger brothers, they said to one another.

## 11

67. What shall they use for a knife? they said, it has been said.
68. There is a young male animal (bull),
69. Whose right horn
70. They shall use for a knife, O younger brothers.
71. When they use for a knife the right horn of the young male animal,
72. Their knife shall always be sharp, O younger brothers, they said to one another.

## 12

73. Upon what shall they cut this cord?
74. Toward the setting sun there are people
75. Among whom there dwells a woman who has given birth to her first child.
76. It is upon this woman they shall always cut this cord.
77. When they cut this cord upon that woman,
78. They shall always cut their cord with ease, O younger brothers, they said to one another.



## 13

79. Verily at that time and place, they said:
80. Upon what shall this thrust be made?
81. Let the thrust be made upon five animals, O younger brothers.
82. Truly it is not five animals that are here spoken of.
83. There are animals that keep together in five herds.
84. Let the thrust be made upon such herds, O younger brothers.
85. When they make the thrust on such herds,
86. They shall always make their thrusts with ease, O younger brothers, they said to one another.

## 14

87. What shall they use for a knife? they said.
88. There is a young male animal (bull),
89. Whose right horn
90. They shall use for a knife, O younger brothers.
91. When they use for a knife the right horn of the young male animal,
92. Their knife shall always be sharp, O younger brothers, they said to one another.

## 15

93. Upon what shall they cut this cord?
94. Toward the setting sun there are people,
95. Whose villages are governed by a man.
96. It is upon the man who governs the villages they shall cut this cord.
97. When they cut this cord on such a man,
98. They shall always cut their cord with ease, O younger brothers, they said to one another.

## 16

99. Verily at that time and place, they said:
100. Upon what shall this thrust be made?
101. Let the thrust be made upon six animals, O younger brothers.
102. Truly it is not six animals that are here spoken of.
103. There are animals that keep together in six herds.
104. Let the thrust be made upon such herds, O younger brothers.
105. When they make the thrust on such herds,
106. They shall always make their thrusts with ease, O younger brothers, they said to one another.

## 17

107. What shall they use for a knife?  
 108. There is a young male animal (bull),  
 109. Whose right horn  
 110. They shall use for a knife, O younger brothers.  
 111. When they use for a knife the right horn of the young male  
 animal,  
 112. Their knife shall always be sharp, O younger brothers, they  
 said to one another.

## 18

113. Upon what shall they cut this cord?  
 114. Toward the setting sun there are people  
 115. Among whom there dwells a man who has grouped the people  
 into villages.  
 116. It is upon the man who is at the head of the villages they shall  
 cut this cord.  
 117. When they cut the cord on such a man,  
 118. They shall always cut their cord with ease, O younger brothers,  
 they said to one another.

## 19

119. Upon what shall this thrust be made?  
 120. Let the thrust be made on seven animals, O younger brothers.  
 121. Truly it is not seven animals that are here spoken of.  
 122. There are animals that keep together in seven herds.  
 123. Let the thrust be made on such herds, O younger brothers.  
 124. When they make the thrust on such herds,  
 125. They shall always make their thrusts with ease, O younger  
 brothers, they said to one another.

## 20

126. What shall they use for a knife? they said.  
 127. There is a young male animal (bull),  
 128. Whose right horn  
 129. They shall use for a knife, O younger brothers.  
 130. When they use for a knife the right horn of the young male  
 animal,  
 131. Their knife shall always be sharp, O younger brothers, they  
 said to one another.

## 21

132. Upon what shall they cut this cord?  
 133. Toward the setting sun there are people  
 134. Among whom there dwells a woman who is honored for her  
 tribal position and her virtues.  
 135. It is upon that woman they shall always cut this cord.  
 136. When they cut the cord on such a woman,  
 137. They shall always cut their cord with ease, O younger brothers,  
 they said to one another.

After the recital of the "Perforating Wi'-gi-e" and the ceremonial making of the pocket of the rush-mat shrine, as above described, the A'-ki-ho<sup>n</sup> Xo'-ka fills a pipe with tobacco which he directs the Sho'-ka to offer to the head of the Wa-zha'-zhe Wa-no<sup>n</sup> gens. On presenting the pipe to this officer the Sho'-ka addresses him as follows: "O Wa-zha'-zhe, have compassion upon us." This is understood by the head of the Wa-zha'-zhe Wa-no<sup>n</sup> that he and the other members of his gens are implored to perform the prescribed acts of consecrating the new shrine and the other articles belonging to it. This office belongs to the Wa-zha'-zhe Wa-no<sup>n</sup> gens, and the ceremony of consecration must be performed by that gens to make sacred the shrine and its symbolic treasures. The A'-ki-ho<sup>n</sup> Xo'-ka makes the same petition on behalf of the Xo'-ka to the Wa-zha'-zhe Wa-no<sup>n</sup>.

The first act of the consecrating ceremony is the reciting by the members of the Wa-zha'-zhe Wa-no<sup>n</sup> gens of the wi'-gi-e relating to the symbolic pipe belonging to that gens. The prayers of all the people go with this pipe when they seek divine aid in times of distress. (For the wi'-gi-e see 36th Ann. Rept. B. A. E., p. 195, lines 1116-1162.) The second act is the reciting of the following wi'-gi-e which relates to the finding of the plant to be used for the ceremonial smoking. At the time Wa-xthi'-zhi gave the ritual of the Making of the Shrine he had forgotten the Tobacco Wi'-gi-e, but later (in 1918) he gave it. The wi'-gi-e belongs to the Wa-zha'-zhe subdivision.

#### THE TOBACCO WI'-GI-E

(Osage version, p. 801)

##### 1

1. Verily at that time and place, it has been said,
2. The Wa-zha'-zhe, the people who possess seven fireplaces,
3. Spake to one another, saying:
4. There is nothing we can use in this ceremony, O younger brothers.
5. Hardly were these words spoken,
6. When the Chief Sho'-ka
7. Hastened to the hiu-e-ga çkiu-e (plant not identified),
8. Which he quickly brought home.
9. Then, standing before his brethren, he asked: How will this serve, O elder brothers?
10. The elder brothers replied: That is not fit for use, O younger brother.
11. The smoke of the plant can not be inhaled.

## 2

12. Hardly were these words spoken,
13. When the Chief Sho'-ka hastened to the zha'-hiu (plant not identified),
14. Which he quickly brought home.
15. Then, standing before his brethren, he asked: How will this serve, O elder brothers?
16. The elder brothers replied: That is not fit for use, O younger brother.
17. The smoke of the plant can not be inhaled.
18. Go and make further search.

## 3

19. Hardly were these words spoken,
20. When the Chief Sho'-ka hastened to the o'-po<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup>-ta e-go<sup>n</sup>, the plant having leaves like elk's ears (plant not identified),
21. Which he quickly brought home.
22. Then, standing before his brethren, he asked: How will this serve, O elder brothers?
23. The elder brothers replied: It is not fit for use.
24. The smoke of the plant can not be inhaled.

## 4

25. Verily at that time and place,
26. These words were hardly spoken,
27. When the Chief Sho'-ka hastened to an open prairie, bare of trees,
28. Where stood the mi-ta-o-(ga)-xthe hiu (compass weed).
29. He pulled up the plant and quickly brought it home.
30. Then, standing before his brethren, he asked: How will this serve, O elder brothers?
31. The elder brothers replied: It is not fit for use.
32. The smoke of the plant can not be inhaled.
33. Go and make further search.

## 5

34. Hardly were these words spoken,
35. When the Chief Sho'-ka went forth to the no<sup>n</sup>-ni'-ba-tse (mistletoe),
36. Which he gathered and quickly brought home.
37. Then, standing before his brethren, he asked: How will this serve, O elder brothers?
38. The elder brothers replied: That may serve our purpose, O younger brother.
39. They quickly tested the plant.
40. Verily it was not pleasing to their taste,
41. And they said: The smoke of it can not be inhaled.

## 6

42. Verily at that time and place,
43. These words were hardly spoken,
44. When the Chief Sho'-ka went forth to the side of a hill,
45. Where stood the small sumac (*Rhus glabra*).
46. He gathered the leaves and quickly brought them home.
47. Then, standing before his brethren, he asked: How will this serve, O elder brothers?
48. The elder brothers replied: It may serve our purpose, O younger brother.
49. They quickly tested the leaves,
50. And said: The smoke of the leaves can be inhaled,
51. Yet it hardly suits our purpose, O younger brother.

## 7

52. Verily at that time and place,
53. These words were hardly spoken,
54. When the Chief Sho'-ka hastened to the top of a high hill,
55. Where stood the tall sumac.
56. He gathered its leaves and quickly brought them home.
57. Then, standing before his brethren, he asked: How will this serve, O elder brothers?
58. The elder brothers replied: Verily they are suitable for our purpose, O younger brother.
59. The people of the Tsi'-zhu,
60. And those of the Ho<sup>n</sup>'-ga,
61. Shall always use these leaves when performing this ceremony.
62. When they use these leaves for smoke offering,
63. They shall never fail to satisfy their wants.
64. When they go toward the setting sun against their enemies,
65. And offer smoke as they appeal for divine aid,
66. It shall be easy for them to secure divine aid.

The third act is the lighting of the pipe by the Wa-zha'-zhe Wa-no<sup>n</sup>, the drawing from the pipe the sacred smoke, and the blowing of it upon the symbolic shrine (on both sides) and the other articles to be placed in the shrine.

At the close of the recital of the Tobacco Wi'-gi-e the Sho'-ka touches with a firebrand the tobacco in the bowl of the pipe, and the head of the Wa-zha'-zhe Wa-no<sup>n</sup> gens begins to draw the smoke. When the tobacco is well lighted the Sho'-ka puts away the brand and the Wa-zha'-zhe Wa-no<sup>n</sup> blows a whiff of the smoke on the rush-mat shrine. He then blows a few whiffs on the buffalo-hair bag; the deerskin bag; the hanging strap with the eagle's leg and scalp attached to it, all in one bunch. He blows a few whiffs on the hawk, its pouch, a ceremonial pipe with its tobacco pouch, collectively. The Sho'-ka

then passes these articles from man to man of the Wa-zha'-zhe Wa-no<sup>n</sup> gens, each of whom blows smoke, drawn from the same pipe, on the shrine and the other articles in the same manner as did the head of the gens. When the pipe becomes empty as it is passed from man to man, the Sho'-ka refills it, the man next in turn relights it and the ceremonial smoking continues to the end of the line. When each No<sup>n</sup>'-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga member of the Wa-zha'-zhe Wa-no<sup>n</sup> gens has smoked upon the shrine and its belongings that part of the ceremony comes to a close.

At the conclusion of the consecrating ceremony the Sho'-ka puts into the pocket of the new shrine the hawk, the ceremonial pipe, and a deerskin tobacco pouch. The Sho'-ka is careful to put the hawk in its pouch in a certain way (pl. 25, *a*) and to place the head of the bird toward the end of the pocket having seven fastenings and the feet toward the end having six fastenings. (Pl. 25, *a*.) When the hawk was thus put away the shrine is folded so that the flap goes nearly around the under part. This being done, the Sho'-ka winds around the middle of the shrine a rope made of buffalo skin, which is furnished by the Tsi'-zhu Wa-no<sup>n</sup> or the Tse-do'-ga I<sup>n</sup>-dse gens. (Pl. 25, *d*.) Some of these ceremonial ropes are made of deerskin furnished by the Deer gens. The rush shrine is then put into a deerskin bag each end of which is tied with a thong. (Pl. 25, *c*.) The deerskin bag, with its contents, is then put into the woven buffalo-hair bag, the ends of which are tied with thongs or cords made of buffalo hair. The buffalo hair for the outer bag is furnished by the Tho'-xe gens. The hair must be taken from the right side of the animal when the bag is to be made for a member of the Ho<sup>n</sup>'-ga great division, and from the left side when it is for a member of the Tsi'-zhu division.

Around the middle of the shrine, after it has been folded as above described, is wound a wide strap made of buffalo skin or deerskin, for hanging up the sacred article, at the right of the door if the owner is a Ho<sup>n</sup>'-ga, or at the left if the owner is a Tsi'-zhu. To this hanging strap is fastened an eagle's leg and a scalp. The eagle's leg is an emblem of the Hi'-ca-da, a subgens of the Ho<sup>n</sup>'-ga A-hiu-to<sup>n</sup>. (For story of the Hi'-ca-da see 36th Ann. Rept. B. A. E., pp. 211-219.) The story of the scalp appears in the wi'-gi-e of the birth of the bird, to be given in the bird ritual in a later volume. The shrine is then ready for use in the war ceremonies and also in the ceremonics of initiation into the mysteries of the war rites.

The songs following the wailing songs are the songs of seizing the Wa'-do<sup>n</sup>-be. In the shrine-making degree the recounting of military honors by the Wa'-do<sup>n</sup>-be and accompanying songs are omitted. The songs of the seizing of the Wa'-do<sup>n</sup>-be and the wi'-gi-e, with a detailed description of the ceremony, will be found in the Thirty-

ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, pages 147-197.

Before the A'-ki-ho<sup>n</sup> Xo'-ka takes up the crow songs, sometimes called songs of the drinking of water by the holy men, provisions are distributed among the No<sup>n</sup>'-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, which the female members of their families carry away. Water is brought for the No<sup>n</sup>'-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga to drink and to use for washing from their foreheads the sign of vigil. The songs, with explanation and translation, will be found in the Thirty-ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, pages 182-185.

The black bear songs which the A'-ki-ho<sup>n</sup> Xo'-ka next sings will be found in the Thirty-ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, pages 185-192.

The buffalo songs are next taken up by the A'-ki-ho<sup>n</sup> Xo'-ka. These, with a detailed description of the ceremony connected with them, will be found in the Thirty-ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, pages 192-205.

The song of dismissal, which belongs to the six songs, is placed at the end of the seven songs in order that the No<sup>n</sup>'-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga may be ceremonially dismissed and the ceremony closed in proper manner. For the songs and description of the ceremonial order in which the No<sup>n</sup>'-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga pass out of the lodge, see Thirty-ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, pages 236-237.

This concludes the Ça' Tha-çe Ga-xe, or shrine-making ceremony. The A'-ki-ho<sup>n</sup> Xo'-ka and the Xo'-ka depart with their fees and the candidate carries home his wa-xo'-be and hangs it up either at the right or the left of the door of his house, the position being determined by the side to which the man belongs, either to the Ho<sup>n</sup>'-ga or to the Tsi-zhu tribal division. (See fig. 46, p. 563.)





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PART III. OSAGE VERSION

## KEY TO PRONUNCIATION

a	-----	as in father.
'a	-----	exploded a.
b	-----	as in bad.
ç	-----	as in thin.
d	-----	as in dog.
e	-----	as in prey.
'e	-----	exploded e.
g	-----	as in go.
h	-----	as in he.
i	-----	as in pierce.
'i	-----	exploded i.
i <sup>n</sup>	-----	nasalized i.
'i <sup>n</sup>	-----	nasalized exploded i.
j	-----	as in joy.
k	-----	as in kin.
ķ	-----	a medial k (between k and g).
m	-----	as in men.
n	-----	as in no.
hn	-----	The sound of the initial letter is expelled from the nostrils.
o	-----	as in note.
'o	-----	exploded o.
o <sup>n</sup>	-----	nasalized o.
p	-----	as in pipe.
p̣	-----	a medial p (between p and b).
s	-----	as in sit.
sh	-----	as in shun.
t	-----	as in ten.
ṭ	-----	a medial t (between t and d).
th	-----	as in then.
u	-----	as in rule.
'u	-----	exploded u.
w	-----	as in wet.
x	-----	rough German ch.
zh	-----	as in azure.

### PART III. OSAGE VERSION

#### NO<sup>n</sup>-NI' A-THA-SHO-DSE WI'-GI-E

(TOBACCO SMOKING RITUAL)

(Free translation, p. 544; literal translation, p. 807)

#### 1

1. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga wa-zhi<sup>n</sup>' gi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a-bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
2. I<sup>n</sup>'-gtho<sup>n</sup> gthe-zhe zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga kshe no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
3. Wi'-ʔsi-go wa-zhi<sup>n</sup> ʔo<sup>n</sup>-ga do<sup>n</sup> wa-zhi<sup>n</sup> gi-the a-ka', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
4. Ho<sup>n</sup>'-ba i-ʔa-xe tho<sup>n</sup> dsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
5. Wi'-ʔsi-go wa-ʔo<sup>n</sup>-tha tsi-the do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
6. ʔa' he ba-shi-zhe kshe no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
7. Wi'-ʔsi-go ts' e-the i-he-the to<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
8. Wi'-ʔsi-go e-dsi the a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
9. Wa'-k' o<sup>n</sup> tsi-the to<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
10. Wa'-ʔse bo<sup>n</sup> to<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
11. Zhi<sup>n</sup>'-ga mi hi-e' ge ʔa', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
12. Wa'-ʔse tha bi tho<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
13. Ga'-xto<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
14. No<sup>n</sup>'-be e-dsi wa-thi<sup>n</sup>-ga zhi ʔi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
15. U'-ba-xo<sup>n</sup> wi<sup>n</sup> ga-xe no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga.

#### 2

16. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga wa-zhi<sup>n</sup> gi-tha bi go<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> shki a, hi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
17. Sho<sup>n</sup>'-ge hi<sup>n</sup> ʔu kshe no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
18. Wi'-ʔsi-go wa-zhi<sup>n</sup> ʔo<sup>n</sup>-ga do<sup>n</sup> wa-zhi<sup>n</sup> gi-the a-ka', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
19. O<sup>n</sup>'-ba i-ʔa-xe tho<sup>n</sup> dsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
20. Wi'-ʔsi-go wa-ʔo<sup>n</sup>-tha tsi-the to<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
21. ʔa' ʔse-he-xo-dse kshe no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
22. Ni' u-ga-xthi xtsi ge dsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
23. Wi'-ʔsi-go ts' e-the i-he-the to<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
24. Wi'-ʔsi-go wa-ʔse niu to<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
25. Zhi<sup>n</sup>'-ga wa-ʔse tha bi tho<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
26. Wa'-ʔse ga-xto<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
27. No<sup>n</sup>'-be-hi wi-ʔa no<sup>n</sup>-be-hi tha bi tho<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
28. No<sup>n</sup>'-be e-dsi wa-thi<sup>n</sup>-ga zhi ʔi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
29. U'-ba-xo<sup>n</sup> tho<sup>n</sup>-ba ga-xe no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga.

## 3

30. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga wa-zhi<sup>n</sup> gi-tha bi go<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> shki a, hi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
31. I<sup>n</sup>'-gtho<sup>n</sup>-ga do-ga kshe no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
32. Wi'-tsi-go wa-zhi<sup>n</sup> to<sup>n</sup>-ga do<sup>n</sup> a, a bi<sup>n</sup> da', tsi ga,
33. Ga'wa-zhi<sup>n</sup> gi-the ta a-ka', a bi<sup>n</sup> da', tsi ga,
34. Ho<sup>n</sup>'-ba i-ta-xe tho<sup>n</sup> dsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
35. Wi'-tsi-go wa-ko<sup>n</sup>-tha tsi-the to<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
36. Ta'he sha-be kshe no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
37. Ni'u-ga-xthi xtsi ge dsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
38. Wi'-tsi-go ts'e-the i-he-the to<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
39. Wi'-tsi-go wa-tse bo<sup>n</sup> to<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
40. Zhi<sup>n</sup>'-ga wa-tse tha bi tho<sup>n</sup>-shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
41. Wa'-tse ga-xto<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
42. No<sup>n</sup>'-be e-dsi wa-thi<sup>n</sup>-ga zhi ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta i tsi<sup>n</sup>-da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
43. U'-ba-xo<sup>n</sup> tha-bthi<sup>n</sup> ga-xe no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga.

## 4

44. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> wa-zhi<sup>n</sup> gi-tha bi go<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup>-shki a, hi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
45. Wa'-ca-be do-ga kshe a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
46. Wi'-tsi-go wa-zhi<sup>n</sup> gi-the ta a-ka', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
47. Ho<sup>n</sup>'-ba i-ta-xe tho<sup>n</sup>-dsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
48. Wi'-tsi-go wa-ko<sup>n</sup>-tha tsi-the to<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
49. Mo<sup>n</sup>'-ba-tsi-he ho<sup>n</sup> cka do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
50. Thi'-ta-the gthi-no<sup>n</sup>-the to<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
51. Wa'-gthi-shka zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
52. I-u'-tha-btho<sup>n</sup>-ce tsi-the to<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
53. I'-the-dse tha-ta dis-a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
54. Wa'-bi<sup>n</sup> a-ba-sho<sup>n</sup> tsi-the to<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
55. Wa'-tse niu to<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
56. Zhi<sup>n</sup>'-ga wa-tse u-ne a-tha bi tho<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
57. Wa'-tse ga-xto<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
58. No<sup>n</sup>'-be e-dsi wa-thi<sup>n</sup>-ga zhi ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
59. U'-ba-xo<sup>n</sup> do-ba ga-xe no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga.

## 5

60. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga wa-zhi<sup>n</sup> gi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da', tsi ga,
61. Wa'-dsu-ta to<sup>n</sup>-ga to<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
62. Wi'-tsi-go wa-zhi<sup>n</sup> to<sup>n</sup>-ga do<sup>n</sup> wa-zhi<sup>n</sup> gi-the a-ka', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
63. Ho<sup>n</sup>'-ba i-ta-xe tho<sup>n</sup>-dsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
64. Wi'-tsi-go wa-ko<sup>n</sup>-tha tsi-the to<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
65. Mo<sup>n</sup>'-ha pa-ci ho<sup>n</sup>-cka do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
66. Thi'-pi-tha ga-xe to<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,

67. Wi'-t̥si-go wa-t̥se niu to<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 68. Zhi<sup>n</sup>'-ga wa-t̥se u-ne a-tha bi tho<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 69. Wa'-t̥se ga-xto<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> t̥a i t̥si<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 70. No<sup>n</sup>'-be e-dsi wa-thi<sup>n</sup>-ga zhi k̥i-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> t̥a i t̥si<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup>  
 da, t̥si ga.

## 6

71. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> wa-zhi<sup>n</sup> gi-tha bi go<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> shki a, hi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 72. Wa'-dsu-t̥a çi-hi to<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 73. Wi'-t̥si-go wa-zhi<sup>n</sup> gi-the t̥a a-ka', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 74. T̥se'-xe xtsi ge dsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 75. Mi'-t̥a-o-ga-xthe hi to<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 76. Thi'-bthi<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup>-tha i-no<sup>n</sup>-the to<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 77. Wi'-t̥si-go wa-t̥se niu to<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 78. Zhi<sup>n</sup>'-ga wa-t̥se tha bi tho<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 79. Wa'-t̥se ga-xto<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> t̥a i t̥si<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 80. No<sup>n</sup>'-be e-dsi wa-thi<sup>n</sup>-ga zhi k̥i-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> t̥a i t̥si<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup>  
 da, t̥si ga.

## 7

81. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga wa-zhi<sup>n</sup> gi-tha bi go<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> shki a, hi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup>  
 da, t̥si ga,  
 82. Wa'-dsu-t̥a zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga kshe no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 83. Wi'-t̥si-go pi-çi thi<sup>n</sup>-ge tho<sup>n</sup>-zha', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 84. Ga' wa-zhi<sup>n</sup> gi-the t̥a a-ka', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 85. T̥o<sup>n</sup>'-wo<sup>n</sup>-gtho<sup>n</sup> do-ba e-dsi a-ka', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 86. T̥o<sup>n</sup>'-wo<sup>n</sup> k̥o<sup>n</sup>-ha no<sup>n</sup>-ge ke a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si-ga,  
 87. T̥o<sup>n</sup>'-wo<sup>n</sup> k̥o<sup>n</sup>-ha i-thi-sho<sup>n</sup>-ha shki do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 88. Wa'-pa-hi a-bu-zha-zha-t̥a bi shki do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 89. T̥se'-xi ga-shi-be no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 90. Zhi<sup>n</sup>'-ga wa-zhi<sup>n</sup> o<sup>n</sup>-gi-tha bi tho<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 91. T̥se'-xi ga-shi-be k̥i-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> t̥a i t̥si<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 92. Zhi<sup>n</sup>'-ga wo<sup>n</sup> shki do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 93. No<sup>n</sup>'-be e-dsi wa-thi<sup>n</sup>-ga zhi k̥i-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> t̥a i t̥si<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup>  
 da, t̥si ga.

HO<sup>n</sup>-BE'-ÇU WI'-GI-E

(MOCCASIN RITUAL)

(Free translation, p. 559; literal translation, p. 809)

## 1

1. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga çi k̥i-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> t̥a ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 2. K̥e' çi<sup>n</sup>-dse ga-t̥se sha-pe thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 3. Ga' çi k̥i-the t̥a a-ka', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 4. Çi' k̥i-tha bi tho<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 5. Çi' i k̥i i-t̥s'a thi<sup>n</sup>-ge k̥i-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> t̥a i t̥si<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 6. Çi' gi-ba-xtho-ga zhi k̥i-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> t̥a i t̥si<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 7. Xa'-dse no<sup>n</sup>-çta-ge k̥i-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> t̥a i t̥si<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga.

## 2

8. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup>-be-ko<sup>n</sup> the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
9. We'-ʔs'a Ho<sup>n</sup>-ga kshe no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
10. Ga' ho<sup>n</sup>-be-ko<sup>n</sup> the ʔa a-ka', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
11. Ho<sup>n</sup>'-be-ko<sup>n</sup> tha bi tho<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
12. Ho<sup>n</sup>'-be-ko<sup>n</sup> i-ʔs'a thi<sup>n</sup>-ge ʔi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da,  
ʔsi ga,
13. Ho<sup>n</sup>'-be-ko<sup>n</sup> gi-ba-xa xhi ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa i tsi<sup>n</sup> da, a bi<sup>n</sup> da,  
ʔsi ga.

## 3

14. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga ʔi ʔi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
15. ʔe' mo<sup>n</sup>-ge zhu-dse thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
16. Ga' ʔi ʔi-the ʔa a-ka', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
17. ʔi' ʔi-tha bi tho<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
18. ʔi' i ʔi i-ʔs'a thi<sup>n</sup>-ge ʔi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
19. ʔi' gi-ba-xtho-ga zhi ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
20. Xa'-dse no<sup>n</sup>-ʔta-ge ʔi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga.

## 4

21. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup>-be-ko<sup>n</sup> the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
22. We'-ʔs'a mo<sup>n</sup>-ge zhu-dse kshe no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
23. Ga' ho<sup>n</sup>-be-ko<sup>n</sup> the ʔa a-ka', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
24. Ho<sup>n</sup>'-be-ko<sup>n</sup> tha bi tho<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
25. Ho<sup>n</sup>'-be-ko<sup>n</sup> i-ʔs'a thi<sup>n</sup>-ge ʔi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da,  
ʔsi ga,
26. Ho<sup>n</sup>'-be-ko<sup>n</sup> gi-ba-xa zhi ʔi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa i tsi<sup>n</sup> da, a bi<sup>n</sup> da,  
ʔsi ga.

## 5

27. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga ʔi ʔi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
28. ʔe' mo<sup>n</sup>-ge gthe-zhe thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
29. Ga' ʔi ʔi-the ʔa a-ka', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
30. ʔi' ʔi-tha bi tho<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
31. ʔi' i ʔi i-ʔs'a thi<sup>n</sup>-ge ʔi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
32. ʔi' gi-ba-xa zhi ʔi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
33. Xa'-dse no<sup>n</sup>-ʔta-ge ʔi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga.

## 6

34. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup>-be-ko<sup>n</sup> the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
35. We'-ʔs'a mo<sup>n</sup>-ge gthe-zhe kshe no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
36. Ga' ho<sup>n</sup>-be-ko<sup>n</sup> the ʔa a-ka', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
37. Ho<sup>n</sup>'-be-ko<sup>n</sup> tha bi tho<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
38. Ho<sup>n</sup>'-be-ko<sup>n</sup> i-ʔs'a thi<sup>n</sup>-ge ʔi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da,  
ʔsi ga,
39. Ho<sup>n</sup>'-be-ko<sup>n</sup> gi-ba-xa zhi ʔi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da,  
ʔsi ga.

## 7

40. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga çi qi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 41. Ƙe' mo<sup>n</sup>-ge ɕka thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 42. Ga' çi qi-the ʔa a-ka', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 43. Ƙi' qi-tha bi tho<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 44. Ƙi' i qi i-ʔs'a thi<sup>n</sup>-ge qi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 45. Ƙi' gi-ba-xtho-ga zhi qi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 46. Xa'-dse no<sup>n</sup>-ɕta-ge qi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga.

## 8

47. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup>-be-ko<sup>n</sup> the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 48. We'-ʔs'a mo<sup>n</sup>-ge ɕka kshe no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 49. Ga' ho<sup>n</sup>-be-ko<sup>n</sup> the ʔa a-ka', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 50. Ho<sup>n</sup>'-be-ko<sup>n</sup> tha bi tho<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 51. Ho<sup>n</sup>'-be-ko<sup>n</sup> i-ʔs'a thi<sup>n</sup>-ge qi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da,  
 ʔsi ga,  
 52. Ho<sup>n</sup>'-be-ko<sup>n</sup> gi-ba-xa zhi qi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da,  
 ʔsi ga.

## 9

53. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga çi qi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 54. Ƙe' mo<sup>n</sup>-ge zhi-hi thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 55. Ga' çi qi-the ʔa a-ka', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 56. Ƙi' qi-tha bi tho<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 57. Ƙi' i qi i-ʔs'a thi<sup>n</sup>-ge qi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 58. Ƙi' gi-ba-xtho-ga zhi qi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 59. Xa'-dse no<sup>n</sup>-ɕta-ge qi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga.

## 10

60. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup>-be-ko<sup>n</sup> the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 61. We'-ʔs'a mo<sup>n</sup>-ge zhi-hi kshe no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 62. Ga' ho<sup>n</sup>-be-ko<sup>n</sup> the ʔa a-ka', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 63. Ho<sup>n</sup>'-be-ko<sup>n</sup> the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi tho<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 64. Ho<sup>n</sup>'-be-ko<sup>n</sup> i-ʔs'a thi<sup>n</sup>-ge qi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da,  
 ʔsi ga,  
 65. Ho<sup>n</sup>'-be-ko<sup>n</sup> gi-ba-xa zhi qi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da,  
 ʔsi ga.

## 11

66. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga mo<sup>n</sup>-hi<sup>n</sup> gi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da,  
 ʔsi ga,  
 67. Wa'-dsu-ʔa shi<sup>n</sup>-ʔo-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga to<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 68. He' tha-ʔa tse a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 69. Ga' mo<sup>n</sup>-hi<sup>n</sup> gi-the ʔa a-ka', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 70. Mo<sup>n</sup>'-hi<sup>n</sup> gi-tha bi tho<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 71. Shi<sup>n</sup>'-ʔo mo<sup>n</sup>-hi<sup>n</sup> gi-pa-hi qi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da,  
 ʔsi ga.

## 12

72. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> wa-ba-ṭo-be mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ṭa ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,  
 73. Mi' hi-e ge ṭa ni-ḵa-shi-ga', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,  
 74. I'-ṭo<sup>n</sup>-wo<sup>n</sup>-gtho<sup>n</sup> xtsi bi thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,  
 75. Ga' a-ba-ṭo-be ṭa a-ka', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,  
 76. A'-ba-ṭo-ba bi tho<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,  
 77. Wa'-ba-ṭo-be gi-o-ṭs'e-ga ḵi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ṭa i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da,  
 ṭsi ga.

## 13

78. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> wa-ba-ṭo-be the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ṭa ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,  
 79. Wa'-ḵ'o shi-mo<sup>n</sup>-pshe thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,  
 80. A'-ba-ṭo-be ṭa a-ka', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,  
 81. A'-ba-ṭo-ba bi tho<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,  
 82. Wa'-ba-ṭo-be gi-o-ṭs'e-ga ḵi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ṭa i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da,  
 ṭsi ga.

## 14

83. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> wa-ba-ṭo-be the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ṭa ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,  
 84. Ni'-ḵa wa-ḵ'o<sup>n</sup> u-tha-ha kshe no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,  
 85. A'-ba-ṭo-be ṭa a-ka', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,  
 86. A'-ba-ṭo-ba bi tho<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,  
 87. Wa'-ba-ṭo-be gi-o-ṭs'e-ga ḵi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ṭa i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da,  
 ṭsi ga.

## 15

88. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> wa-ba-ṭo-be the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ṭa ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,  
 89. Wa'-ḵ'o wo<sup>n</sup> we-da-the thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,  
 90. A'-ba-ṭo-be ṭa a-ka', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,  
 91. Zhi<sup>n</sup>'-ga wa-ba-ṭo-ba bi tho<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,  
 92. Wa'-ba-ṭo-be gi-o-ṭs'e-ga ḵi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ṭa i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da,  
 ṭsi ga.

## 16

93. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> wa-ba-xtho-ge mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ṭa ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,  
 94. Mi' hi-e ge ṭa', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,  
 95. Shi<sup>n</sup>'-ṭo ho btho<sup>n</sup>-xe do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,  
 96. Ga' a-ba-xtho-ge mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,  
 97. A'-ba-xtho-ge mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,  
 98. Wa'-ba-xtho-ge gi-o-ṭs'e-ga ḵi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ṭa bi a', wi-ḵo<sup>n</sup>-ga,  
 e'-ḵi-a bi a, a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga.

## 17

99. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> wa-ba-xtho-ga bi go<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> shki a. hi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,  
 100. Mi' hi-e ge ṭa', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,  
 101. Shi'-mi ho btho<sup>n</sup>-xe do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,  
 102. Ga' a-ba-xtho-ge mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,  
 103. A'-ba-xtho-ge mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi tho<sup>n</sup> shski a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,  
 104. Wa'-ba-xtho-ge gi-o-ṭs'e-ga ḵi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ṭa bi a', wi-ḵo<sup>n</sup>-ga,  
 e'-ḵi-a bi a, a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga.



## 18

105. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> wa-ba-xtho-ga bi go<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> shki a, hi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 106. Mi' hi-e ge ʔa', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 107. Ni'-ka wa-k'o<sup>n</sup> u-tha-ha do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 108. Ga' a-ba-xtho-ge mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 109. A'-ba-xtho-ge mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi tho<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 110. Wa'-ba-xtho-ge gi-o-ʔs'e-ga ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta bi a', wi-ʧo<sup>n</sup>-ga,  
 e'-ki-a bi a, a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga.

## 19

111. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> wa-ba-xtho-ga bi go<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> shki a, hi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 112. Mi'hi-e ge ʔa', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 113. Wa'-k' o wo<sup>n</sup> we-da-the do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 114. Ga'a-ba-xtho-ge mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 115. A'-ba-xtho-ge mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi tho<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 116. Wa'-ba-xtho-ge gi-o-ʔs'e-ga ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa bi a, wi-ʧo<sup>n</sup>-ga,  
 e'-ki-a bi a, a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga.

## WA'-ÇI-THU-ÇE WI'-GI-E

(FOOTSTEP RITUAL)

(Free translation, p. 559; literal translation, p. 812)

## 1

1. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga wa-çi-thu-çe mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 2. U'-k'u-be zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga wi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 3. Ga' a-çi-thu-çe no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 4. U'-k'u-ne zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga wi<sup>n</sup> e-çka e-wa-ka zhi<sup>n</sup>-ka', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga.  
 5. Wa'-dsu-ʔa u-ba-ʔse wi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 6. Ga'a-çi-thu-çe no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 7. Wa'-dsu-ʔa u-ba-ʔse wi<sup>n</sup> e-çka e-wa-ka ba zhi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 8. Zhi<sup>n</sup>'-ga wa-çi-thu-çe a-tha bi tho<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 9. Wa'-çi-thu-çe ga-xto<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 10. ʦsi'zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga wi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 11. Ga'a-çi-thu-çe no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 12. ʦsi'zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga wi<sup>n</sup> e-çka e-wa-ka ba zhi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 13. Wa-xo'-be zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga,  
 14. Ha'-gtha-thi<sup>n</sup> e-dsi ba she.

## 2

15. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> wa-çi-thu-çe ga no<sup>n</sup> shki a, hi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 16. U'-k'u-be zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga tho<sup>n</sup>-ba', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 17. Ga'a-çi-thu-çe no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 18. U'-k'u-be zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga tho<sup>n</sup>-ba e-çka e-wa-ka ba zhi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 19. Wa'-dsu-ʔa u-ba-ʔse tho<sup>n</sup>-ba', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 20. Ga'a-çi-thu-çe no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,

21. Wa'-dsu-ṭa u-ba-tse tho<sup>n</sup>-ba e-çka e-wa-ka ba zhi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
22. Zhi<sup>n</sup>'-ga wa-çi-thu-çe a-tha bi tho<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
23. Wa'-çi-thu-çe ga-xto<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ṭa i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
24. Ṭsi'zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga tho<sup>n</sup>-ba', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
25. Ga'a-çi-thu-çe no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
26. Ṭsi'zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga tho<sup>n</sup>-ba e-çka e-wa-ka ba zhi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
27. Wa-xo'-be zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
28. Ha'-gtha-thi<sup>n</sup> e-dsi ba she.

## 3

29. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> wa-çi-thu-çe ga no<sup>n</sup> shki a, hi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
30. U'-k'u-be zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga tha-bthi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
31. Ga'a-çi-thu-çe no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
32. U'-k'u-be zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga tha-bthi<sup>n</sup> e-çka e-wa-ka ba zhi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
33. Wa'-dsu-ta u-ba-tse tha-bthi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
34. Ga'a-çi-thu-çe no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
35. Wa'-dsu-ta u-ba-tse tha-bthi<sup>n</sup> e-çka e-wa-ka ba zhi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
36. Zhi<sup>n</sup>'-ga wa-çi-thu-çe a-tha bi tho<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
37. Wa'-çi-thu-çe ga-xto<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
38. Tsi'-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga tha-bthi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
39. Ga'a-çi-thu-çe no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
40. Tsi'zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga tha-bthi<sup>n</sup> e-çka e-wa-ka ba zhi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
41. Wa-xo'-be zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
42. Ha'-gtha-thi<sup>n</sup> e-dsi ba she.

## 4

43. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> wa-çi-thu-çe ga no<sup>n</sup> shki a-hi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
44. U'-k'u-be zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga do-ba', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
45. Ga'a-çi-thu-çe no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
46. U'-k'u-be zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga do-ba e-çka e-wa-ka ba zhi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
47. Wa'-dsu-ṭa u-ba-tse do-ba', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
48. Ga'a-çi-thu-çe no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
49. Wa'-dsu-ṭa u-ba-tse do-ba e-çka e-wa-ka ba zhi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
50. Zhi<sup>n</sup>'-ga wa-çi-thu-çe a-tha bi tho<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
51. Wa'-çi-thu-çe ga-xto<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ṭa i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
52. Ṭsi'zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga do-ba', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
53. Ga'a-çi-thu-çe no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
54. Ṭsi'zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga do-ba e-çka e-wa-ka ba zhi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
55. Wa'-xo'-be zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga.
56. Ha'-gtha-thi<sup>n</sup> e-dsi ba she.

WA-XO'-BE THU-SHKE WA-THO<sup>N</sup>  
(SHRINE UNTIE SONG)

(Free translation, p. 565)

(One line from each stanza is given)

1

Ṭsi-go hi-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba bi the-e thi-ṭo<sup>n</sup> ṭse i-the he.

2

Ṭsi-go hi-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba bi the-e ki-thi-ṭo<sup>n</sup> ṭse i-the he.

3

Ṭsi-go hi-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba bi the-e thu-shke ṭse i-the he.

4

Ṭsi-go hi-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba bi the-e gtha-tha ṭse i-the he.

5

Ṭsi-go hi-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba bi the-e ga-wa ṭse i-the he.

6

Ṭsi-go hi-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba bi-the-e tsi-the ṭse i-the he.

7

Ṭsi-go hi-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba bi the-e thu-ṭe ṭse i-the he.

U-DSE-THE U-GI-NO<sup>N</sup>-ZHI<sup>N</sup> WA-THO<sup>N</sup>  
(FIREPLACE STANDING AT HIS SONG)

(Free translation, p. 566)

(One line of each stanza is given)

1

A the the o<sup>n</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-ba dse-the ha the the.

2

A the the Pa-ho<sup>n</sup> thi<sup>n</sup> ba the ha the the.

3

A the the kia hi ba dse-the ha the the.

4

A the the mo<sup>n</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> be the ha the the.

GA-ṢO<sup>N'</sup>-I<sup>N</sup> XTISI WA-THO<sup>N</sup>  
(TO-MORROW VERILY SONG)

SONG 1

(Free translation, p. p. 568)

(Three lines of each stanza are given)

1 .

Ṭsi-go hi ṭa i<sup>n</sup> kshe no<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup>,  
Ṭsi-go hi-tho<sup>n</sup>-be hi ṭa i<sup>n</sup> kshe no<sup>n</sup>,  
Pa tse the hi ṭa i<sup>n</sup> kshe no<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup>.

2

Ṭsi-go hi ṭa i<sup>n</sup> kshe no<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup>,  
Ṭsi-go hi-tho<sup>n</sup>-be hi ṭa i<sup>n</sup> kshe no<sup>n</sup>,  
A tse the hi ṭa i<sup>n</sup>-kshe no<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup>.

3

Tsi-go hi ʔa i<sup>a</sup> kshe no<sup>a</sup> ho<sup>a</sup>,  
 Tsi-go hi-tho<sup>a</sup>-be hi ʔa i<sup>a</sup> kshe no<sup>a</sup>,  
 Zhu a-dsi hi ʔa i<sup>a</sup> kshe no<sup>a</sup> ho<sup>a</sup>.

4

Tsi-go hi ʔa i<sup>a</sup> kshe no<sup>a</sup> ho<sup>a</sup>,  
 Tsi-go hi-tho<sup>a</sup>-be hi ʔa i<sup>a</sup> kshe no<sup>a</sup>,  
 Hi a-dsi the hi ʔa i<sup>a</sup> kshe no<sup>a</sup> ho<sup>a</sup>.

5

Tsi-go hi ʔa i<sup>a</sup> kshe no<sup>a</sup> ho<sup>a</sup>,  
 Tsi-go hi-tho<sup>a</sup>-be hi ʔa i<sup>a</sup> kshe no<sup>a</sup>,  
 ʕi a-dsi the hi ʔa i<sup>a</sup> kshe no<sup>a</sup> ho<sup>a</sup>.

## SONG 2

(Free translation, p. 569)

(Two lines of each stanza are given)

1

E-tho<sup>a</sup>-be hi ʔse ha bi no<sup>a</sup> ho<sup>a</sup>,  
 ʔa tse bthe ʔse bthe a-thi<sup>a</sup> he no<sup>a</sup> ho<sup>a</sup>.

2

E-tho<sup>a</sup>-be hi ʔse ha bi no<sup>a</sup> ho<sup>a</sup>,  
 A tse bthe ʔse bthe a-thi<sup>a</sup> he no<sup>a</sup> ho<sup>a</sup>,

3

E-tho<sup>a</sup>-be hi ʔse ha bi no<sup>a</sup> ho<sup>a</sup>,  
 Zhu a-dsi bthe ʔse bthe a-thi<sup>a</sup> he no<sup>a</sup> ho<sup>a</sup>.

4

E-tho<sup>a</sup>-be hi ʔse ha bi no<sup>a</sup> ho<sup>a</sup>,  
 Hi a-dsi bthe ʔse bthe a-thi<sup>a</sup> he no<sup>a</sup> ho<sup>a</sup>.

5

E-tho<sup>a</sup>-be hi ʔse ha bi no<sup>a</sup> ho<sup>a</sup>,  
 ʕi a-dsi bthe ʔse bthe a-thi<sup>a</sup> he no<sup>a</sup> ho<sup>a</sup>.

## SONG 3

(Free translation, p. 571)

(Three lines of each stanza are given)

1

E-da hi-tho<sup>a</sup>-be a-gthi bi the,  
 E-da hi-tho<sup>a</sup>-be a-gthi bi the the he the,  
 E-da wa-ʔse ʔo<sup>a</sup> a-gthi bi the.

2

E-da hi-tho<sup>a</sup>-be a-gthi bi the,  
 E-da hi-tho<sup>a</sup>-be a-gthi bi the the he the,  
 E-da pi-tha ʔo<sup>a</sup> a-gthi bi the.

3

E-da hi tho<sup>a</sup>-be a-gthi bi the,  
 E-da hi-tho<sup>a</sup>-be a-gthi bi the the he the,  
 E-da wa-zha-ʔa gthi bi the.

4

E-da hi-tho<sup>a</sup>-be a-gthi bi the,  
 E-da hi-tho<sup>a</sup>-be a-gthi bi the the he the,  
 E-da ni-ka i-the a-gthi bi the.

SHO<sup>N'</sup>-GE WA-THO<sup>N</sup>

(WOLF SONGS)

(Free translation, p. 572)

(Two lines of each stanza are given)

1

Ho<sup>n</sup>-ba wa-dsi the a ba e no<sup>n</sup>,  
Ni-pa do-ba the a ba e no<sup>n</sup>.

2

Ho<sup>n</sup>-ba wa-dsi the a ba e no<sup>n</sup>,  
Sho<sup>n</sup>-ge ʔo no<sup>n</sup> the a ba e no<sup>n</sup>.

3

Ho<sup>n</sup>-ba wa-dsi the a ba e no<sup>n</sup>,  
Sho<sup>n</sup>-ge ʧa-be the a ba e no<sup>n</sup>.

4

Ho<sup>n</sup>-ba wa-dsi the a ba e no<sup>n</sup>,  
Sho<sup>n</sup>-ge xo-dse the a ba e no<sup>n</sup>.

5

Ho<sup>n</sup>-ba wa-dsi the a ba e no<sup>n</sup>,  
Sho<sup>n</sup>-ge ʧi no<sup>n</sup> the a ba e no<sup>n</sup>.

## SONG 2

(Free translation, p. 574)

1

Ho<sup>n</sup>-ba ge dsi mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup> a-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup> a,  
Ho<sup>n</sup>-ba e-ʧi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup> a-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>,  
Mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup> a-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>, mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup> a-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup> ha a,  
Sho<sup>n</sup>-ge ʔo no<sup>n</sup> e-ʧi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup> a-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>,  
Mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup> a-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>, mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup> a-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>,  
Ho<sup>n</sup>-ba ge dis mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup> a-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup> a,  
Ho<sup>n</sup>-ba e-ʧi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup> a-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>.

2

Sho<sup>n</sup>-ge ʧa-be e-ʧi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup> a-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>.

3

Sho<sup>n</sup>-ge xo-dse e-ʧi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup> a-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>.

4

Sho<sup>n</sup>-ge ʧi no<sup>n</sup> e-ʧi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup> a-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>.

5

Sho<sup>n</sup>-ge ʧka no<sup>n</sup> e-ʧi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup> a-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>.

G<sup>T</sup>H<sup>E</sup>-D<sup>O</sup><sup>N</sup>' W<sup>A</sup>-T<sup>H</sup>O<sup>N</sup> U-<sup>Ḳ</sup>O<sup>N</sup>-D<sup>S</sup>I  
 -(HAWK SONG ISOLATED)

(Free translation, p. 575)

(First two lines of each stanza are given)

1

Mo<sup>n</sup>-i<sup>n</sup>-ka ga-wa thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>,  
 E the mo<sup>n</sup>-zho<sup>n</sup> the ge he bthe a-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>.

2

Mo<sup>n</sup>-i<sup>n</sup>-ka ga-wa thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>,  
 E the xa-dse the ge he bthe a-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>.

3

Mo<sup>n</sup>-i<sup>n</sup>-ka ga-wa thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>,  
 E the u-ḳ'u-be the ge he bthe a-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>.

4

Mo<sup>n</sup>-i<sup>n</sup>-ka ga-wa thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>,  
 E the u-xtha-be the ge he bthe a-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>.

5

Mo<sup>n</sup>-i<sup>n</sup>-ka ga-wa thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>,  
 E the zho<sup>n</sup>-gthe the ge he bthe a-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>.

6

Mo<sup>n</sup>-i<sup>n</sup>-ka ga-wa thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>,  
 E the pa-he the ge he bthe a-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>.

Ḳ<sup>E</sup>'-X<sup>E</sup> T<sup>H</sup>U-Ḳ<sup>E</sup> W<sup>1</sup>'-G<sup>I</sup>-E

(RATTLE TAKING RITUAL)

(SAUCY-CALF)

(Free translation, p. 579; literal translation, p. 813)

1

1. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga pe-xe gi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ṭa ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da,  
     ṭsi ga,
2. Ṭo<sup>n</sup>'-wo<sup>n</sup>-gtho<sup>n</sup> pe-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba ha ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
3. I'-thi-shno<sup>n</sup> thi<sup>n</sup>-ke a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
4. Wa'-pa i-ṭa thi<sup>n</sup>-ke a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
5. Ga'pe-xe gi-the ṭa a-ka', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
6. Pe'-xe i-ṭs'a thi<sup>n</sup>-ge ḳi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ṭa i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
7. I'-gthi-hi-dse a-tha bi tho<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
8. I'-gthi-hi-dse gi-o-ṭs'e-ga ḳi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ṭa i tsi<sup>n</sup> da, a bi<sup>n</sup> da,  
     ṭsi ga.

2

9. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga pe-xe i-ba the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ṭa ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da,  
     ṭsi ga,
10. Ṭo<sup>n</sup>'-wo<sup>n</sup>-gtho<sup>n</sup> pe-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba ha ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
11. I'-thi-shno<sup>n</sup> thi<sup>n</sup>-ke a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
12. A'-xi-be tha-ṭa tse a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
13. Ga'pe-xe i-ba the ṭa a-ka', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
14. Pe'-xe i-ba tha bi tho<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,

15. Pe'-xe i-ba i-ṭs'a thi<sup>n</sup>-ge ḱi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ṭa i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da,  
ṭsi ga,  
16. I'-gthi-hi dse a-tha bi tho<sup>n</sup>-shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,  
17. I'-gthi-hi-dse gi-o-ṭs'e-ga ḱi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ṭa i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da,  
ṭsi ga.

## 3

18. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga pe-xe ḱu the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ṭa ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,  
19. Mi' hi-e ge ṭa', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,  
20. Ṭo<sup>n</sup>-wo<sup>n</sup>-gtho<sup>n</sup> pe-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba ha ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,  
21. I'-thi-shno<sup>n</sup> thi<sup>n</sup> ke a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,  
22. Hi'-ḱ'e tha-ṭa thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,  
23. Ga' pe-xe ḱu the ṭa a-ka', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,  
24. I'-gthi-hi-dse a-tha bi tho<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,  
25. I'-gthi-hi-dse gi-o-ṭs'e-ga ḱi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ṭa i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da,  
ṭsi ga.

## 4

26. He'-dsi xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,  
27. Mo<sup>n</sup>-shi ṭa u-thi-ḱ'u-dse ga ṭse a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,  
28. Wa'-thi<sup>n</sup>-e ḱka sho<sup>n</sup> a-zhi a-ka', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,  
29. Wa'-ḱo<sup>n</sup>-da gi-ḱa mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ṭa ba sho<sup>n</sup> a-ka', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,  
30. Hi'-dse ṭa u-thi-ḱ'u-dse ga tse a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,  
31. Wa'-thi<sup>n</sup>-e ḱka sho<sup>n</sup> a-zhi a-ka', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,  
32. Wa'-ḱo<sup>n</sup>-da gi-ḱa mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ṭa ba sho<sup>n</sup> a-ka', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga.

## 5

33. Ga'-mo<sup>n</sup>-dse ga thi<sup>n</sup> ke a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,  
34. Wa'-thi<sup>n</sup>-e ḱka sho<sup>n</sup> a-zhi a-ka', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,  
35. Mi' hi-e ge ṭa ni-ḱa-shi-ga', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,  
36. Wa'-shi-sbi ṭo<sup>n</sup> bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,  
37. Sho<sup>n</sup> xtsi ga-xe to<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga.

## 6

38. Wo<sup>n</sup> ga-ḱa-thu the tha bi tho<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,  
39. Mo<sup>n</sup>-zho<sup>n</sup> xtho-ḱ'a sho<sup>n</sup> e-go<sup>n</sup> xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,  
40. U'-ga-da-tho<sup>n</sup> i-he-the a-ka', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga.

## 7

41. Tho<sup>n</sup>-ba o<sup>n</sup> ga-ḱa-thu the tha bi tho<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,  
42. Wa'-gthu-shka zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga sho<sup>n</sup> e-go<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,  
43. Ni'-xu-dse a-thi-ṭo<sup>n</sup> i-he-the a-ka' a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga.

## 8

44. Tha'-bthi<sup>n</sup> o<sup>n</sup> ga-ḱa-thu the tha bi tho<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,  
45. Wa'-gthu-shka zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga sho<sup>n</sup> e-go<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,  
46. U'-ga-bu-dse i-he-the a-ka', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga.

## 9

47. We'-do-ba o<sup>n</sup> ga-ḱa-thu the tha bi tho<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,  
48. Wa'-gthu-shka sho<sup>n</sup> e-go<sup>n</sup> xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,  
49. I-shko<sup>n</sup> thi<sup>n</sup>-ge i-he-the a-ka, a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga.

## SONG 1

(Free translation, p. 582)

1

The-thu ba-a hi-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba do<sup>n</sup> the-thu ba-a hi-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba do<sup>n</sup>,  
 The-thu ba-a hi-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba do<sup>n</sup> the-thu ba-a,  
 He-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba do<sup>n</sup> the-thu ba-a he-tho<sup>n</sup>-be-e tho,  
 Wa-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ça-be gthe-do<sup>n</sup> gi-e e he-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba do<sup>n</sup> the-thu ba-a.  
 He-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba do<sup>n</sup> the-thu ba-a,  
 He-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba do<sup>n</sup> the-thu ba-a he-tho<sup>n</sup>-be e tho.

2

Gthe-do<sup>n</sup> zhu-dse gthe-do<sup>n</sup> di-e e he-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba do<sup>n</sup> the-thu ba-a.

3

Gthe-do<sup>n</sup> xo-dse gthe-do<sup>n</sup> gi-e e he-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba do<sup>n</sup> the-thu ba-a.

4

Gthe-do<sup>n</sup> zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga gthe-do<sup>n</sup> gi-e e he-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba do<sup>n</sup> the-thu ba-a.

## SONG 2

(Free translation, p. 583)

1

I<sup>n</sup>-da-di he-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba bi the, i<sup>n</sup>-da-di he-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba bi-the,  
 I<sup>n</sup>-da-di he-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba bi the, i<sup>n</sup>-da-di he-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba bi the he the,  
 Pa ʔo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> he-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba bi the, pa ʔo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> he-tho<sup>n</sup> ba bi the,  
 I<sup>n</sup>-da-di he-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba bi the, i<sup>n</sup>-da-di he-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba bi the.

2

A ʔo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> he-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba bi the, a ʔo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> he-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba bi the.

3

Zhu ʔo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> he-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba bi the, zhu ʔo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> he-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba bi the.

4

Hi ʔo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> he-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba bi the, hi ʔo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> he-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba bi the.

5

Çi ʔo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> he-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba bi the, çi ʔo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> he-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba bi the.

## SONG 3

(Free translation, p. 584)

1

I<sup>n</sup>-da-di hi-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba bi tho<sup>n</sup>-de, hu-wa-the ʔo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>,  
 Hu-wa-the ʔo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>, hu-wa-the ʔo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> he,  
 I<sup>n</sup>-da-di hi-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba bi tho<sup>n</sup> de, pa no<sup>n</sup> thi<sup>n</sup> ʔo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>,  
 Hu-wa-the ʔo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> he, i<sup>n</sup>-da-di hi-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba bi tho<sup>n</sup> de.

2

I<sup>n</sup>-da-di hi-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba bi tho<sup>n</sup> de, a no<sup>n</sup> thi<sup>n</sup> ʔo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>.

3

I<sup>n</sup>-da-di hi-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba bi tho<sup>n</sup> de, zhu no<sup>n</sup> thi<sup>n</sup> ʔo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>.

4

I<sup>n</sup>-da-di hi-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba bi tho<sup>n</sup> de, hi no<sup>n</sup> thi<sup>n</sup> ʔo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>.

5

I<sup>n</sup>-da-di hi-tho<sup>n</sup>-be bi tho<sup>n</sup> de, çi no<sup>n</sup> thi<sup>n</sup> ʔo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>.



## SONG 4

(Free translation, p. 585)

1

Wa-ko<sup>n</sup>-da-gi he-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba bi tho<sup>n</sup> de, hu-wa-the to<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>,  
 Hu-wa-the to<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>, hu-wa-the to<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> he,  
 Wa-ko<sup>n</sup>-da-gi he-tho<sup>n</sup>-be bi tho<sup>n</sup> de, pa no<sup>n</sup> thi<sup>n</sup> to<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>,  
 Hu-wa-the to<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> he the, wa-ko<sup>n</sup>-da-gi he-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba bi tho<sup>n</sup> de.

2

Wa-ko<sup>n</sup>-da-gi he-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba bi tho<sup>n</sup> de, a no<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> to<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>.

3

Wa-ko<sup>n</sup>-da-gi he-tho<sup>n</sup>-be bi tho<sup>n</sup> de, zhu no<sup>n</sup> thi<sup>n</sup> to<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>.

4

Wa-ko<sup>n</sup>-da-gi he-tho<sup>n</sup>-be bi tho<sup>n</sup> de, hi no<sup>n</sup> thi<sup>n</sup> to<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>.

5

Wa-ko<sup>n</sup>-da-gi he-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba bi tho<sup>n</sup> de, ci no<sup>n</sup> thi<sup>n</sup> to<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>.

## SONG 5

(Free translation, p. 586)

1

Wa-ko<sup>n</sup>-da-gi he-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba bi tho<sup>n</sup> de the,  
 Hu-wa-the to<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup> hi no<sup>n</sup>,  
 A the the pa no<sup>n</sup> the to<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>,  
 A the the pa no<sup>n</sup> the to<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>,  
 A the the he the,  
 A the the pa no<sup>n</sup> the to<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>,  
 A the the pa no<sup>n</sup> the to<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>,  
 Wa-ko<sup>n</sup>-da-gi he-tho<sup>n</sup>-be bi tho<sup>n</sup> de.

2

A the the a no<sup>n</sup> the to<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>,

3

A the the zhu no<sup>n</sup> the to<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>,

4

A the the hi no<sup>n</sup> the to<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>.

5

A the the ci no<sup>n</sup> the to<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>.

NO<sup>n'</sup>-ZHI<sup>n</sup>-ZHO<sup>n</sup> WA-THO<sup>n</sup> (WA-THO<sup>n'</sup> PI-ZHI)  
 (SONG MYSTERIOUS)

## SONG 1

(Free translation, p. 588)

1

Wa-xpa-thi<sup>n</sup> tha thi<sup>n</sup> she e,  
 Ho<sup>n</sup> wi<sup>n</sup> zho<sup>n</sup> do<sup>n</sup> gthi e-sha bi<sup>n</sup> do ho,  
 Wa-xpa-thi<sup>n</sup> tha thi<sup>n</sup> she e,  
 Ho<sup>n</sup> wi<sup>n</sup> zho<sup>n</sup> do<sup>n</sup> gthi e-sha bi<sup>n</sup> da a,  
 Wa-xpa-thi<sup>n</sup> tha thi<sup>n</sup> she e,  
 Ho<sup>n</sup> wi<sup>n</sup> zho<sup>n</sup> do<sup>n</sup> gthi e-sha bi<sup>n</sup> do ho.

2

Wa-xpa-thi<sup>n</sup> tha-thi<sup>n</sup> she e,  
Tho<sup>n</sup>-ba zho<sup>n</sup> do<sup>n</sup> gthi e-sha bi<sup>n</sup> do ho.

3

Wa-xpa-thi<sup>n</sup> tha-thi<sup>n</sup> she e,  
Tha-bthi<sup>n</sup> zho<sup>n</sup> do<sup>n</sup> gthi e-sha bi<sup>n</sup> do ho.

4

Wa-xpa-thi<sup>n</sup> tha-thi<sup>n</sup> she e,  
Do-ba zho<sup>n</sup> do<sup>n</sup> gthi e-sha bi<sup>n</sup> do ho.

5

Wa-xpa-thi<sup>n</sup> tha-thi<sup>n</sup> she e,  
Ça-ṭo<sup>n</sup> zho<sup>n</sup> do<sup>n</sup> gthi e-sha bi<sup>n</sup> do ho.

6

Wa-xpa-thi<sup>n</sup> tha-thi<sup>n</sup> she e,  
Sha-pe zho<sup>n</sup> do<sup>n</sup> gthi e-sha bi<sup>n</sup> do ho.

7

Wa-xpa-thi<sup>n</sup> tha-thi<sup>n</sup> she e,  
E-no<sup>n</sup> zho<sup>n</sup> do<sup>n</sup> gthi e-sha bi<sup>n</sup> do ho.

## SONG 2

(Free translation, p. 589)

1

A-ki-no<sup>n</sup> a-ki-no<sup>n</sup> a do<sup>n</sup> xti tha,  
I<sup>n</sup>-de ṭo tha a do<sup>n</sup> xti tha,  
Ḳi-no<sup>n</sup> a-ki-no<sup>n</sup> a do<sup>n</sup> xti tha.

2

A-ki-no<sup>n</sup> a-ki-no<sup>n</sup> a do<sup>n</sup>-xti tha,  
Pe-hi<sup>n</sup> ga-çta a do<sup>n</sup> xti tha,  
Ḳi-no<sup>n</sup> a-ki-no<sup>n</sup> a do<sup>n</sup> xti tha.

3

A-ki-no<sup>n</sup> a-ki-no<sup>n</sup> a do<sup>n</sup> xti tha,  
Ḳi-no<sup>n</sup> ba-xo<sup>n</sup> a do<sup>n</sup> xti tha,  
Ḳi-no<sup>n</sup> a-ki-no<sup>n</sup> a do<sup>n</sup> xti tha.

4

A-ki-no<sup>n</sup> a-ki-no<sup>n</sup> a do<sup>n</sup> xti tha,  
Pa-hi<sup>n</sup> ga-çi i do<sup>n</sup> xti tha,  
Ḳi-no<sup>n</sup> a-ki-no<sup>n</sup> a do<sup>n</sup> xti tha.

5

A-ki-no<sup>n</sup> a-ki-no<sup>n</sup> a do<sup>n</sup> xti tha,  
Ḳi-no<sup>n</sup> thu-ṭo<sup>n</sup>-a a do<sup>n</sup> xti tha,  
Ḳi-no<sup>n</sup> a-ki-no<sup>n</sup> a do<sup>n</sup> xti tha.

6

A-ki-no<sup>n</sup> a-ki-no<sup>n</sup> a do<sup>n</sup> xti tha,  
Pe-hi<sup>n</sup> ço<sup>n</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup> a do<sup>n</sup> xti tha,  
Ḳi-no<sup>n</sup> a-ki-no<sup>n</sup> a do<sup>n</sup> xti tha.

## SONG 3

(Free translation, p. 590)

1

Wi-e çi no<sup>a</sup> kı-no<sup>a</sup> wi-ťa u-the-ha bi no<sup>a</sup> ho<sup>a</sup>,  
 Wi-e çi no<sup>a</sup> i<sup>a</sup>-de ʈo tha u-the-ha bi no<sup>a</sup> ho<sup>a</sup>,  
 U-the-ha bi no<sup>a</sup> ho<sup>a</sup>,  
 Wi-e çi no<sup>a</sup> i<sup>a</sup>-de ʈo tha u-the-ha bi no<sup>a</sup>.

2

Wi-e çi no<sup>a</sup> kı-no<sup>a</sup> wi-ťa u-the-ha bi no<sup>a</sup> ho<sup>a</sup>,  
 Wi-e çi no<sup>a</sup> pe-hi<sup>a</sup> ga-çta u-the-ha bi no<sup>a</sup> ho<sup>a</sup>.

3

Wi-e çi no<sup>a</sup> kı-no<sup>a</sup> wi-ťa u-the-ha bi no<sup>a</sup> ho<sup>a</sup>,  
 Wi-e çi no<sup>a</sup> kı-no<sup>a</sup> ba-xo<sup>a</sup> u-the-ha bi no<sup>a</sup> ho<sup>a</sup>.

4

Wi-e çi no<sup>a</sup> kı-no<sup>a</sup> wi-ťa u-the-ha bi no<sup>a</sup> ho<sup>a</sup>,  
 Wi-e çi no<sup>a</sup> pa-hi<sup>a</sup> ga-çi u-the-ha bi no<sup>a</sup> ho<sup>a</sup>.

5

Wi-e çi no<sup>a</sup> kı-no<sup>a</sup> wi-ťa u-the-ha bi no<sup>a</sup> ho<sup>a</sup>,  
 Wi-e çi no<sup>a</sup> kı-no<sup>a</sup> thu-ʈo<sup>a</sup> u-the-ha bi no<sup>a</sup> ho<sup>a</sup>.

6

Wi-e çi no<sup>a</sup> kı-no<sup>a</sup> wi-ťa u-the-ha bi no<sup>a</sup> ho<sup>a</sup>,  
 Wi-e çi no<sup>a</sup> pe-hi<sup>a</sup> ço<sup>a</sup>-ho<sup>a</sup> u-the-ha bi no<sup>a</sup> ho<sup>a</sup>.

## SONG 4

(Free translation, p. 591)

1

Wi-e çi no<sup>a</sup> kı-no<sup>a</sup> wi-ťa she o-the-ha bi no<sup>a</sup> ho<sup>a</sup>,  
 Kı-no<sup>a</sup> wi-ťa she o-the-ha bi no<sup>a</sup> ho<sup>a</sup>,  
 Kı-no<sup>a</sup> wi-ťa she o-the-ha bi no<sup>a</sup> ho<sup>a</sup>,  
 Wi-e çi no<sup>a</sup> i<sup>a</sup>-de ʈo the she o-the-ha bi no<sup>a</sup> ho<sup>a</sup>,  
 Kı-no<sup>a</sup> wi-ťa she o-the-ha bi no<sup>a</sup> ho<sup>a</sup>,  
 Wi-e çi-no<sup>a</sup> kı-no<sup>a</sup> wi-ťa she o-the-ha bi no<sup>a</sup> ho<sup>a</sup>.

2

Wi-e çi no<sup>a</sup> pe-hi<sup>a</sup> ga-çta she o-the-ha bi no<sup>a</sup> ho<sup>a</sup>.

3

Wi-e çi no<sup>a</sup> kı-no<sup>a</sup> ba-xo<sup>a</sup> she o-the-ha bi no<sup>a</sup> ho<sup>a</sup>.

4

Wi-e çi no<sup>a</sup> pe-hi<sup>a</sup> ga-çi she o-the-ha bi no<sup>a</sup> ho<sup>a</sup>.

5

Wi-e çi no<sup>a</sup> kı-no<sup>a</sup> tho-ʈo<sup>a</sup> she o-the-ha bi no<sup>a</sup> ho<sup>a</sup>.

6

Wi-e çi no<sup>a</sup> pe-hi<sup>a</sup> ço<sup>a</sup>-ho<sup>a</sup> she o-the-ha bi no<sup>a</sup> ho<sup>a</sup>.

## SONG 5

(Free translation, p. 592)

1

Ƙi-no<sup>n</sup> the mo<sup>n</sup> the gi-do<sup>n</sup>-be tha,  
 E the the mo<sup>n</sup> the gi-do<sup>n</sup>-be tha, the ƙi-no<sup>n</sup>,  
 I<sup>n</sup>-de ʔo tha the mo<sup>n</sup> the gi-do<sup>n</sup>-be tha,  
 E the the mo<sup>n</sup> the gi-do<sup>n</sup>-be tha,  
 Ƙi-no<sup>n</sup> the mo<sup>n</sup> the gi-do<sup>n</sup>-be.

2

Pe-hi<sup>n</sup> ga-çta the mo<sup>n</sup> the gi-do<sup>n</sup>-be tha.

3

Ƙi-no<sup>n</sup> ba-xo<sup>n</sup> the mo<sup>n</sup> the gi-do<sup>n</sup>-be tha.

4

Pe-hi<sup>n</sup> ga-çi the mo<sup>n</sup> the gi-do<sup>n</sup>-be tha.

5

Ƙi-no<sup>n</sup> tʰio-ʔo<sup>n</sup> the mo<sup>n</sup> the gi-do<sup>n</sup>-be tha.

6

Pa-hi<sup>n</sup> ço<sup>n</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup> the mo<sup>n</sup> the gi-do<sup>n</sup>-be tha.

MI<sup>N</sup>-DSE GA-XE WA-THO<sup>N</sup>

(BOW MAKING SONG)

## SONG 1

(Free translation, p. 594)

1

E-da sho<sup>n</sup> ba do<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup>-e tha,  
 E-da mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup> da-a ha tha,  
 I-ba thi<sup>n</sup> a-do<sup>n</sup> sho<sup>n</sup> ba do<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup>-e tha,  
 E-da mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup> da,  
 E-da sho<sup>n</sup> ba do<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup>-e tha,  
 E-da mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup> da.

2

We-tsi<sup>n</sup> a-thi<sup>n</sup> a-do<sup>n</sup> sho<sup>n</sup> ba do<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup>-e tha.

3

Mo<sup>n</sup>-hi<sup>n</sup> a-thi<sup>n</sup> a-do<sup>n</sup> sho<sup>n</sup> ba do<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup>-e tha.

4

Do-ka thi<sup>n</sup> a-do<sup>n</sup> sho<sup>n</sup> ba do<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup>-e tha.

5

Mi<sup>n</sup>-dse a-thi<sup>n</sup> a-do<sup>n</sup> sho<sup>n</sup> ba do<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup>-e tha.

6

Mo<sup>n</sup> a-thi<sup>n</sup> a-do<sup>n</sup> sho<sup>n</sup> ba do<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup>-e tha.

7

Mo<sup>n</sup>-sho<sup>n</sup> a-thi<sup>n</sup> a-do<sup>n</sup> sho<sup>n</sup> ba do<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup>-e tha.

8

Ga-mo<sup>n</sup>-mo<sup>n</sup>-dse sho<sup>n</sup> ba do<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup>-e tha.

## SONG 2

(Free translation, p. 595)

1

Wi-e o<sup>n</sup>-ba hi-a dse i-ba thi<sup>n</sup> o<sup>n</sup>-shpa-hi-e the the,  
 Wi-e o<sup>n</sup>-ba hi-a dse i-ba thi<sup>n</sup> o<sup>n</sup>-shpa-hi-e the the,  
 Wi-e o<sup>n</sup>-ba hi-a dse i-ba thi<sup>n</sup> o<sup>n</sup>-shpa-hi-e the the,  
 Wi-e o<sup>n</sup>-ba hi-a dse i-ba thi<sup>n</sup> o<sup>n</sup>-shpa-hi-e the the.

2

Wi-e o<sup>n</sup>-ba hi-a dse i-tsi<sup>n</sup> a-thi<sup>n</sup> o<sup>n</sup>-shpa-hi-e the the.

3

Wi-e o<sup>n</sup>-ba hi-a dse mo<sup>n</sup>-hi<sup>n</sup> a-thi<sup>n</sup> o<sup>n</sup>-shpa-hi-e the the.

4

Wi-e o<sup>n</sup>-ba hi-a dse do-ka thi<sup>n</sup> o<sup>n</sup>-shpa-hi-e the the.

5

Wi-e o<sup>n</sup>-ba hi-a dse mi<sup>n</sup>-dse a-thi<sup>n</sup> o<sup>n</sup>-shpa-hi-e the the.

6

Wi-e o<sup>n</sup>-ba hi-a dse mo<sup>n</sup> a thi<sup>n</sup> o<sup>n</sup>-shpa-hi-e the the.

7

Wi-e o<sup>n</sup>-ba hi-a dse mo<sup>n</sup>-sho<sup>n</sup> a-thi<sup>n</sup> o<sup>n</sup>-shpa-hi-e the the.

8

Wi-e o<sup>n</sup>-ba hi-a dse ga-mo<sup>n</sup> o<sup>n</sup>-shpa-hi-e the the.

## SONG 3

(Free translation, p. 596)

1

Ts'e wi-the-e du-da the ts'e-wi-the-e,  
 Du-da the ts'e wi-the-e he-e,  
 I-ba gtha-thi<sup>n</sup> the-thu ki-çtu ba do<sup>n</sup>,  
 Ts'e wi-the-e du-da the ts'e wi-the-e,  
 Du-da the ts'e wi-the-e he-e.

2

I-tsi<sup>n</sup> a-gtha-thi<sup>n</sup> the-thu ki-çtu ba do<sup>n</sup>.

3

Mo<sup>n</sup>-hi<sup>n</sup> a-gtha-thi<sup>n</sup> the-thu ki-çtu ba do<sup>n</sup>.

4

Do-ka gtha-thi<sup>n</sup> the-thu ki-çtu ba do<sup>n</sup>.

5

Mi<sup>n</sup>-dse a-gtha-thi<sup>n</sup> the-thu ki-çtu ba do<sup>n</sup>.

6

Mo<sup>n</sup> a-gtha-thi<sup>n</sup> the-thu ki-çtu ba do<sup>n</sup>.

7

Mo<sup>n</sup>-sho<sup>n</sup> a-gtha-thi<sup>n</sup> the-thu ki-çtu ba do<sup>n</sup>.

WA-NO<sup>n'</sup>-XE WA-THO<sup>n</sup>  
(SPIRIT SONGS)

## SONG 1

(Free translation, p. 597)

1

Wa-no<sup>n</sup>-xe a-dsi bthe do<sup>n</sup> e-dsi pshi thi<sup>n</sup> hi<sup>n</sup> do,  
 Wo-no<sup>n</sup>-xe a dsi bthe do<sup>n</sup> e-dsi pshi thi<sup>n</sup> hi<sup>n</sup> do,  
 Wa-no<sup>n</sup>-xe a-dsi bthe do<sup>n</sup> e-dsi pshi thi<sup>n</sup> hi<sup>n</sup> do ho,  
 Ho<sup>n</sup>-ba hi-a hi bthe do<sup>n</sup> e-dsi pshi thi<sup>n</sup> hi<sup>n</sup> do,  
 Wa-no<sup>n</sup>-xe a-dsi bthe do<sup>n</sup> e-dsi pshi thi<sup>n</sup> hi<sup>n</sup> do,  
 Wa-no<sup>n</sup>-xe a-dsi bthe do<sup>n</sup> e-dsi pshi thi<sup>n</sup> hi<sup>n</sup> do.

2

Mi hi-e hi bthe do<sup>n</sup> e-dsi pshi thi<sup>n</sup> hi<sup>n</sup> do.

3

Ho<sup>n</sup>-bthe shno<sup>n</sup> hi bthe do<sup>n</sup> e-dsi pshi thi<sup>n</sup> hi<sup>n</sup> do.

4

No<sup>n</sup>-xe shno<sup>n</sup> hi-bthe do<sup>n</sup> e-dsi pshi thi<sup>n</sup> hi<sup>n</sup> do.

## SONG 2

(Free translation, p. 598)

1

Wa-no<sup>n</sup>-xe u-wa-çi-gthe xtsi mi<sup>n</sup> kshi<sup>n</sup> do ho,  
 Wa-no<sup>n</sup>-xe o-zho<sup>n</sup>-ge tho kshe no<sup>n</sup>,  
 U-wa-çi-gthe xtsi mi<sup>n</sup> kshi<sup>n</sup> do ho,  
 Wa-no<sup>n</sup>-xe u-wa-çi-gthe xtsi mi<sup>n</sup> kshi<sup>n</sup> do.

## SONG 3

(Free translation, p. 599)

1

Ho<sup>n</sup>-ga dsi bthe do<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> wa-xpa-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>,  
 Ho<sup>n</sup>-ga dsi bthe do<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> wa-xpa-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>,  
 Ho<sup>n</sup>-ga dis bthe do<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> wa-xpa-thi<sup>n</sup> he he,  
 Xu-tha ho<sup>n</sup>-ga,  
 Ho<sup>n</sup>-ga dsi bthe do<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> wa-xpa-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>,  
 Ho<sup>n</sup>-ga dsi bthe do<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> wa-xpa-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>,  
 Ho<sup>n</sup>-ga dsi bthe do<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> wa-xpa-thi<sup>n</sup> he he.

2

Xiu-tha zgu dse  
 Ho<sup>n</sup>-ga dsi bthe do<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> wa-xpa-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>.

3

Xiu-tha xo<sup>n</sup>-xo<sup>n</sup>  
 Ho<sup>n</sup>-ga dsi bthe do<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> wa-xpa-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>.

4

Xiu-tha zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga  
 Ho<sup>n</sup>-ga dsi bthe do<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> wa-xpa-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>.

MI THO'-TO<sup>N</sup> DO<sup>N</sup> WA-THO<sup>N</sup>  
(SUN VERTICAL SONGS)

## SONG 1

(Free translation, p. 600)

1

Wi-e ki-ko<sup>n</sup>-çe ta thi<sup>n</sup> he the hi tha,  
Wi-e ki-ko<sup>n</sup>-çe ta thi<sup>n</sup> he the hi tha,  
Mi wa-ga-xe the ta thi<sup>n</sup> he the hi tha,  
Wi-e ki-ko<sup>n</sup>-çe ta thi<sup>n</sup>-he the hi the,  
Wi-e ki-ko<sup>n</sup>-çe ta thi<sup>n</sup> he the hi tha,  
Wi-e ki-ko<sup>n</sup>-çe ta thi<sup>n</sup>-he the hi tha.

2

Zhi-de a-wa-the the ta thi<sup>n</sup> he the hi tha.

3

Ça-be a-wa-the the ta thi<sup>n</sup> he the hi tha.

4

Xo-de a-wa-the the ta thi<sup>n</sup>-he the hi tha.

5

Ki-he a-wa-the the ta thi<sup>n</sup>-he the hi-tha.

6

Ço<sup>n</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup> a-wa-the the ta thi<sup>n</sup> he the hi tha.

7

Ga-mi a-wa-the the ta thi<sup>n</sup> he the hi tha.

## SONG 2

(Free translation, p. 601)

1

Wa-ko<sup>n</sup>-da-gi mi tho-ço<sup>n</sup> xti do<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup> a-thi<sup>n</sup> he the the,  
Da-çe wa-the mi tho-ço<sup>n</sup> xti do<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup> a-thi<sup>n</sup> he the the,  
E tha ha we —, e tha ha we ----,  
Wa-ko<sup>n</sup>-da-gi mi tho-ço<sup>n</sup> xti do<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup> a-thi<sup>n</sup> he the the.

2

Zhi-de a-wa-the mi tho-ço<sup>n</sup> xti do<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup> a-thi<sup>n</sup> he the the.

3

Ça-be a-wa-the mi tho-ço<sup>n</sup> xti do<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup> a-thi<sup>n</sup> he the the.

4

Xo-de a-wa-the mi tho-ço<sup>n</sup> xti do<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup> a-thi<sup>n</sup> he the the.

5

Çi-he a-wa-the mi tho-ço<sup>n</sup> xti do<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup> a-thi<sup>n</sup> he the the.

6

Ço<sup>n</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup> a-wa-the mi tho-ço<sup>n</sup> xti do<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup> a-thi<sup>n</sup> he the the.

7

Ga-mi a-wa-the mi tho-ço<sup>n</sup> xti do<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup> a-thi<sup>n</sup> he the the.

## SONG 3

(Free translation, p. 602)

1

Mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> a-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup> dsi tho ho ho,  
 Mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> a-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup> dsi tha tha a-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup>,  
 Da-çe a-wa-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> a-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup> dsi tho ho ho,  
 Mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> a-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup> dsi tha tha a-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup>.

2

Zhu-dse a-wa-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> a-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup> dsi tho ho ho.

3

Ça-be a-wa-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> a-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup> dsi tho ho ho.

4

Xo-de a-wa-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> a-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup> dsi tho ho ho.

5

Ki-he a-wa-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> a-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup> dsi tho ho ho.

6

Ço<sup>n</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup> a-wa-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> a-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup> dsi tho ho ho.

7

Ga-mi a-wa-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> a-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup> dsi tho ho ho.

MI WA-THO<sup>N</sup> ZHI<sup>N</sup>-GA OR MI A-PO-GA WA-THO<sup>N</sup>  
 (SUN SONGS LITTLE) (SUN DOWNWARD SONGS)

## SONG 1

(Free translation, p. 604)

1

Wi-e gi-çtu bi the ha bi no<sup>n</sup> a,  
 Wi-e gi-çtu bi the ha bi no<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup>,  
 Gthe-do<sup>n</sup> kshe no<sup>n</sup> gi-çtu bi the ha bi no<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup>,  
 Gthe-do<sup>n</sup> kshe no<sup>n</sup> gi-çtu bi the ha bi no<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup>,  
 Wi-e gi-çtu bi the ha bi no<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup>.

2

Wa-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ça-be kshe no<sup>n</sup> gi-çtu bi the ha bi no<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup>.

3

Ho<sup>n</sup> do<sup>n</sup> the no<sup>n</sup> gi-çtu bi the ha bi no<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup>.

4

Ho<sup>n</sup>-ba do<sup>n</sup> the no<sup>n</sup> gi-çtu bi the ha bi no<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup>.



## SONG 2

(Free translation, p. 604)

1

I-da hi<sup>n</sup> do, i-da hi<sup>n</sup> do ho,  
 E-da gthe-do<sup>n</sup> kshe no<sup>n</sup> i-da-the the  
 A bi<sup>n</sup> do hi<sup>n</sup> do hi<sup>n</sup> do ho,  
 I-da hi<sup>n</sup> do ho.

2

I-da hi<sup>n</sup> do, i-da hi<sup>n</sup> do ho,  
 E-da wa-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ça-be kshe no<sup>n</sup> i-da the the,  
 A bi<sup>n</sup> do hi<sup>n</sup> do hi<sup>n</sup> do ho,  
 I-da hi<sup>n</sup> do ho.

3

I-da hi<sup>n</sup> do, i-da hi<sup>n</sup> do ho,  
 E-da ho<sup>n</sup> do<sup>n</sup> the no<sup>n</sup> i-da the the,  
 A bi<sup>n</sup> do hi<sup>n</sup> do hi<sup>n</sup> do ho,  
 I-da hi<sup>n</sup> do ho.

4

I-da hi<sup>n</sup> do, i-da hi<sup>n</sup> do ho,  
 E-da ho<sup>n</sup>-ba do<sup>n</sup> the no<sup>n</sup> i-da the the,  
 A bi<sup>n</sup> do hi<sup>n</sup> do hi<sup>n</sup> do ho,  
 I-da hi<sup>n</sup>.do ho.

## SONG 3

(Free translation, p. 605)

1

E the da-do<sup>n</sup> he the he the,  
 E da gthe-do<sup>n</sup> kshe no<sup>n</sup>,  
 I-da the ha ba i<sup>n</sup> do, i-da the ha ba i<sup>n</sup> do,  
 Ha-we tha he, da-do<sup>n</sup> he the he the.

2

E the da-do<sup>n</sup> he the he the,  
 E-da ho<sup>n</sup>-ba do<sup>n</sup> the no<sup>n</sup>,  
 I-da the ha ba i<sup>n</sup> do, i-da the ha ba i<sup>n</sup> do,  
 Ha-we tha he, da-do<sup>n</sup> he the he the.

3

E the da-do<sup>n</sup> he the he the,  
 E-da wa-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ça-be kshe no<sup>n</sup>  
 I-da the ha ba i<sup>n</sup> do, i-da the ha ba i<sup>n</sup> do,  
 Ha-we tha he, da-do<sup>n</sup> he the he the.

4

E the da-do<sup>n</sup> he the he the,  
 E-da ho<sup>n</sup> do<sup>n</sup> the no<sup>n</sup>,  
 I-da the ha ba i<sup>n</sup> do, i-da the ha ba i<sup>n</sup> do,  
 Ha-we tha he, da-do<sup>n</sup> he the he the.

HO-KE' WA-THO<sup>N</sup>  
(FISH-TURTLE SONGS)

(Free translation, p. 606)

1

E-da mo<sup>n</sup>-zho<sup>n</sup> a-do<sup>n</sup> dsi the he the,  
E-da mo<sup>n</sup>-zho<sup>n</sup> a-do<sup>n</sup> dsi the he the,  
Ho-ke mo<sup>n</sup>-zho<sup>n</sup> a-do<sup>n</sup> dsi-the he the,  
E-da mo<sup>n</sup>-zho<sup>n</sup> a do<sup>n</sup> dsi the he the.

SHO<sup>N'</sup>-GE MO<sup>N</sup>-ZHO<sup>N</sup> OP-SHE WA-THO<sup>N</sup>  
(WOLVES LANDS MARCH UPON SONGS)

SONG 1

(Free translation, p. 607)

1

Mo<sup>n</sup>-zho<sup>n</sup> thu-we a-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup> wa-zho<sup>n</sup>-gi-the a-thi<sup>n</sup> he the,  
Mo<sup>n</sup>-zho<sup>n</sup> thu-we a-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup> wa-zho<sup>n</sup>-gi-the a-thi<sup>n</sup> he the,  
Ni-ka do-ba mo<sup>n</sup>-zho<sup>n</sup> thu-we a-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>,  
Wa-zho<sup>n</sup>-gi-the a-thi<sup>n</sup> he the,  
Mo<sup>n</sup>-zho<sup>n</sup> thu-we a-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup>-zho<sup>n</sup> thu-we a-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>.

2

Sho<sup>n</sup>-ge ʔo no<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup>-zho<sup>n</sup> thu-we a-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>.

3

Sho<sup>n</sup>-ge ʧa-be mo<sup>n</sup>-zho<sup>n</sup> thu-we a-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>.

4

Sho<sup>n</sup>-ge xo-dse mo<sup>n</sup>-zho<sup>n</sup> thu-we a-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>.

5

Sho<sup>n</sup>-ge ʧi no<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup>-zho<sup>n</sup> thu-we a-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>.

6

Sho<sup>n</sup>-ge ʧka no<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup>-zho<sup>n</sup> thu-we a-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>.

SONG 2

(Free translation, p. 608)

1

Hi-tho-wa-he no<sup>n</sup> wa-zho<sup>n</sup>-gi-the a-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>,  
Hi-tho-wa-he no<sup>n</sup> wa-zho<sup>n</sup>-gi-the a-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>,  
Sho<sup>n</sup>-ge ʔo'no<sup>n</sup> wi-e a-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>,  
Hi-tho-wa-he no<sup>n</sup> wa-zho<sup>n</sup>-gi-the a-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>.

2

Sho<sup>n</sup>-ge ʧa-be wi-e a-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>.

3

Sho<sup>n</sup>-ge xo-dse wi-e a-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>.

4

Sho<sup>n</sup>-ge ʧka no<sup>n</sup> wi-e a-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>.

WA-1<sup>N'</sup>XA-GE WA-THO<sup>N</sup>  
(WAILING SONG)

## SONG 1

(Free translation, p. 615)

1

A-xa-ge bthe do hi<sup>n</sup> do a,  
I-ba thi<sup>n</sup> a-do<sup>n</sup> bthe do hi<sup>n</sup> do ho,  
I-ba thi<sup>n</sup> a-do<sup>n</sup> bthe do hi<sup>n</sup> do ho,  
Bthe do hi<sup>n</sup> do a,  
I-ba thi<sup>n</sup> a-do<sup>n</sup> bthe do hi<sup>n</sup> do ho,  
I-ba thi<sup>n</sup> a-do<sup>n</sup> bthe do hi<sup>n</sup> do,  
A-xa-ge bthe do hi<sup>n</sup> do a.

2

I-tsi<sup>n</sup> a-thi<sup>n</sup> a-do<sup>n</sup> bthe do hi<sup>n</sup> do ho,

3

Mo<sup>n</sup>-hi<sup>n</sup> a-thi<sup>n</sup> a-do<sup>n</sup> bthe do hi<sup>n</sup> do ho.

4

Do-ka thi<sup>n</sup> a-do<sup>n</sup> bthe do hi<sup>n</sup> do ho.

5

Mi<sup>n</sup>-dse a-thi<sup>n</sup> a-do<sup>n</sup> bthe do hi<sup>n</sup> do ho.

6

Mo<sup>n</sup> a-gtha-thi<sup>n</sup> bthe do hi<sup>n</sup> do ho.

7

Mo<sup>n</sup>-sho<sup>n</sup> a-gtha-thi<sup>n</sup> bthe do hi<sup>n</sup> do ho.

8

Ga-mo<sup>n</sup>-mo<sup>n</sup>-dse bthe do hi<sup>n</sup> do ho.

## WA-THU'-ÇE W1'-GI-E

(TAKING (WA-DO<sup>N</sup>-BE) RITUAL)

(SAUCY CALF)

(Free translation, p. 616; literal translation, p. 815)

1

1. He'-dsi xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
2. Zha'-be do-ga kshe a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
3. Tsi'-xi<sup>n</sup> dse tha-ța dsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
4. Mo<sup>n</sup>'-sho-sho-dse i<sup>n</sup>-dse a-tha-ha xtsi zho<sup>n</sup> ke a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
5. Ga thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
6. Wa'-thi<sup>n</sup>-e-čka she-mo<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup>-zhi i<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
7. Zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga mi hi-e ge ta', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
8. We'-go<sup>n</sup>-tha gi-o-țs'e-ga ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da,  
tsi ga,
9. Tsi'-xi<sup>n</sup>-dse tha-ța dsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,

10. Zha'-be do-ga kshe a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
11. Ni'ba-btha-btha-xe hi the do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
12. Ni'ga-gthe-çe ga ge a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
13. U'-no<sup>n</sup> pa-xe a'hi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
14. Zhi<sup>n</sup>'-ga wo<sup>n</sup> shki do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
15. Ha'ga-gthe-çe a bi i-the ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da,  
tsi ga,
16. Ni'ga-po-ki ga ge shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
17. E'shki wa-thi<sup>n</sup>-e çka she-mo<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup>-zhi i<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
18. Zhi<sup>n</sup>'-ga wa-ko<sup>n</sup>-da hu a-no<sup>n</sup>-k'o<sup>n</sup> bi ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta i tsi<sup>n</sup> da',  
a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga.

## 2

19. He'-dsi xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
20. Ni'ba-sho<sup>n</sup> wi<sup>n</sup> hi the do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
21. Thiu'-xe çi to<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
22. Tha'-xia-tha gthi he the to<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
23. Ga'tse shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
24. Wa'-thi<sup>n</sup>-e çka she-mo<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup>-shi i<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
25. Mi hi-e ge ta ni-ka-shi-ga, a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
26. I'-tha-ga-çko<sup>n</sup>-the a-to<sup>n</sup> he i<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
27. Zhi<sup>n</sup>'-ga wo<sup>n</sup> shki do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
28. Wa'-tha-xia-tha gi-o-tse-ga ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup>  
da, tsi ga.

## 3

29. Sho<sup>n</sup>' to<sup>n</sup> i<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
30. Tha'-xu-e tsi-the to<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
31. Ni'ki-mo<sup>n</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup> dsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
32. Tha'-xu-e tsi-the to<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
33. Ni' ga-po'-ki'-o<sup>n</sup>-he ke a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
34. Ni ga-po-ki ga thi<sup>n</sup>-ke a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
35. Wa'-ko<sup>n</sup>-da hu a-no<sup>n</sup> k'o<sup>n</sup> bi-a ha no<sup>n</sup> a-tha', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
36. Zhi<sup>n</sup>'-ga wo<sup>n</sup> shki do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
37. Wa'-ko<sup>n</sup>-da hu a-no<sup>n</sup>-k'o<sup>n</sup> bi ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup>  
da, tsi ga,
38. Sho<sup>n</sup>' to<sup>n</sup> i<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
39. Mo<sup>n</sup>'-sho<sup>n</sup>-dse tha-ta dsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
40. U-pa-mo<sup>n</sup>-gthe i-he-the to<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga.

## 4

41. Sho<sup>n</sup>' to<sup>n</sup> i<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
42. Tsi'-xi<sup>n</sup>-dse i-sdu-ge dsia', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
43. Zha'-be do-ga kshe a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
44. Mo<sup>n</sup>'-sho-sho-dse i<sup>n</sup>-dse a-tha-ha xtsi zho<sup>n</sup> ke a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
45. Ga' tse shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
46. Wa'-thi<sup>n</sup>-e çka she-mo<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup>-zhi i<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,

47. Zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga mi hi-e ge ta', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
48. We'-go<sup>n</sup>-tha gi-o-tš'e-ga ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta ba sho<sup>n</sup> a-to<sup>n</sup> he i<sup>n</sup> da',  
a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
49. He'-dsi xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
50. Tši'-xi<sup>n</sup>-dse tha-ta dsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
51. Ni' ba-btha-btha-xe hi the do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
52. Ni' ga-gthe-çe ga ge a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
53. U'-no<sup>n</sup> pa-xe a hi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
54. Zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga wo<sup>n</sup> shki do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
55. Ha' ga-gthe-çe a bi i-the ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da',  
tsi ga.

## 5

56. Ni' ba-sho<sup>n</sup> wi<sup>n</sup> hi the do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
57. Thiu'-xe çi to<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
58. Tha'-xia-tha gthi he-the to<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
59. Ga' tse shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
60. Wa'-thi<sup>n</sup>-e çka she-mo<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup>-zhi i<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
61. Mi' hi-e ge ta ni-ka-shi-ga', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
62. I'-tha-wa sho<sup>n</sup> xtsi pa-xe a-to<sup>n</sup> he i<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
63. Mi' hi-e ge ta', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
64. We'-go<sup>n</sup>-tha gi-o-tš'e-ga ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta ba sho<sup>n</sup> a-to<sup>n</sup> he i<sup>n</sup> da',  
a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
65. Sho<sup>n</sup> to<sup>n</sup> i<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
66. Tha'-xu-e tsi-the to<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
67. Ni' ki-mo<sup>n</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup> dsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
68. Tha'-xu-e tsi-the to<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
69. Ni' ga-po-ki-o<sup>n</sup>-he ke a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
70. Ni' ga-po-ki ga ge a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
71. Wa'-ço<sup>n</sup>-da hu a-no<sup>n</sup>-k'o<sup>n</sup> bi a ha no<sup>n</sup> a-tha', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
72. Zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga wo<sup>n</sup> shki do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
73. Wa'-ço<sup>n</sup>-da hu a-no<sup>n</sup>-k'o<sup>n</sup> bi ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup>  
da, tsi ga.

## 6

74. He'-dsi xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
75. Zha'-be do-ga kshe a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
76. Tši'-xi<sup>n</sup>-dse tha-ta dsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
77. Ni' ba-btha-btha-xe hi the do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
78. Ni' ba-sho<sup>n</sup> wi<sup>n</sup> hi the do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
79. Thiu'-xe çi to<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
80. Tha'-xia-tha gthi he-the to<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
81. Ga' tse shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
82. Wa'-thi<sup>n</sup>-e çka she-mo<sup>n</sup>-mo<sup>n</sup>-zhi i<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga
83. Mi' hi-e ge ta ni-ka-shi-ga', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,

84. I'-tha-wa sho<sup>n</sup> xtsi pa-xe a-to<sup>n</sup> he i<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 85. Zhi<sup>n</sup>'-ga wa-tha-xia-tha bi tho<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 86. Wa'-tha-xia-tha gi-o-t's'e-ga ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga.

## 7

87. Sho<sup>n</sup>' to<sup>n</sup> i<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 88. Ni' u-ba-sho<sup>n</sup> pe-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba hi the do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 89. Ga' tse shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 90. O'-do<sup>n</sup> i-tha-ga-çko<sup>n</sup>-bthe a-to<sup>n</sup> he i<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 91. Zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga we-tha-wa mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 92. We'-tha-wa tha bi tho<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 93. We'-tha-wa gi-o-t's'e-ga ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga.

## SONG 2

(Free translation, p. 619)

## 1

U-gi-ha e-dsi tho, u-gi-ha e-dsi tho, u-gi-ha e-dsi tho.

## 2

Tha-wa-wa e-dsi tho, tha-wa-wa e-dsi-tho, tha-wa-wa e-dsi tho.

## SONG 3

(Free translation, p. 620)

## 1

Ni-ka no<sup>n</sup> do<sup>n</sup> ga wa-do<sup>n</sup>-be, ga wa-do<sup>n</sup>-be,  
 Wi<sup>n</sup>-xtsi thu-ça- wi<sup>n</sup>-xtsi thu-ça,  
 Ni-ka no<sup>n</sup> do<sup>n</sup> ga wa-do<sup>n</sup>-be,  
 Wi<sup>n</sup>-xtsi thu-ça, wi<sup>n</sup>-xtsi thu-ça,  
 Ni-ka no<sup>n</sup> do<sup>n</sup> ga wa-do<sup>n</sup>-be wi<sup>n</sup>-xtsi thu-ça.

## 2

Tho<sup>n</sup>-ba thu-ça, tho<sup>n</sup>-ba thu-ça.

## 3

Tha-bthi<sup>n</sup> thu-ça, tha-bthi<sup>n</sup> thu-ça.

## 4

Do-ba thu-ça, do-ba thu-ça.

## 5

Ça-to<sup>n</sup> thu-ça, ça-to<sup>n</sup> thu-ça.

## 6

Sha-pe thu-ça, sha-pe thu-ça.

## 7

E-no<sup>n</sup> thu-ça, e-no<sup>n</sup> thu-ça.

ḲA'-XE WA-THO<sup>n</sup>  
(CROW SONGS)

## SONG 1

(Free translation, p. 622)

## 1

Ni-ḳa tho<sup>n</sup>-ba tha do<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>,  
A he the ni-ḳa tho<sup>n</sup>-ba tha do<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>,  
A he the ni-ḳa tho<sup>n</sup>-ba tha do<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>,  
Da-ḳe ʒa to<sup>n</sup> wa-tha-pa-pa ha-dsi bthe hi<sup>n</sup> do,  
Ni-ḳa tho<sup>n</sup>-ba a, a da-do<sup>n</sup> he,  
Da-ḳe ʒa to<sup>n</sup> wa-tha-pa-pa ha-dsi bthe hi<sup>n</sup> do.

## 2

Tha-ḳo<sup>n</sup> ʒa to<sup>n</sup> wa-tha-pa-pa ha-dsi bthe hi<sup>n</sup> do.

## 3

Ḳi-ba-xtha to<sup>n</sup> wa-tha-pa-pa ha-dsi bthe hi<sup>n</sup> do.

## 4

Tha-ḳo<sup>n</sup> ʒa to<sup>n</sup> wa-tha-pa-pa ha-dsi bthe hi<sup>n</sup> do.

## SONG 2

(Free translation, p. 623)

## 1

Ḳa-xe ga-ṭse tho<sup>n</sup>-ba dse ḳi-gthi-xa-xa,  
Ḳa-xe ga-ṭse tho<sup>n</sup>-ba dse ḳi-gthi-xa-xa,  
Ḳa-xe ga-ṭse tho<sup>n</sup>-ba dse ḳi-gthi-xa-xa,  
Ḳa-xe ga-ṭse tho<sup>n</sup>-ba dse ḳi-gthi-xa-xa,  
Ḳa-xe ga ṭse tho<sup>n</sup>-ba dse ḳi-gthi-xa-xa.

## 2

Ḳa-xe ga-ṭse tho<sup>n</sup>-ba dse wa-tha-pa-pa,

## 3

Ḳa-xe ga-ṭse tho<sup>n</sup>-ba dse mo<sup>n</sup>-tha-tha-ha.

## 4

Ḳa-xe ga-ṭse tho<sup>n</sup>-ba dse ḳo<sup>n</sup>-ḳe ga-xa.

ṬSE WA'-THO<sup>n</sup>  
(BUFFALO SONGS)

A'-ḲI-HO<sup>n</sup> XO-ḲA  
(SUBSTITUTE XO-ḲA)

No<sup>n</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, Ṭse Wa'-tho<sup>n</sup> a-tsi mi<sup>n</sup>-kshi<sup>n</sup> do'. The ga  
Ḳi'-no<sup>n</sup> tsi ga-xa bi a, No<sup>n</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e'.

## SONG 1

(Free translation, p. 625)

1

Wi-ṭsi-go ho no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup> a hi<sup>n</sup> do,  
 A ho wi-ṭsi-go ho no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup> a hi<sup>n</sup> do,  
 A ho wi-ṭsi-go ho no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup> a hi<sup>n</sup> do ho,  
 Mi the he, mi the he no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup> a hi<sup>n</sup> do ho,  
 Do-ga no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup> a hi<sup>n</sup> do ho.

2

Mi the he, mi the he no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup> a hi<sup>n</sup> do ho,  
 Mi-ga no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup> a hi<sup>n</sup> do ho.

3

Mi the he, mi the he no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup> a hi<sup>n</sup> do ho,  
 Zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup> a hi<sup>n</sup> do ho.

4

Mi the he, mi the he no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup> a hi<sup>n</sup> do ho,  
 Ho<sup>n</sup>-ba no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup> a hi<sup>n</sup> do ho.

## SONG 2

(Free translation, p. 626)

1

Wi-ṭsi-go no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup>, wi-ṭsi-go no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup>,  
 Wi-ṭsi-go no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup>, A ha no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup>,  
 A ha, a ha,  
 Do-ga-e no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup>, do-ga-e no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup>,  
 A ha no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup>, A ha, a ha.

2

Mi-ga-e no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup>, mi-ga-e no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup>,  
 A ha no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup>, A ha, a ha.

3

Zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga-e no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup>, zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga-e no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup>,  
 A ha no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup>, A ha, a ha.]

4

Ho<sup>n</sup>-ba-e no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup>, ho<sup>n</sup>-ba-e no<sup>n</sup> zhi<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup>,  
 A ha no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup>, A ha, a ha.

## SONG 3

(Free translation, p. 627)

1

Wi-ṭsi-go, wi-ṭsi-go no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> da ha,  
 A ha no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> da ha, a ha no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> da ha,  
 A ha no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> da ha, do-ga no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> da ha,  
 Do-ga no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> da ha, A ha no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> da ha.

2

Wi-ṭsi-go, wi-ṭsi-go no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> da ha,  
 A ha no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> da ha, a ha no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> da ha,  
 A ha no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> da ha, Ho<sup>n</sup>-ba no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> da ha,  
 Ho<sup>n</sup>-ba no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> da ha, a ha no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> da ha.



## SONG 4

(Free translation, p. 628)

1

Wi-ṭsi-go ho tsi no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e the he the,  
 E-ni-the he tho-he mi the the, e-ni-the-the  
 E-ni-the he tho-he mi the the,  
 E-ni-the he do-ga no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e the he.

2

E-ni-the he mi-ga no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e the he.

3

E-ni-the he zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e the he.

4

E-ni-the he Ho<sup>n</sup>-ba no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e the he.

## SONG 5

(Free translation, p. 629)

1

Mo<sup>n</sup>-i<sup>n</sup>-ka u-ho<sup>n</sup>-ge dsi tha-thi<sup>n</sup>-she no<sup>n</sup>,  
 Tho-ge no<sup>n</sup> do-ga gi ṭa bi the the the he the,  
 Do-ga gi ṭa bi the the,  
 Tho-ge no<sup>n</sup> do-ga gi ṭa bi the the the he.

2

Tho-ge no<sup>n</sup> mi-ga gi ṭa bi the the he.

3

Tho-ge no<sup>n</sup> zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga gi ṭa bi the the he.

4

Tho-ge no<sup>n</sup> Ho<sup>n</sup>-ba gi ṭa bi the the he.

## SONG 6

(Free translation, p. 630)

1

Mi-ṭu-dse, mi-ṭu-dse di ba thi<sup>n</sup> a ha,  
 Wi-ṭsi-go di ba thi<sup>n</sup> a ha ge the he,  
 A ha ge the he-e,  
 Do-ga u-tha gi ba thi<sup>n</sup> a ha,  
 Wi-ṭsi-go gi ba thi<sup>n</sup> a ha ge the he,  
 A ha ge the he.

2

Mi-ga u-tha gi ba thi<sup>n</sup> a ha.

3

Zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga no<sup>n</sup> gi ba thi<sup>n</sup> a ha.

4

Ho<sup>n</sup>-ba no<sup>n</sup> gi ba thi<sup>n</sup> a ha.

## SONG 7

(Free translation, p. 631)

1

Gi ba dse ha tho, gi ba dse ha tho,  
 Gi ba dse ha tho, gi ba dse ha tho,  
 I-wi-the tha ha tho, do-ga no<sup>n</sup> ha tho,  
 Gi ba dse ha tho, gi ba dse ha tho,  
 Gi ba dse ha tho, gi ba dse ha tho.

2

I-wi-the tha ha tho, mi-ga no<sup>n</sup> ha tho.

3

I-wi-the tha ha tho, zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga no<sup>n</sup> ha tho.

4

I-wi-the tha ha tho, ho<sup>n</sup>-ba ge ha tho.

## SONG 8

(Free translation, p. 632)

1

Ṭsi-go ḳi-da bi no<sup>n</sup>, ḳi-da bi no<sup>n</sup>,  
 Ḳi-da bi no<sup>n</sup>, ḳi-da bi no<sup>n</sup> ha,  
 Ḳi-da bi no<sup>n</sup>, ḳi-da bi no<sup>n</sup>,  
 Ḳi da bi no<sup>n</sup> ha.

2

Ṭsi-go ṭs'e wi-the no<sup>n</sup>, ṭs'e wi-the no<sup>n</sup>,

3

Ṭsi-go hi u-thi<sup>n</sup>-ga no<sup>n</sup>, hi u-thi<sup>n</sup>-ga no<sup>n</sup>.

4

Ṭsi-go pa u-thi<sup>n</sup>-ga no<sup>n</sup>, pa u-thi<sup>n</sup>-ga no<sup>n</sup>.

5

Ṭsi-go a u-thi<sup>n</sup>-ga no<sup>n</sup>, a u-thi<sup>n</sup>-ga no<sup>n</sup>.

## SONG 9

(Free translation, p. 635)

1

Mo<sup>n</sup>-i<sup>n</sup>-ka tse-ga ge no<sup>n</sup> dse he,  
 Wi-ṭsi-go a-ḳi-gthe sho-dse he,  
 Ṭo<sup>n</sup>-be mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup>-e the he the,  
 Sho-dse ge ṭo<sup>n</sup>-be mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup>-e the,  
 Tho-ge no<sup>n</sup> dse ge  
 Ṭo<sup>n</sup>-be mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup>-e the he.

2

Tho ge no<sup>n</sup> gthe-ḳa ge  
 Ṭo<sup>n</sup>-be mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup>-ḳethe, he.

3

Tho ge no<sup>n</sup> bo-xa ge  
 Ṭo<sup>n</sup>-be mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup>-e the he.

4

Tho ge no<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup>-be ge  
 Ṭo<sup>n</sup>-be mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup>-e the he.

## SONG 10

(Free translation, p. 636)

1

A-çi-gthe he sho-dse no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e the he the,  
 A-çi-gthe he sho-dse no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e the he the,  
 A-çi-gthe he sho-dse no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e the,  
 A-çi-gthe he sho-dse no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e the he.

2

A-çi-gthe he ga-bthi no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e the he the.

3

A-çi-gthe he gthe-ça no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e the he the.

4

A-çi-gthe he xo-de no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e the he the.

5

A-çi-gthe he ho<sup>n</sup>-ba u-no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e the he the.

6

A-çi-gthe he wa-k'ò<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e the he the.

7

A-çi-gthe he wi<sup>n</sup>-xtsi hi tha-a ha tha.

8

A-çi-gthe he ça-to<sup>n</sup> hi tha-a ha tha.  
 Sha-pe hi tha-a ha tha.  
 E-no<sup>n</sup> hi tha-a ha tha.

9

A-çi-gthe he ba-bthi no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e the he the.

10

A-çi-gthe he ho<sup>n</sup>-ba u-no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e the he the.

11

A-çi-gthe he bo-xa no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e the he the.

12

A-çi-gthe he mo<sup>n</sup>-gthe no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e the he the.

13

A-çi-gthe he ga-mi no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e the he the.

14

A-çi-gthe he ki-tse no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e the he the.

15

A-çi-gthe he xtha to<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e the he the.

16

A-çi-gthe he tsi-zhe no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e the he the.

17

A-çi-gthe he ga-dsi<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e the he the.

18

A-çi-gthe he xa-pe no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e the he the.

19

A-çi-gthe he zha-wa no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e the he the.

20

A-çi-gthe he ho<sup>n</sup>-ba no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e the he the.

## SONG 11

(Free translation, p. 638)

1

Do<sup>n</sup>-be the t̄se the he, do<sup>n</sup>-be the t̄se the,  
 A-çi-gthe no<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup> do<sup>n</sup>-be the t̄se the he,  
 Do<sup>n</sup>-be the t̄se the he, do<sup>n</sup>-be the t̄se the the he the,  
 Gthe-ça ge no<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup> do<sup>n</sup>-be the t̄se the he,  
 Do<sup>n</sup>-be the t̄se the he, do<sup>n</sup>-be the t̄se the the he.

2

Bo-xa ge no<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup> do<sup>n</sup>-be the t̄se the he.

3

Mo<sup>n</sup>-gthe ge no<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup> do<sup>n</sup>-be the t̄se the he.

4

Ga-mi ge no<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup> do<sup>n</sup>-be the t̄se the he.

5

Xtha çi ge no<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup> do<sup>n</sup>-be the t̄se the he.

6

Ga-dsi<sup>n</sup> ge no<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup> do<sup>n</sup>-be the t̄se the he.

7

Ho<sup>n</sup>-ba ge no<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup> do<sup>n</sup>-be the t̄se the he.

## SONG 12

(Free translation, p. 639)

1

A-çi-gthe he ha-ha mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup>-e the he the,  
 A-çi-gthe he ha-ha mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup>-e the he the,  
 A-çi-gthe he ha-ha mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup>-e the,  
 A-çi-gthe he ha-ha mo<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup>-e the he.

2

A-çi-gthe he tsi-zhe no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e the he the.

3

A-çi-gthe he xtha çi no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e the he the.

4

A-çi-gthe he wa-ķ' o<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e the he the.

5

A-çi-gthe he t̄o<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e the he the.

6

A-çi-gthe he zha-wa no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e the he the.

7

A-çi-gthe he ho<sup>n</sup>-ba u-no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e the he the.

## SAUCY-CALF

Ha! No<sup>n</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, Tse Wa-tho<sup>n</sup> the ga she-no<sup>n</sup> i<sup>n</sup> do. Wa-tho<sup>n</sup>/  
Sha-pe thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe, No<sup>n</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, a-tsi a'-to<sup>n</sup>-he i<sup>n</sup> do. Wa-ga'-xe  
the she-to<sup>n</sup>'-ha a-the' ta a-ka i<sup>n</sup> do. A'-ki-hi-dse go<sup>n</sup>-tha thi<sup>n</sup> he  
no<sup>n</sup>-e.

WA-THO<sup>N'</sup> SHA-PE TSE  
(SONGS SIX THE)

TSE-DO'-A NI-KA I-NO<sup>N</sup>-ZHI<sup>N</sup> WA-THO<sup>N</sup>  
(BUFFALO MEN STAND BY SONGS)

## SONG 1

(Free translation, p. 640)

1

Wi-tsi-go no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup>,  
Wi-tsi-go no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup>,  
Wi-tsi-go no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup>,  
Pa-hi btha-zho<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup>,  
Wi-tsi-go no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup>.

2

He-thi-ste-do<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup>.

3

A-ba-t'o-xa no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup>.

4

Hiu-gthe do-ba no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup>.

5

Mo<sup>n</sup>-no<sup>n</sup>-k'o-i-tha no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup>.

## SONG 2

(Free translation, p. 641)

1

Wi-tsi-go mo<sup>n</sup>-i<sup>n</sup> kshe no<sup>n</sup>,  
Wi-tsi-go mo<sup>n</sup>-i<sup>n</sup> kshe no<sup>n</sup>,  
Wi-tsi-go mo<sup>n</sup>-i<sup>n</sup> kshe no<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup>,  
Pa-hi btha-zho<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup>-i<sup>n</sup>-kshe no<sup>n</sup>,  
Wi-tsi-go mo<sup>n</sup>-i<sup>n</sup> kshe no<sup>n</sup>.

2

He-thi-ste-do<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup>-i<sup>n</sup> kshe no<sup>n</sup>.

3

A-ba-t'o-xa mo<sup>n</sup>-i<sup>n</sup>-kshe no<sup>n</sup>.

4

Çi<sup>n</sup>-dse xa-tha mo<sup>n</sup>-i<sup>n</sup> kshe no<sup>n</sup>.

5

Hiu-gthe do-ba mo<sup>n</sup>-i<sup>n</sup> kshe no<sup>n</sup>.

6

Mo<sup>n</sup>-no<sup>n</sup>-k'o-i-tha mo<sup>n</sup>-i<sup>n</sup> kshe no<sup>n</sup>.

## SONG 3

(Free translation, p. 642)

1

Wi-ṭsi-go no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> tsi-tha,  
 Wi-ṭsi-go no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> tsi-tha thi<sup>n</sup> ha,  
 Pa-hi btha-zho<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> tsi-tha,  
 Wi-ṭsi-go no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> tsi-tha,  
 Wi-ṭsi-go no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> tsi-tha thi<sup>n</sup> ha,  
 Pa-hi btha-zho<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> tsi-tha thi<sup>n</sup> ha.

2

Wi-ṭsi-go no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> tsi-tha thi<sup>n</sup> ha,  
 He-thi-ste-do<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> tsi-tha thi<sup>n</sup> ha.

3

Wi-ṭsi-go no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> tsi-tha thi<sup>n</sup> ha,  
 A-ba-ṭ'o-xa no<sup>n</sup>-shi<sup>n</sup> tsi-tha thi<sup>n</sup> ha.

4

Wi-ṭsi-go no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> tsi-tha thi<sup>n</sup> ha,  
 Çi<sup>n</sup>-dse xa-tha no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> tsi-tha thi<sup>n</sup> ha.

5

Wi-ṭsi-go no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> tsi-tha thi<sup>n</sup> ha,  
 Hiu-gthe do-ba no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> tsi-tha thi<sup>n</sup> ha,

6

Wi-ṭsi-go no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> tsi-tha thi<sup>n</sup> ha,  
 Mo<sup>n</sup>-no<sup>n</sup>-k'o-i-tha no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> tsi-tha thi<sup>n</sup> ha.

## SONG 4

(Free translation, p. 643)

1

Wi-ṭsi-go ho no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> da ha,  
 Wi-ṭsi-go ho no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> da,  
 Wi-ṭsi-go ho no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> da-a ha-a,  
 No<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> da ha mo<sup>n</sup>-ha ṭa ha no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> da,  
 Wi-ṭsi-go ho no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> da-a ha.

2

No<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> da ha ga-xpa ṭa ha no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> da.

3

No<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> da ha a-k'a ṭa ha no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> da.

4

No<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> da ha ba-ço<sup>n</sup> ṭa ha no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> da.

ȚA WA'-THO<sup>N</sup>  
(DEER SONGS)

## SONG 1

(Free translation, p. 644)

## 1

Hiu-wa-ge no<sup>n</sup>-no<sup>n</sup>-ge the,  
 Hiu-wa-ge no<sup>n</sup>-no<sup>n</sup>-ge the,  
 Hiu-wa-ge no<sup>n</sup>-no<sup>n</sup>-ge the,  
 Hiu-wa-ge no<sup>n</sup>-no<sup>n</sup>-ge,  
 O-ho-o țsi the ge no<sup>n</sup>-no<sup>n</sup>-ge the,  
 Hiu-wa-ge no<sup>n</sup>-no<sup>n</sup>-ge the,  
 Hiu-wa-ge no<sup>n</sup>-no<sup>n</sup>-ge.

## 2

O-ho-o țsi-xi<sup>n</sup>-dse dsi a-thi<sup>n</sup> he the.

## 3

O-ho-o ho<sup>n</sup>-ba ge no<sup>n</sup>-no<sup>n</sup>-ge the.

WA-ÇA'-BE WA-THO<sup>N</sup>  
(BLACK BEAR SONGS)

## SONG 1

(Free translation, p. 645)

## 1

Wa-ça-ki-the shpa-no<sup>n</sup>-tha bi the he,  
 Shpa-no<sup>n</sup>-tha bi the he, shpa-no<sup>n</sup>-tha bi the he,  
 Shpa-no<sup>n</sup>-tha bi the the he the,  
 Ça-be-țo<sup>n</sup>-ga shpa-no<sup>n</sup>-tha bi the he,  
 Shpa-no<sup>n</sup>-tha bi the.

## 2

I<sup>n</sup>-gtho<sup>n</sup>-țo<sup>n</sup>-ga shpa-no<sup>n</sup>-tha bi the he.

## SONG 2

(Free translation, p. 646)

## 1

Wa-ça-ki-the shpa-no<sup>n</sup>-tha bi the,  
 Ha-dsi tha bthe do<sup>n</sup> he the the,  
 Ha-dsi tha bthe do<sup>n</sup> he the he the,  
 Ça-be-țo<sup>n</sup>-ga shpa-no<sup>n</sup>-tha bi the,  
 Ha-dsi tha bthe do<sup>n</sup> he,  
 Wa-ça-ki-the shpa-no<sup>n</sup>-tha bi the.

## 2

I<sup>n</sup>-gtho<sup>n</sup>-țo<sup>n</sup>-ga shpa-no<sup>n</sup>-tha bi the.

## SAUCY-CALF

The No<sup>n</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga No<sup>n</sup>-xthe' I-ki<sup>n</sup>-dse Wa-tho<sup>n</sup> a-tsi i<sup>n</sup> do.  
 The old men little charcoal rush songs I have come.

NO<sup>n</sup>-XTHE I-KI<sup>n</sup>-DSE WI'-GI-E  
 (CHARCOAL RUSH RITUAL)

(Free translation, p. 647; literal translation, p. 817)

## 1

1. A'-tha tsi ta', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
2. Wa-ça-be do-ga çì<sup>n</sup>-de do<sup>n</sup>-k'a e-go<sup>n</sup> kshe no<sup>n</sup>- a, a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga
3. I'-ki-no<sup>n</sup>-xthe o<sup>n</sup>-tha ba tho<sup>n</sup> tse a-to<sup>n</sup>-he i<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
4. Zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga no<sup>n</sup>-xthe o<sup>n</sup>-tha bi tho<sup>n</sup> shki a, a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
5. No<sup>n</sup>'-xthe gi-sha-be ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
6. Pa'-zhu-zhe sha-ba ga thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
7. I'-ki-no<sup>n</sup>-xthe o<sup>n</sup>-tha ba tho<sup>n</sup> tse a-to<sup>n</sup>-he i<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
8. Zhi<sup>n</sup>'-ga no<sup>n</sup>-xthe o<sup>n</sup>-tha bi tho<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
9. No<sup>n</sup>'-xthe gi-sha-be ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
10. Mi'hi-e ge ta shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
11. We'-go<sup>n</sup>-tha a-thi<sup>n</sup> bi tho<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
12. We'-go<sup>n</sup>-tha gi-o-tš'e-ga ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da,  
 tsi ga,
13. We-ki i-he-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta i tsi<sup>n</sup> da, a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga.

## 2

14. I'ko<sup>n</sup>-ha sha-be ga thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
15. E'shki no<sup>n</sup>-xthe o<sup>n</sup>-tha ba tho<sup>n</sup> ta a-to<sup>n</sup>-he i<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
16. Zhi<sup>n</sup>'-ga no<sup>n</sup>-xthe o<sup>n</sup>-tha bi tho<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
17. No<sup>n</sup>'-xthe gi-sha-be ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
18. Mi'hi-e ge ta shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
19. We'-go<sup>n</sup>-tha a-thi<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi tho<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
20. We'-go<sup>n</sup>-tha gi-o-tš'a-ga ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da,  
 tsi ga,
21. We-ki i-he-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta i tsi<sup>n</sup> da, a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga.

## 3

22. No<sup>n</sup>'-ta i-ta-xe sha-be ga thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
23. E'shki no<sup>n</sup>-xthe o<sup>n</sup>-tha ba tho<sup>n</sup> tse a-to<sup>n</sup>-he i<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
24. Zhi<sup>n</sup>'-ga no<sup>n</sup>-xthe o<sup>n</sup>-tha bi tho<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
25. No<sup>n</sup>'-xthe gi-sha-be ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
26. Mi'hi-e ge ta shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
27. We'-go<sup>n</sup>-tha gi-o-tš'e-ga ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da,  
 tsi ga,
28. We-ki i-he-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga.



## 4

29. No<sup>n'</sup>-ka u-pa hi<sup>n</sup> sha-be ga thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 30. E shki no<sup>n</sup>-xthe o<sup>n</sup>-tha ba tho<sup>n</sup> tse a-to<sup>n</sup> he i<sup>n</sup> da, a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 31. Zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga no<sup>n</sup>-xthe o<sup>n</sup>-tha bi tho<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 32. No<sup>n'</sup>-xthe gi-sha-be ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 33. Mi'hi-e ge ta shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 34. We'-go<sup>n</sup>-tha gi-o-tš'e-ga ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da,  
 tsi ga,  
 35. We-ki-i-he-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta i tsi<sup>n</sup> da, a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga.

## 5

36. Ci'-de i-ta-xe sha-be ga thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 37. E'shki no<sup>n</sup>-xthe o<sup>n</sup>-tha ba tho<sup>n</sup> tse a-to<sup>n</sup> he i<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 38. Zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga no<sup>n</sup>-xthe o<sup>n</sup>-tha bi tho<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 39. No<sup>n'</sup>-xthe gi-sha-be ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 40. Zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga no<sup>n</sup>-xthe o<sup>n</sup>-tha bi tho<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 41. Mi'hi-e ge ta shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 42. We-go<sup>n</sup>-tha gi-o-tš'e-ga ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta i tsi<sup>n</sup> da, a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 43. We ki-i-he-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta i tsi<sup>n</sup> da, a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga.

## 6

44. Ci'-pa-hi sha-be ga thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 45. E'shki no<sup>n</sup>-xthe o<sup>n</sup>-tha ba tho<sup>n</sup> ta a-to<sup>n</sup> he i<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 46. Zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga no<sup>n</sup>-xthe o<sup>n</sup>-tha bi tho<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 47. No<sup>n'</sup>-xthe gi-sha-be ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 48. Mi'hi-e ge ta shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 49. We'-go<sup>n</sup>-tha gi-o-tš'e-ga ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da,  
 tsi ga,  
 50. We ki i-he-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta i tsi<sup>n</sup> da, a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga.

## 7

51. Ho<sup>n'</sup>-a-do<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup>-xthe tha bi go<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> shki a, hi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 52. I<sup>n'</sup>-gtho<sup>n</sup>-ga do-ga kshe a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 53. I'-ki-no<sup>n</sup>-xthe o<sup>n</sup>-tha ba tho<sup>n</sup> ta a-to<sup>n</sup> he i<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 54. Zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga no<sup>n</sup>-xthe o<sup>n</sup>-tha bi tho<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 55. No<sup>n'</sup>-xthe gi-ča-be ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 56. Pa'-zhu-zhe ča-be ga thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 57. E'shki zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga no<sup>n</sup>-xthe o<sup>n</sup>-tha ba tho<sup>n</sup> ta a-to<sup>n</sup> he i<sup>n</sup> da' a bi<sup>n</sup>  
 da, tsi ga,  
 58. Zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga no<sup>n</sup>-xthe o<sup>n</sup>-tha bi tho<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 59. No<sup>n</sup>-xthe gi-ča-be ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta i tsi<sup>n</sup> da, a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga.  
 60. I'ko<sup>n</sup>-ha sha-be ga kshe a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 61. Zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga no<sup>n</sup>-xthe o<sup>n</sup>-tha ba tho<sup>n</sup> ta a-to<sup>n</sup> he i<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da,  
 tsi ga,  
 62. Zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga no<sup>n</sup>-xthe o<sup>n</sup>-tha bi tho<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 63. No<sup>n</sup>-xthe gi-ča-be ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta i tsi<sup>n</sup> da, a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga.

## 8

64. Ho<sup>n'</sup>a-do<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup>-xthe tha bi go<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> shki a, bi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 65. Wa'-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga wa-tha-xthi thi<sup>n</sup>-ge thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 66. I'-ki-no<sup>n</sup>-xthe o<sup>n</sup>-tha ba tho<sup>n</sup> tse a-to<sup>n</sup> he i<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 67. Pa'-zhu-zhe sha-be ga thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 68. E' shki no<sup>n</sup>-xthe o<sup>n</sup>-tha ba tho<sup>n</sup> tse a-to<sup>n</sup> he i<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 69. Wa'-ko<sup>n</sup>-da u-to<sup>n</sup>-ba bi a-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup> a-tha', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 70. Zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga wo<sup>n</sup> shki do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 71. Wa'-ko<sup>n</sup>-da u-to<sup>n</sup>-be i-the ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da,  
     tsi ga,  
 72. No<sup>n'</sup>-xthe o<sup>n</sup>-tha bi tho<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 73. Mi' hi-e ge ta', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 74. We ki i-he-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da', tsi ga.
75. Ta'-xpi hi<sup>n</sup> sha-be ga thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 76. E' shki no<sup>n</sup>-xthe o<sup>n</sup>-tha ba tho<sup>n</sup> ta a-to<sup>n</sup> he i<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 77. Zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga no<sup>n</sup>-xthe o<sup>n</sup>-tha bi tho<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 78. No<sup>n'</sup>-xthe gi-sha-be ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 79. Mi' hi-e ge ta shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 80. We'-go<sup>n</sup>-tha gi-o-ts'e-ga ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da,  
     tsi ga,  
 81. We ki i-he-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga.
82. I<sup>n'</sup>-be i-ta-xe sha-be ga thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 83. E' shki no<sup>n</sup>-xthe o<sup>n</sup>-tha ba tho<sup>n</sup> tse a-to<sup>n</sup>-he i<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 84. Zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga no<sup>n</sup>-xthe o<sup>n</sup>-tha bi tho<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 85. No<sup>n'</sup>-xthe gi-sha-be ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 86. Zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga mi hi-e ge ta shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 87. We'-go<sup>n</sup>-tha gi-o-ts'e-ga ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da,  
     tsi ga,  
 88. We' ki i-he-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga.
89. Ci' ko<sup>n</sup>-ha sha-be ga thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 90. E' shki no<sup>n</sup>-xthe o<sup>n</sup>-tha ba tho<sup>n</sup> tse a-to<sup>n</sup> he i<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 91. Zhi<sup>n'</sup>-ga no<sup>n</sup>-xthe o<sup>n</sup>-tha bi tho<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 92. No<sup>n'</sup>-xthe gi-sha-be ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga.
93. Mi' hi-e ge ta shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 94. We'-go<sup>n</sup>-tha gi-o-ts'e-ga ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da,  
     tsi ga,  
 95. We' ki i-he-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga.

## SONG 1

(Free translation, p. 651)

1

Ni-ka çtu bi wa-tho<sup>n</sup> ðe he tha,  
 He tha, e-he tha, he tha e tha he tha,  
 Ni-ka çtu bi wa-tho<sup>n</sup> ðe he tha,  
 He tha, e-he tha, he tha e tha he tha,  
 Ni-ka çtu bi wa-tho<sup>n</sup> ðe he tha.

2

Ho<sup>n</sup>-ga ðo<sup>n</sup> bi wa-tho<sup>n</sup> ðe he tha.

3

Wa-xtha ðo<sup>n</sup> bi wa-tho<sup>n</sup> ðe he tha.

4

Mo<sup>n</sup>-sho<sup>n</sup> ðo<sup>n</sup> bi wa-tho<sup>n</sup> ðe he tha.

5

Ŧa-ha ðo<sup>n</sup> bi wa-tho<sup>n</sup> ðe he tha.

6

Pe-dse ðo<sup>n</sup> bi wa-tho<sup>n</sup> ðe he tha.

7

No<sup>n</sup>-xthe ðo<sup>n</sup> bi wa-tho<sup>n</sup> ðe he tha.

8

Ho<sup>n</sup>-ba ðo<sup>n</sup> bi wa-tho<sup>n</sup> ðe he tha.

## SONG 2

(Free translation, p. 652)

1

Ni-ka çtu bi wa-tho<sup>n</sup> ðe, he he wa-ni-da  
 E he wa-ni-da, e he the he the,  
 Ni-ka çtu bi wa-tho<sup>n</sup> ðe,  
 He he wa-ni-da, e he wa-ni-da  
 Ni-ka çtu bi wa-tho<sup>n</sup> ðe, he he wa-ni-da.

2

Ho<sup>n</sup>-ga ðo<sup>n</sup> bi wa-tho<sup>n</sup> ðe,

3

Wa-xtha ðo<sup>n</sup> bi wa-tho<sup>n</sup> ðe.

4

Mo<sup>n</sup>-sho<sup>n</sup> ðo<sup>n</sup> bi wa-tho<sup>n</sup> ðe.

5

Ŧa-ha ðo<sup>n</sup> bi wa-tho<sup>n</sup> ðe.

6

Pe-dse ðo<sup>n</sup> bi wa-tho<sup>n</sup> ðe.

7

No<sup>n</sup>-xthe ðo<sup>n</sup> bi wa-tho<sup>n</sup> ðe.

8

Ho<sup>n</sup>-ba ðo<sup>n</sup> bi wa-tho<sup>n</sup> ðe.

## SONG 3

(Free translation, p. 653)

1

Ha-ni-da, ha-ni-da hi hi i,  
 Ha-ni-da, ha-ni-da hi hi i,  
 Ni-ka çtu bi tha ha-no<sup>n</sup> tse he the,  
 Ni-ka çtu bi tha ha-no<sup>n</sup> tse he,  
 Ha-ni-da, ha-ni-da hi hi i,  
 Ha-ni-da, ha-ni-da hi hi i.

2

Ho<sup>n</sup>-ga to<sup>n</sup> bi tha ha-no<sup>n</sup> tse he the.

3

Wa-xtha to<sup>n</sup> bi tha ha-no<sup>n</sup> tse he the.

4

Mo<sup>n</sup>-sho<sup>n</sup> to<sup>n</sup> bi tha ha-no<sup>n</sup> tse he the.

5

Ta-ha to<sup>n</sup> bi tha ha-no<sup>n</sup> tse he the.

6

Pe-dse to<sup>n</sup> bi tha ha-no<sup>n</sup> tse he the.

7

No<sup>n</sup>-xthe to<sup>n</sup> bi tha ha-no<sup>n</sup> tse he the.

8

Ho<sup>n</sup>-ba to<sup>n</sup> bi tha ha-no<sup>n</sup> tse he the.

## XO'-KA

Wa-zha-zhe, Ta-tha-xi, ha-ta-ha ni-kshe do<sup>n</sup> ga ke gi-do<sup>n</sup>-be  
 tsi-gtha thi<sup>n</sup> ho!

NI'DSI WA-THO<sup>N</sup>

(WATERS SONGS)

## SONG 1

(Free translation, p. 655)

1

Wa-ko<sup>n</sup>-da ho<sup>n</sup>-ga, ni a-dsi wa-kshi tha,  
 Ni a-dsi wa-kshi tha, ni a-dsi wa-kshi tha ha,  
 A-hi<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>-ge wi-tsi-go,  
 Ni a-dsi wa-kshi tha, ni a-dsi wa-kshi tha,  
 Wa-ko<sup>n</sup>-da ho<sup>n</sup>-ga ni a-dsi wa-kshi tha.

2

Zha-be ho<sup>n</sup>-ga wi-tsi-go.

3

To-shno<sup>n</sup> to<sup>n</sup>-ga wi-tsi-go.

4

Ca-be to<sup>n</sup>-ga wi-tsi-go.

5

I<sup>n</sup>-gtho<sup>n</sup>-to<sup>n</sup>-ga wi-tsi-go.

6

Sho<sup>n</sup>-ge-ho<sup>n</sup>-ga wi-tsi-go.

7

Ke-to<sup>n</sup>-xo<sup>n</sup>-dse wi-tsi-go.

## SONG 2

(Free translation, p. 656)

1

Tsi-go ni u-ho<sup>n</sup>-ge dsi mi kshi<sup>n</sup> da,  
 Ni u-ho<sup>n</sup>-ge dsi mi kshi<sup>n</sup> da,  
 E tha he tha, e tha he the he the,  
 A-hi<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>-ge-e,  
 Ni-u-ho<sup>n</sup>-ge dsi mi kshi<sup>n</sup> da,  
 E tha he tho, e tha he-e.

2

Zha-be ho<sup>n</sup>-ga-a.

3

To-shmo<sup>n</sup>-to<sup>n</sup>-ga-a.

4

Ça-be to<sup>n</sup>-ga-a.

5

I<sup>n</sup>-gtho<sup>n</sup>-to<sup>n</sup>-ga-a.

6

Sho<sup>n</sup>-ge-ho<sup>n</sup>-ga-a.

7

Ke-to<sup>n</sup>-xo<sup>n</sup>-dse-e.

## SONG 3

(Free translation, p. 657)

1

The-thu ba he-tho<sup>n</sup>-be no<sup>n</sup>, the-thu ba he-tho<sup>n</sup>-be no<sup>n</sup>,  
 A-hi<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>-ge dse-to<sup>n</sup> dsi to<sup>n</sup> he-tho<sup>n</sup>-be no<sup>n</sup>,  
 The-thu ba he-tho<sup>n</sup>-be no<sup>n</sup>,  
 A-hi<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>-ge dse-to<sup>n</sup> dsi to<sup>n</sup> he-tho<sup>n</sup>-be no<sup>n</sup>,  
 The-thu ba he-tho<sup>n</sup>-be no<sup>n</sup>.

2

Zha-be ho<sup>n</sup>-ga dse-to<sup>n</sup> dsi to<sup>n</sup> he-tho<sup>n</sup>-be no<sup>n</sup>.

3

To-shmo<sup>n</sup>-to<sup>n</sup>-ga dse-to<sup>n</sup> dsi to<sup>n</sup> he-tho<sup>n</sup>-be no<sup>n</sup>.

4

Ça-be-to<sup>n</sup>-ga dse-to<sup>n</sup> dsi to<sup>n</sup> he-tho<sup>n</sup>-be no<sup>n</sup>.

5

I<sup>n</sup>-gtho<sup>n</sup>-to<sup>n</sup>-ga dse-to<sup>n</sup> dsi to<sup>n</sup> he-tho<sup>n</sup>-be no<sup>n</sup>.

6

Sho<sup>n</sup>-ge-ho<sup>n</sup>-ga dse-to<sup>n</sup> dsi to<sup>n</sup> he-tho<sup>n</sup>-be no<sup>n</sup>.

7

Ke-to<sup>n</sup>-xo<sup>n</sup>-dse dse-to<sup>n</sup> dsi to<sup>n</sup> he-tho<sup>n</sup>-be no<sup>n</sup>.

WA-TSE WA-THO<sup>N</sup>

(STARS SONGS)

## SONG 1

(Free translation, p. 658)

## 1

Wa-tse hi-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba gthi-no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e,  
 Wa-tse hi-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba gthi-no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e,  
 Wa tse hi tho<sup>n</sup>-ba gthi-no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e,  
 Wa-tse hi-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba gthi-no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e,  
 Wa-tse hi-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba gthi-no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e,  
 Wa-tse hi-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba gthi-no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e

## SONG 2

(Free translation, p. 659)

## 1

Wa-tse ki-wa-wa gthi-no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e,  
 Wa-tse ki-wa-wa gthi-no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e,  
 Wa-tse ki-wa-wa gthi-no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e,  
 Wa-tse ki-wa-wa gthi-no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e,  
 Wa-tse ki-wa-wa gthi-no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e,  
 Wa-tse ki-wa-wa gthi-no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e.

PA'-ÇE DO<sup>N</sup> WA-THO<sup>N</sup> TO<sup>N</sup>-GA  
(EVENING SONGS GREAT)

## SONG 1

(Free translation, p. 660)

## 1

Ho<sup>n</sup> e-dsi a-ka do<sup>n</sup> dsi the hi<sup>n</sup> do,  
 A ho<sup>n</sup> e-dsi a-ka do<sup>n</sup> dsi the hi<sup>n</sup> do,  
 A ho<sup>n</sup> e-dsi a-ka do<sup>n</sup> dsi the hi<sup>n</sup> do,  
 Dsi the hi<sup>n</sup> do,  
 A pe ba-xthe-xthe dsi a-ka do<sup>n</sup> dsi the hi<sup>n</sup> do,  
 A ho<sup>n</sup> e-dsi a-ka do<sup>n</sup> dsi the hi<sup>n</sup> do.

## 2

Ho<sup>n</sup> e-dsi a-ka do<sup>n</sup> dsi the hi<sup>n</sup> do,  
 A ho<sup>n</sup> e-dsi a-ka do<sup>n</sup> dsi the hi<sup>n</sup> do,  
 A ho<sup>n</sup> e-dsi a-ka do<sup>n</sup> dsi the hi<sup>n</sup> do,  
 Dsi the hi<sup>n</sup> do,  
 A Zhu ba-xthe-xthe dsi a-ka do<sup>n</sup> dsi the hi<sup>n</sup> do,  
 A ho<sup>n</sup> e-dsi a-ka do<sup>n</sup> dsi the hi<sup>n</sup> do.

## SONG 2

(Free translation, p. 661)

## 1

Ho<sup>n</sup> e-dsi a-ka e-sha bi<sup>n</sup> do,  
 Ho<sup>n</sup> e-dsi a-ka e-sha bi<sup>n</sup> do,  
 Ho<sup>n</sup> e-dsi a-ka e-sha bi<sup>n</sup> do,  
 Pe ba-xthe-xthe dsi a-ka e-sha bi<sup>n</sup> do,  
 Ho<sup>n</sup> e-dsi a-ka e-sha bi<sup>n</sup> do,  
 Ho<sup>n</sup> e-dsi a-ka e-sha bi<sup>n</sup> do.

## 2

Zhu ba-xthe-xthe dsi a-ka e-sha bi<sup>n</sup> do.

PA-ÇE DO<sup>N</sup> WA-THO<sup>N</sup> ZHI<sup>N</sup>-GA  
(EVENING SONGS LITTLE)

## SONG 1

(Free translation, p. 662)

1

Pa-çe u-tha-ga tha tsi-the he the he the,  
Wa-po-ga-e tha pa-çe u-tha-ga tha tsi-the he the-e,  
Tsi-the he the he the,  
Wa-po-ga-e tha pa-çe u-tha-ga tha tsi-the he.

2

I-to<sup>n</sup> gi-e tha pa-çe u-tha-ga tha tsi-the he the-e.

3

Sho<sup>n</sup>-ge hu-e tha pa-çe u-tha-ga tha tsi-the he the-e.

4

We-ts'a gi-e tha pa-çe u-tha-ga tha tsi-the he the-e.

## SONG 2

(Free translation, p. 662)

1

Pa-çe u-tha-ga the tse the the he the,  
Wa-po-ga-e tha pa-çe u-tha-ga the tse the the,  
The tse the the the he the,  
Wa-po-ga-e tha pa-çe u-tha-ga the tse the the,  
The tse the the he the.

2

I-to<sup>n</sup> gi-e tha pa-çe u-tha-ga the tse the the,

3

Sho<sup>n</sup>-ge hu-e tha pa-çe u-tha-ga the tse the the.

4

We-ts'a gi-e tha pa-çe u-tha-ga the tse the the.

## SONG 3

(Free translation, p. 663)

1

Ni-ka wi<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup>-da-do<sup>n</sup> i-e hi-the to<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup>,  
Ni-ka wi<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup>-da-do<sup>n</sup> i-e hi-the to<sup>n</sup>,  
I-e hi-the to<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup>, wa-po-ha-ga,  
Pa-çe u-tha-ga i-e hi-the to<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup>,  
Ni-ka wi<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup>-da-do<sup>n</sup> i-e hi-the to<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup>.

3

I-e hi-the to<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup>, i-to<sup>n</sup> ha ga.

3

I-e hi-the to<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup>, sho<sup>n</sup>-ge ha ga.

4

I-e hi-the to<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup>, we-ts'a ha ga.

WE'-TS'A WA-THO<sup>N</sup>

(SNAKE SONGS)

## SONG 1

(Free translation, p. 664)

## 1

Hi-tho<sup>a</sup>-be tsi-gthe he the, hi-tho<sup>a</sup>-be tsi-gthe he the.  
 Hi-tho<sup>a</sup>-be tsi-gthe he the,  
 Pe-xe wi<sup>a</sup> hi-tho<sup>a</sup>-be tsi-gthe he the,  
 Hi-tho<sup>a</sup>-be tsi-the he the, hi-tho<sup>a</sup>-be tsi-gthe he the.

## 2

Pe-xe do-ba hi-tho<sup>a</sup>-be tsi-gthe he the.

## SONG 2

(Free translation, p. 665)

## 1

Wa-ko<sup>a</sup>-da-gi wi-e mi-kshe no<sup>a</sup> ho<sup>a</sup>,  
 Wa-ko<sup>a</sup>-da-gi wi-e mi-kshe no<sup>a</sup>,  
 Wi-e mi-kshe no<sup>a</sup> ho<sup>a</sup>,  
 Be i-tha-zhi wi-e mi-kshe no<sup>a</sup> ho<sup>a</sup>,  
 Wa-ko<sup>a</sup>-da-gi wi-e mi-kshe no<sup>a</sup>,  
 Wi-e mi-kshe no<sup>a</sup> ho<sup>a</sup>,  
 Wa-ko<sup>a</sup>-da-go wi-e mi-kshe no<sup>a</sup>.

## 2

Ki-hi-e wa-the wi-e mi-kshe no<sup>a</sup> ho<sup>a</sup>.

NI-ZHIU' WA-THO<sup>N</sup> TO<sup>N</sup>-GA

(RAIN SONGS GREAT THE)

## WI'-GI-E

(RITUAL)

(Free translation, p. 665; literal translation, p. 818)

## 1

1. A'tha tsi ta', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
2. Wa'-ca-ki-the zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga i-ta wi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
3. Ta'-dse mo<sup>n</sup>-ha dsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
4. Wi'-tsi-go u-mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> thi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
5. Ta'-dse pa-ho<sup>n</sup>-gthe thi<sup>n</sup> dsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
6. Wi'-tsi-go u-mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> thi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
7. Wi'-tsi-go da-do<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> a-zhi xtsi thi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
8. Wa'-xpe-gthe e-de a-do<sup>n</sup>-be kshi-the bi thi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
9. Ki'-gthi-ni-ka kshe no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
10. Wi'-tsi-go u-mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> thi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
11. Wi'-tsi-go da-do<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> a-zhi xtsi thi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
12. No<sup>n</sup>-ka u-tha-ha thi<sup>n</sup>-ga zhi xtsi thi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
13. Ta'-xpi dsi thi<sup>n</sup>-ga zhi xtsi thi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
14. Sho<sup>n</sup> tha i do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
15. I<sup>n</sup>-dse-ha ci-hi xtsi wa-thi<sup>n</sup> hi no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,



16. Pa'u-ki-thi-bthi<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup> xtsi wa-thi<sup>n</sup> hi no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
17. Sho' tha i do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
18. No<sup>n</sup>'-xe no<sup>n</sup> wa-thu-çe tse a i tho<sup>n</sup>-shki e-go<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
19. Wa'-ça-ki-the zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga i-ta', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
20. Ga' no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga.

## 2

21. Ta'-dse ga-xpa dsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
22. Ta'-dse pa-ho<sup>n</sup>-gthe thi<sup>n</sup> dsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
23. Tse'-pi-tha to<sup>n</sup>-ga kshe no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
24. Wi'-tsi-go u-mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> thi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
25. Wi'-tsi-go da-do<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> a-zhi xtsi thi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
26. Wa'-xpe-gthe e-de a-do<sup>n</sup>-be kshi-tha bi thi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
27. Sho' tha i do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
28. No<sup>n</sup>'-ka u-tha-ha thi<sup>n</sup>-ga zhi thi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
29. Ta'-xpi dsi thi<sup>n</sup>-ga zhi thi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
30. I<sup>n</sup>'-dse ha çi-hi xtsi wa-thi<sup>n</sup> hi tse a i tho<sup>n</sup>-shki e-go<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
31. Pa' u-ki-thi-bthi<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup> xtsi wa-thi<sup>n</sup> hi tse a i tho<sup>n</sup> shki e-go<sup>n</sup>, no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
32. No<sup>n</sup>'-xe no<sup>n</sup> wa-thu-çe tse a i tho<sup>n</sup> shki e-go<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
33. Wa'-ça-ki-the zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga i-ta' a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
34. Ga' no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> da, a bi<sup>n</sup> da', tsi ga.

## 3

35. Ta-dse ba-ço<sup>n</sup> dsi a, a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
36. Dsi<sup>n</sup>'-tha to<sup>n</sup>-ga kshe no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
37. Wi'-tsi-go u-mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> thi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
38. Wi'-tsi-go da-do<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> a-zhi xtsi thi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
39. Wa'-xpe-gthe e-da a-do<sup>n</sup>-be kshi-tha bi thi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
40. No<sup>n</sup>'-ka u-tha-ha thi<sup>n</sup>-ga zhi thi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
41. Ta'-xpi dsi thi<sup>n</sup>-ga zhi thi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
42. I<sup>n</sup>'-dse ha çi-hi xtsi wa-thi<sup>n</sup> hi tse a i tho<sup>n</sup>-shki e go<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
43. Pa' u-ki-thi-bthi<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup> xtsi wa-thi<sup>n</sup> hi tse a i tho<sup>n</sup> shki e-go<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
44. No<sup>n</sup>'-xe no<sup>n</sup> wa-thu-çe tse a i tho<sup>n</sup>-shki e-go<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
45. Wa'-ça-ki-the zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga i-ta', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
46. Ga' no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga.

## 4

47. Ța'-dse a-k'a dsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, țsi ga,  
 48. Ța'-dse pa-ho<sup>n</sup>-gthe thi<sup>n</sup> dsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, țsi ga,  
 49. No<sup>n'</sup>-ni-o<sup>n</sup>-ba zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga kshe no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, țsi ga,  
 50. Wi'-țsi go u-mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> thi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, țsi ga,  
 51. Wi'-țsi-go da-do<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> a-zhi xtsi thi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, țsi ga,  
 52. No<sup>n'</sup>-ka u-tha-ha thi<sup>n</sup>-ga zhi thi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, țsi ga,  
 53. Ța'-xpi dsi thi<sup>n</sup>-ga zhi thi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, țsi ga,  
 54. I<sup>n'</sup>-dse ha çi-hi xtsi wa-thi<sup>n</sup> hi țse a i tho<sup>n</sup>-shki e-go<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> a', a  
 bi<sup>n</sup> da, țsi ga,  
 55. Pa' u-ki-thi-bthi<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup> xtsi wa-thi<sup>n</sup> hi țse a i tho<sup>n</sup> shki e-go<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup>  
 a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, țsi ga,  
 56. No<sup>n'</sup>-xe no<sup>n</sup> wa-thu-çe țse a i tho<sup>n</sup> shki e-go<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da,  
 țsi ga.

## SONG 1

(Free translation, p. 668)

## I

Wi-țsi-go gi Ța ba the the he the,  
 Wi-țsi-go gi Ța ba the the he the,  
 Mo<sup>n</sup>-xe Ța-be-a gi Ța ba the the he the,  
 Wi-țsi-go gi Ța ba the the he the,  
 Mo<sup>n</sup>-xe Ța-be-a gi Ța ba the the he the,  
 Wi-țsi-go gi Ța ba the the he the.

## 2

Mo<sup>n</sup>-xe xo-dse-a gi Ța ba the the he the.

## 3

Mo<sup>n</sup>-xe çi-a gi Ța ba the the he the.

## 4

Ți-a hi tha tha gi Ța ba the the he the.

## SONG 2

(Free translation, p. 668)

## I

Wi-țsi-go gi Ța ba the he,  
 Wi-țsi-go gi Ța ba the he the he-e,  
 Gi Ța be the he,  
 Ga-niu ha ha gi Ța ba the he,  
 Wi-țsi-go gi Ța ba the he the he the.

## 2

Thi-ho<sup>n</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-ba gi Ța ba the he.

## 3

Thi-gthe-gthe-çe gi Ța ba the he.

## 4

Mo<sup>n</sup>-xe xo-dse-a gi Ța ba the he.

## 5

Țta-ki tha tha gi Ța ba the he.

NI-ZHIU' WA-THO<sup>N</sup> ZHI<sup>N</sup>-GA  
(RAIN SONGS LITTLE)

## SONG 1

(Free translation, p. 670)

1

Wi-ṭsi-go thi<sup>n</sup>-ga bi ṭo<sup>n</sup>-be the ṭse the the he the,  
Wi-ṭsi-go thi<sup>n</sup>-ga bi ṭo<sup>n</sup>-be the ṭse the the he the,  
Mo<sup>n</sup>-i<sup>n</sup>-ka o-thi<sup>n</sup>-ga bi ṭo<sup>n</sup>-be the ṭse the the he the,  
Wi-ṭsi-go thi<sup>n</sup>-ga bi ṭo<sup>n</sup>-be the ṭse the the he.

2

Mo<sup>n</sup>-i<sup>n</sup>-ka tho-ṭo<sup>n</sup> i-tha-tha thi-xu the ṭse the the he the.

3

Mo<sup>n</sup>-i<sup>n</sup>-ka ba-xo<sup>n</sup> i-tha-tha thi-xu the ṭse the the he the.

4

Mo<sup>n</sup>-i<sup>n</sup>-ka tho-ṭo<sup>n</sup> i-tha-tha thi-xu the ṭse the the he the.

5

Mo<sup>n</sup>-i<sup>n</sup>-ka ba-xo<sup>n</sup> i-tha-tha thi-xu the ṭse the the he the.

## SONG 2

(Free translation, p. 672)

1

Ṭsi-go do-ba ha mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> a-kshi-the no<sup>n</sup>,  
Ṭsi-go do-ba ha mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> a-kshi-the no<sup>n</sup>,  
Ṭsi-go zho<sup>n</sup> thi-ṭo<sup>n</sup> i-tha-tha mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> a-kshi-the no<sup>n</sup>,  
Hi tha-a he no<sup>n</sup>, hi tha-a he no<sup>n</sup> a he no<sup>n</sup>,  
Ṭsi-go do-ba ha mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> a-kshi-the no<sup>n</sup>,  
Ṭsi-go do-ba ha mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> a-kshi-the no<sup>n</sup>.

2

Ṭsi-go zho<sup>n</sup> thi-shpi tha-tha mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> a-kshi-the no<sup>n</sup>.

3

Ṭsi-go zho<sup>n</sup> bi-xtho<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> a-kshi-the no<sup>n</sup>.

4

Ṭsi-go zho<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup>-shi tha-tha mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> a-kshi-the no<sup>n</sup>.

ḲI-ḲA'-XE I-ḲI-TSI<sup>N</sup> WA-THO<sup>N</sup>

## SONG 1

(Free translation, p. 673)

1

Gthe-do<sup>n</sup> zhu-dse da-do<sup>n</sup> pa-ha thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>,  
Ha-we bthe a-thi<sup>n</sup> a-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>,  
Ha-we bthe a-thi<sup>n</sup> a thi<sup>n</sup> he the he the  
Ha-we bthe a-thi<sup>n</sup> a-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>,  
Ha-we bthe a-thi<sup>n</sup> a-thi<sup>n</sup> he the he the.

2

Wa-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ça-be da-do<sup>n</sup> pa-ha thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>,

3

Gthe-do<sup>n</sup> zhu-dse da-do<sup>n</sup> pa-ha thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>.

4

Wa-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ça-be da-do<sup>n</sup> pa-ha thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>.

## SONG 2

(Free translation, p. 674)

1

Gtha-thi<sup>n</sup> the-tho gi bi no<sup>n</sup>, the-tho gi bi no<sup>n</sup>,  
 The-tho gi bi no<sup>n</sup> tho<sup>n</sup> tho<sup>n</sup> ha a,  
 Gthe-do<sup>n</sup> gtha-thi<sup>n</sup> the-tho gi bi no<sup>n</sup>,  
 The-tho gi bi no<sup>n</sup>, the-tho gi bi no<sup>n</sup> tho<sup>n</sup> tho<sup>n</sup> ha.

## SONG 3

(Free translation, p. 675)

1

Gthe-do<sup>n</sup> zhu-dse the the-tho go<sup>n</sup>-çe-go<sup>n</sup> gthi no<sup>n</sup>-zi<sup>n</sup>-e the he the,  
 Go<sup>n</sup>-çe-go<sup>n</sup> gthi no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e the he the, go<sup>n</sup>-çe-go<sup>n</sup> gthi no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e,  
 Gthe-do<sup>n</sup> zhu-dse the the-tho go<sup>n</sup>-çe-go<sup>n</sup> gthi no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e the the he the,  
 E the go<sup>n</sup>-çe-go<sup>n</sup> gthi no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e the he the,  
 Go<sup>n</sup>-çe-go<sup>n</sup> gthi no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e the he the, go<sup>n</sup>-çe-go<sup>n</sup> gthi no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e,  
 Gthe-do<sup>n</sup> zhu-dse the the-tho go<sup>n</sup>-çe-go<sup>n</sup> gthi no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e the he the.

2

Wa-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ça-be the the-tho go<sup>n</sup>-çe-go<sup>n</sup> gthi no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e the he the.

3

Gthe-do<sup>n</sup> zhu-dse the the-tho go<sup>n</sup>-çe-go<sup>n</sup> gthi no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e the he the.

4

Wa-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ça-be the the-tho go<sup>n</sup>-çe-go<sup>n</sup> gthi no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-e the he the.

MO<sup>n</sup>'-GTHU-STSE-DSE WA-THO<sup>n</sup>

(ARROWS HIS RELEASING SONGS)

## SONG 1

(Free translation, p. 676)

1

Gthe-do<sup>n</sup> zhu-dse the the-tho mo<sup>n</sup>-the-the ki-tha ba-e the he the,  
 Mo<sup>n</sup>-the-the ki-tha ba-e the he the, mo<sup>n</sup>-the-the ki-tha ba-e,  
 Gthe-do<sup>n</sup> zhu-dse the the-tho mo<sup>n</sup>-the-the ki-tha ba-e the the he the,  
 E the mo<sup>n</sup>-the-the ki-tha ba-e the he the,  
 Mo<sup>n</sup>-the-the ki-tha ba-e the he the, mo<sup>n</sup>-the-the ki-tha ba-e,  
 Gthe-do<sup>n</sup> zhu-dse the the-tho mo<sup>n</sup>-the-the ki-tha ba-e the he the.

2

Wa-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ça-be the the-tho mo<sup>n</sup>-the-the ki-tha ba-e the he the.

3

Gthe-do<sup>n</sup> zhu-dse the the-tho mo<sup>n</sup>-the-the ki-tha ba-e the he the.

4

Wa-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ça-be the the-tho mo<sup>n</sup>-the-the ki-tha ba-e the he the.

WA-TSI'-A-DSI WA-THO<sup>N</sup>  
(VICTORY SONGS)

## SONG 1

(Free translation, p. 677)

1

He-no<sup>a</sup> pa thi-ko pa no<sup>a</sup> ta-bthe tha-to<sup>a</sup> te,  
He-no<sup>a</sup> pa-thi-ko pa no<sup>a</sup> ta-bthe tha-to<sup>a</sup> te,  
Pa thi-ko pa no<sup>a</sup> ta-bthe tha-to<sup>a</sup> te,  
He-no<sup>a</sup> pa-thi-ko pa no<sup>a</sup> ta-bthe tha-to<sup>a</sup> te,  
He-no<sup>a</sup> pa thi-ko.

2

Pa thi-ko, a no<sup>a</sup> ta-bthe tha-to<sup>a</sup> te.

3

Pa-thi-ko, zhu no<sup>a</sup> ta-bthe tha-to<sup>a</sup> te.

4

Pa thi-ko, hi no<sup>a</sup> ta-bthe tha-to<sup>a</sup> te.

5

Pa thi-ko, ci no<sup>a</sup> ta-bthe tha-to<sup>a</sup> te.

U'-THU-CŒ I-NO<sup>N</sup>-ZHI<sup>N</sup> WA-THO<sup>N</sup>  
(PARTICIPANTS RISING SONG)

## SONG 1

(Free translation, p. 678)

1

He no<sup>a</sup> pa thi-ko ta, he-no<sup>a</sup> pa thi-ko ta hi tho we,  
O-tha-hi-hi tha, he-no<sup>a</sup> pa thi-ko ta hi tho we,  
O-tha-hi-hi tha, he-no<sup>a</sup> pa thi-ko ta,  
He-no<sup>a</sup> pa thi-ko ta hi tho we, O-tha-hi-hi tha.

2

He-no<sup>a</sup> a thi-ko ta, he no<sup>a</sup> a thi-ko ta hi tho we.

3

He-no<sup>a</sup> zho thi-ko ta, he-no<sup>a</sup> zho thi-ko ta hi tho we.

4

He-no<sup>a</sup> hi thi-ko ta, he-no<sup>a</sup> hi thi-ko ta hi tho we.

5

He-no<sup>a</sup> ci thi-ko ta, he-no<sup>a</sup> ci thi-ko ta hi tho we.

## ÇA' DO-ƘA WĪ'-GI-E

(RUSH GREEN RITUAL)

(Free translation, p. 688; literal translation, p. 819)

## 1

1. He'-dsi xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʦi ga,
2. Wa'-zha-zhe u-dse-the pe-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba ni-ƙa-shi-ga ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʦi ga,
3. Xtha'-xtha thi<sup>n</sup>-ge xtsi ni-ƙa-shi-ga bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʦi ga,
4. Ha'wi-ƙo<sup>n</sup>-ga e-ƙi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʦi ga,
5. Zhi<sup>n</sup>'-ga wa-xo-be tha ba tho<sup>n</sup>-ʦa thi<sup>n</sup>-ge'a-tha, wi-ƙo<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-ƙi-a, bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʦi ga,
6. O'-to<sup>n</sup>-be tha-the ʦe a', wi-ƙo<sup>n</sup>-ga, e-ƙi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʦi ga,
7. Ga'xtsi hi tha i do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʦi ga,
8. ʦe'-xe xtsi ge dsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʦi ga,
9. Pe'-ƙka stse-dse to<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʦi ga,
10. He'-dsi xtsi hi no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> to<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʦi ga,
11. The ho<sup>n</sup>', wi-zhi<sup>n</sup>-the, a-gthi-no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʦi ga,
12. E'-zhi-zhi ƙka to<sup>n</sup>-ga, wi-ƙo<sup>n</sup>-ga, e-gi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʦi ga.

## 2

13. He-dsi xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʦi ga,
14. O'-to<sup>n</sup>-be tha-the ʦe a, wi-ƙo<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-ƙi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʦi ga,
15. Ga'xtsi hi tha i do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʦi ga,
16. ʦe'-xe xtsi ge dsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʦi ga,
17. Pe'-ƙka zhu-dse to<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʦi ga,
18. He'-dsi xtsi hi no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> to<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʦi ga,
19. The ho<sup>n</sup>', wi-zhi<sup>n</sup>-the a-gthi-no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʦi ga,
20. E'-zhi-zhi-ƙka to<sup>n</sup>-ga, wi-ƙo<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-gi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʦi ga.

## 3

21. He'-dsi xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʦi ga,
22. O'-to<sup>n</sup>-be tha-the ʦe a, wi-ƙo<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-ƙi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʦi ga,
23. Ga'xtsi hi tha i do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʦi ga,
24. ʦe'-xe xtsi ge dsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʦi ga,
25. Pshi'-shto-zha to<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʦi ga,
26. He'-dsi xtsi hi no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> to<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʦi ga,
27. He'-dsi xtsi a-thi<sup>n</sup> gi thi<sup>n</sup>-e do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʦi ga,
28. The ho<sup>n</sup>', wi-zhi<sup>n</sup>-the a-gthi-no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʦi ga,
29. E'-zhi-zhi ƙka to<sup>n</sup>-ga, wi-ƙo<sup>n</sup>-ga, e-gi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʦi ga.

## 4

30. Ga'xtsi hi tha i do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʦi ga,
31. Dse'ƙo<sup>n</sup>-ha dsi xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʦi ga,
32. Ça'btha-xe to<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʦi ga,
33. He'-dsi xtsi hi no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> to<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʦi ga,
34. The ho<sup>n</sup>', wi-zhi<sup>n</sup>-the a-gthi-no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʦi ga,
35. E'-zhi-zhi ƙka to<sup>n</sup>-ga, wi-ƙo<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-gi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʦi ga,
36. Zhi<sup>n</sup>'-ga wa-xo-be tha ba tho<sup>n</sup> ta zhi a', wi-ƙo<sup>n</sup>-ga, e-gi-a, bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʦi ga.

## 5

37. Ga'xtsi hi tha i do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 38. Dse'ko<sup>n</sup>-ha dsi xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 39. Ça'u-dse to<sup>n</sup>-ga to<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 40. He'-dsi xtsi hi no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> to<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 41. The ho<sup>n</sup>', wi-zhi<sup>n</sup>-the a'-gthi-no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 42. E-zhi-zhi çka to<sup>n</sup>-ga, wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e-gi-a bi a, a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga.

## 6

43. He'-dsi xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 44. Ga'xtsi hi tha i do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 45. Dse'u-çko<sup>n</sup>-çka dsi xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 46. Ça'zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga ba-t̄se a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 47. Pe'-tho<sup>n</sup>-bâ hi no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> to<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 48. E'-dsi xtsi a-thi<sup>n</sup> gi thi<sup>n</sup>-e do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 49. The ho<sup>n</sup>', wi-zhi<sup>n</sup>-the a'-gthi-no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 50. She e'shno<sup>n</sup> u-tha-dse tha to<sup>n</sup> she a, wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e-gi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 51. Zhi<sup>n</sup>'-ga wa-xo-be the ta bi a, wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-çi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 52. Zhi<sup>n</sup>'-ga wa-xo-be tha bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 53. Wa'-xo-be gi-be-to<sup>n</sup> o<sup>n</sup>-gi-the o<sup>n</sup>-mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta bi a', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-çi-a, bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga.

## 7

54. He'-dsi xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 55. Ba'-çe t̄se a', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-çi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 56. He-dsi xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 57. K̄e'çi<sup>n</sup>-dse ga-t̄se pe-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 58. Ça'zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga ba-t̄se pe-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 59. U'-dse thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe dsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 60. Ba'-shko<sup>n</sup>-shko<sup>n</sup> the tsi-the to<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 61. Mi'hi-e ge ta pa-gthe xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 62. Ba'-xi tsi-the to<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 63. Ga't̄se shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 64. Zhi<sup>n</sup>'-ga wa-xo-be the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta bi a', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-çi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga.

## 8

65. He'-dsi xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 66. K̄e'çi<sup>n</sup>-dse ga-t̄se sha-pe thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 67. Ça'ba-t̄se we-sha-pe thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe dsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 68. He'-dsi xtsi hi gthi<sup>n</sup> thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 69. Ça'zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga u-dse ge dsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 70. Ba'-shko<sup>n</sup>-shko<sup>n</sup> tsi-the to<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 71. Mi'hi-e ge ta pa-gthe xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,

72. Ba'-xi tsi-the to<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
73. Ga'tse shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
74. Wa'-thi<sup>n</sup>-e cka she-mo<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup>-zhi i<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
75. Mi' hi-e ge ta', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
76. Wa'-pa-xi-tha to<sup>n</sup> he i<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
77. Zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga wa-ba-xi-tha mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
78. Wa'-ba-xi-tha gi-o-tš'e-ga ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta bi a', wi-čo<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-ki-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
79. Zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga wa-xo-be the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
80. Wa'-xo-be gi-ča-gi ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta bi a', wi-čo<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-ki-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga.

HI<sup>n</sup>'-DSE WI'-GI-E

(LINDEN RITUAL)

(Free translation, p. 691; literal translation, p. 821)

## 1

1. He'-dsi xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
2. Wa'-zha-zhe U-dse-the Pe-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba ni-ka-shi-ga ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
3. Xtha'-xtha thi<sup>n</sup>-ge xtsi ni-ka-shi-ga bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
4. Ha' wi-čo<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-ki-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
5. Zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga wa-xo-be tha ba tho<sup>n</sup> ta thi<sup>n</sup>-ge a-tha, wi-čo<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-ki-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
6. Ga' xtsi hi-tha i do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
7. Ga'-xa zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga xtsi ge dsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
8. E'-hiu xa-tha zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga to<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
9. E'-dsi xtsi a-thi<sup>n</sup> gi-e do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
10. The ho<sup>n</sup>' wi-zhi<sup>n</sup>-the a-gthi-no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
11. Ha' wi-čo<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-gi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
12. Zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga wa-xo-be tha ba tho<sup>n</sup> ta zhi a', wi-čo<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-gi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga.

## 2

13. O'-to<sup>n</sup>-be tha-the tše a, wi-čo<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-gi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
14. Ga' xtsi hi-tha i do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
15. Ga'-xa zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga xtsi ge dsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
16. E'-hiu zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga to<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
17. E'-dsi xtsi a-thi<sup>n</sup> gi-e do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
18. The ho<sup>n</sup>', wi-zhi<sup>n</sup>-the a-gthi-no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
19. Zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga wa-xo-be tha ba tho<sup>n</sup> ta zhi a', wi-čo<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-gi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga.

## 3

20. O'-to<sup>n</sup>-be tha-the tše a, wi-čo<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-gi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
21. Ga' xtsi hi-tha i do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
22. O'-ču қо<sup>n</sup>-ha dsi xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
23. Hi<sup>n</sup>'-dse xo-dse to<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,



24. E'-dsi xtsi a-thi<sup>n</sup> gi-e do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
25. Ha! wi-zhi<sup>n</sup>-the a'-gthi-no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
26. The ho<sup>n</sup>', wi-zhi<sup>n</sup>-the, a'-gthi-no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
27. Zhi<sup>n</sup>'-ga wa-xo-be tha ba tho<sup>n</sup> ta zhi a', wi-çon-ga, e'-gi-a, bi a',  
a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
28. E'-zhi-zhi çka to<sup>n</sup>-ga', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-gi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga.

## 4

29. O'-to<sup>n</sup>-be tha-the t̥se a', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-gi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
30. Ga' xtsi hi-tha i do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
31. O'-çu xtsi ge dsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
32. Hi<sup>n</sup>'-dse zhu-dse to<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
33. E'-dsi xtsi a-thi<sup>n</sup> gi-e do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
34. The ho<sup>n</sup>', wi-zhi<sup>n</sup>-the, a'-gthi-no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
35. E'-zhi-zhi çka to<sup>n</sup>-ga', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-gi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga.

## 5

36. O'-to<sup>n</sup>-ba tha-the t̥se a', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-gi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
37. Ga'-xtsi hi-tha i no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
38. O'-çu u-çko<sup>n</sup>-çka dsi xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
39. Hi<sup>n</sup>'-dse sha-be to<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
40. E'-dsi xtsi a-thi<sup>n</sup> gi-e do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
41. The ho<sup>n</sup>', wi-zhi<sup>n</sup>-the, a-gthi-no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
42. E'-zhi-zhi çka to<sup>n</sup>-ga', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-gi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga.

## 6

43. O'-to<sup>n</sup>-be tha-the t̥se a', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-gi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
44. Ga' xtsi hi-tha i do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
45. O'-çu u-çko<sup>n</sup>-çka dsi xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
46. Wa'-xtha hi to<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
47. E'-dsi xtsi hi no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> to<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
48. E'-dsi xtsi a-thi<sup>n</sup> gi-e do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
49. The-ho<sup>n</sup>', wi-zhi<sup>n</sup>-the, a-gthi no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
50. Ha! wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e-gi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
51. E'-zhi-zhi çka to<sup>n</sup>-ga', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-gi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
52. Zhi<sup>n</sup>'-ga wa-xo-be tha ba tho<sup>n</sup> ta zhi a', wi-çon-ga, e'-gi-a bi a',  
a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga.

## 7

53. Ga' xtsi hi-tha i do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
54. O'-çu go-da ço<sup>n</sup>-ha dsi xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
55. Ha'-do-ga to<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
56. He'-dsi xtsi hi no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> to<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
57. E'-dsi xtsi a-thi<sup>n</sup> gi-e do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
58. The ho<sup>n</sup>', wi-zhi<sup>n</sup>-the, a'-gthi-no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
59. Ha! wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e-gi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,

60. She e'shno<sup>n</sup> u-tha-dse tha to<sup>n</sup> she a', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-gi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
61. Zhi<sup>n</sup>'-ga wa-xo-be the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta bi a', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-çi-a, bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
62. Zhi<sup>n</sup>'-ga wa-xo-be the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
63. Wa'-xo-be gi-ça-gi çi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta bi a', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-çi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
64. Tsi'-zhu a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
65. Ho<sup>n</sup>'-ga e-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
66. Wa'-xo-be the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta bi a', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-çi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
67. Wa'-xo-be the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
68. Wa'-xo-be gi-ça-gi çi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta bi a', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-çi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga.

## ÇA W1'-GI-E

(RUSH RITUAL)

(RECITED BY THE WEAVER)

(Free translation, p. 698 ; literal translation, p. 823)

1. Wa'-ko<sup>n</sup>-da to<sup>n</sup>-ga e-de e-çka e-wa-ka ba zhi, a'be the,
2. Wa'-ko<sup>n</sup>-da e ski do<sup>n</sup>, a'be the,
3. Wa'-ko<sup>n</sup>-da to<sup>n</sup>-ga e-de e-çka e-wa-ka ba zhi, a'be the,
4. Wa'-ko<sup>n</sup>-da ho<sup>n</sup> ge'e-no<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup>, a'be the,
5. Wa'-ko<sup>n</sup>-da e'shki do<sup>n</sup>, a'be the,
6. Wa'-ko<sup>n</sup>-da ho<sup>n</sup> ge'e-no<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup>, a'be the,
7. Wa'-ko<sup>n</sup>-da u-ga-çi-hi tsi zho<sup>n</sup> kshe no<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup>, a'be the,
8. Çi zho<sup>n</sup> kshe e-wa-ka bi, a be the,
9. Wa'-ko<sup>n</sup>-da to<sup>n</sup>-ga e-de e-çka e-wa-ka ba zhi, a'be the,
10. Wa'-ko<sup>n</sup>-da ho<sup>n</sup> ge e-no<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup>, a'be the,
11. Wa'-ko<sup>n</sup>-da e shki do<sup>n</sup>, a'be the,
12. Wa'-ko<sup>n</sup>-da ho<sup>n</sup> ge e-no<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup>, a'be the,
13. Wa'-ko<sup>n</sup>-da u-ga-ço<sup>n</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup> tsi kshe no<sup>n</sup>, a'be the,
14. U'-ga-ço<sup>n</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup> tsi zho<sup>n</sup> kshe no<sup>n</sup> e-çka e-wa-ka bi, a'be the,
15. Wa'-ko<sup>n</sup>-da e-shki do<sup>n</sup>, a'be the,
16. Wa'-ko<sup>n</sup>-da ho<sup>n</sup> ge e-no<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup>, a'be the,
17. Wa'-ko<sup>n</sup>-da to<sup>n</sup>-ga e-de e-çka e-wa-ka ba zhi, a'be the,
18. Wa'-ko<sup>n</sup>-da u-ga-zhi-hi tsi zho<sup>n</sup> kshe no<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup>, a'be the,
19. Wa'-ko<sup>n</sup>-da e shki do<sup>n</sup> a, a'be the,
20. Wa'-ko<sup>n</sup>-da to<sup>n</sup>-ga e-de e-çka e-wa-ka bi, a'be the,
21. Wa'-ko<sup>n</sup>-da e shki do<sup>n</sup>, a'be the,
22. Wa'-ko<sup>n</sup>-da u-ga-zhu-dse tsi-gthi<sup>n</sup> thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe no<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup>, a'be the,
23. Wa'-ko<sup>n</sup>-da e shki do<sup>n</sup>, a'be the,

24. Wa'-ko<sup>n</sup>-da to-ho kshe no<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup>, a'be the,
25. Xtha'-çka u-ki-ho<sup>n</sup>-ge e-go<sup>n</sup> kshe no<sup>n</sup>, a'be the,
26. Da'-ko<sup>n</sup> u-ga-ç'u e-go<sup>n</sup> e-çka e-wa-ka ba zhi, a'be the,
27. Wa'-ko<sup>n</sup>-da ho<sup>n</sup> ge e-no<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup>, a'be the,
28. Ça'-be to e-go<sup>n</sup> a-tsi-zho<sup>n</sup> kshe no<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup>, a'be the,
29. Ça'wa-çse-ga xtsi, a'be the,
30. Ça'wa-çse-ga xtsi, u-ga-she thi<sup>n</sup>-ge xtsi, u-ç'o<sup>n</sup>-ha bi, a bi do<sup>n</sup>.

HO<sup>n</sup>-BE'-ÇU WI'-GI-E

(MOCCASIN RITUAL)

(Free translation, p. 700; literal translation, p. 824)

## 1

1. He'-dsi xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, çsi ga,
2. Ke'çi<sup>n</sup>-dse ga-çse pe-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, çsi ga,
3. Ga'çu-e o<sup>n</sup>-ki-the o<sup>n</sup>-mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta bi a', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-ki-a bi a',  
a bi<sup>n</sup> da, çsi ga,
4. Çu'-e o<sup>n</sup>-ki-the o<sup>n</sup>-mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, çsi ga,
5. Mi'hi-e ge ta', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, çsi ga,
6. Xa'-dse gi-çta-ge ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta bi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, çsi ga.

## 2

7. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup>-be-ko<sup>n</sup> the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, çsi ga,
8. We'-çs'a ni-dsi-wa-the kshe no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, çsi ga,
9. Ga'ho<sup>n</sup>-be-ko<sup>n</sup> the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, çsi ga,
10. Ho<sup>n</sup>'-be-ko<sup>n</sup> the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, çsi ga,
11. Xa'-dse e-shki do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, çsi ga,
12. Ho<sup>n</sup>'-be-ko<sup>n</sup> gi-ba-xa zhi ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta bi a', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga,  
e'-ki-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, çsi ga.

## 3

13. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup>-hi<sup>n</sup> gi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, çsi ga,
14. Wa'-dsu-ta shi<sup>n</sup>-to-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga kshe no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, çsi ga,
15. He'i-shdo-ge tse a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, çsi ga,
16. Ga'mo<sup>n</sup>-hi<sup>n</sup> gi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, çsi ga,
17. Mo<sup>n</sup>'-hi<sup>n</sup> gi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, çsi ga,
18. Mi'hi-e ge ta', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, çsi ga,
19. Mo<sup>n</sup>'-hi<sup>n</sup> gi-pa-hi ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta bi a', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-ki-a bi  
a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, çsi ga

## 4

20. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> wa-ba-to-be mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, çsi ga,
21. Mi'hi-e ge ta', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, çsi ga,
22. Ni'-ka wa-ç'o<sup>n</sup> o-tha-ha kshe no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, çsi ga,
23. Ga'wa-ba-to-be mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, çsi ga,
24. Wa'-ba-to-be mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, çsi ga,
25. Wa'-ba-to-be gi-o-çs'e-ga ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta bi a', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga,  
e'-ki-a, bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, çsi ga.

## 5

26. He'-dsi xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 27. Ƙe'çi<sup>n</sup>-dse ga-t̥se sha-pe thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 28. Ga'çu-e o<sup>n</sup>-ƙi-the o<sup>n</sup>-mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ƙa bi á, wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-ƙi-a bi a',  
 a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 29. Çu'-e o<sup>n</sup>-ƙi-the o<sup>n</sup>-mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 30. Mi'hi-e ge ƙa', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 31. Xa'-dse gi-çta-ge o<sup>n</sup>-ƙi-the o<sup>n</sup>-mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ƙa bi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga.

## 6

32. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup>-be-po<sup>n</sup> the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ƙa ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 33. We'-t̥s'a ni-dsi-wa-the kshe no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 34. Ga'ho<sup>n</sup>-be-ko<sup>n</sup> the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 35. Ho<sup>n</sup>-be-ko<sup>n</sup> the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 36. Xa'-dse e-shki do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 37. Ho<sup>n</sup>-be-ko<sup>n</sup> gi-ba-xa zhi ƙi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ƙa bi a', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga,  
 e'-ƙi-a, bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga.

## 7

38. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup>-hi<sup>n</sup> gi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ƙa ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 39. Wa'-dsu-ƙa shi<sup>n</sup>-to-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga kshe no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 40. He'tha-ƙa tse a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 41. Ga'mo<sup>n</sup>-hi<sup>n</sup> gi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 42. Mo<sup>n</sup>-hi<sup>n</sup> gi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 43. Mi'hi-e ge ƙa', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 44. Mo<sup>n</sup>-hi<sup>n</sup> gi-pa-hi ƙi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ƙa bi a', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-ƙi-a bi  
 a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga.

## 8

45. He'-dsi xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 46. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> wa-ba-to-be mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ƙa ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 47. Mi'hi-e ge ƙa', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 48. Wa'-k'o wo<sup>n</sup> we-da-the do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 49. Ga'wa-ba-to-be mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 50. Wa'-ba-to-be mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 51. Wa'-ba-to-be gi-o-t̥s'e-ga ƙi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ƙa bi a', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga,  
 e'-ƙi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga.

## 9

52. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> wa-ba-xtho-ge mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ƙa ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 53. Mi'hi-e ge ƙa', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 54. Shi<sup>n</sup>-to ho btho<sup>n</sup>-xe do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 55. Ga'wa-ba-xtho-ge mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 56. Wa'-ba-xtho-ge mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 57. Wa'-ba-xtho-ge gi-o-t̥s'e-ga o<sup>n</sup>-ƙi-the o<sup>n</sup>-mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ƙa bi a',  
 wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-ƙi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga.

## 10

58. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> wa-ba-xtho-ge mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
59. Shi'-mi ho-btho<sup>n</sup>-xe do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
60. Ga'wa-ba-xtho-ge mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
61. Wa'-ba-xtho-ge mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
62. Wa'-ba-xtho-ge gi-o-ʔs'e-ga o<sup>n</sup>-ʔi-the o<sup>n</sup>-mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa bi a', wi-  
ʕo<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-ʔi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga.

## 11

63. He'-dsi xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
64. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> wa-ba-xtho-ge mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
65. Ni'-ka wa-ʔ'o<sup>n</sup> o-tha-ha kshe no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
66. Ga'wa-ba-xtho-ge mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
67. Wa'-ba-xtho-ge mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
68. Wa'-ba-xtho-ge gi-o-ʔs'e-ga o<sup>n</sup>-ʔi-the o<sup>n</sup>-mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta bi a', wi-  
ʕo<sup>n</sup>-ga, e-ʔi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga.

## 12

69. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> wa-ba-xtho-ge mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
70. Wa'-k'o wo<sup>n</sup> we-da-the do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
71. Ga'wa-ba-xtho-ge mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
72. Wa'-ba-xtho-ge mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
73. Wa'-ba-xtho-ge gi-o-ʔs'e-ga o<sup>n</sup>-ʔi-the o<sup>n</sup>-mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa bi a', wi-  
ʕo<sup>n</sup>-ga, e-ʔi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga.

K̄I'-NO<sup>n</sup> W̄I'-GI-E  
(PAINTING RITUAL)

(Free translation, p. 704; literal translation, p. 826)

## 1

1. He'-dsi xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
2. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> ʔi-no<sup>n</sup> gi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
3. Wa'-ʔo<sup>n</sup>-da ʔse-ga xtsi e-tho<sup>n</sup>-be hi no<sup>n</sup> bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
4. Wa'-ʔo<sup>n</sup>-da u-ga-zhu-dse xtsi hi thi<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
5. Zhi<sup>n</sup>'-ga ʔi-no<sup>n</sup> gi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
6. Zhi<sup>n</sup>'-ga ʔi-no<sup>n</sup> gi the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
7. ʔs'e'wa-ʔse-xi ʔi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa bi a', zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga.

## 2

8. He'-dsi xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
9. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> wa-gthe gi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
10. Wa'-ʔo<sup>n</sup>-da ʔse-ga xtsi e-tho<sup>n</sup>-be hi no<sup>n</sup> bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
11. I-shdo-ge dsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
12. Wa'-gthe ʔo<sup>n</sup> e-go<sup>n</sup> to<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
13. Ga'wa-gthe gi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
14. Zhi<sup>n</sup>'-ga wa-gthe gi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
15. Wa'-gthe gi-xi-tha ʔi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa bi a', zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga', a bi<sup>n</sup> da,  
ʔsi ga.
16. ʔs'e'wa-ʔse-xi ʔi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa bi a, zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga.

## 3

17. He'-dsi xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
18. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> wa-no<sup>n</sup>-p'i<sup>n</sup> t̥o<sup>n</sup> kshi-the t̥a ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
19. Da'-gthe do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
20. Ga'wa-no<sup>n</sup>-p'i<sup>n</sup> t̥o<sup>n</sup> kshi-the a-ka', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga.

## 4

21. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> a-ko<sup>n</sup>-t̥a kshi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> t̥a ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
22. Da'-gthe do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
23. A'-ko<sup>n</sup>-t̥a kshi-the a-ka', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
24. Da'-gthe o-k'o-pi a bi i-the k̥i-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> t̥a bi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga.

## 5

25. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> pi-tha t̥o<sup>n</sup> kshi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> t̥a ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
26. Da'-gthe do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
27. Pi'-tha t̥o<sup>n</sup> kshi-tha bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
28. Da'-gthe o-k'o-pi a-tha bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
29. Da'-gthe o-k'o-pi a bi i-the k̥i-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> t̥a bi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga.

## 6

30. He'-dsi xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
31. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup>-be t̥o<sup>n</sup> kshi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> t̥a ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
32. Da'-gthe do<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup>-be t̥o<sup>n</sup> kshi-tha bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
33. Da'-gthe ho<sup>n</sup>-be t̥o<sup>n</sup> kshi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
34. Da'-gthe o-k'o-pi a bi i-the k̥i-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> t̥a bi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga.

## 7

35. He'-dsi xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
36. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> mi to<sup>n</sup> kshi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> t̥a ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
37. Da'-gthe do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
38. Mi't̥o<sup>n</sup> kshi-the a-ka', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
39. Da'-gthe o-k'o-pi a-tha bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
40. O'-t̥s'a-ge xtsi i-the k̥i-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> t̥a bi a', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-k̥i-a, bi a, a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga.

## WA'-ÇI-THU-ÇE WI'-GI-E

(FOOTSTEP RITUAL)

(Free translation, p. 708; literal translation, p. 827)

## 1

1. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> wa-çi-thu-çe mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> t̥a ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
2. Mi'hi-e ge t̥a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
3. O'-k'o-be wi<sup>n</sup> a-çi-thu-çe mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
4. O'-k'o-be wi<sup>n</sup> e-çka e-wa-ka ba zhi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,

5. Wa'-dsu-ṭa wi<sup>n</sup> a-ṭi-thu-ṭe mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
6. Wa'-dsu-ṭa wi<sup>n</sup> e-ṭka e-wa-ka ba zhi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
7. Wa'-dsu-ṭa u-ba-ṭse wi<sup>n</sup> a-ṭi-gtha-thi<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
8. Ga'wa-ṭi-thu-ṭe mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
9. Wa'-ṭi-thu-ṭe mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
10. Wa'-ṭi-thu-ṭe gi-o-ṭs'e-ga o<sup>n</sup>-ṭi-the o<sup>n</sup>-mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ṭa bi a', wi-ṭo<sup>n</sup>-ga,  
e'-ṭi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga.

## 2

11. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> wa-ṭi-thu-ṭe mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ṭa ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
12. Mi'hi-e ge ṭa', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
13. O'-ṭ'o-be tho<sup>n</sup>-ba a-ṭi-thu-ṭe mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
14. O'-ṭ'o-be tho<sup>n</sup>-ba e-ṭka e-wa-ka ba zhi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
15. Wa'-dsu-ṭa tho<sup>n</sup>-ba wa-ṭi-thu-ṭe mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
16. Wa'-dsu-ṭa tho<sup>n</sup>-ba e-ṭka e-wa-ka ba zhi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
17. Wa'-dsu-ṭa u-ba-ṭse tho<sup>n</sup>-ba a-ṭi-gtha-thi<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup>, a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da,  
ṭsi ga,
18. Ga'wa-ṭi-thu-ṭe mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
19. Wa'-ṭi-thu-ṭe mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
20. Wa'-ṭi-thu-ṭe gi-o-ṭs'e-ga o<sup>n</sup>-ṭi-the o<sup>n</sup>-mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ṭa bi a', wi-ṭo<sup>n</sup>-ga,  
e-ṭi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga.

## 3

21. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> wa-ṭi-thu-ṭe mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ṭa ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
22. Mi'hi-e ge ṭa', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
23. O'-ṭ'o-be tha-bthi<sup>n</sup> a'-ṭi-thu-ṭe mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
24. O'-ṭ'o-be tha-bthi<sup>n</sup> e-ṭka e-wa-ka ba zhi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
25. Wa'-dsu-ṭa tha-bthi<sup>n</sup> wa-ṭi-thu-ṭe mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
26. Wa'-dsu-ṭa tha-bthi<sup>n</sup> e-ṭka e-wa-ka ba zhi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
27. Wa'-dsu-ṭa u-ba-ṭse tha-bthi<sup>n</sup> a-ṭi-gtha-thi<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup>  
da, ṭsi ga,
28. Ga'wa-ṭi-thu-ṭe mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
29. Wa'-ṭi-thu-ṭe mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
30. Wa'-xo-be zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
31. Ha'-gtha-thi<sup>n</sup> gi-o-ṭs'e-ga ṭi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> e-dsi'ba she ṭse.

## 4

32. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> wa-ṭi-thu-ṭe mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ṭa ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
33. Mi'hi-e ge ṭa', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
34. O'-ṭ'o-be do-ba a-ṭi-thu-ṭe mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
35. O'-ṭ'o-be do-ba e-ṭka e-wa-ka ba zhi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
36. Wa'-dsu-ṭa do-ba wa-ṭi-thu-ṭe mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
37. Wa'-dsu-ṭa do-ba e-ṭka e-wa-ka ba zhi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
38. Wa'-dsu-ṭa u-ba-ṭse do-ba a-ṭi-gtha-thi<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da,  
ṭsi ga,
39. Ga'wa-ṭi-thu-ṭe mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
40. Wa'-ṭi-thu-ṭe mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ṭsi ga,
41. Wa'-ṭi-thu-ṭe gi-o-ṭs'e-ga ṭi-the ha-gtha-thi<sup>n</sup> e-dsi'ba she ṭse.

PE'-XE THU-ÇE W1'-GI-E  
(RATTLE TAKING-UP RITUAL)

(Belonging to the Ho<sup>n</sup>'-ga)

(Free translation, p. 711; literal translation, p. 829)

## 1

1. He'-dsi xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
2. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> pe-xe gi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
3. Mi'hi-e ge ʔa ni-ka-shi-ga', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
4. ʦo<sup>n</sup>-wo<sup>n</sup>-gtho<sup>n</sup> pe-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba ha ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
5. I'-thi-shno<sup>n</sup> thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
6. Ga'wa-pa i-ʔa thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
7. Pe'-xe gi-tha bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
8. Pe'-xe gi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
9. We'-thi-hi-dse gi-o-ʦs'e-ga ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa bi a', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga,  
e'-ki-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga.

## 2

10. He'-dsi xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
11. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> pe-xe-çu the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
12. Mi'hi-e ge ʔa ni-ka-shi-ga', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
13. ʦo<sup>n</sup>-wo<sup>n</sup>-gtho<sup>n</sup> pe-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba ha ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
14. I'-thi-shno<sup>n</sup> thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
15. Hi'-k'e i-shdo-ge kshe a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
16. Ga'pe-xe-çu the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa bi a, wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-ki-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup>  
da, t̥si ga,
17. Pe'-xe-çu the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
18. Mi'hi-e ge ʔa, a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
19. We'-thi-hi-dse gi-o-ʦs'e-ga ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta bi a', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga,  
e'-ki-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga.

## 3

20. He'-dsi xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
21. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> pe-xe i-ba the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
22. Mi'hi-e ge ʔa ni-ka-shi-ga', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
23. ʦo<sup>n</sup>-wo<sup>n</sup>-gtho<sup>n</sup> pe-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba ha ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
24. I'-thi-shno<sup>n</sup> thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
25. A'-xi-be i-shdo-ge kshe a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
26. Ga'pe-xe i-ba the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
27. Pe'-xe i-ba the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
28. We'-thi-hi-dse gi-o-ʦs'e-ga ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa bi a', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga,  
e'-ki-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga.



## 4

29. He'-dsi xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 30. Mo<sup>n</sup>'-shi-ṭa u-thi-ḱ'u-dse ga tse shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 31. E shki do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 32. Wa'-thi<sup>n</sup>-e ḱka zhi i<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 33. Mo<sup>n</sup>'-zho<sup>n</sup> xtho-ḱ'a sho<sup>n</sup> e-go<sup>n</sup> xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 34. Wa'-gthu-shka be zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga i-ṭa i shki do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 35. U'-ḱi-o<sup>n</sup>-the o<sup>n</sup>-ga-xe o<sup>n</sup>-mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ṭa bi a', wi-ḱo<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-ḱi-a, bi  
 a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga.

## 5

36. He'-dsi xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 37. Ga'-mo<sup>n</sup>-dse ga thu<sup>n</sup>-kshe a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 38. E' shki do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 39. Wa'-thi<sup>n</sup>-e ḱka zhi i<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 40. Mi'hi-e ge ṭa ni-ḱa-shi-ga', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 41. Wa'-shi-shi-ṭo<sup>n</sup> bi e no<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 42. Sho<sup>n</sup>'xtsi pa-xe i<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 43. Zhi<sup>n</sup>'-ga', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 44. Mi'hi-e ge ṭa shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 45. Wa'-shi-shi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 46. U'-bu-dse xtsi i-the ḱi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ṭa bi a', wi-ḱo<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-ḱi-a bi  
 a, a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga.

## 6

47. He-dsi xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 48. Ga'-ḱa-thu the tha bi do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 49. Wa'-thi<sup>n</sup>-e ḱka ga-ḱa-thu the'-tha ba zhi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 50. Shi<sup>n</sup>'-ṭo ho-btho<sup>n</sup>-xe do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 51. A'-ga-ḱa-thu the-tha bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 52. Wa'-ga-ḱa-thu mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 53. Wa'-ga-ḱa-thu gi-o-ṭs'e-ga ḱi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ṭa bi a', wi-ḱo<sup>n</sup>-ga,  
 e'-ḱi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga.

## 7

54. I'-tho<sup>n</sup>-be-o<sup>n</sup> ga-ḱa-thu the tha bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 55. Shi'-mi ho-btho<sup>n</sup>-xe do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 56. A'-ga-ḱa-thu the-tha bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 57. Wa'-ga-ḱa-thu mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga,  
 58. Wa'-ga-ḱa-thu gi-o-ṭs'e-ga ḱi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta bi a', wi-ḱo<sup>n</sup>-ga,  
 e'-ḱi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̄si ga.

## 8

59. I'-tha-bthi<sup>n</sup>-o<sup>n</sup> xtsi ga-ça-thu the-tha bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
tsi ga,  
60. Ni'-ka wa-k'o<sup>n</sup> o-tha-ha do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
61. A'-ga-ça-thu the-tha bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
62. Wa'-ga-ça-thu mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
63. Wa'-ga-ça-thu gi-o-t's'e-ga ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta bi a', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga,  
e'-ki-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga.

## 9

64. I'-do-ba-o<sup>n</sup> xtsi ga-ça-thu the-tha bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
65. Wa'-k'o wo<sup>n</sup> we-da-the do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
66. A'-ga-ça-thu the-tha bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
67. Wa'-ga-ça-thu mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
68. Wa'-ga-ça-thu gi-o-t's'e-ga ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta bi a', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga,  
e'-ki-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
69. I'-gthi-hi-dse mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
70. We'-thi-hi-dse wo'-t's'e-ga o<sup>n</sup>-ki-the o<sup>n</sup>-mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta bi a', wi-çon  
ga, e'-ki-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga.

## PE'-XE THU-ÇE WI'-GI-E

(RATTLE TAKING-UP RITUAL)

(Belonging to the Wa-zha'-zhe Gens)

(Free translation, p. 713; literal translation, p. 831)

## 1

1. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> pe-xe gi the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
2. Mi'hi-e ge ta', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
3. To<sup>n</sup>-wo<sup>n</sup>-gtho<sup>n</sup> pe-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba ha ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
4. I'-thi-shno<sup>n</sup> thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
5. Wa'-pa i-ta thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
6. Ga'pe-xe gi the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
7. Pe'-xe gi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
8. Pe'-xe gi-sho<sup>n</sup>-tha zhi ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta bi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga.

## 2

9. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> pe-xe-çu the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
10. Mi hi-e ge ta', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
11. To<sup>n</sup>-wo<sup>n</sup>-gtho<sup>n</sup> pe-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba ha ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
12. I'-thi-shno<sup>n</sup> thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
13. Hi'-k'e i-shdo-ge kshe a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
14. Ga'pe-xe-çu the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
15. Pe'-xe-çu the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
16. Pe'-xe gi-ça-thu ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta bi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga.

## 3

17. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> pe-xe i-ba the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
18. Mi'hi-e ge ʔa', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
19. ʦo<sup>n</sup>-wo<sup>n</sup>-gtho<sup>n</sup> pe-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba ha ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
20. I'-thi-shno<sup>n</sup> thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
21. A'-xi-be i-shdo-ge kshe a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
22. Ga'pe-xe i-ba the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
23. Pe'-xe i-ba the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
24. Pe'-xe i-ba i-ʔs'a thi<sup>n</sup>-ge ʔi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa bi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga.

## 4

25. He'-dsi xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
26. Ga'-mo<sup>n</sup>-dse ga thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
27. E'shki do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
28. Wa'-thi<sup>n</sup>-e ʧka zhi i<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
29. Mi'hi-e ge ʔa', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
30. Wa'-shi-shi-ʦo<sup>n</sup> bi e no<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
31. Sho<sup>n</sup>'xtsi pa-xe i<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga.

## 5

32. He'-dsi xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
33. Mo<sup>n</sup>'-shi ʔa u-thi-ʔ' o-dse ga tse shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
34. E'shki do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
35. Wa'-thi<sup>n</sup>-e ʧka zhi i<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
36. Wa'-gthu-shka zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
37. U'-ʔi-o<sup>n</sup>-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa ba she a-wa-kshi-mo<sup>n</sup> i<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da,  
ʔsi ga.

## 6

38. He'-dsi xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
39. Ga'-ʧa-thu the tha bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
40. Mo<sup>n</sup>'-zho<sup>n</sup> xtho-ʔ'a sho<sup>n</sup> e-go<sup>n</sup> xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
41. U'-ga-da-tho<sup>n</sup> i-he-tha bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
42. Zhi<sup>n</sup>'-ga wa-ga-ʧa-thu mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
43. Mo<sup>n</sup>'-zho<sup>n</sup> xtho-ʔ'a sho<sup>n</sup> e-go<sup>n</sup> xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
44. U'-ga-da-tho<sup>n</sup> i-he-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa bi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga.

## 7

45. I'-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba-o<sup>n</sup> xtsi ga-ʧa-thu the tha di do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
46. Wa'-gthu-shka zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
47. Mo<sup>n</sup>'-zho<sup>n</sup> sho<sup>n</sup> e-go<sup>n</sup> xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
48. No<sup>n</sup>'-xu-dse i-ʦo<sup>n</sup> i-he-tha bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
49. Zhi<sup>n</sup>'-ga wa-ga-ʧa-thu mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
50. Wa'-gthu-shka zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
51. Mo<sup>n</sup>'-zho<sup>n</sup> sho<sup>n</sup> e-go<sup>n</sup> xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
52. No<sup>n</sup>'-xu-dse i-ʦo<sup>n</sup> i-he-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa bi a, wi-ʧo<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-ʔi-a, bi  
a, a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga.

## 8

53. I'-tha-bthi<sup>n</sup>-o<sup>n</sup> xtsi ga-ça-thu the-tha bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
54. Wa'-gthu-shka zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
55. Mo<sup>n</sup>'-zho<sup>n</sup> sho<sup>n</sup> e-go<sup>n</sup> xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
56. I'-shko<sup>n</sup> thi<sup>n</sup>-ge i-he-tha bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
57. Zhi<sup>n</sup>'-ga wa-ga-ça-thu mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
58. Wa'-gthu-shka zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
59. Mo<sup>n</sup>'-zho<sup>n</sup> sho<sup>n</sup> e-go<sup>n</sup> xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
60. I'-shko<sup>n</sup> thi<sup>n</sup>-ge i-he-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta bi a', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-ki-a, bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga.

## 9

61. I'-do-ba-o<sup>n</sup> xtsi ga-ça-thu the-tha bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
62. Wa'-gthu-shka zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
63. Mo<sup>n</sup>'-zho<sup>n</sup> sho<sup>n</sup> e-go<sup>n</sup> xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
64. U'-ga-bu-dse gthi i-he-tha bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
65. Zhi<sup>n</sup>'-ga wa-ga-ça-thu mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
66. Wa'-gthu-shka zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
67. Mo<sup>n</sup>'-zho<sup>n</sup> sho<sup>n</sup> e-go<sup>n</sup> xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
68. U'-ga-bu-dse gthi i-he-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta bi a', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-ki-a, bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga.

## WA'-BA-XTHO-GE WI'-GI-E

(MAKING THE SHRINE RITUAL)

(Free translation, p. 718)

## 1

1. He'-dsi xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
2. Wa'-zha-zhe u-dse-the te-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba ni-ka-shi-ga ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
3. Xtha'-xtha thi<sup>n</sup>-ge xtsi ni-ka-shi-ga tho<sup>n</sup>-ka', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
4. Zhi<sup>n</sup>'-ga wa-xo-be tha ba tho<sup>n</sup> ta thi<sup>n</sup>-ge' a-tha, wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-ki-a, bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
5. He'-dsi xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
6. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> wa-ba-xtho-ge mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
7. Wa'-dsu-ta wi<sup>n</sup> a-ba-xtho-ge tse a', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-ki-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
8. Wa'-dsu-ta wi<sup>n</sup> e-cka e-wa-ka ba zhi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
9. Wa'-dsu-ta u-ba-tse wi<sup>n</sup> a-ki-gtha-thi<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,
10. A'-ba-xtho-ge tse a', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e-ki-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga.

## 2

11. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup>-hi<sup>n</sup> gi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
12. Wa'-dsu-ʔa shi<sup>n</sup>-ʔo-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga kshe no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
13. He'i-shdo-ge tse a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
14. Mo<sup>n</sup>'-hi<sup>n</sup> gi-the ʔa bi a, wi-ʔo<sup>n</sup>-ga, e-ʔi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
15. Mo<sup>n</sup>'-hi<sup>n</sup> gi-tha bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
16. Mo<sup>n</sup>'-hi<sup>n</sup> gi-pa-hi ʔi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa bi a', wi-ʔo<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-ʔi-a, bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga.

## 3

17. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> wa-ba-ba-xe mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
18. Mi'hi-e ge ʔa ni-ʔa-shi-ga', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
19. Shi<sup>n</sup>'-ʔo ho btho<sup>n</sup>-xe do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
20. A'-ba-ba-xe mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
21. Wa'-ba-ba-xe mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
22. Wa'-ba-ba-xe gi-o-ʔs'e-ga ʔi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa bi a', wi-ʔo<sup>n</sup>-ge, e'-ʔi-a, bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga.

## 4

23. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> wa-ba-xtho-ge mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
24. Wa'-dsu-ʔa tho<sup>n</sup>-ba a-ba-xtho-ge ʔse a', wi-ʔo<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-ʔi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da ʔsi ga,
25. Wa'-dsu-ʔa tho<sup>n</sup>-ba e-ʔka e-wa-ka ba zhi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
26. Wa'-dsu-ʔa u-ba-ʔse tho<sup>n</sup>-ba a-ʔi-gtha-thi<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
27. A'-ba-xtho-ge ʔse a', wi-ʔo<sup>n</sup>-ga, e-ʔi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga.

## 5

28. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup>-bi<sup>n</sup> gi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
29. Wa'-dsu-ʔa shi<sup>n</sup>-ʔo-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga kshe no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
30. He'i-shdo-ge tse a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
31. Mo<sup>n</sup>'-hi<sup>n</sup> gi-the ʔa bi a', wi-ʔo<sup>n</sup>-ga, e-ʔi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
32. Mo<sup>n</sup>'-hi<sup>n</sup> gi tha bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
33. Mo<sup>n</sup>'-hi<sup>n</sup> gi-pa-hi ʔi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa bi a', wi-ʔo<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-ʔi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga.

## 6

34. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> wa-ba-ba-xe mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
35. Mi'hi-e ge ʔa ni-ʔa-shi-ga', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
36. Shi'-mi-ho btho<sup>n</sup>-xe do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
37. A'-ba-ba-xe mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
38. Wa'-ba-ba-xe mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,
39. Wa'-ba-ba-xe gi-o-ʔs'e-ga ʔi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa bi a', wi-ʔo<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-ʔi-a bi a, a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga.

## 7

40. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> wa-ba-xtho-ge mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 41. Wa'-dsu-ʔa tha-bthi<sup>n</sup> a-ba-xtho-ge ʔse a', wi-ʧo<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-ʧi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 42. Wa'-dsu-ʔa tha-bthi<sup>n</sup> e-ʧka e-wa-ka ba zhi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 43. Wa'-dsu-ʔa u-ba-ʔse tha-bthi<sup>n</sup> a-ʧi-gtha-thi<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 44. A'-ba-xtho-ge ʔse a', wi-ʧo<sup>n</sup>-ga e'-ʧi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 45. Wa'-ba-xtho-ge mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 46. Wa'-ba-xtho-ge gi-o-ʔs'e-ga ʧi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa bi a', wi-ʧo<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-ʧi-a bi a, a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga.

## 8

47. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup>-hi<sup>n</sup> gi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 48. Wa'-dsu-ʔa shi<sup>n</sup>-ʧo-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga kshe no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 49. He'i-shdo-ge tse a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 50. Mo<sup>n</sup>'-hi<sup>n</sup> gi-the ʔa bi a', wi-ʧo<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-ʧi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 51. Mo<sup>n</sup>'-hi<sup>n</sup> gi-tha bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 52. Mo<sup>n</sup>'-hi<sup>n</sup> gi-pa-hi ʧi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa bi a', wi-ʧo<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-ʧi-a, bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga.

## 9

53. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> wa-ba-ba-xe mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 54. Mi'hi-e ge ʔa ni-ʧa-shi-ga', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 55. Ni'ka wa-k'o<sup>n</sup> o-tha'-ha kshe no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 56. A'-ba-ba-xe ʔse a', wi-ʧo<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-ʧi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 57. Wa'-ba-ba-xe mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 58. Wa'-ba-ba-xe gi-o-ʔs'e-ga ʧi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa bi a', wi-ʧo<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-ʧi-a bi a, a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga.

## 10

59. He'-dsi xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 60. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> wa-ba-xtho-ge mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 61. Wa'-dsu-ʔa do-ba a-ba-xtho-ge ʔse a', wi-ʧo<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-ʧi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 62. Wa'-dsu-ʔa do-ba e-ʧka e-wa-ka ba zhi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 63. Wa'-dsu-ʔa u-ba-ʔse do-ba a-ʧi-gtha-thi<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 64. Ga'wa-ba-xtho-ge mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa bi a', wi-ʧo<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-ʧi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 65. Wa'-ba-xtho-ge mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 66. Wa'-ba-xtho-ge wo-ʔs'e-ga o<sup>n</sup>-ʧi-the o<sup>n</sup>-mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa bi a', wi-ʧo<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-ʧi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga.

## 11

67. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup>-hi<sup>n</sup> gi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a da, ʔsi ga,  
 68. Wa'-dsu-ʔa shi<sup>n</sup>-ʧo-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga kshe no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 69. He'i-shdo-ge ʔse a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,

70. Mo<sup>n'</sup>-hi<sup>n</sup> gi-the ʔa bi a', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e-ki-a, bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 71. Mo<sup>n'</sup>-hi<sup>n</sup> gi-tha bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 72. Mo<sup>n'</sup>-hi<sup>n</sup> gi-pa-hi ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa bi a', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-ki-a bi  
 a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga.

## 12

73. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> wa-ba-ba-xe mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 74. Mi'hi-e ge ʔa ni-ka-shi-ga', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 75. Wa'-k'o wo<sup>n</sup> we-da-the do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 76. A'-ba-ba-xe ʔse a', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-ki-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 77. Wa'-ba-ba-xe mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 78. Wa'-ba-ba-xe gi-o-ʔs'e-ga ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa bi a', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga,  
 e'-ki-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga.

## 13

79. He'-dsi xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 80. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> wa-ba-xtho-ge mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 81. Wa'-dsu-ʔa ça-ʔo<sup>n</sup> a-ba-xtho-ge ʔse a', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-ki-a bi a',  
 a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 82. Wa'-dsu-ʔa ça-ʔo<sup>n</sup> e-çka e-wa-ka ba zhi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 83. Wa'-dsu-ʔa u-ba-ʔse ça-ʔo<sup>n</sup> a-ki-gtha-thi<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da,  
 ʔsi ga,  
 84. A'-ba-xtho-ge ʔse a', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-ki-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 85. Wa'-ba-xtho-ge mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 86. Wa'-ba-xtho-ge gi-o-ʔs'e-ga ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa bi a', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga,  
 e'-ki-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga.

## 14

87. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup>-hi<sup>n</sup> gi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 88. Wa'-dsu-ʔa shi<sup>n</sup>-ʔo-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga kshe no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 89. He'i-shdo-ge tse a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 90. Mo<sup>n'</sup>-hi<sup>n</sup> gi-the ʔa bi a', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e-ki-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 91. Mo<sup>n'</sup>-hi<sup>n</sup> gi-tha bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 92. Mo<sup>n'</sup>-hi<sup>n</sup> gi-pa-hi ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa bi a', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-ki-a bi  
 a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga.

## 15

93. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> wa-ba-ba-xe mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 94. Mi'hi-e ge ʔa ni-ka-shi-ga', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 95. I'-ʔo<sup>n</sup>-wo<sup>n</sup>-gtho<sup>n</sup> bi thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 96. A'-ba-ba-xe ʔse a', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-ki-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 97. Wa'-ba-ba-xe mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 98. Wa-ba-ba-xe gi-o-ʔs'e-ga ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa bi a', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga,  
 e-ki-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga.

## 16

99. He'-dsi xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 100. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> wa-ba-xtho-ge mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 101. Wa'-dsu-ta sha-pe a-ba-xtho-ge tse a', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-ki-a bi a',  
 a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 102. Wa'-dsu-ta sha-pe e-çka e-wa-ka ba zhi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 103. Wa'-dsu-ta u-ba-tse sha-pe a-ki-gtha-thi<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da,  
 tsi ga,  
 104. A'-ba-xtho-ge tse a', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e-ki-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 105. Wa'-ba-xtho-ge mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 106. Wa'-ba-xtho-ge gi-o-tš'e-ga ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta bi a', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga,  
 e'-ki-a bi a, a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga.

## 17

107. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup>-hi<sup>n</sup> gi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 108. Wa'-dsu-ta shi<sup>n</sup>-to-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga kshe no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 109. He'i-shdo-ge tse a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 110. Mo<sup>n</sup>'-hi<sup>n</sup> gi-the ta bi a', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-ki-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 111. Mo<sup>n</sup>'-hi<sup>n</sup> gi-gtha bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 112. Mo<sup>n</sup>'-hi<sup>n</sup> gi-pa-hi ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta bi a', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-ki-a bi  
 a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga.

## 18

113. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> wa-ba-ba-xe mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 114. Mi'hi-e ge ta', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 115. To<sup>n</sup>'-wo<sup>n</sup>-gtho<sup>n</sup> wa-kshi-the thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 116. A'-ba-ba-xe tse a, wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-ki-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 117. Wa'-ba-ba-xe mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 118. Wa'-ba-ba-xe gi-o-tš'e-ga ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta bi a', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga,  
 e'-ki a, bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga.

## 19

119. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> wa-ba-xtho-ge mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 120. Wa'-dsu-ta pe-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba a-ba-xtho-ge tse a', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-ki-a,  
 bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 121. Wa'-dsu-ta pe-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba e-çka e-wa-ka ba zhi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 122. Wa'-dsu-ta u-ba-tse pe-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba a-ki-gtha-thi<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> a', a  
 bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 123. A'-ba-xtho-ge tse a', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e-ki-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 124. Wa'-ba-xtho-ge mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga,  
 125. Wa'-ba-xtho-ge gi-o-tš'e-ga ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta bi a', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga,  
 e-ki-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tsi ga.



## 20

126. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup>-hi<sup>n</sup> gi-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 127. Wa'-dsu-ʔa shi<sup>n</sup>-ʔo-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga kshe no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 128. He'i-shdo-ge tse a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 129. Mo<sup>n'</sup>-hi<sup>n</sup> gi-the ʔa bi a', wi-ʕo<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-ki-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 130. Mo<sup>n'</sup>-hi<sup>n</sup> gi-tha bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 131. Mo<sup>n'</sup>-hi<sup>n</sup> gi-pa-hi ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa bi a', wi-ʕo<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-ki-a,  
 bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga.

## 21

132. Da'-do<sup>n</sup> wa-ba-ba-xe mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ʔa ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 133. Mi'hi-e ge ʔa', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 134. Wa'-k'o wa-sho<sup>n</sup> kshe thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 135. A'-ba-ba-xe tse a', wi-ʕo<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-ki-a, bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, tse ga,  
 136. Wa'-ba-ba-xe mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 137. Wa'-ba-ba-xe gi-o-ʔs'e-ga ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> ta bi a', wi-ʕo<sup>n</sup>-ga,  
 e'-ki-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga.

NO<sup>n</sup>-NI'-HI WI'-GI-E

(TOBACCO RITUAL)

(Free translation, p. 723)

## 1

1. He'-dsi xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 2. Wa'-zha-zhe u-dse-the pe-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba ni-ka-shi-ga ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup>  
 da, ʔsi ga,  
 3. Wi'-ʕo<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-ki-e no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 4. We'-ki-k'o<sup>n</sup> tho<sup>n</sup>-tse thi<sup>n</sup>-ge a-tha, wi-ʕo<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-ki-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup>  
 da, ʔsi ga,  
 5. Ga'xtsi hi-tha i do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 6. Sho'-ka wa-ba-xi to<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 7. Hiu'-e-ga ʕkiu-e to<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 8. He'-dsi xtsi a-thi<sup>n</sup> gi-e do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 9. The ho<sup>n'</sup>, wi-zhi<sup>n</sup>-the, a-gthi-no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 10. We'-ki-k'o<sup>n</sup> tho<sup>n</sup> ta zhi a, wi-ʕo<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-gi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 11. Wa'-tha-ʕi-dse tho<sup>n</sup> ta zhi a, wi-ʕo<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-ki-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da,  
 ʔsi ga.

## 2

12. Ga'xtsi hi-tha i do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 13. Zha'-hiu to<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 14. He'-dsi xtsi a-thi<sup>n</sup> gi-e do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 15. The ho<sup>n'</sup>, wi-zhi<sup>n</sup>-the, a-gthi-no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 16. We'-ki-k'o<sup>n</sup> tho<sup>n</sup>-ta zhi a', wi-ʕo<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-gi-a, bi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga,  
 17. Wa'-tha-ʕi-dse tho<sup>n</sup>-ta zhi a', wi-ʕo<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-gi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da,  
 ʔsi ga,  
 18. O'-ʔo<sup>n</sup>-be tha-the tse a', wi-ʕo<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-gi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, ʔsi ga.

## 3

19. Ga'xtsi hi-tha i do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
20. O'-po<sup>n</sup>-no<sup>n</sup>-ta e-go<sup>n</sup> to<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
21. He'-dsi xtsi a-thi<sup>n</sup> gi-e do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
22. The ho<sup>n</sup>, wi-zhi<sup>n</sup>-the, a-gthi-no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
23. We'-ki-k'o<sup>n</sup> tho<sup>n</sup>-ta zhi a', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-gi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
24. Wa'-tha-çi-dse tho<sup>n</sup>-ta zhi a', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-gi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da,  
t̥si ga.

## 4

25. He'-dsi xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
26. Ga'xtsi hi-tha i do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
27. T̥se'-xe xtsi ge dsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
28. Mi'-ta-o-ga-xthe hi to<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
29. He'-dsi xtsi a-thi<sup>n</sup> gi-e do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
30. The ho<sup>n</sup>, wi-zhi<sup>n</sup>-the, a-gthi-no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
31. We'-ki-k'o<sup>n</sup> tho<sup>n</sup>-ta zhi a, wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-gi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
32. Wa'-tha-çi-dse tho<sup>n</sup>-ta zhi a', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-gi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da,  
t̥si ga,
33. O'-to<sup>n</sup>-be tha-the t̥se a, wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-gi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga.

## 5

34. Ga'xtsi hi-tha i do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
35. No<sup>n</sup>-ni-ba-t̥se thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
36. E'-dsi xtsi a-thi<sup>n</sup> gi-e do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
37. The ho<sup>n</sup>, wi-zhi<sup>n</sup>-the, a'-gthi-no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
38. We'-ki-k'o<sup>n</sup> tho<sup>n</sup> t̥se a-ka', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-gi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
39. I'-k'u-tse a-tsia tha ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
40. Gi'-ha-go<sup>n</sup> a-zhi xtsi a-ka', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
41. Wa'-tha-çi-dse tho<sup>n</sup>-ta zhi a', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-gi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da,  
t̥si ga.

## 6

42. He'-dsi xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
43. Ga'xtsi hi-tha i do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
44. A'-ba-du a-tha-k'a-be dsi xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
45. Mo<sup>n</sup>-bi-dse zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga to<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
46. He-dsi xtsi a-thi<sup>n</sup> gi-e do<sup>n</sup> a, a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
47. The ho<sup>n</sup>, wi-zhi<sup>n</sup>-the, a-gthi-no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
48. E'-go<sup>n</sup> tho<sup>n</sup>-tse xtsi a', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-gi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
49. I'-k'u-tse a-tsia-tha ba do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,
50. Wa'-tha-çi-dse tho<sup>n</sup>-tse a-ka, wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-gi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da,  
t̥si ga,
51. E'-zhi-zhi çka u-to<sup>n</sup>-ga', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, e'-gi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga.

52. He'-dsi xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 53. Ga'xtsi hi-tha i do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 54. A'-ba-du a-ga-ha dsi xtsi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 55. Mo<sup>n</sup>'-bi-dse hiu-stse-dse to<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 56. He'-dsi xtsi a-thi<sup>n</sup> gi-e do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 57. The ho<sup>n</sup>', wi-zhi<sup>n</sup>-the, a-gthi-no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 58. We'-ki-k'o<sup>n</sup> tho<sup>n</sup>-tse xtsi a', wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-gâ, e'-gi-a bi a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 59. T̥si'-zhu a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 60. Ho<sup>n</sup>'-ga e-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 61. We'-ki-k'o<sup>n</sup> the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> t̥a i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 62. We'-ki-k'o<sup>n</sup> the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> bi do<sup>n</sup> a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 63. Da'thu-ts'a-ga zhi ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> t̥a i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 64. Mi'hi-e ge t̥a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 65. Wa'-tha-çi dse mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>-bi do<sup>n</sup> shki a', a bi<sup>n</sup> da, t̥si ga,  
 66. Wa'-tha-çi-dse di-o-t̥s'e-ga ki-the mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup> t̥a i tsi<sup>n</sup> da', a bi<sup>n</sup> da,  
 t̥si ga.



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PART IV. LITERAL TRANSLATION

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## PART IV. LITERAL TRANSLATION

NO<sup>n</sup>-NI' A-THA-SHO-DSE WI'-GI-E  
(TOBACCO SMOKING RITUAL)

(Free translation, p. 544; Osage version, p. 731)

1. Da-do<sup>n</sup>, what; zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga', the little ones; wa-zhi<sup>n'</sup>, symbol of courage; gi-the, make to be their; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel the path of life; ʔa, shall; ba, they; do<sup>n</sup>, interrogative particle; a, they said; a bi<sup>n</sup> da, it has been said; ʔsi, house; ga, in this. (16, 30, 44, 60, 71, 81.)
2. I<sup>n</sup>-gtho<sup>n</sup>, lynx; gthe-zhe, mottled; zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, the little; kshe, lies outstretched; no<sup>n</sup>, that; a, they said.
3. Wi-ʔsi-go, my grandfather; wa-zhi<sup>n</sup>, courage; ʔo<sup>n</sup>-ga, great; do<sup>n</sup>, for that reason; wa-zhi<sup>n</sup>, symbol of courage; gi-the, make to be their; a-ka, they who are here assembled. (18, 62.)
4. Ho<sup>n</sup>-ba, day; i-ʔa-xe, the beginning of; tho<sup>n</sup> dsi, at that time; a, they said. (19, 34, 47, 63.)
5. Wi-ʔsi-go, my grandfather; wa-ko<sup>n</sup>-tha, to attack; tsi-the, rushed forth; do<sup>n</sup>, did; a, they said. (20, 35, 48, 64.)
6. ʔa, deer; he, horns; ba-shi-zhe, curved; kshe, lies outstretched; no<sup>n</sup>, that; a, they said.
7. Wi-ʔsi-go, my grandfather; ʔs'e-the, cause to die; i-he-the, made to lie upon the earth; to<sup>n</sup>, as he stood; a, they said. (23, 38.)
8. Wi-ʔsi-go, my grandfather; e-dsi, there at that place; the, he went forth; a, they said.
9. Wa-k'o<sup>n</sup>, act of triumph, or exultation; tsi-the, he performed quickly; to<sup>n</sup>, stood; a, they said.
10. Wa-ʔse, triumph; bo<sup>n</sup>, cried out, shouted; to<sup>n</sup>, as he stood; a, they said. (39.)
11. Zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, the little ones; mi, the sun; hi-e, setting of the; ge, the places of; ʔa, there.
12. Wa-ʔse, to triumph over the enemy; tha, they go forth; bi, they; tho<sup>n</sup>, when; shki, and; a, they said. (25, 40, 56, 68, 78.)
13. Ga xto<sup>n</sup>, verily in this manner; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, conduct themselves; ʔa, shall; i, they; tsi<sup>n</sup> da, shall. (26, 41, 57, 69, 79.)
14. No<sup>n</sup>-be, hands; e-dsi, there, at the falling of the foe; wa-thi<sup>n'</sup>-ga-zhi, not; ki-the, cause themselves to be; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel the path of life; ʔa, shall; i, they; tsi<sup>n</sup> da, shall. (28, 42, 58, 70, 80, 93.)
15. U'-ba-xo<sup>n</sup>, a bend or section; wi<sup>n</sup>, a; ga-xe, made; no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>, stood; a, they said.

17. Sho<sup>n</sup>-ge, wolf or dog; hi<sup>n</sup>, hair; tu, gray; kshe, lies outstretched; no<sup>n</sup>, that; a, they said.
21. Ta, deer; tse-he-xo-dse, gray-horned, yearling; kshe, lies outstretched; no<sup>n</sup>, that; a, they said.
22. Ni, stream, river; u-ga'-xthi, bend; xtsi, verily; ge, the; dsi, there, at such place; a, they said. (37.)
24. Wi-tsi-go, my grandfather; wa-tse, triumph; niu, breathed forth, uttered a cry; to<sup>n</sup>, as he stood; a, they said. (55, 67, 77.)
27. No<sup>n</sup>-be-hi, hands; wi-ta, my; no<sup>n</sup>-be-hi, hands; tha, make to be their; bi, they; tho<sup>n</sup>, when; shki, and; a, they said.
29. U'-ba-xo<sup>n</sup>, bend or section; tho<sup>n</sup>-ba, two; ga-xe, made; no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>, stood; a, they said.
31. I<sup>n</sup>-gtho<sup>n</sup>-ga, puma; do-ga, male; kshe, lies outstretched; no<sup>n</sup>, that; a, they said.
32. Wi-tsi-go, my grandfather; wa-zhi<sup>n</sup>, courage; to<sup>n</sup>-ga, great; do<sup>n</sup>, for that reason; a, they said.
33. Ga, he; wa-zhi<sup>n</sup>, courage; gi-the, make to be theirs; ta, shall; a-ka, they who are here assembled. (84.)
36. Ta, deer; he, horns; sha-be, dark; kshe, lies outstretched; no<sup>n</sup>, that; a, they said.
43. U'-ba-xo<sup>n</sup>, bend or section; tha-bthi<sup>n</sup>, three; ga-xe, made; no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>, as he stood; a, they said.
45. Wa-ça-be, black bear; do-ga, the male; kshe, lies outstretched; a, they said.
46. Wi-tsi-go, my grandfather; wa-zhi<sup>n</sup>, courage; gi-the, make to be their; ta, shall; a-ka, they who are here assembled.
49. Mo<sup>n</sup>-ba'-tsi-he, a small mound, a hummock; ho-çka, of no particular size; do<sup>n</sup>, a; a, they said.
50. Thi-ta-the, tore open by pulling; gthi no<sup>n</sup>-the, placed toward himself; to<sup>n</sup>, as he stood; a, they said.
51. Wa-gthu-shka, insects, bugs; zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, little.
52. I-u-tha-btho<sup>n</sup>-çe, crushed in his mouth; tsi-the, quickly; to<sup>n</sup>, as he stood; a, they said.
53. I-the-dse, corner of the mouth; tha-ta, the left; dsi, there; a, they said.
54. Wa-bi<sup>n</sup>, blood; a-ba-sho<sup>n</sup>, trickled; tsi-the, quickly; to<sup>n</sup>, stood; a, they said.
59. U-ba-xo<sup>n</sup>, bend or section; do-ba, four; ga-xe, he made; no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>, as he stood; a, they said.
61. Wa-dsu-ta, animal; to<sup>n</sup>-ga, great, the bull; to<sup>n</sup>, stands; no<sup>n</sup>, that; a, they said.
65. Mo<sup>n</sup>-ha, a bank or cliff; pa-çi, the top of; ho<sup>n</sup>-çka, of no particular size; do<sup>n</sup>, a; a, they said.
66. Thi-pi-tha, tore it into pieces; ga-xe, made; to<sup>n</sup>, stood; a, they said.
72. Wa-dsu-ta, animal; çi-hi, the yellow, the elk; to<sup>n</sup>, stands; no<sup>n</sup>, that; a, they said.



73. Wi-ṭsi-go, my grandfather; wa-zhi<sup>n</sup>, symbol of courage; gi-the, make to be theirs; ṭa, shall; a-ka, they who are here assembled.
74. Ṭse-xe, open prairie where trees grow not; xtsi, verily; ge, the; dsi, there, in such place; a, they said.
75. Mi-ṭa-o-ga-xthe, faces the sun, the compass weed; hi, stalk; to<sup>n</sup>, stands; no<sup>n</sup>, that; a, they said.
76. Thi-bthi<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup>-tha, twist into a knot; i-no<sup>n</sup>-the, placed it on the ground; to<sup>n</sup>, as he stood; a, they said.
82. Wa-dsu-ṭa, animal; zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, the little, the deer; kshe, lies out-stretched; no<sup>n</sup>, that; a, they said.
83. Wi-ṭsi-go, my grandfather; pi-ṭi, liver gall; thi<sup>n</sup>-ge, has none; tho<sup>n</sup>-zha, nevertheless.
85. Ṭo<sup>n</sup>-wo<sup>n</sup>-gtho<sup>n</sup>, villages; do-ba, four; e-dsi, there were; a-ka, sitting.
86. Ṭo<sup>n</sup>-wo<sup>n</sup>, villages; ko<sup>n</sup>-ha, along the borders; no<sup>n</sup>-ge, he ran; ke, as in a long line; a, they said.
87. Ṭo<sup>n</sup>-wo<sup>n</sup>, villages; ko<sup>n</sup>-ha, along the borders; i-thi-sho<sup>n</sup>-ha, around the; shki, even then; do<sup>n</sup>, when; a, they said.
88. Wa-pa-hi, sharp weapons; a-bu-zha-zha-ta, shooting around him, in forked lines; bi, they; shki, even then; do<sup>n</sup>, when; a, they said.
89. Ṭse-xi, dangers; ga-shi-be, he escapes; no<sup>n</sup>, he does; a, they said.
90. Zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, the little ones; wa-zhi<sup>n</sup>, symbol of courage; o<sup>n</sup>-gi-tha, they make of me; bi, they; tho<sup>n</sup>, when; shki, and; a, they said.
91. Ṭse-xi, dangers; ga-shi-be, escape them; ki-the, cause themselves to; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel the path of life; ṭa, shall; i, they; ṭsi<sup>n</sup> da, shall.
92. Zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, little ones; wo<sup>n</sup>, one of them; shki, even; do<sup>n</sup>, with; a, they said.

HO<sup>n</sup>-BE'-ṬU WI'-GI-E

(MOCCASIN RITUAL)

(Free translation, p. 550; Osage version, p. 733)

1. Da-do<sup>n</sup>, what; zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, the little ones; ṭi, foot; ki-the, make to be their; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel the path of life; ṭa, shall; ba, they; do<sup>n</sup>, interrogative particle; a, they said; a bi<sup>n</sup> da, it has been said; ṭsi, house; ga, in this. (14, 27, 40, 53.)
2. Ke, turtle; ṭi<sup>n</sup>-dse, tail; ga-tse, serratures; sha-pe, having six; thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe, sits; no<sup>n</sup>, that; a, they said.
3. Ga, this turtle; ṭi, foot; ki-the, make to be their; ṭa, shall; a-ka, they who are here assembled. (16, 29, 42, 55.)
4. Ṭi, foot; ki-tha, make to be their; bi, they; tho<sup>n</sup>, when; shki, and; a, they said. (17, 30, 43, 56.)

5. Çi, foot; i, they; ki, if they make it to be; i-ts'a, causes of death; thi<sup>n</sup>-ge, having none; ki-the, cause themselves to; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel the path of life; ʔa, shall; i, they; tsi<sup>n</sup>-da, shall. (18, 31, 44, 57.)
6. Çi, foot; gi-ba-xtho-ga, pierced by harmful grasses; zhi, not; ki-the, cause themselves to; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel the path of life; ʔa, shall; i, they; tsi<sup>n</sup> da, shall. (19, 32, 45, 58.)
7. Xa-dse, grasses; no<sup>n</sup>-çta-ge, trample down; ki-the, cause themselves to; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel the path of life; ʔa, shall; i, they; tsi<sup>n</sup> da, shall. (20, 33, 46, 59.)
8. Dado<sup>n</sup>, what; ho<sup>n</sup>-be-ko<sup>n</sup>, moccasin string; the, make to be their; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel the path of life; ʔa, shall; ba, they; do<sup>n</sup>, interrogative particle; a, they said. (21, 34, 47, 60.)
9. We-ʔs'a, snake; ho<sup>n</sup>-ga, the sacred, the mysterious; kshe, lies outstretched; no<sup>n</sup>, that; a, they said.
10. Ga, that; ho<sup>n</sup>-be-ko<sup>n</sup>, moccasin string; the, make to be their; ʔa, shall; a-ka, they who are here assembled. (23, 36, 49, 62.)
11. Ho<sup>n</sup>-be-ko<sup>n</sup>, moccasin string; tha, make to be their; bi, they; tho<sup>n</sup>, when; shki, and; a, they said. (24, 37, 50, 63.)
12. Ho<sup>n</sup>-be-ko<sup>n</sup>, moccasin string; i-ts'a, causes of death; thi<sup>n</sup>-ge, have none; ki-the, cause themselves to; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel the path of life; ʔa, shall; i, they; tsi<sup>n</sup> da, shall. (25, 38, 51, 64.)
13. Ho<sup>n</sup>-be-ko<sup>n</sup>, moccasin string; gi-ba-xa, to be broken; zhi, not; ki-the, they cause to be; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel the path of life; ʔa, shall; i, they; tsi<sup>n</sup> da, shall. (26, 39, 52, 65.)
15. Çe, turtle; mo<sup>n</sup>-ge, breast; zhu-dse, red; thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe, sits; no<sup>n</sup>, that; a, they said.
22. We-ʔs'a, snake; mo<sup>n</sup>-ge, breast; zhu-dse, red; kshe, lies outstretched; no<sup>n</sup>, that.
28. Çe, turtle; mo<sup>n</sup>-ge, breast; gthe-zhe, spotted; thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe, sits; no<sup>n</sup>, that.
35. We-ʔs'a, snake; mo<sup>n</sup>-ge, breast; gthe-zhe, spotted; kshe, lies outstretched; no<sup>n</sup>, that; a, they said.
41. Çe, turtle; mo<sup>n</sup>-ge, breast; çka, white; thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe, sits; no<sup>n</sup>, that; a, they said.
48. We-ʔs'a, snake; mo<sup>n</sup>-ge, breast; çka, white; kshe, lies outstretched; no<sup>n</sup>, that; a, they said.
54. Çe, turtle; mo<sup>n</sup>-ge, breast; zhi-hi, pink; thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe, sits; no<sup>n</sup>, that; a, they said.
61. We-ʔs'a, snake; mo<sup>n</sup>-ge, breast; zhi-hi, pink; kshe, lies outstretched; no<sup>n</sup>, that; a, they said.
66. Da-do<sup>n</sup>, what; zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, the little ones; mo<sup>n</sup>-hi<sup>n</sup>, knife; gi-the, make to be their; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel the path of life; ʔa, shall; ba, they; do<sup>n</sup>, interrogative particle; a, they said.

67. Wa-dsu-ṭa, animal; shi<sup>n</sup>-ṭo-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, boy; to<sup>n</sup>, stands; no<sup>n</sup>, that; a, they said.
68. He, horn; tha-ṭa, left; tse, that stands; a, they said.
69. Ga, that; mo<sup>n</sup>-hi<sup>n</sup>, knife; gi-the, make to be their; ṭa, shall; a-ka, they who are here assembled.
70. Mo<sup>n</sup>-hi<sup>n</sup>, knife; gi-tha, they make to be their; bi, they; tho<sup>n</sup>, when; shki, and; a, they said.
71. Shi<sup>n</sup>-ṭo, young men; mo<sup>n</sup>-hi<sup>n</sup>, knife; gi-pa-hi, sharp for their use; ḱi-the, cause to be; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel the path of life; ṭa, shall; i, they; tsi<sup>n</sup> da, shall.
72. Da-do<sup>n</sup>, what; wa-ba-ṭo-be, may they use to cut upon; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel the path of life; ṭa, shall; ba, they; do<sup>n</sup>, interrogative particle; a, they said. (78, 83, 88.)
73. Mi, sun; hi-e, setting of; ge, the places; ta, there, at those places; ni-ka-shi-ga, people. (94, 100, 106, 112.)
74. I-ṭo<sup>n</sup>-wo<sup>n</sup>-gtho<sup>n</sup>, one for whom the village is maintained; xtsi, verily; bi, he; thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe, sits.
75. Ga, upon him; a-ba-ṭo-be, to cut in parts; ṭa, shall; a-ka, they who are here assembled. (80, 85, 90.)
76. A-ba-ṭo-ba, upon him cut; bi, they; tho<sup>n</sup>, when; shki, and; a, they said. (81, 86, 91.)
77. Wa-ba-ṭo-be, the act of cutting; gi-o-ṭs'e-ga, with ease; ḱi-the, cause themselves to; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel the path of life; ṭa, shall; i, they; tsi<sup>n</sup> da, shall. (82, 87, 92.)
79. Wa-k'o, woman; shi-mo<sup>n</sup>-pshe, who gives birth to children; thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe, sits; a, they said.
84. Ni-ḱa, man; wa-ḱ'o<sup>n</sup>, military honors; u-tha-ḱa, to whom are attached; kshe, lies; no<sup>n</sup>, that; a, they said. (107.)
89. Wa-k'o, woman; wo<sup>n</sup>, for the first time; we-da-the, gave birth; thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe, sits; no<sup>n</sup>, that; a, they said. (113.)
93. Da-do<sup>n</sup>, what; wa-ba-xtho-ge, perforate; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel the path of life; ṭa, shall; do<sup>n</sup>, interrogative particle; a, they said. (99, 105, 111.)
95. Shi<sup>n</sup>-ṭo, young man; ho, voice; btho<sup>n</sup>-xe, cracked; do<sup>n</sup>, a; a, they said.
96. Ga, upon him; a-ba-xtho-ge, perforate; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel the path of life; bi, they; a, they said. (102, 108, 114.)
97. A-ba-xtho-ge, upon him perforate; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel the path of life; bi, they; do<sup>n</sup>, when; shki, and; a, they said. (103, 109, 115.)
98. Wa-ba-xtho-ge, act of perforating; gi-o-ṭs'e-ga, for themselves easy; ḱi-the, cause to be; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel the path of life; ṭa, shall; bi-a, they; wi-ḱo<sup>n</sup>-ga, my younger brothers; e-ḱi-a, said to one another; bi, they; a, they said. (104, 110, 116.)
101. Shi-mi, maiden; ho, voice; btho<sup>n</sup>-xe, cracked; do<sup>n</sup>, a; a, they said.

## WA'-ÇI-THU-ÇE WI'-GI-E

(FOOTSTEP RITUAL)

(Free translation, p. 559; Osage version, p. 737)

1. Da-do<sup>n</sup>, what; zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, the little ones; wa-çi-thu-çe, toward which to take footsteps; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel the path of life; ʔa, shall; ba, they; do<sup>n</sup>, interrogative particle; a, they said. (15, 29, 43.)
2. U-k'u-be, valley; zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, little; wi<sup>n</sup>, one; a, they said.
3. Ga, that; a-çi-thu-çe, toward which they will take footsteps; no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>, stand; bi, they; a, they said. (6, 11, 17, 20, 25, 31, 34, 39, 45, 48, 53.)
4. U-k'u-be, valley; zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, little; wi<sup>n</sup>, one; e-çka, in truth; e-wa-ka, they had in mind; zhi, not; a-ka, they who sit.
5. Wa-dsu-ʔa, animals; u-ba-ʔse, herd; wi<sup>n</sup>, one; a, they said.
7. Wa-dsu-ʔa, animals; u-ba-ʔse, herd; wi<sup>n</sup>, one; e-çka, in truth; e-wa-ka, they had in mind; ba, they; zhi, not; a, they said.
8. Zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, the little ones; wa-çi-thu-çe, take footsteps; a-tha, they go forth; bi, they; tho<sup>n</sup>, when; shki, and; a, they said. (22, 36, 50.)
9. Wa-çi-thu-çe, take footsteps; ga-xto<sup>n</sup>, in this very manner; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel the path of life; ʔa, shall; i, they; tsin da, shall. (23, 37, 51.)
10. ʦsi, house; zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, little; wi<sup>n</sup>, one; a, they said.
12. ʦsi, house; zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, little; wi<sup>n</sup>, one; e-çka, in truth; e-wa-ka, they had in mind; ba, they; zhi, not; a, they said.
13. Wa-xo-be, shrine; zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, little. (27, 41, 55.)
14. Ha-gtha-thi<sup>n</sup>, having in your arms; e-dsi, coming there; ba she, you are. (28, 42, 56.)
16. U-k'u-be, valleys; zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, little; tho<sup>n</sup>-ba, two.
18. U-k'u-be, valleys; zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, little; tho<sup>n</sup>-ba, two; e-çka, in truth; e-wa-ka, they had in mind; ba, they; zhi, not; a, they said.
19. Wa-dsu-ʔa, animals; u-ba-ʔse, herds; tho<sup>n</sup>-ba, two.
21. Wa-dsu-ʔa, animals; u-ba-ʔse, herds; tho<sup>n</sup>-ba, two; e-çka, in truth; e-wa-ka, they had in mind; ba, they; zhi, not; a, they said.
22. Zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, the little ones; wa-çi-thu-çe, to take footsteps; a-tha, they go forth; bi, they; tho<sup>n</sup>, when; shki, and; a, they said.
24. ʦsi, houses; zhin-ga, little; tho<sup>n</sup>-ba, two.
26. ʦsi, houses; zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, two; tho<sup>n</sup>-ba, two; e-çka, in truth; e-wa-ka, they had in mind; ba, they; zhi, not; a, they said.
30. U-k'u-be, valleys; zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, little; tha-bthi<sup>n</sup>, three; a, they said.
32. U-k'u-be, valleys; zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, little; tha-bthi<sup>n</sup>, three; e-çka, in truth; e-wa-ka, they had in mind; ba, they; zhi, not; a, they said.
33. Wa-dsu-ʔa, animals; u-ba-ʔse, herds; tha-bthi<sup>n</sup>, three; a, they said.

35. Wa-dsu-*ta*, animals; u-ba-*tse*, herds; tha-b<sup>n</sup>thi<sup>n</sup>, three; e-*çka*, in truth; e-wa-*ka*, they had in mind; ba, they; zhi, not; a, they said.
38. *Ṭsi*, house; zhi<sup>n</sup>-*ga*, little; tha-b<sup>n</sup>thi<sup>n</sup>, three; a, they said.
40. *Ṭsi*, houses; zhi<sup>n</sup>-*ga*, little; tha-b<sup>n</sup>thi<sup>n</sup>, three; e-*çka*, in truth; e-wa-*ka*, they had in mind; ba, they; zhi, not; a, they said.
44. U-*k'u*-be, valleys; zhi<sup>n</sup>-*ga*, little; do-ba, four.
46. U-*k'u*-be, valleys; zhi<sup>n</sup>-*ga*, little; do-ba, four; e-*çka*, in truth; e-wa-*ka*, they had in mind; ba, they; zhi, not; a, they said.
49. Wa-dsu-*ta*, animals; u-ba-*tse*, herds; do-ba, four; e-*çka*, in truth; e-wa-*ka*, they had in mind; ba, they; zhi, not; a, they said.
52. *Ṭsi*, houses; zhi<sup>n</sup>-*ga*, little; do-ba, four; e-*çka*, in truth; e-wa-*ka*, they had in mind; ba, they; zhi, not; a, they said.

PE'-XE THU-ÇE WI'-GI-E  
(RATTLE TAKING RITUAL)

(SAUCY-CALF)

(Free translation, p. 579; Osage version, p. 742)

1. Da-do<sup>n</sup>, what; zhi<sup>n</sup>-*ga*, the little ones; pe-xe, rattle; gi-the, make to be their; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel the path of life; *ta*, shall; ba, they; do<sup>n</sup>, interrogative particle; a, they said.
2. *Ṭo*<sup>n</sup>-wo<sup>n</sup>-*gtho*<sup>n</sup>, villages; pe-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba-ha, in seven separate groups; ba, they; do<sup>n</sup>, were; a, they said. (10, 20.)
3. I-thi-sbno<sup>n</sup>, the odd one in number; thi<sup>n</sup>-ke, that sits; a, they said. (11, 21.)
4. Wa-pa, head or skull; i-*ta*, his; thi<sup>n</sup>-ke, that sits; a, they said.
5. Ga, that; pe-xe, rattle; gi-the, make to be their; *ta*, shall; a-ka, they who are here assembled.
6. Pe-xe, rattle; i-*ts'a*, causes of death; thi<sup>n</sup>-ge, having none; *ki*-the, cause themselves to; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel the path of life; *ta*, shall; i, they; tsi<sup>n</sup> da, shall.
7. I-g<sup>n</sup>hi-hi-dse, use it magically on the foe; a-tha, they go forth; bi, they; tho<sup>n</sup>, when; shki, and; a, they said. (16, 24.)
8. I-g<sup>n</sup>hi-hi-dse, use it magically on the foe; gi-o-*ts'e-ga*, with ease; *ki*-the, cause themselves to; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel the path of life; *ta*, shall; i, they; tsi<sup>n</sup> da, shall. (17, 25.)
9. Da-do<sup>n</sup>, what; zhi<sup>n</sup>-*ga*, the little ones; pe-xe, rattle; i-ba, handle; the, make to be their; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel the path of life; *ta*, shall; ba, they; do<sup>n</sup>, interrogative particle; a, they said.
12. A-xi-be, lower forearm; tha-*ta*, the left; tse, the standing; a, they said.
13. Ga, that; pe-xe, rattle; i-ba, handle; the, make to be their; *ta*, shall; a-ka, they who were assembled.
14. Pe-xe, rattle; i-ba, handle; tha, they make it to be; bi, they; tho<sup>n</sup>, when; shki, and.

15. Pe-xe, rattle; i-ba, handle; i-ṭs'a, causes of death; thi<sup>n</sup>-ge, having none; ki-the, cause themselves to; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel the path of life; ṭa, shall; i, they; tsi<sup>n</sup> da, shall.
18. Da-do<sup>n</sup>, what; zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, the little ones; pe-xe-ṭu, rattlers for the rattle; the, make to be their; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel the path of life; ṭa, shall; ba, they; do<sup>n</sup>, interrogative particle; a, they said.
19. Mi, sun; hi-e, the setting of; ge, the places; ṭa, there.
22. Hi-k'e, teeth; tha-ṭa, the left side; thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe, sitting; a, they said.
23. Ga, those; pe-xe-ṭu, rattlers for the rattle; the, make to be their; ṭa, shall; a-ka, they who are here assembled.
26. He-dsi, at that time and place; xtsi, verily; a, they said.
27. Mo<sup>n</sup>-shi, above; ṭa, there; u-thi-k'u-dse, the hole drilled; ga, this; tse, standing; a, they said.
29. Wa-ko<sup>n</sup>-da, god; gi-ka, appeal to; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel the path of life; ṭa, may; ba, they; sho<sup>n</sup>, have made it; a-ka, they who are here assembled. (31.)
30. Hi-dse, below; ṭa, there; u-thi-k'u-dse, hole drilled; ga, this; tse, standing; a, they said.
31. Wa-thi<sup>n</sup>-e-ṭka, without a purpose; sho<sup>n</sup>, performed the act; a-zhi, they have not; a-ka, they who are here assembled. (34.)
33. Ga-mo<sup>n</sup>-dse, the particles of dust within the gourd; ga, this; thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe, sitting; a, they said.
35. Mi, sun; hi-e, the setting of; ge, the places; ṭa, there; ni-ka-shi-ga, people.
36. Wa-shi-shi, goods, possessions; ṭo<sup>n</sup>, have in plenty; bi, they; a, they said.
37. Sho<sup>n</sup>, all of them; xtsi, verily; ga-xe, made them to represent; to<sup>n</sup>, as he stood; a, they said.
38. Wo<sup>n</sup>, the first time; ga-ṭa-thu, stroke of the rattle; the tha, they sent; bi, they; tho<sup>n</sup>, when; shki, and; a, they said.
39. Mo<sup>n</sup>-zho<sup>n</sup>, the earth, the land; xtho-k'a, the hollows thereof; sho<sup>n</sup>-e-go<sup>n</sup>, all creatures that dwell therein; xtsi, verily; a, they said.
40. U-ga-da-tho<sup>n</sup>, stunned with the stroke; i-ha-the, made them to lie; a-ka, they who were here assembled.
41. Tho<sup>n</sup>-ba o<sup>n</sup>, the second time; ga-ṭa-thu, stroke of the rattle; the tha, they sent; bi, they; tho<sup>n</sup>, when; shki, and; a, they said.
42. Wa-gthu-shka, insects (trope for creatures); zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, little; sho<sup>n</sup> e-go<sup>n</sup>, all; a, they said. (45, 48.)
43. Ni-xu-dse, ears; a-thi-ṭo<sup>n</sup>, closed; i-he-the, made them to lie; a-ka, they who were here assembled.
44. Tha-bthi<sup>n</sup> o<sup>n</sup>, on the third time; ga-ṭa-thu, stroke of the rattle; the tha, they sent; bi, they; tho<sup>n</sup>, when; shki, and; a, they said.
46. U-ga-bu-dse, knocked them down in profusion; i-he-the, made them to lie; a-ka, they who were here assembled.

47. We-do-ba o<sup>n</sup>, on the fourth time; ga-ça-thu, stroke of the rattle; the tha, they sent; bi, they; tho<sup>n</sup>, when; shki, and; a, they said.  
 49. I-shko<sup>n</sup>, motion; thi<sup>n</sup>-ge, having none; i-he-the, made them to lie; a-ka, they who were here assembled.

WA-THU'-ÇE W1'-GI-E  
 (TAKING (WA'-DO<sup>n</sup>-BE) RITUAL)

(SAUCY-CALF)

(Free translation, p. 616; Osage version, p. 755)

1. He-dsi, at that time and place; xtsi, verily; a, they said; a bi<sup>n</sup> da, it has been said; tsi, house; ga, in this. (19, 49, 74.)
2. Zha-be, beaver; do-ga, male; kshe, that lies outstretched; a, they said. (10, 43, 75.)
3. Tsi-xi<sup>n</sup>-dse, one side of the room; tha-ța, the left; t'se the, that stands; a, they said. (9, 50, 76.)
4. Mo<sup>n</sup>-sho-sho-dse, dust or soft earth; i<sup>n</sup>-dse, his face; a-tha-ha, covered with; xtsi, verily; zho<sup>n</sup>, as he lay; kshe, outstretched; a, they said. (44.)
5. Ga, this, the soft earth; thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe, the sitting; shki, also; a, they said.
6. Wa-thi<sup>n</sup>-e-çka, without a purpose; she-mo<sup>n</sup>, I have done; mo<sup>n</sup>-zhi i<sup>n</sup> da; I have not. (17, 24, 46, 60, 82.)
7. Zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, the little ones; mi, sun; hi-e, the setting of; ge, the places; ța, there. (47, 63.)
8. We-go<sup>n</sup>-tha, as the sign of a petition; gi-o-țs'e-ga, to be readily granted; ki-the, cause to be; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel the path of life; ța, shall; i, they; tsi<sup>n</sup> da, shall. (48, 64.)
11. Ni, water, surface of the stream; ba-btha-btha-xe, ripples made by him as he pushed forth; hi the do<sup>n</sup>, he went; a, they said. (51, 77.)
12. Ni, water, surface of the stream; ga-gthe-çe, ripples of; ga ge, these; a, they said. (52.)
13. U-no<sup>n</sup>, symbol of old age; pa-xe, a; hi<sup>n</sup> da, I have made them to be. (53.)
14. Zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, the little ones; wo<sup>n</sup> shki do<sup>n</sup>, perchance. (27, 36, 54, 72.)
15. Ha, skin; ga-gthe-çe, like the ripples of the river; a bi, spoken of as; i-the, live to see; ki-the, cause themselves to; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel the path of life; ța, shall; i, they; tsi<sup>n</sup> da, shall. (55.)
16. Ni, water; ga-po-ki, that cracks when struck; ga ge shki, these also; a, they said. (33, 70.)
18. Zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, the little ones; Wa-ko<sup>n</sup>-da, god; hu, their voices; a-no<sup>n</sup>-k'o<sup>n</sup>, heard by him; bi, they; ki-the, cause to be; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel the path of life; ța, shall; i, they; tsi<sup>n</sup> da, shall. (37, 55, 73.)
20. Ni, river; ba-sho<sup>n</sup>, bend; wi<sup>n</sup>; one; hi the do<sup>n</sup>, he reached; a, they said. (56, 78.)

21. Thiu-xe, willow; çì, yellow; to<sup>n</sup>, that stands; no<sup>n</sup>, that; a, they said. (57, 79.)
22. Tha-xia-tha, cut with his teeth; gthì he the, to the ground; to<sup>n</sup>, as he stood; a, they said. (58, 80.)
23. Ga tse, this; shki, also; a, they said. (45, 59, 81, 89.)
25. Mì, sun; hi-e, the setting of; ge, the places; òa, there; ni-ka-shi-ga, people. (61, 83.)
26. I-tha-ga-çko<sup>n</sup>-the, I have made the willow to represent; a-to<sup>n</sup>-he i<sup>n</sup> da, as I here stand.
28. Wa-tha-xia-tha, cut down the symbolic tree; gi-o-òs'e-ga, with ease; ki-the, cause themselves to; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel the path of life; òa, shall; i, they; tsi<sup>n</sup> da, shall. (86.)
29. Sho<sup>n</sup>, while yet; to<sup>n</sup> i<sup>n</sup> da, he stood. (38, 41, 65, 87.)
30. Tha-xu-e, drag with his teeth; tsi-the, hastened; to<sup>n</sup>, stood; a, they said. (32, 66, 68.)
31. Ni, river; ki-mo<sup>n</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>, against the current; dsi, there; a, they said. (67.)
33. Ni, water; ga-po-ki-o<sup>n</sup>-he, struck with a crack; ke, as he lay outstretched; a, they said. (69.)
34. Ni, water; ga-po-ki, the sound of when struck; ga, this; thi<sup>n</sup>-ke, that sits; a, they said.
35. Wa-òo<sup>n</sup>-da, god; hu, voice; a-no<sup>n</sup>-k'o<sup>n</sup>, hears, as my voice; bi-a ha no<sup>n</sup> a-tha, in my life's journey.
39. Mo<sup>n</sup>-sho<sup>n</sup>-de, the entrance to his house; tha-òa, at the left; dsi, there; a, they said.
40. U-pa-mo<sup>n</sup>-gthe, with its head therein; i-he-the, he placed it; to<sup>n</sup>, as he stood.
42. Tsi-xi<sup>n</sup>-dse, at one side of the room; i-shdu-ge, the right; dsi, there; a, they said.
62. I-tha-wa, to use in counting them; sho<sup>n</sup>, all; xtsi, verily; pa-xe, I have made it to be; a-to<sup>n</sup>-he i<sup>n</sup> da, as I here stand. (84.)
85. Zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, the little ones; wa-tha-xia-tha, cut down the willow; bi, they; tho<sup>n</sup>, when; shki, and; a, they said.
88. Ni, river; u-ba-sho<sup>n</sup>, bends; pe-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba, seven; hi the do<sup>n</sup>, he reached; a, they said.
90. O-do<sup>n</sup>, military honors; i-tha-ga-çko<sup>n</sup>-bthe, I make to represent; a-to<sup>n</sup>-he i<sup>n</sup> da, as I here stand.
91. Zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, the little ones; we-tha-wa, use for counting; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel the path of life; òa, shall; i, they; tsi<sup>n</sup> da, shall.
92. We-tha-wa, for counting; tha, they make use of it; bi, they; tho<sup>n</sup>, when; shki, and; a, they said.
93. We-tha-wa, the counting; gi-o-òs'e-ga, with ease; ki-the, cause themselves to; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel the path of life; òa, shall; i, they; tsi<sup>n</sup> da, shall.



NO<sup>N</sup>-XTHE' I-KI<sup>N</sup>-DSE WA-THO<sup>N</sup>  
 (CHARCOAL RUSH SONGS)

(SAUCY-CALF)

The, No<sup>n</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, No<sup>n</sup>-xthé' I-ki<sup>n</sup>-dse Wa-tho<sup>n</sup> a-tsi' i<sup>n</sup> do.  
 The old men little, charcoal rush songs I have come.

WI'-GI-E

(Free translation, p. 647; Osage version, p. 768)

1. A tha tsi ʔa (archaic); a bi<sup>n</sup> da, it has been said; ʔsi, house; ga, in this.
2. Wa-ça-be, the black bear; do-ga, male; ʔi<sup>n</sup>-de, tail; do<sup>n</sup>-k'a, stub; e-go<sup>n</sup>, like; kshe, lies outstretched; no<sup>n</sup>, that; a, they said.
3. I-ki-no<sup>n</sup>-xthe, make me to be their charcoal; o<sup>n</sup>-tha, they make of me; ba, they; tho<sup>n</sup>-tse, as fitting; a-to<sup>n</sup> he i<sup>n</sup> da, I stand. (7, 53, 66.)
4. Zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, the little ones; no<sup>n</sup>-xthe, charcoal; o<sup>n</sup>-tha, they make of me; bi, they; tho<sup>n</sup>, when; shki, and; a, they said. (8, 16, 24, 31, 38, 40, 46, 54, 58, 62, 72, 77, 84, 91.)
5. No<sup>n</sup>-xthe, charcoal; gi-sha-be, black indeed; ki-the, cause to be; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel the path of life; ʔa, shall; i, they; tsi<sup>n</sup> da, shall. (9, 17, 25, 32, 39, 47, 55, 59, 63, 78, 85, 92.)
6. ʔa-zhu-zhe, nose; sha-be, dark; ga, this; thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe, that sits; a, they said. (67.)
10. Mi, sun; hi-e, the setting of; ge, the places; ʔa, there; shki, also; a, they said. (18, 26, 33, 41, 48, 73, 79, 93.)
11. We-go<sup>n</sup>-tha, as a sign of petition; a-thi<sup>n</sup>, they treasure it; bi, they; tho<sup>n</sup>, when; shki, and; a, they said. (19.)
12. We-go<sup>n</sup>-tha, used as a symbol of prayer; gi-o-ʔs'e-ga, easy for themselves; ki-the, cause to be; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel the path of life; ʔa, shall; i, they; tsi<sup>n</sup> da, shall. (20, 27, 34, 42, 49, 80, 87, 94.)
13. We-ki-i-he-the, use in making the enemy to fall; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel the path of life; ʔa, shall; i, they; tsi<sup>n</sup> da, shall. (21, 28, 35, 43, 50, 74, 81, 88, 95.)
14. I, mouth; ʔo<sup>n</sup>-ha, the edges of; sha-be, dark; ga, this; thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe, that sits; shki, also; a, they said. (60.)
15. E, that; shki, also; no<sup>n</sup>-xthe, charcoal; o<sup>n</sup>-tha, make of me; ba, they; tho<sup>n</sup>-ʔa, as fitting; a-to<sup>n</sup>-he i<sup>n</sup> da, I stand. (23, 30, 37, 45, 57, 68, 76, 83, 90.)
22. No<sup>n</sup>-ʔa, ear; i-ta-xe, the tip of; sha-be, dark; ga, this; thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe, that sits; shki, also; a, they said.
29. No<sup>n</sup>-ka, the back; u-pa, the length of; hi<sup>n</sup>, hair; sha-be, dark; ga, this; thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe, that sits; a, they said.
36. ʔi<sup>n</sup>-dse, tail; i-ʔa-xe, the tip of; sha-be, dark; ga, this; thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe, that sits; a, they said.

44. Çi-pa-hi, toes; sha-be, dark; ga, this; thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe, that sits; a, they said.
51. Ho<sup>n</sup> a-do<sup>n</sup>, what; no<sup>n</sup>-xthe, charcoal; tha, make to be; bi, they; go<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup> shki a, shall; hi<sup>n</sup>-a, interrogative particle.
52. I<sup>n</sup>-gtho<sup>n</sup>-ga, puma; do-ga, male; kshe, that lies outstretched; a, they said.
55. No<sup>n</sup>-xthe, charcoal; gi-ça-be, black indeed; ði-the, cause to be; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel the path of life; ða, shall; i, they; tsi<sup>n</sup> da, shall. (59, 63.)
56. Pa-zhu-zhe, nose; ça-be, black; ga, this; thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe, that sits; a, they said.
65. Wa-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, bird, eagle; wa-tha-xthi, stains; thi<sup>n</sup>-ge, having none; thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe, that sits; no<sup>n</sup>, that; a, they said.
69. Wa-ko<sup>n</sup>-da, god; u-ço<sup>n</sup>-ba, guard, or notice; bi, they; a-thi<sup>n</sup> he no<sup>n</sup>, in the course of my life; a-tha, it is true.
70. Zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, the little ones; wo<sup>n</sup> shki do<sup>n</sup>, perchance; a, they said.
71. Wa-ko<sup>n</sup>-da, god; u-ço<sup>n</sup>-be, guard, notice; i-the, live to see; ði-the, cause to be; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel the path of life; ða, shall; i, they; tsi<sup>n</sup> da, shall.
75. Ta-xpi, crown of the head; hi<sup>n</sup>, hair or feathers; sha-be, dark; ga, this; thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe, that sits; a, they said.
82. I<sup>n</sup>-be, tail; i-ða-xe, the tip of; sha-be, dark; ga, this; thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe, that sits; a, they said.
89. Çi, feet; ko<sup>n</sup>-ha, the edges of; ga, this; thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe, that sits; a, they said.

NI<sup>n</sup>-ZHIU' WA-THO<sup>n</sup> TO<sup>n</sup>-GA  
(RAIN SONGS GREAT)  
WI'-GI-E

(Free translation, p. 665; Osage version, p. 776)

1. A tha ðsi ða (archaic); a bi<sup>n</sup> da, it has been said; ðsi, house; ga, in this.
2. Wa-ça-ði-the, avenger; zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, the little ones; i-ða, belonging to; wi<sup>n</sup>, a; a, they said. (19, 33, 45.)
3. Ta-dse, wind; mo<sup>n</sup>-ha, west; dsi, there; a, they said.
4. Wi-ðsi-go, my grandfather; u-mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, travels therein; thi<sup>n</sup>, moves; a, they said. (10, 24, 37, 50.)
5. Ta-dse, wind; pa-ho<sup>n</sup>-gthe, the first, in advance; thi<sup>n</sup>, that moves; a, they said. (22, 48.)
7. Wi-ðsi-go, my grandfather; da-do<sup>n</sup>, things or acts; no<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, ignorant of; a-zhi, not; xtsi, verily; thi<sup>n</sup>, moves; a, they said. (11, 25, 38, 51.)
8. Wa-xpe-gthe, a hanging object that is ready to fall, a penalty; e-de, that is; a-do<sup>n</sup>-be, guard or watch over; kshi-tha, employed; bi, he is; thi<sup>n</sup>, he moves about; a, they said. (26, 39.)
9. ði-gthi-ni-ka, swallow; kshe, lies outstretched; no<sup>n</sup>, that; a, they said.

12. No<sup>n</sup>-ka, back; u-tha-ha, following closely; thi<sup>n</sup>-ga, absent; zhi, not; thi<sup>n</sup>, he moves; a, they said. (28, 40, 52.)
13. Ta-xpi, crown of the head; dsi, there; thi<sup>n</sup>-ga, absent; zhi, not; thi<sup>n</sup>, he moves; a, they said. (29, 41, 53.)
14. Sho<sup>n</sup>, even as they; tha, go on in life's journey; i, they, the violators of vows; do<sup>n</sup>, when; a, they said. (17, 27.)
15. I<sup>n</sup>-dse ha, the skin of the face; ci-hi, to a sallow state; xtsi, verily; wa-thi<sup>n</sup> hi, brings them to; no<sup>n</sup>, does; a, they said. (30, 42, 54.)
16. Pa, nose; u-ki-thi-bthi<sup>n</sup>-bthi<sup>n</sup>, flow of blood in a twirling motion; xtsi, verily; wa-thi<sup>n</sup> hi, brings them to; no<sup>n</sup>, does; a, they said. (31, 43, 55.)
18. No<sup>n</sup>-xe, the spirit; no<sup>n</sup>, alone; wa-thu-çe, take from them; tse, to; a, they ask; i, they; tho<sup>n</sup>, when; shki, and; e-go<sup>n</sup>, he does so; no<sup>n</sup>, always; a, they said. (32, 44, 56.)
20. Ga, this; no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup> da, shall stand. (34, 46.)
21. Ta-dse, wind; ga-xpa, east; dsi, there; a, they said.
23. Tse-pi-tha to<sup>n</sup>-ga, the great dragon fly; kshe, lies outstretched; no<sup>n</sup>, that; a, they said.
35. Ta-dse, wind; ba-ço<sup>n</sup>, north; dsi, there; a, they said.
36. Dsi-tha to<sup>n</sup>-ga, the great butterfly; kshe, lies outstretched; no<sup>n</sup>, that; a, they said.
47. Ta-dse, wind; a-k'a, south; dsi, there; a, they said.
49. No<sup>n</sup>-ni-o<sup>n</sup>-ba, pipe; zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, little; kshe, lies outstretched; no<sup>n</sup>, that; a, they said.

## ÇA' DO-KA WI'-GI-E

(RUSH GREEN RITUAL)

(Free translation. p. 688; Osage version, p. 782)

1. He-dsi, at that time and place; xtsi, verily; a, they said; a bi<sup>n</sup> da, it has been said; tsi, house; ga, in this. (13, 21, 43, 54, 56, 65.)
2. Wa-zha-zhe, name of the tribal division representing water part of the earth; u-dse-the, fireplaces; pe-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba, seven; ni-ka-shi-ga, people; ba, they; do<sup>n</sup>, were; a, they said.
3. Xtha-xtha, weak or timid; thi<sup>n</sup>-ge, having none; xtsi, verily; ni-ka-shi-ga, people; bi, were; a, they said.
4. Ha, ho; wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, my younger brothers; e-ki-a, said to one another; bi, they; a, they said.
5. Zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, the little ones; wa-xo-be, a sacred object, a shrine; tha, make to be; ba, they; tho<sup>n</sup>-ta, fit or suitable; thi<sup>n</sup>-ge, they have none; a-tha, truly; wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, my younger brothers; e-ki-a, said to one another; bi, they; a, they said.
6. O-to<sup>n</sup>-be, search; tha-the tse a, thou shalt cause to be made; wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, my younger brothers; e-ki-a, said to one another; bi, they; a, they said. (14, 22.)
7. Ga, even as; xtsi, verily; hi-tha, spake these words; i, they; do<sup>n</sup>, when; a, they said. (15, 23, 30, 37, 44.)

8. Țse-xe, open prairie bare of trees; xtsi, verily; ge, the places; dsi, there; a, they said. (16, 24.)
9. Ȥe-çka, *Andropogon furcatus*, white; stse-dse, tall; to<sup>n</sup>, stands; no<sup>n</sup>, that; a, they said.
10. He-dsi, close to it; xtsi, verily; hi, came to; no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>, and paused; to<sup>n</sup>, stood; a, they said. (18, 26, 33, 40.)
11. The, this; ho<sup>n</sup>, how will it serve; wi-zhi<sup>n</sup>-the, my elder brothers; a-gthi-no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>, said as he returned and stood; a, they said. (19, 28, 34, 41, 49.)
12. E-zhi-zhi-çka, Țo<sup>n</sup>-ga, not exactly what we want; wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, my younger brother; e-gi-a, said to him; bi, they; a, they said. (20, 29, 35, 42.)
17. Ȥe-çka, *Andropogon furcatus*, red; zhu-dse, red; to<sup>n</sup>, stands; no<sup>n</sup>, that; a, they said.
25. Pshi-shto-zha, *Phragmites phragmites*; to<sup>n</sup>, stands; no<sup>n</sup>, that; a, they said.
27. He-dsi, then and there; xtsi, verily; a-thi<sup>n</sup>, carrying it; gi, went home; thi<sup>n</sup>-e, moved; do<sup>n</sup>, did; a, they said. (48.)
31. Dse, lake; ȥo<sup>n</sup>-ha, border; dsi, there; xtsi, verily; a, they said. (38.)
32. Ça, rush; btha-xe, ribbed; *Eleocharis mutata*; to<sup>n</sup>, stands; no<sup>n</sup>, that; a, they said.
36. Zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, the little ones; wa-xo-be, shrine; tha, make of; ba, they; tho<sup>n</sup>-ta, fit, suitable; zhi a, it is not; wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, my younger brother; e-gi-a, said to him; bi, they; a, they said.
39. Ça, rush; n-dse, lower part of the stalk; Țo<sup>n</sup>-ga, large; *Scirpus occidentalis*; to<sup>n</sup>, stands; no<sup>n</sup>, that; a, they said.
45. Dse, lake; u-çko<sup>n</sup>-cka, in the center of; dsi, there; xtsi, verily; a, they said.
46. Ça zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, small rush; *Eleocharis interstincta*; ba-ȥse, bunches; a, they said.
47. Ȥe-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba, seven; hi, came to; no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>, where he paused; to<sup>n</sup>, stood; a, they said.
50. She, that which is in your hand; e-shno<sup>n</sup>, the very thing; u-tha-dse, has been the object of your search; tha, you; to<sup>n</sup> she a, as you stand; wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, my younger brother; e-gi-a, said to him; bi, they; a, they said.
51. Zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, the little ones; wa-xo-be, shrine; the, make of it; ȥa, shall; bi a, they; wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, my younger brothers; e-çi-a, said to one another; bi, they; a, they said. (51, 64.)
52. Zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, the little ones; wa-xo-be, shrine; tha, they make of it; bi, they; do<sup>n</sup>, when; shki, and; a, they said. (79.)
53. Wa-xo-be, sacred object; the hawk; gi-be-to<sup>n</sup>, wrap up our in it; o<sup>n</sup>-gi-the, we shall; o<sup>n</sup>-mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, in our life journey; ȥa bi a, we shall; wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, my younger brothers; e-çi-a, said to one another; bi, they; a, they said.

55. Ba-çe, cut; tse a, let it be; wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, my younger brothers; e-ki-a, said to one another; bi, they; a, they said.
57. Ke, turtle; çi<sup>n</sup>-dse, tail; ga-tse, serratures; pe-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba, seven; thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe, that sits; a, they said.
58. Ça zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, small rush; ba-tse, bunches; pe-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba, seven; do<sup>n</sup>, the; a, they said.
59. U-dse, at the root; thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe, sitting; dsi, there; a, they said
60. Ba-shko<sup>n</sup>-shko<sup>n</sup>, shook repeatedly; tsi-the, did quickly; to<sup>n</sup>, stood; a, they said. (70.)
61. Mi, sun; hi-e, the setting of; ge, the places; ta, toward; pa-gthe, placed the head; xtsi, verily; a, they said. (71.)
62. Ba-xi, push down; tsi-the, quickly; to<sup>n</sup>, stood; a, they said. (72.)
63. Ga, this; tse, standing; shki, also; a, they said. (73.)
66. Ke, turtle; çi<sup>n</sup>-dse, tail; ga-tse, serratures; sha-pe, six; thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe, that sits; a, they said.
67. Ça, rush; ba-tse, bunch; we-shia-pe, the sixth; thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe, that sits; dsi, there; a, they said.
68. He-dsi, close to it; hi, came; gthi<sup>n</sup> thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe, and sat; a, they said.
69. Ça zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, small rush; u-dse, at the roots; ge, the places; dsi, there; a, they said.
74. Wa-thi<sup>n</sup>-e-çka, without a purpose; she-mo<sup>n</sup>, I have done that; mo<sup>n</sup>-zhi i<sup>n</sup>da, I have not.
75. Mi, sun; hi-e, the setting of; ge, the places; ta, toward; wa-pa-xia-tha, I have pushed them down; to<sup>n</sup> he i<sup>n</sup> da, as I here stand.
77. Zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, the little ones; wa-ba-xia-tha, push down (their enemies); mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel the path of life; bi, they; do<sup>n</sup>, when; shki, and; a, they said.
78. Wa-ba-xia-tha, the pushing down; gi-o-çs' e-ga, with ease; ki-the, cause to be; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel the path of life; ta bi a, they shall; wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, my younger brothers; e-ki-a, said to one another; bi, they; a, they said.
80. Wa-xo-be, the sacred hawk; gi-ça-gi, safely preserved; ki-the, cause to be; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel the path of life; ta bi a, they shall; wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, my younger brothers; e-ki-a, said to one another; a, they said.

HI<sup>N</sup>'-DSE WI'-GI-E

(LINDEN RITUAL)

(Free translation, p. 691; Osage version, p. 784)

1. He-dsi, at that time and place; xtsi, verily; a, they said; a bi<sup>n</sup> da, it has been said; tsi, house; ga, in this.
2. Wa-zha-zhe, name of the tribal division representing water; u-dse-the, fireplaces; pe-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba, seven; ni-ka-shi-ga, a people; ba, they; do<sup>n</sup>, were; a, they said.
3. Xtha-xtha, weak or timid; thi<sup>n</sup>-ge, having none; xtsi, verily; ni-ka-shi-ga, a people; bi, they; a, they said.

4. Ha, ho; wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, my younger brothers; e-çi-a, said to one another; bi, they; a, they said.
5. Zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, the little ones; wa-xo-be, a sacred object, a shrine; tha, they make of; tho<sup>n</sup>-ta, fit or suitable; thi<sup>n</sup>-ge, there is nothing; a-tha, in truth; wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, my younger brothers; e-çi-a, said to one another; bi, they; a, they said.
6. Ga, even as; xtsi, verily; hi-tha i do<sup>n</sup>, these words were spoken; a, they said. (14, 21, 30, 37, 44, 53.)
7. Ga-xa, branches of streams; zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, small; xtsi, verily; ge, the; dsi, there; a, they said. (15.)
8. E-hiu, elm; xa-tha, with branches growing downward; zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, young; to<sup>n</sup>, stands; no<sup>n</sup>, that; a, they said.
9. E-dsi, then and there; xtsi, verily; a-thi<sup>n</sup>, carrying it; gi-e do<sup>n</sup>, he came home; a, they said. (17, 24, 33, 40, 48, 57.)
10. The, this; ho<sup>n</sup>, how will it serve; wi-zhi<sup>n</sup>-tbe, my elder brothers; a-gthi-no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>, he stood saying on his return; a, they said. (18, 26, 34, 41, 49, 58.)
11. Ha, ho; wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, my younger brother; e-gi-a, said to him; bi, they; a, they said. (50, 59.)
12. Zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, the little ones; wa-xo-be, a sacred object, a shrine; tha, they make of it; ba, they; tho<sup>n</sup>-ta, possible; zhi a, it is not; wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, my younger brother; e-gi-a, said to him; bi, they; a, they said. (19, 27, 52.)
13. O-fo<sup>n</sup>-be, search; tha-the tse a, you shall cause to be made; wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, my younger brothers; e-gi-a, said to him; bi, they; a, they said. (20, 29, 36, 43.)
16. E-hiu, elm; zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, young; to<sup>n</sup>, stands; no<sup>n</sup>, that; a, they said.
22. O-çu, lowland forest; ço<sup>n</sup>-ha, borders of; dsi, there; xtsi, verily; a, they said.
23. Hi<sup>n</sup>-dse, linden; xo-dse, gray sapling; to<sup>n</sup>, stands; no<sup>n</sup>, that; a, they said.
25. Ha, ho; wi-zhi<sup>n</sup>-tbe, my elder brothers; a-gthi-no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>, he said as he stood on his return; a, they said.
28. E-zhi-zhi çka fo<sup>n</sup>-ga, it is not exactly what we want; wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, my younger brother; e-gi-a, said to him; bi, they; a, they said. (35, 42, 51.)
31. O-çu, lowland forest; xtsi, verily; ge, the; dsi, there; a, they said.
32. Hi<sup>n</sup>-dse, linden; zhu-dse, the red; to<sup>n</sup>, stands; no<sup>n</sup>, that; a, they said.
38. O-çu, lowland forest; u-çko<sup>n</sup>-çka, in the center of; dsi, there; xtsi, verily; a, they said. (45.)
39. Hi<sup>n</sup>-dse, linden; sha-be, the dark; to<sup>n</sup>, stands; no<sup>n</sup>, that; a, they said.
46. Wa-xtha-hi, the pawpaw tree; to<sup>n</sup>, stands; no<sup>n</sup>, that; a, they said.
47. E-dsi, close to it; xtsi, verily; hi, came to; no<sup>n</sup>-zhi<sup>n</sup>, and paused; a, they said. (56.)

54. O-çu, lowland forest; go-da, on the farther side; ƙo<sup>n</sup>-ha, the border; dsi, there; xtsi, verily; a, they said.
55. Ha-do-ga, the nettle weed; to<sup>n</sup>, stands; no<sup>n</sup>, that; a, they said.
60. She, that which you have in your hand; e shno<sup>n</sup>, the very thing; u-tha-dse, is the object of your search; tha, you; to<sup>n</sup> she a, as you stand; wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, my younger brother; e-gi-a, said to him; bi, they; a, they said.
61. Zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, the little ones; wa-xo-be, sacred; the, make it to be; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; ƙa bi a, they shall; wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, my younger brothers; e-ƙi-a, said to one another; bi, they; a, they said. (66.)
62. Zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, the little ones; wa-xo-be, sacred; the, make it to be; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; bi, they; do<sup>n</sup>, when; a, they said. (67.)
63. Wa-xo-be, the sacred hawk; gi-ça-gi, well preserved; ƙi-the, cause it to be; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; ƙa bi a, they shall; wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, my younger brothers; e-ƙi-a, said to one another; bi, they; a, they said. (68.)
64. Ʀsi-zhu, the people of the Ʀsi-zhu; a, they said.
65. Ho<sup>n</sup>-ga, the people of the Ho<sup>n</sup>-ga; e-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba, also.

ÇA' WĪ'-GI-E

(RUSH RITUAL)

(WEAVER'S VERSION)

(Free translation, p. 698; Osage version, p. 786)

1. Wa-ƙo<sup>n</sup>-da, god; to<sup>n</sup>-ga, great; e-de, the; e-çka, in truth; e-wa-ka, they had in mind; ba, they; zhi, not; a be the, they have said. (3, 9, 17.)
2. Wa-ƙo<sup>n</sup>-da, god; e-shki do<sup>n</sup>, that also is a; a be the, they have said. (5, 11, 15, 19, 23.)
4. Wa-ƙo<sup>n</sup>-da, god; ho<sup>n</sup> ge, of the night; e no<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup>, that is always spoken of as; a be the, they have said. (10, 12, 16, 27.)
7. Wa-ƙo<sup>n</sup>-da, god; u-ga-çi-hi, struck with yellow hue; tsi zho<sup>n</sup>, that comes and lies; kshe, outstretched; no<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup>, that; a be the, they have said.
8. Çi, yellow hue; zho<sup>n</sup>, lies; kshe, outstretched; e-wa-ka, they had in mind; bi, they; a be the, they have said.
13. Wa-ƙo<sup>n</sup>-da, god; u-ga-ço<sup>n</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>, struck with a pale hue; tsi, that comes; kshe, lies outstretched; no<sup>n</sup>, that; a be the, they have said.
14. U-ga-ço<sup>n</sup>-ho<sup>n</sup>, struck with a pale hue; tsi, comes; zho<sup>n</sup>, and lies; kshe, outstretched; no<sup>n</sup>, that; e-çka, in truth; e-wa-ka, they had in mind; bi, they; a be the, they have said.
18. Wa-ƙo<sup>n</sup>-da, god; u-ga-zhi-hi, struck with a crimson hue; tsi, comes; zho<sup>n</sup>, lies; kshe, outstretched; no<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup>, that; a be the, they have said.

20. Wa-ko<sup>n</sup>-da, god; ʔo<sup>n</sup>-ga, great; e-de, the; e-çka, in truth; e-wa-ka, they had in mind; bi, they; a be the, they have said.
22. Wa-ko<sup>n</sup>-da, god; u-ga-zhu-dse, struck with a deep red; tsi gthi<sup>n</sup>, thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe, comes and sits; no<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup>, that; a be the, they have said.
24. Wa-ko<sup>n</sup>-da, god; ʔo-ho, in blue; kshe no<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup>, that lies outstretched; a be the, they have said.
25. Xthia-çka, a white flower; u-ki-ho<sup>n</sup>-ge, the border of; e-go<sup>n</sup>, that resembles; kshe no<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup>, that lies outstretched; a be the, they have said.
26. Da-ko<sup>n</sup>, light; u-ga-k'u, scraped together; e-go<sup>n</sup>, as though; e-çka, in truth; e-wa-ka, they had in mind; ba, they; zhi, not; a be the, they have said.
28. Ça-be, black; ʔo, blue; e-go<sup>n</sup>, that is like; a-tsi zho<sup>n</sup>, comes and lies; kshe, outstretched; no<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup>, that; a be the, they have said.
29. Ça, a rush shrine; wa-ʔse-ga xtsi, very new; a be the, they have said.
30. Ça, a rush shrine; wa-ʔse-ga xtsi, very new; u-ga-she thi<sup>n</sup>-ge, unharmed; xtsi, very; u-k'o<sup>n</sup>-ha, they put therein the hawk; bi, they; a bi do<sup>n</sup>, they have indeed said.

HO<sup>n</sup>-BE'-ÇU WI'-GI-E

(MOCCASIN RITUAL)

(Free translation, p. 700; Osage version, p. 784)

1. He-dsi, at that time and place; xtsi, verily; a, they said; a bi<sup>n</sup> da, it has been said; ʔsi, house; ga, in this. (26, 45, 63.)
2. K̄e, turtle; çin<sup>n</sup>-dse, tail; ga-tse, serratures; pe-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba, seven; thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe, that sits; a, they said.
3. Ga, that; çu-e, foot; o<sup>n</sup>-ki-the, we shall make to be; o<sup>n</sup>-mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as we travel, etc.; ʔa, shall; bi a, we; wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, my younger brothers; e-ki-a, said to one another; bi, they; a, they said. (28.)
4. Çu-e, foot; o<sup>n</sup>-ki-the, we make to be our; o<sup>n</sup>-mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as we travel, etc.; bi, we; do<sup>n</sup>, when; shki, and; a, they said. (29.)
5. Mi, sun; hi-e, the setting of; ge, the places where; ʔa, toward. (18, 21, 30, 43, 47, 53.)
6. Xa-dse, grasses; gi-çta-ge, fall flat to the ground; ki-the, cause to be; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; ʔa bi<sup>n</sup> da, they shall. (31.)
7. Da-do<sup>n</sup>, what; ho<sup>n</sup>-be-ko<sup>n</sup>, mocassin string; the, make to be; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; ʔa, shall; ba, they; do<sup>n</sup>, interrogative particle; a, they said. (32.)
8. We-ʔs'a, snake; ni-dse-wa-the, water; kshe, lies outstretched; no<sup>n</sup>, that; a, they said. (33.)
9. Ga, that; ho<sup>n</sup>-be-ko<sup>n</sup>, mocassin string; the, make to be their; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; bi, they; a, they said. (34.)



10. Ho<sup>n</sup>-be-ko<sup>n</sup>, moccasin string; the, make it to be; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; bi, they; do<sup>n</sup>, when; shki, and; a, they said. (35.)
11. Xa-dse, grasses; e-shki do<sup>n</sup>, even the; a, they said. (36.)
12. Ho<sup>n</sup>-be-ko<sup>n</sup>, moccasin string; gi-ba-xa, break; zhi, not; ki-the, cause to; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; ta, shall; bi a, they; wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, my younger brothers; e-ki-a, said to one another; bi, they; a, they said. (37.)
13. Da-do<sup>n</sup>, what; mo<sup>n</sup>-hi<sup>n</sup>, knife; gi-the, make to be their; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; ta, shall; ba, they; do<sup>n</sup>, interrogative particle; a, they said. (38.)
14. Wa-dsu-ta, animal; shi<sup>n</sup>-to-zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, young man, the male; kshe, lies outstretched; no<sup>n</sup>, that; a, they said. (39.)
15. He, horn; i-shdo-ge, the right; tse, that stands; a, they said.
16. Ga, that; mo<sup>n</sup>-hi<sup>n</sup>, knife; gi-the, make to be their; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; bi, they; a, they said. (41.)
17. Mo<sup>n</sup>-hi<sup>n</sup>, knife; gi-the, make to be their; bi, they; do<sup>n</sup>, when; shki, and; a, they said. (42.)
19. Mo<sup>n</sup>-hi<sup>n</sup>, knife; gi-pa-hi, sharp indeed; ki-the, cause to be; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; ta, shall; bi a, they; wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, my younger brothers; e-ki-a, said to one another; bi, they; a, they said. (44.)
20. Da-do<sup>n</sup>, what; wa-ba-to-be, upon cut; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; ta, shall; ba, they; do<sup>n</sup>, interrogative particle; a, they said. (46.)
22. Ni-ka, man; wa-k'o<sup>n</sup>, military honors; o-tha-ha, to whom is attached; kshe, lies outstretched; no<sup>n</sup>, that; a, they said. (65.)
23. Ga, that; wa-ba-to-be, upon such they cut; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; bi, they; a, they said. (49.)
24. Wa-ba-to-be, upon such they cut; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; bi, they; do<sup>n</sup>, when; shki, and; a, they said. (50.)
25. Wa-ba-to-be, the act of cutting upon such persons; gi-o-ts'e-ga, easy; ki-the, cause to be; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; ta, shall; bi a, they; wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, my younger brothers; e-ki-a, said to one another; bi, they; a, they said. (51.)
27. Ke, turtle; ci<sup>n</sup>-dse, tail; ga-tse, serratures; sha-pe, six; thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe, that sits; a, they said,
40. He, horn; tha-ta, the left; tse, that stands; a, they said.
48. Wa-k'o, woman; wo<sup>n</sup>, once, for the first time; we-da-the, gave birth; do<sup>n</sup>, a; a, they said. (70.)
52. Da-do<sup>n</sup>, what; wa-ba-xtho-ge, upon perforate; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; ta, shall; ba, they; do<sup>n</sup>, interrogative particle; a, they said. (58, 64, 69.)

54. Shi<sup>n</sup>-to, a youth; ho, voice; btho<sup>n</sup>-xe, broken; do<sup>n</sup>, a; a, they said.  
 55. Ga, them; wa-ba-xtho-ge, upon perforate; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; bi, they; a, they said. (60, 66, 71.)  
 56. Wa-ba-xtho-ge, upon them perforate; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; bi, they; do<sup>n</sup>, when; shki, and; a, they said. (61, 67, 72.)  
 57. Wa-ba-xtho-ge, the act of perforating; gi-o<sup>n</sup>ts'e-ga, easy; o<sup>n</sup>-ki-the, we cause to be; o<sup>n</sup>-mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as we travel, etc.; ta, shall; bi a, we; wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, my younger brothers; e-ki-a, said to one another; bi, they; a, they said. (62, 68, 73.)  
 59. Shi-mi, a maiden; ho, voice; btho<sup>n</sup>-xe, broken; do<sup>n</sup>, a; a, they said.

ḲI'-NO<sup>N</sup> WI'-GI-E

(PAINTING RITUAL)

(Free translation, p. 704; Osage version, p. 789)

1. He-dsi, at that time and place; xtsi, verily; a, they said; a bi<sup>n</sup> da, it has been said; tsi, house; ga, in this. (8, 17, 30, 35.)
2. Da-do<sup>n</sup>, what; ki-no<sup>n</sup>, to paint or to decorate the face and body; gi-the, make to be or to use; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; ta, shall; ba, they; do<sup>n</sup>, interrogative particle; a, they said.
3. Wa-ko<sup>n</sup>-da, the gods; tse-ga, anew, early; xtsi, verily; e-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba, appear, emerge; hi, come; no<sup>n</sup>, regularly; bi, they; a, they said. (10.)
4. Wa-ko<sup>n</sup>-da, the god; u-ga-zhu-dse, stricken with a red color; xtsi, verily; hi, comes; thi<sup>n</sup>, moves; no<sup>n</sup>, regularly; a, they said.
5. Zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, the little ones; ki-no<sup>n</sup>, decorate themselves with; gi-the, they make of or use; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; bi, they; a, they said.
6. Zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, the little ones; ki-no<sup>n</sup>, decorate themselves; gi-the, make to be or to use; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; bi, they; do<sup>n</sup>, when; a, they said.
7. Ts'e, to die; wa-tse-xi, difficult; ki-the, cause themselves to be; ta, shall; bi a, they; zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, the little ones. (16.)
9. Da-do<sup>n</sup>, what; wa-gthe, a decorative plume for the crown of the head; gi-the, make to be or to use; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; ta, shall; ba, they; do<sup>n</sup>, interrogative particle; a, they said.
11. I-shdo-ge, on his right side; dsi, there; a, they said.
12. Wa-gthe to<sup>n</sup>, a decorative plume; e-go<sup>n</sup>, that resembles; to<sup>n</sup>, stands; no<sup>n</sup>, that; a, they said.
13. Ga, that; wa-gthe, a decorative plume; gi-the, make to be their; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; bi, they; a, they said.
14. Zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, the little ones; wa-gthe, plume; gi-the, make to be or to use; bi, they; do<sup>n</sup>, when; shki, and; a, they said.
15. Wa-gthe, plume; gi-xi-tha, to droop or to fall; zhi, not; ki-the, to cause; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; ta, shall; bi a, they; zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, they, the little ones.

18. Da-do<sup>n</sup>, what; wa-no<sup>n</sup>-p'i<sup>n</sup> ʔo<sup>n</sup>, decorate with a neck ornament; kshi-the, make to be; ʔa, shall; ba, they; do<sup>n</sup>, interrogative particle; a, they said.
19. Da-gthe, captive; do<sup>n</sup>, a; a, they said. (22, 26, 37.)
20. Ga, it is he; wa-no<sup>n</sup>-p'i<sup>n</sup> ʔo<sup>n</sup>, decorated; kshi-the, make to be; a-ka, they.
21. Da-do<sup>n</sup>, what; a-ko<sup>n</sup>-ʔa, decorate with an arm ornament; kshi-the, make to be; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; ʔa, shall; ba, they; do<sup>n</sup>, interrogative particle; a, they said.
23. A-ko<sup>n</sup>-ʔa, decorate with an arm ornament; kshi-the, make to be; a-ka, they.
24. Da-gthe, captives; o-k'o-pi, comely; a bi, spoken of as; i-the, find or to see; ki-the, cause themselves to; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; ʔa bi<sup>n</sup> da, they shall. (29, 34.)
25. Da-do<sup>n</sup>, what; pi-tha ʔo<sup>n</sup>, belted or girdled; kshi-the, make to be; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; ʔa, shall; ba, they; do<sup>n</sup>, interrogative particle; a, they said.
27. Pi-tha to<sup>n</sup>, belted, girdled; kshi-tha, make to be; bi, they; a, they said.
28. Da-gthe, captives; o-k'o-pi, comely; a-tha, go to seek; bi, they; do<sup>n</sup>, when; shki, and; a, they said. (39.)
31. Da-do<sup>n</sup>, what; ho<sup>n</sup>-be ʔo<sup>n</sup>, moccasined; kshi-the, make to be; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; ʔa, shall; ba, they; do<sup>n</sup>, interrogative particle; a, they said.
32. Da-gthe, captive; do<sup>n</sup>, a; ho<sup>n</sup>-be ʔo<sup>n</sup>, moccasined; kshi-tha, they make to be; bi, they; a, they said.
33. Da-gthe, captive; ho<sup>n</sup>-be ʔo<sup>n</sup>, moccasined; kshi-the, make to be; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; bi, they; do<sup>n</sup>, when; shki, and; a, they said.
36. Da-do<sup>n</sup>, what; mi ʔo<sup>n</sup>, robed; kshi-the, make to be; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; ʔa, shall; ba, they; do<sup>n</sup>, interrogative particle; a, they said.
38. Mi to<sup>n</sup>, robed; kshi-the, make to be; a-ka, they.
40. O-ʔs'a-ge, that by which old age can be attained; xtsi, verily; i-the, to find, to see; ki-the, cause themselves to; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel; ʔa bi a, they shall; wi-ʔo<sup>n</sup>-ga, my younger brothers; e-ki-a, said to one another; bi, they; a, they said.

## WA'-ÇI-THU-ÇE WI'-GI-E

(FOOTSTEP RITUAL)

(Free translation, p. 708; Osage version, p. 790)

1. Da-do<sup>n</sup>, what; wa-çi-thu-çe, toward take footsteps; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; ʔa, shall; ba, they; do<sup>n</sup>, interrogative particle; a, they said. (11, 21, 32.)
2. Mi, sun; hi-e, the setting of; ge, the places; ʔa, toward. (12, 22, 33.)

3. O-ḵ'o-be, valley; wi<sup>n</sup>, a; a-ḡi-thu-ḡe, toward which they take footsteps; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; bi, they; a, they said.
4. O-ḵ'o-be, valley; wi<sup>n</sup>, a; e-ḡka, in truth; e-wa-ka, they had in mind; ba, they; zhi, not; a, they said.
5. Wa-dsu-ḡa, animal; wi<sup>n</sup>, a; a-ḡi-thu-ḡe, toward which they take footsteps; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; bi, they; a, they said.
6. Wa-dsu-ḡa, animal; wi<sup>n</sup>, a; e-ḡka, in truth; e-wa-ka, they had in mind; ba, they; zhi, not; a, they said.
7. Wa-dsu-ḡa, animal; u-ba-ḡse, group, herd; a-ḡi-gtha-thi<sup>n</sup>, in which they keep together; no<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup>, habitually; a, they said.
8. Ga, it is such a group; wa-ḡi-thu-ḡe, toward which they take footsteps; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; bi, they; a, they said. (18, 28, 39.)
9. Wa-ḡi-thu-ḡe, take their footsteps toward such group; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; bi, they; do<sup>n</sup>, when; shki, and; a, they said. (19, 29, 40.)
10. Wa-ḡi-thu-ḡe, the taking of footsteps; gi-o-ḡs'e-ga, easy for us; o<sup>n</sup>-ḡi-the, we cause to be; o<sup>n</sup>-mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as we travel through life; ḡa, shall; bi a, we; wi-ḡo<sup>n</sup>-ga, my younger brothers; e-ḡi-a, said to one another; bi, they; a, they said. (20.)
13. O-ḵ'o-be, valleys; tho<sup>n</sup>-ba, two; wa-ḡi-thu-ḡe, toward which they take footsteps; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; bi, they; a, they said.
14. O-ḵ'o-be, valleys; tho<sup>n</sup>-ba, two; e-ḡka, in truth; e-wa-ka, they had in mind; ba, they; zhi, not; a, they said.
15. Wa-dsu-ḡa, animals; tho<sup>n</sup>-ba, two; wa-ḡi-thu-ḡe, toward which they take footsteps; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; bi, they; a, they said.
16. Wa-dsu-ḡa, animals; tho<sup>n</sup>-ba, two; e-ḡka, in truth; e-wa-ka, they had in mind; ba, they; zhi, not; a, they said.
17. Wa-dsu-ḡa, animals; u-ba-ḡse, groups, herds; tho<sup>n</sup>-ba, two; a-ḡi-gtha-thi<sup>n</sup>, in which they keep themselves together; no<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup>, habitually; a, they said.
23. O-ḵ'o-be, valleys; tha-bthi<sup>n</sup>, three; a-ḡi-thu-ḡe, toward which they take footsteps; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; bi, they; a, they said.
24. O-ḵ'o-be, valleys; tha-bthi<sup>n</sup>, three; e-ḡka, in truth; e-wa-ka, they had in mind; ba, they; zhi, not; a, they said.
25. Wa-dsu-ḡa, animals; tha-bthi<sup>n</sup>, three; wa-ḡi-thu-ḡe, toward which they take footsteps; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; bi, they; a, they said.
26. Wa-dsu-ḡa, animals; u-ba-ḡse, groups, herds; tha-bthi<sup>n</sup>, three; a-ḡi-gtha-thi<sup>n</sup>, in which they keep themselves together; no<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup>, habitually; a, they said.
30. Wa-xo-be, the shrine; zhi<sup>n</sup> ga, the little.

31. Ha-gtha-thi<sup>n</sup>, carrying in your arms; gi-o-ts'e-ga, to make easy your efforts; ki-the, cause to be; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as you travel, etc.; e-dsi, hither come; ba she tse, you shall. (41.)
34. O-k'o-be, valleys; do-ba, four; a-çi-thu-çe, toward which they take footsteps; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; bi, they; a, they said.
35. O-k'o-be, valleys; do-ba, four; e-çka, in truth; e-wa-ka, they had in mind; ba, they; zhi, not; a, they said.
36. Wa-dsu-ța, animals; do-ba, four; wa-çi-thu-çe, toward which they take footsteps; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; bi, they; a, they said.
37. Wa-dsu-ța, animals; do-ba, four; e-çka, in truth; e-wa-ka, they had in mind; ba, they; zhi, not; a, they said.
38. Wa-dsu-ța, animals; u-ba-tse, groups, herds; do-ba, four; a-ki-gtha-thi<sup>n</sup>, in which they keep themselves together; no<sup>n</sup> no<sup>n</sup>, habitually; a, they said.

## PE'-XE THU-ÇE WI'-GI-E

(RATTLE TAKING-UP RITUAL)

(Free translation, p. 711; Osage version, p. 792)

1. He-dsi, at that time and place; xtsi, verily; a, they said; a bi<sup>n</sup> da, it has been said. (10, 20, 29, 36, 47.)
2. Da-do<sup>n</sup>, what; pe-xe, rattle; gi-the, make to be their; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; ța, shall; ba, they; do<sup>n</sup>, interrogative particle; a, they said.
3. Mi, sun; hi-e, the setting of; ge, the places; ța, toward; ni-ka-shi-ga, people. (12, 22, 40.)
4. To<sup>n</sup>-wo<sup>n</sup>-gtho<sup>n</sup>, villages; pe-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba ha, seven separate; ba, they; do<sup>n</sup>, were; a, they said. (13, 23.)
5. I-thi-shno<sup>n</sup>, the odd one in number; thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe, the sitting; a, they said. (14, 24.)
6. Ga, that one; wa-pa, head; i-ța, whose; thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe, the sitting; a, they said.
7. Pe-xe, rattle; gi-tha, make to be their; bi, they; a, they said.
8. Pe-xe, rattle; gi-the, make to be their; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; bi, they; do<sup>n</sup>, when; shki, and; a, they said.
9. We-thi-hi-dse, move against the enemy; gi-o<sup>n</sup>-ts'e-ga, easy; ki-the, cause to be; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; ța, shall; bi a, they; wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, my younger brothers; e-ki-a, said to one another; bi, they; a, they said. (19, 28, 70.)
11. Da-do<sup>n</sup>, what; pe-xe-çu, rattles for the rattle; the, make to be their; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; ța, shall; ba, they; do<sup>n</sup>, interrogative particle; a, they said.
15. Hi-k'e, teeth; i-shdo-ge, the right; kshe, that lies; a, they said.

16. Ga, those; pe-xe-çu, rattlers; the, make to be their; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; ʔa, shall; bi a, they; wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, my younger brothers; e-ki-a, said to one another; bi, they; a, they said.
17. Pe-xe-çu, rattlers; the, make to be their; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; bi, they; do<sup>n</sup>, when; a, they said.
18. Mi, sun; hi-e, the setting of; ge, the places; ʔa, toward.
21. Da-do<sup>n</sup>, what; pe-xe, rattle; i-ba, handle; the, make to be their; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; ʔa, shall; ba, they; do<sup>n</sup>, interrogative particle; a, they said.
25. A-xi-be, lower forearm; i-shdo-ge, the right; kshe, that lies outstretched; a, they said.
26. Ga, that forearm; pe-xe, rattle; i-ba, handle; the, make to be their; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; bi, they; a, they said.
27. Pe-xe, rattle; i-ba, handle; the, make to be their; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; bi, they; do<sup>n</sup>, when; shki, and; a, they said.
30. Mo<sup>n</sup>-shi-ʔa, at the top; u-thi-k'u-dse, the perforation; ga tse, this; shki, also; a, they said.
31. E-shki do<sup>n</sup>, that also; a, they said. (38.)
32. Wa-thi<sup>n</sup>-e çka, without a purpose; zhi i<sup>n</sup> da, it is not. (39.)
33. Mo<sup>n</sup>-zho<sup>n</sup>, the earth; xtho-k'a, the hollows of; sho<sup>n</sup> e-go<sup>n</sup>, all of them; xtsi, verily; a, they said.
34. Wa-gthu-shka, creatures; be, who; i-ʔa, they belong to; i, they; shki do<sup>n</sup>, may be.
35. U-ki-o<sup>n</sup>-the, fall therein; o<sup>n</sup>-ga-xe, we make them to; o<sup>n</sup>-mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as we travel, etc.; ʔa, shall; bi a, we; wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, my younger brothers; e-ki-a, said to one another; bi, they; a, they said.
37. Ga-mo<sup>n</sup>-dse, the particles of dust in the gourd rattle; ga, this; thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe, that sits; a, they said.
41. Wa-shi-shi to<sup>n</sup>, possessions in plenty; bi, they; e no<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup>, that are spoken of as; a, they said.
42. Sho<sup>n</sup>, all; xtsi, verily; pa-xe i<sup>n</sup> da, I have made them to be.
43. Zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, the little ones.
44. Mi, sun; hi-e, the setting of; ge, the places; ʔa, toward; shki, and; a, they said.
45. Wa-shi-shi, possessions; a, they said.
46. U-bu-dse, in profusion; xtsi, verily; i-the, find or to see; ki-the, cause themselves to; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; ʔa, shall; bi a, they; wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, my younger brothers; e-ki-a, said to one another; a, they said.
48. Ga-ça-thu, gave a stroke with the rattle; the tha, sent the sound; bi, they; do<sup>n</sup>, when; a, they said.
49. Wa-thi<sup>n</sup>-e çka, without a purpose; ga-ça-thu, gave a stroke with the rattle; the tha, sent the sound; ba, they; zhi, not; a, they said.

50. Shi<sup>n</sup>-to, a youth; ho, voice; btho<sup>n</sup>-xe, broken; do<sup>n</sup>, a; a, they said.
51. A-ga-ça-thu, gave the stroke upon him; the tha, sent forth the sound; bi, they; a, they said. (56, 61.)
52. Wa-ga-ça-thu, the act of giving the stroke; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; bi, they; do<sup>n</sup>, when; shki, and; a, they said. (57, 62, 67, 66.)
53. Wa-ga-ça-thu, the delivering of the stroke; gi-o-ṣ'e-ga, easy; ḱi-the, cause to be; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; ṭa, shall; bi a, they; wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, my younger brothers; e-ḱi-a, said to one another; bi, they; a, they said. (58, 63, 68.)
54. I-tho<sup>n</sup>-be o<sup>n</sup>, at the second time; ga-ça-thu, they gave a stroke with the rattle; the tha, sent forth the sound; bi, they; do<sup>n</sup>, when; shki, and; a, they said.
55. Shi-mi, a maiden; ho, voice; btho<sup>n</sup>-xe, broken; do<sup>n</sup>, a; a, they said.
59. I-tha-bthi<sup>n</sup> o<sup>n</sup>, at the third time; xtsi, verily; ga-ça-thu, they gave a stroke; the tha, sent forth the sound; bi, they; do<sup>n</sup>, when; shki, and; a, they said.
60. Ni-ḱa, man; wa-ḱ'o<sup>n</sup>, military honors; o-tha-ha, to whom is attached; do<sup>n</sup>, a; a, they said.
64. I-do-ba o<sup>n</sup>, at the fourth time; xtsi, verily; ga-ça-thu, they gave a stroke; the tha, sent forth the sound; bi, they; do<sup>n</sup>, when; shki, and; a, they said.
65. Wa-ḱ'o, woman; wo<sup>n</sup>, once, for the first time; we-da-the, gave birth; do<sup>n</sup>, a; a, they said.
69. I-gthi-hi-dse, use the rattle against the enemy; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; bi, they; do<sup>n</sup>, when; shki, and; a, they said.
70. We-thi-hi-dse, the act of using the rattle; wo-ṣ'e-ga, easy for us; o<sup>n</sup>-ḱi-the, we cause it to be; o<sup>n</sup>-mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as we, travel, etc.; ṭa, shall; bi a, we; wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, my younger brothers; e-ḱi-a, said to one another; bi, they; a, they said.

## PE'-XE THU-ÇE WI'-GI-E

(RATTLE TAKING-UP RITUAL)

(WA-ZHA-ZHE VERSION)

(Free translation, p. 713; Osage version, p. 794)

1. Da-do<sup>n</sup>, what; pe-xe, rattle; gi-the, make to be their; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; ṭa, shall; ba, they; do<sup>n</sup>, interrogative particle; a, they said.
2. Mi, sun; hi-e, the setting of; ge, the places; ṭa, toward. (10, 18, 29.)
3. Ṭo<sup>n</sup>-wo<sup>n</sup>-gtho<sup>n</sup>, villages; pe-tho<sup>n</sup>-ba ha, seven separate; ba, they; do<sup>n</sup>, were; a, they said. (11, 19.)
4. I-thi-shno<sup>n</sup>, the odd one in number; thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe, that sits; a, they said.
5. Wa-pa, head; i-ṭa, belonging to; thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe, that sits; a, they said.

6. Ga, that; pe-xe, rattle; gi-the, make to be; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; bi, they; a, they said.
7. Pe-xe, rattle; gi-the, make to be their; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; bi, they; do<sup>n</sup>, when; shki, and; a, they said.
8. Pe-xe, rattle; gi-sho<sup>n</sup>-tha, fall apart; zhi, not; ki-the, cause to be; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; ta bi<sup>n</sup> da, they shall.
9. Da-do<sup>n</sup>, what; pe-xe-çu, rattlers; the, make to be their; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; ta, shall; ba, they; do<sup>n</sup>, interrogative particle; a, they said.
13. Hi-k'e, teeth; i-shdo-ge, the right side; kshe, lies outstretched; a, they said.
14. Ga, those; pe-xe-çu, rattlers; the, make to be their; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; bi, they; a, they said.
15. Pe-xe-çu, rattlers; the, make to be their; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; bi, they; do<sup>n</sup>, when; shki, and; a, they said.
16. Pe-xe, rattle; gi-ça-thu, resonant; ki-the, cause to be; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; ta bi<sup>n</sup> da, they shall.
17. Da-do<sup>n</sup>, what; pe-xe, rattle; i-ba, handle; the, make to be their; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; ta, shall; ba, they; do<sup>n</sup>, interrogative particle; a, they said.
21. A-xi-be, lower forearm; i-shdo-ge, the right; kshe, lies outstretched.
22. Ga, that; pe-xe, rattle; i-ba, handle; the, make to be their; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; bi, they; do<sup>n</sup>, when; shki, and; a, they said.
24. Pe-xe, rattle; i-ba, handle; i-ts'a, causes of death; thi<sup>n</sup>-ge, having none; ki-the, cause to; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; ta bi<sup>n</sup> da, they shall.
26. Ga-mo<sup>n</sup>-dse, the particles of dust in the rattle; ga, this; thi<sup>n</sup>-kshe, that sits; shki, also; a, they said.
27. E shki do<sup>n</sup>, that also. (34.)
28. Wa-thi<sup>n</sup>-e-çka, without a purpose; zhi i<sup>n</sup> da, it is not. (35.)
30. Wa-shi-shi to<sup>n</sup>, possessions in plenty; bi, they; e no<sup>n</sup> bi no<sup>n</sup>, spoken of; a, they said.
31. Sho<sup>n</sup>, all; xtsi, verily; pa-xe i<sup>n</sup> da, I have made them to be.
33. Mo<sup>n</sup>-shi ta, at the top of the rattle; u-thi-k'u-dse, the hole that is drilled; ga, this; tse, that stands; shki, also; a, they said.
36. Wa-gthu-shka, creatures; zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, small. (46, 50, 54, 58, 62.)
37. U-ki-o<sup>n</sup>-the, fall therein; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel; ta, shall; ba, they; she a-wa-kshi-mo<sup>n</sup> i<sup>n</sup> da, I have made it for them.
39. Ga-ça-thu, a stroke with the rattle; the-tha, sent the sound; bi, they; do<sup>n</sup>, when; shki, and; a, they said.
40. Mo<sup>n</sup>-zho<sup>n</sup>, earth; xtho-k'a, valleys and hollows; sho<sup>n</sup> e-go<sup>n</sup>, every; xtsi, verily; a, they said. (43, 47, 51, 55, 59, 63, 67.)
41. U-ga-da-tho<sup>n</sup>, stunned with the stroke; i-he-tha, cause them to lie; bi, they; a, they said.



42. Zhi<sup>n</sup>-ga, the little ones; wa-ga-ça-thu, they give such strokes; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; bi, they; do<sup>n</sup>, when; shki, and; a, they said. (49, 57, 65.)
44. U-ga-da-tho<sup>n</sup>, stunned with the stroke; i-he-the, make them to lie; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; ʔa bi<sup>n</sup> da, they shall.
45. I-tho<sup>n</sup>-be o<sup>n</sup>, at the second time; xtsi, verily; ga-ça-thu, gave the stroke; the-tha, sent the sound; bi, they; do<sup>n</sup>, when; shki, and; a, they said.
48. No<sup>n</sup>-xu-dse, ears; i-ʔo<sup>n</sup>, touched; i-he-tha, made them to lie; bi, they; a, they said.
52. No<sup>n</sup>-xu-dse, ears; i-ʔo<sup>n</sup>, touched; i-he-the, make them to lie; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; ʔa bi a, they shall; wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, my younger brothers; e-қи-a, said to one another; bi, they; a, they said.
53. I-tha-bthi<sup>n</sup> o<sup>n</sup>, at the third time; xtsi, verily; ga-ça-thu, gave the stroke; the-tha, sent the sound; bi, they; do<sup>n</sup>, when; shki, and; a, they said.
56. I-shko<sup>n</sup>, motion; thi<sup>n</sup>-ge, having none; i-he-tha, made them to lie; bi, they; a, they said.
60. I-shko<sup>n</sup>, motion; thi<sup>n</sup>-ge, having none; i-he-the, make them to lie; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel; ʔa bi a, they shall; wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, my younger brothers; e-қи-a, said to one another; bi, they; a, they said.
61. I-do-ba o<sup>n</sup>, at the fourth time; xtsi, verily; ga-ça-thu, gave the stroke; the-tha, sent the sound; bi, they; do<sup>n</sup>, when; shki, and; a, they said.
64. U-ga-bu-dse, to lie in profusion; gthi i-he-tha, made them to lie; bi, they; a, they said.
68. U-ga-bu-dse, to lie in profusion; gthi i-he-the, make them to lie; mo<sup>n</sup>-thi<sup>n</sup>, as they travel, etc.; ʔa bi a, they shall; wi-ço<sup>n</sup>-ga, my younger brothers; e-қи-a, said to one another; bi, they; a, they said.



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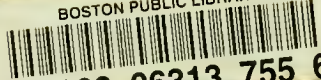








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