LE CENTRE DE RECHERCHES D'ANTHROPOLOGIE AMERINDIENNE
UNIVERSITE D'OTTAWA

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THE RESEARCH CENTER FOR AMERINDIAN ANTHROPOLOGY
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THE TIMELESS PRESENT IN THE MYTHOLOGY OF THE AIVILIK ESKIMOS

by

Edmund Carpenter

Time present and time past
Are both perhaps present in time future
And time future contained in time past.

T.S. Eliot

The beginning of the Aivilik world is, strictly, at a point out of time. Aivilik cosmogony contains no doctrine of creation ex nihilo, no philosophical conception of creation from nothingness. No supreme power ever acted as creator, maker or artificer. Nothing came first and of itself. For there had already been forms of existence which looked upon the transformer in admiration and amaze. Nor is mention made of a mythological age when all animals lived a human life. With the exception of stories of metamorphosis, which involve neither "change" nor "origin" in our sense of these words, no attempt is made to account for the beginning of anything.

Aivilik mythology simply ignores the question of creation. The world never came into existence; it has always been, exactly as now. Before the coming of Christianity, when the goddess still lived beneath the sea in the person of a woman with tangled hair and mutilated hands, spirit beings were perhaps more active than now. But they are the same ones who inhabit the world of today, and it is inconceivable that they will ever change or disappear.

It follows that the Aivilik experience no desire to set a beginning to the chain of events to which they belong. Indeed, they see no chain! If we, as outsiders, regard this attitude as editorial indifference or outright error, we miss the whole point. For Aivilik mythmakers reject the question of creation and beginning. They regard the "past" as merely an attribute of the present, as something immanent in all

Aivilik being. Instead of describing attributes, they give an account of mythical and historical past by presenting essence.

History and mythical reality, then, are not the "past" to the Aivilik. They are forever present, participating in all current being, giving meaning to all their activities and to all existence. The Aivilik will speak of a whale which their fathers hunted, or the one which the mythical Oomanetook killed, in exactly the same terms with which they will refer to a whale which they themselves are hunting now; and it will give them satisfaction to do so.

In all their undertakings this "past" is present, giving them validity and value. Wherever they go, their surroundings have meaning for them; every ruin, rock and cleft is imbued with mythical significance. For example, there lie scattered along the southern shore a number of tiny tent rings which the Aivilik declare to be the work of the Tunik, strangers from the past whose spirits still linger somewhere in the ruins. Of the stories that are told of these mythical folk perhaps none is quite so fascinating as that which accounts for their swiftness in the chase and the smallness of their homes. For it is related that they slept with their legs propped against the tent walls and their feet overhead so the blood flowed from their legs and thereby promoted their speed as hunters. Other stories tell how these people, a physically superior race, were driven from this land by the more dexterous Eskimo. Yet the Tunik do not in any sense belong to the past, to an earlier age, to the dead -- and -- bygone world. They remain forever in the present, inhabiting the ruins, giving these stones a special quality, bestowing on them an aura of spiritual timelessness. For in these myths it is, always is, however much they say it was. The tales bestride the tenses and make the has-been and the to-be present in the popular sense. In them life and death meet, for they conjure up timelessness and invoke the past that it may be relived in the present.

This is true even of legends surrounding the Sadlermiut Eskimos, a remarkable group wiped out by epidemic in 1902-3. Some of the older Aivilik visited this community before it was destroyed and even adopted two Sadlermiut children, one of whom lived until recently. Added to this direct knowledge

is a vast store of legend concerning these people and their ancient homes. There is, for example, a tale which accounts for the presence of a great boulder on the top of a steep hill at Native Point. Tradition has it that it was deposited there by Avalak, famed Sadlermiut hunter. I have no idea whether or not Avalak actually did transport this great rock -- a feat which would require extraordinary strength -- but the Aivilik assert that he did (pointing to the rock as proof,) and this belief somehow changes the quality of the stone.

Material objects are not alone in possessing the "past" as an attribute. Certain old songs and secret prayers, for example, are thought to have once belonged to spirit beings and to have been passed down through a number of generations until finally inherited by their present owners. The personal history of each is often known, and its owner gets satisfaction out of recounting incidents in the past where it was successfully employed to combat sickness or thwart disaster. Chronology and historical sequence are quite irrelevant here; the history of each song or prayer is important not as development but as an ingredient of being.

Indeed, the Aivilik have no word for history. When they want to distinguish between different kinds of occasions, they will say, for example, eetchuk, that is, "time before known time," not a previous phase of this time, but a different kind of time. More frequently they will use the term "in the time of my grandfather's father," which does not refer to an earlier phase of this time, and definitely not to the actual generation of their great-grandfathers. Rather it is comparable to the phrase tamnagok, "once upon a time," with its double sense of past and future and its true meaning of everlasting now.

History, for the Aivilik, is not a confused repository of anecdote; they are merely uninterested in chronological sequence. For example, I recorded Ohnainewk's autobiography which was given with complete disregard to chronology. He was apparently uninterested in narrating his story from the ground upward, for he began with the crisis, so to speak, and worked backward and forward, with many omissions and repetitions, on the tacit assumption that my mind moved in the same groove as his and that explanations were needless. It produced the most extraordinary effect, one reminiscent

of that achieved by Joyce and other sophisticated writers who deliberately reject sequential time. I was later forced to rearrange clusters of statements so that they represented an historical sequence -- only then did they become coherent to me.

Chronological sequence is of no importance to the Aivilik. They are interested in the event itself, not in its place within a related series of events. Neither antecedents nor consequences are sought, for they are largely unconcerned with the causal or telic relationship between events or acts. In their mythology, concepts of spirit beings are particularistic, not organized into groups or hierarchies. They have a capacity for recounting brief, minutely-detailed legends, but they show little interest in organizing such accounts into wholes with a significant meaning. The details are of interest for their own sake, rather than as part of some larger pattern. When we inspect this mythology we find no emphasis upon past, present, or future, but a unity embracing complexity. Everything is in mythology, and everything in mythology is, and is together.

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LES RÈGLES DU PARTAGE DES PHOQUES PRIS PAR LA CHASSE AUX AGLUS

par

le R.P. Frans Van de Velde, O.M.I.

Les Esquimaux de Pelly Bay, N.W.T., ont encore l'habitude, ailleurs presque disparue, de se réunir dans des "seal camps" pour chasser le phoque aux aglus (trous de respiration, à travers la glace) en hiver. Les techniques de cette chasse pourraient faire l'objet d'un article en soi; je ne m'occuperai ici que de ce qui se passe une fois le phoque harponné.

Pour ce genre de chasse, les Esquimaux ont besoin les uns des autres, pour pouvoir occuper le plus d'aglus possibles dans un territoire donné; ils donnent ainsi le moins de chance possible aux phoques d'aller respirer à un aglu non occupé. Il est donc évident que dans cette chasse, l'esprit communautaire prévaut. Le gibier appartient à la communauté, et non pas tant à celui qui a eu le bonheur de le harponner. Il ne l'aurait peut-être pas eu sans l'aide indirecte de tous les autres. Aujourd'hui c'est l'un, demain c'est l'autre qui sera le chasseur chanceux.

D'après une coutume (je dirais presque loi) bien établie, le partage se fait d'après des règles bien définies: chacun aura son morceau de viande, et pas n'importe lequel; chacun aura sa part d'huile (de gras de phoque) et pas n'importe laquelle.

Les hommes se nomment et s'interpellent du nom du morceau de viande qui leur revient au moment du dépeçage. Le nom de ce morceau de viande leur crée un lien, une relation, par laquelle ils se nommeront et s'interpelleront. Par exemple Bernard recevra les fesses quand Johnny aura harponné un phoque, et vice-versa. Ils se nomment et s'interpellent donc mutuellement "Mon fessier" 'OKPATIGA.' Et ainsi de suite pour à peu près toutes les pièces dépecées du phoque.

Cette relation, c'est-à-dire "avoir quelqu'un pour..." soit: son fessier, son épaule,

son côté, etc., était déterminée par les parents dès la tendre jeunesse de leurs enfants, même parfois avant leur naissance. Dans ce choix, ils se laissaient guider par le lien de parenté et par l'espoir que leur enfant sera bon chasseur. Les individus qui entretiennent des relations de partage s'appellent les "NERKRAITORVIGIT NANGMINERIT;" le mot est à retenir, surtout le NANGMINERIT, car il reviendra dans le courant de cet article. Les Nangminerit pouvaient être séparés par la mort; dans ce cas ils pouvaient, par un commun accord entre adultes, se choisir comme partageant le même morceau de viande. Ils pouvaient se considérer comme Nangminerit ou non, à leur guise. Après une séparation par la mort, une coutume très ancienne voulait que si le défunt avaient un frère de même lit, et s'il était libre, il le prenait pour son lien de relation de partage. (Frère de lit chez les Netchligmiuts se dit: Katangutigeik.)

Une autre solution se présentait encore: après la mort de l'un des deux partenaires de partage, on pouvait prendre comme son nouveau partenaire, son homonyme; dans ce cas la différence d'âge pouvait parfois être très grande, (j'en connais des cas.)

Voilà pour les Nangminerit; pour les nangmineriungitut, c'est-à-dire ceux qui ne sont pas Nangminerit, il y a quelques autres règles que nous donnerons à leur place. Nangminerit se traduirait à peu près: les ayant pour ... en propre, ayant cette relation de partage depuis toujours, les vrais partenaires de partage, etc.

Voici la liste de ces noms de partenaires de partage:

1 - OKPAT, fessier - Okpatigeit, les partenaires du fessier - Okpatiga, mon fessier.

2 - TAUNUNGAITOK, haut - Taunungaitogeit, les partenaires du haut - Taunungaituga, mon haut.

3 - AKSATKOLIK, épaule - Aksatkoligeit, les partenaires d'épaule - Aksatkoliga, mon épaule.

4 - KUJAK, bas-ventre - Kujageit, les partenaires du bas-ventre - Kujaga, mon bas-ventre.

5 - SENNERAK, côté - Sennerareit, les partenaires du côté - Sennerara, mon côté.

6 - SENNERAB IGLUA, l'autre côté - Sennerareit, les partenaires du côté - Sennerara, mon côté.

7 - KUNGUSERK, cou - Kungusereit, les partenaires du cou - Kungusera, mon cou.

8 - TAMUANIARK, bouchée - Tamuaniareit, les partenaires de la bouchée - Tamuaniara, ma bouchée.

9 - NIAKROK, tête - Niakroreit, les partenaires de la tête - Niakroga, ma tête.

10- INNALUARK, intestin - Innaluareit, les partenaires des intestins - Innaluara, mon intestin.

11- TUNNERDJUK, reins - Tunnerdjugeit, les partenaires des reins - Tunnerdjuga, mon rein.

12- KRAMNERK, colonne v. - Kramnereit, les partenaires de la colonne - Kramnera, ma colonne v.

13- SENNERAERNERK, côté - ceux-ci n'ont pas de -reit ni de -ga.

14- NETJERTA, celui qui a harponné le phoque. Il reçoit le reste.

0 - TINGUTORKATTAUYOK, celui qui a mangé le foie sur place avec tous les autres.

Ils reçoivent la part d'huile ou de gras de phoque qui se trouve avec la viande reçue, excepté les Senneraernit, le numéro 13 de la liste.

Pour l'huile: Chaque morceau de viande avait sa part d'huile répartie comme suit:

1 - NAARK, ventre (un côté) était le morceau qui revenait à l'Okpat.

2 - NAARK IGLUA, (l'autre côté) était le morceau qui revenait à Taunungaitok.

3 - AWAT, l'extérieur du côté était le morceau qui revenait à Aksatkolik.

4 - AWAT IGLUA, l'autre côté était le morceau qui revenait à Kujak.

5 - KRITTARK, un morceau du milieu qui revenait à Sennerak.

6 - KRITTARK, un morceau du milieu qui revenait à Sennerak iglua.

7 - KRITTARK, un morceau du milieu qui revenait à Kunguserk.

8 - KRITTAUJARK (petit krittark) était le morceau qui revenait à Tamuaniark.

9 - KRITTAUJARK (petit krittark) était le morceau qui revenait à Niakrok.

10- ORSETUJARK (part d'huile reçue) qui revenait à Innaluark.

11- ORSETUJARK (part d'huile reçue) qui revenait à Tunnerdjuk.

12- ORSETUJARK (part d'huile reçue) qui revenait à Kramnerk.

13- Ceux-ci ne reçoivent pas d'huile: ce sont les enfants Senneraernerk.

14- ORSOGSEARK, son huile reçue: va au propriétaire du phoque.

a. Kenarok (l'huile de la tête) va au chien du propriétaire du phoque.

Note: On n'a qu'à référer au dessin qui accompagne ces notes.

DEPECAGE DU PHOQUE D'APRES LES REGLES

Le soir, au retour des chasseurs au camp, le dépeçage se fait par la femme et dans l'iglou de celui qui a harponné le phoque. Les femmes de ceux qui sont nerkaitorvit (qui ont droit au partage) viendront avec leur sac en cuir de phoque chercher le morceau auquel leur mari a droit, en n'oubliant pas non plus la part d'huile de phoque qui doit l'accompagner. Inutile de dire que c'est le moment par excellence où les femmes potinent.

Le phoque est couché sur le dos; on commence par en couper les deux mains à ras du poignet. Mentionnons que le phoque a déjà une entaille par où l'on a enlevé le foie qui a été mangé sur place avec des petits morceaux de gras, au moment où le chasseur a tiré son phoque sur la glace.

Depuis l'entaille jusqu'au menton vers le haut et jusqu'à l'anus vers le bas, on fend la peau et la graisse sans couper dans la viande. Maintenant on écorche le phoque des deux côtés jusqu'à l'endroit où il touche le plancher de glace de l'iglou (bâti sur la mer.)

Une fois la peau enlevée, elle fait office de sous-plat! Ensuite on coupe le gras ou l'huile de phoque de façon à la détacher de la viande. Le phoque est déshuilé, il garde sa forme allongée mais amincie; la peau et l'huile prennent une forme qui tend à être ronde dans la mesure où le phoque est gras.

Puis on coupe de nouveau en allongeant l'entaille pratiquée pour manger le foie; du haut de cette entaille jusqu'à l'os du menton et du bas de cette entaille jusqu'à l'anus. La bête se trouve à être ouverte de haut en bas. Maintenant du côté intérieur de ces deux lambeaux de viande, on fait une entaille (sans sectionner cependant) qui passe par l'endroit de la jointure des côtes en cartilage aux côtes en os. Les deux lambeaux du ventre retombent de chaque côté vers l'extérieur, mais n'étant pas sectionnés, le sang répandu dans le ventre, bien souvent par hémorragie interne, ne se perd pas en coulant à côté. Ce sang, on le récupère maintenant, et, mélangé à l'eau dans laquelle on fera cuire la viande, fera un excellent bouillon. (Quand on a mangé le foie, on a eu soin de fermer l'entaille avec une grande épingle en os ou en bois, ou encore en un autre matériel.)

Et nous voilà au partage proprement dit:

1 - OKPAT: On sectionne anatomiquement la jointure qui sépare la colonne vertébrale du bassin; on coupe à la même hauteur et transversalement les chairs. Toute cette pièce s'appelle okpat, le fessier. La queue n'y est pas attachée, car on l'a sectionnée en la laissant attachée à la peau. Les deux 'flippers' (nageoires d'arrière) faisaient aussi partie de l'okpat, mais pour les Nangminirit seulement et même ceux-ci

enlevaient parfois un de ces 'flippers.' L'Okpat recevait d'office comme part d'huile le premier NAARK, c'est-à-dire un demi ventre d'huile. Voir le graphique ci-joint.

2 - TAUNUNGAITOK: On coupe au côté gauche du phoque (la droite de celui qui fait le dépeçage) en sectionnant toutes les côtes à leur jointure à la colonne vertébrale en montant jusqu'au cou. Toute cette pièce de côtes, complète avec l'épaule et le bras (pas la main) est la deuxième en grandeur et reçoit comme portion d'huile l'autre côté du ventre NAARK IGLUA. (Voir graphique.) Ce morceau sera entamé un peu pour satisfaire les enfants avec un Senneraernerk.

Note: Taunungaitok signifierait: jusque là-bas, en dessous, il est.

3 - AKSATKOLIK: Là où il y a l'épaule ou plutôt la partie supérieure du bras. Même façon de procéder que pour le précédent, mais en partant du bas, on commence à sectionner les côtes à partir de la cinquième, de façon à laisser quatre côtes à la colonne vertébrale. Comme portion d'huile ce morceau reçoit le premier AWAT. (Extérieur, côté.)

4 - KUJAK: L'épine dorsale avec trois ou quatre côtes d'un côté. La dernière vertèbre est enlevée et fera un autre morceau; référez au numéro 12. La quatrième et cinquième vertèbre seront enlevées aussi, mais la 5e côte restera attachée à la partie de l'épine dorsale, voyez le numéro 8. Il y a un beau morceau de viande sans os sur le côté, à la hauteur des reins. Ce morceau Kujak reçoit comme part d'huile le deuxième AWAT.

5 - SENNERAK: Ce morceau c'est le ventre fendu par le milieu et sectionné de haut en bas à l'endroit où le cartilage des côtes se soude à la partie osseuse de la côte. C'est tout de la chair; il n'y a pas d'os là-dedans. Il a comme huile un KRITTARK (une pièce de milieu.)

6 - SENNERAK IGLUA: l'autre des deux Sennerak. Comme le précédent, mais le morceau à droite de celui qui fait le dépeçage. Il a comme portion d'huile un KRITTARK.

7 - KUNGUSERK: le cou. Sectionné à la tête; donc toute la colonne vertébrale depuis la cinquième vertèbre en bas, dépouillée des côtes, jusqu'à la section

à la tête, avec les chairs qui sont attachées au cou. Il reçoit comme huile le troisième KRITTARK.

8 - TAMUANIARK: ce qui sera ta bouchée. Deux vertèbres et une côte provenant de la partie supérieure du kujak. C'est la vertèbre supérieure des deux qui ont une côte. Comme huile ce morceau reçoit un KRITTAUJARK (c'est-à-dire ça l'air d'être un krittark, par extension: un petit krittark.)

9 - NIAKROK: la tête, et rien que la tête. Comme huile ce morceau donne droit à un KRITTAUJARK, et au plus mince des Krittaujark.

10 - INNALUARK: Boyaux, intestins. Il reçoit les intestins et rien que cela. Bien souvent même rien qu'une partie des intestins. Comme part d'huile il reçoit un ORSOETUJARK. Pour comprendre ce mot, je pense qu'il vient du verbe ORSOERTORTOK. Pour le traduire, voici un exemple: une femme qui n'a plus d'huile, s'en va vers un iglou qui en a; en entrant, elle dira: ORSOETORKUNGA: je viens chercher de l'huile. Si elle rencontre quelqu'un en rentrant chez elle, elle dira: ORSOETUJARA, si quelqu'un lui demande Orsetujat? Es-tu allée chercher de l'huile? Le substantif est donc ORSOETUJARK que je traduis: mon morceau ou mieux ma part d'huile reçue.

11 - TUNNERDJUK: L'os de la poitrine. L'os de la poitrine (ce qui reste après que les deux Sennerak ont été coupés; ce morceau n'est pas bien gros; il est mince, étroit et plutôt long. Comme huile celui-ci reçoit un ORSOETUJARK.

12 - KRAMNERK: C'est le nom de la dernière vertèbre qui est attachée au bassin. Il reçoit cette vertèbre et rien que cela. Ce morceau s'enlève de celui qui a le Kujak No. 4. Comme portion d'huile, il a droit aussi à un ORSOETUJARK.

13 - SENNERAERNERK: C'est parce que ce morceau est pris sur le côté qu'il prend ainsi sa signification de côté. Des petites tranches très fines et minces sont coupées de haut en bas. On prend comme point de départ en haut, un ganglion et on coupe ces petites tranches en descendant, dans le sens de la longueur. Ce sont les enfants qui sont les bénéficiaires de ce morceau. Nutakrab aitjuga se traduirait: don aux enfants; et comme les enfants ont l'habitude de

rentrer chez eux quand on leur donne quelque chose, c'est une façon esquimaude de se débarasser des enfants. Ces minces petits filets étaient pris sur le morceau no. 2 et le no. 3. Ces enfants ne recevaient pas d'huile. Pour le mot aitjuga, on entend parfois aussi aitjuta; signifierait alors quelque chose pour donner un motif de rentrer chez soi? - Quoi qu'il en soit, le résultat était obtenu: faire de la place dans l'iglou où il y a foule avec le phoque à dépecer et les bonnes femmes ...

14 - NETJERTA: Celui qui a harponné le phoque. Il reçoit tout ce qui est dans la cavité de la poitrine, c'est-à-dire: le cou, les poumons, la gorge et le kaniwaut (la membrane qui sépare la cavité de la poitrine du ventre.) Il reçoit aussi ce qui reste dans la cavité du ventre: l'estomac et les intestins qui n'ont pas été donnés, et le nigvit qui est l'espèce de membrane à laquelle les boyaux des intestins sont attachés. Il reçoit aussi les deux mains coupées au début, et que l'on fera cuire; avec les osselets de ces mains, on fera des jouets esquimaux. Il reçoit aussi la peau du phoque et un 'flipper' arrière, au cas où il a voulu en garder un. Enfin il reçoit le KENAROK, c'est-à-dire les côtés de la face du phoque. Comme huile il prend ce qui reste: ORSOGSEARK: son huile obtenue. C'est la partie la plus grasse de tout le phoque, car, sur le dos, l'huile ou le gras est beaucoup plus épais. Cela le compense un peu, car en fait de viande proprement dite, il n'a pratiquement rien reçu. Mais s'il y avait plusieurs chasseurs ce jour-là à avoir harponné des phoques, sa femme irait chercher le morceau auquel il a droit chez son Nerkraitorvik ...

a - KENAROK: On pourrait presque traduire: la figure, la face du phoque. C'est l'huile ou le gras qui est sur la tête et les joues; ce n'est pas bien fameux; c'est souvent mêlé de sang, et ce n'est guère utilisable pour brûler dans une lampe esquimaude. Ce morceau revenait de droit à celui qui avait harponné le phoque, qui d'après la coutume le donnait presque toujours à son chien. Ainsi tout le monde était content, même le chien. Ce morceau, à cause de la façon de dépecer, était presque toujours en deux parties.

VARIANTE DANS LE PROCEDE:

Quand le phoque était un TIGGAK, grand mâle adulte, on coupait la peau parfois 'akrajaksluni'

c'est-à-dire on le fendait sur le côté, de façon à avoir la peau en deux pièces: la partie ventre, et la partie dos. Cette dernière était alors employée comme cuir pour les semelles de bottes. Ce cuir étant plus résistant que le cuir d'autres phoques.

Encore quelques règles et observances accompagnant le partage.

Tout le monde (famille) vivant dans le camp, même s'il n'était pas un Nerkraitorvik, pouvait venir chercher une portion d'huile; à ceux qui se présentaient, on donnait un ORSOETUJARK.

Toutes ces lois sont de rigueur quand ils sont ensemble dans un même 'seal-camp' et que le soir, ils rentrent chez eux. Même s'il y a deux ou trois ou plus de phoques harponnés.

Celui qui réside dans le camp, mais n'a pas participé à la chasse, jouit de tous ces privilèges, même s'il est absent, sa femme jouira de son privilège. Pour les Nangminit, les Krittark seront plus épais que pour les autres. Quand le Nerkraitorvik ne réside pas dans le camp, il n'a rien. Mais si de passage il fait la chasse avec le groupe, il bénéficie de ses droits. La femme d'un chasseur résidant dans le camp et qui vient de mourir, n'a pas les droits de son mari; c'est fini. Quand les chasseurs s'en vont au loin et même en groupe, et ne reviennent pas le même soir, mais campent au loin, les règles ne s'appliquent plus. Le propriétaire a donc tout le restant du phoque quand le phoque n'a pas été tout partagé et quand les Nangminit de 8 et 12 ne sont pas là.

Un détail à ajouter pour la procédure du dépeçage: on commence par tirer les intestins par le trou pratiqué pour manger le foie, et une fois qu'ils sont tous tirés, on coupe à l'estomac et au gros intestin. Ces intestins sont tressés d'une façon toute spéciale ... Après avoir été ouvert, on vide tout l'estomac etc... ainsi que la cavité de la poitrine.

Dans le dépeçage, le cou et les fesses étaient les deux derniers morceaux à être enlevés.

Non seulement la mort, mais aussi l'absence momentanée ou encore le changement de domicile peuvent faire qu'un Nerkraitorvik (partenaire de partage) soit

Nangmineriungitok (pas en propre); mais cela seulement pour les numéros de 1 à 7; jamais pour les numéros de 8 à 12. Pour ces derniers, une fois le Nangminerk parti, c'est fini.

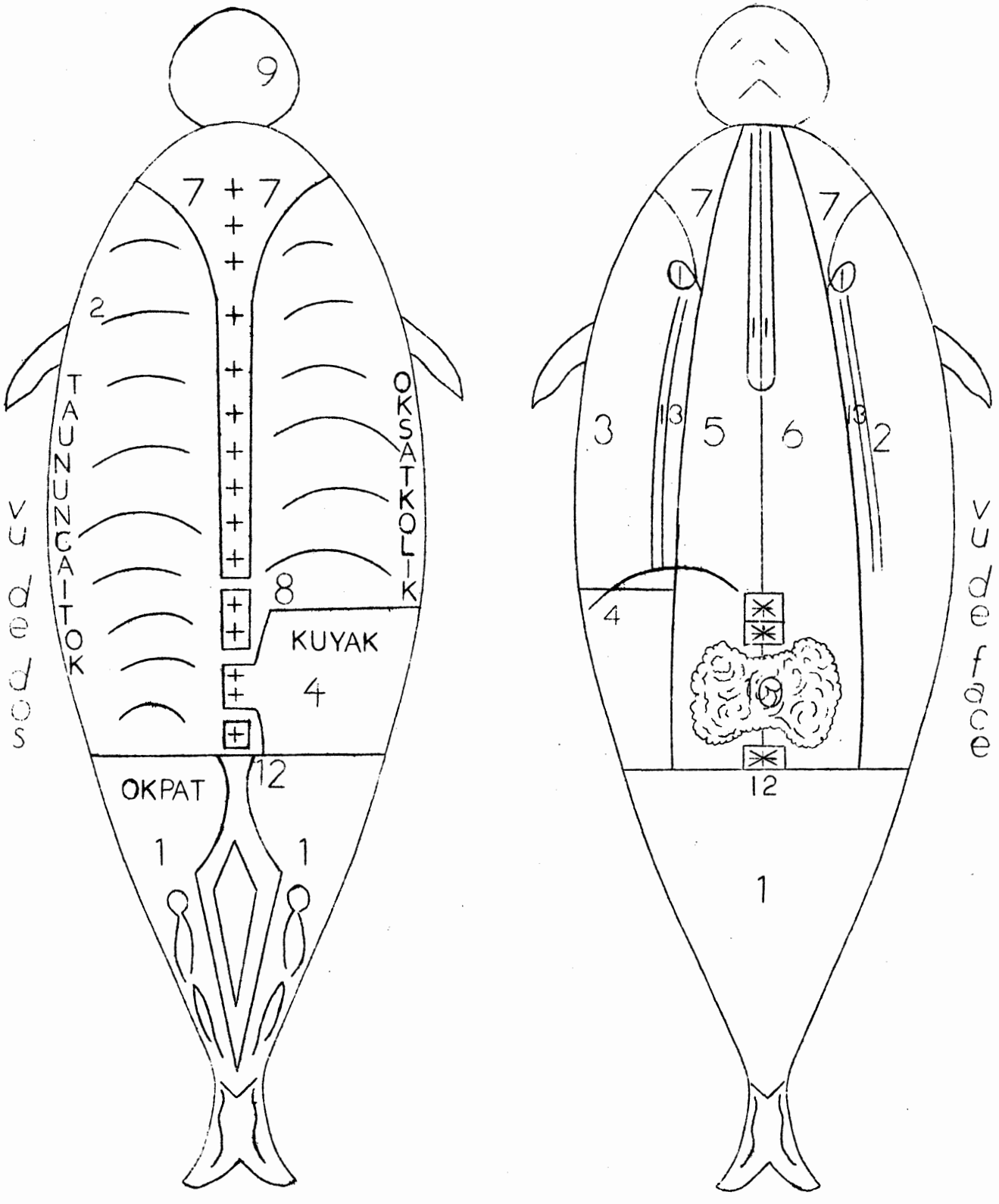
De même pour l'Okpat (fesse), ce partenaire n'aura aucun des 'flippers'; car ils seront coupés à la jointure du genou, et resteront attachés à la peau. Pendant l'absence du Nangminerk, si un autre partenaire est choici, ce sera pour la durée du 'seal-camp,' ou encore la durée de la saison, ou enfin toute durée à leur discrétion.

Ces notes n'ont pas la prétention de vouloir épuiser le sujet; cependant elles donneront une bonne idée des coutumes propres aux Netjilikmiuts; ceci comprend les Esquimaux de Pelly Bay, Thom Bay, Spence Bay et King William Island ainsi que de UGJULIK, c'est-à-dire la Péninsule Adélaide. Cependant c'est à Pelly Bay que ces coutumes ont été les mieux conservées.

Mission Catholique,
Pelly Bay, N.W.T.

DEPEÇAGE DU PHOQUE

NERKRAITORVIGIT



1-2◦NAAK
3-4◦AWAT
5-6-7◦KITERK
8-9◦KITERK-UYARK
10-11-12-13◦ORSETUYARK

HUILE

α◦KEPAROK
A◦ORSOGSEARK
O◦TINGUTUKATAOYOK

VIANDE

1◦OKPAT
2◦TAONONGAITOK
3◦AKSATKOLIK
4◦KUYAK
5◦SENNERAK
6◦SENNERAK IGLUA
7◦KONGOSERK
8◦TAMUANUARK
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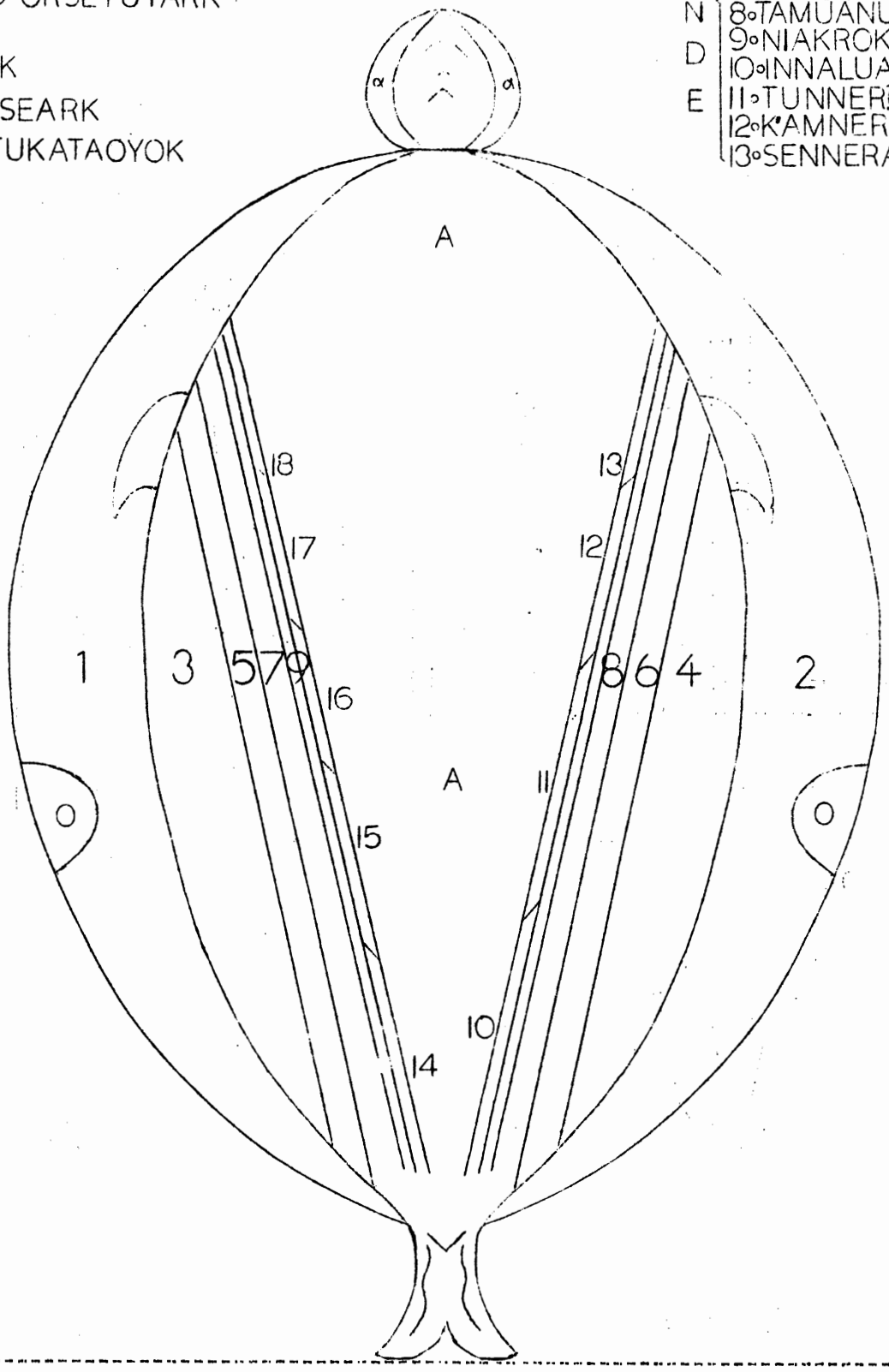

THE CHIPEWYAN INDIANS: AN ACCOUNT BY AN EARLY EXPLORER

edited by

Diamond Jenness

INTRODUCTION by Diamond Jenness

This account of the Chipewyan Indians comes from a copy, in the Dominion Archives, Ottawa, of an unpublished MS. among the Masson Papers in the library of McGill University, Montreal. It was probably written by one of Sir Alexander Mackenzie's contemporaries, John Macdonell, who may have used some of the same informants as the great explorer and was perhaps acquainted also with the narrative of Samuel Hearne. The original MS. contains a description of the mineral, vegetable and animal resources of Lake Athabasca, and an account of a journey from Lachine to the Red River; but I have extracted only the portion that relates to the Chipewyan Indians, because this records customs and beliefs that disappeared during the 19th century. The spelling and punctuation of the original have not been changed, but I have added a few notes at the end directing the student to relevant passages in the works of the author's contemporaries, Hearne, Mackenzie and Thompson.

The Chipweans are the principal nation who inhabit this part of the country (Lake Athabasca) and are much more numerous than either the Crees or Beaver Indians whose residence is generally within the boundaries of Peace River where plenty of animals of all sorts peculiar to the country are to be found and are killed by them with great dexterity. The Chipweans, on the other hand make this place their chief resort, which from its natural situation, being a never failing resource at all times for living on account of the fish that may be taken at any season of the year, for which cause it seems to be the most eligible place for them as they would be unable to live were they necessitated to depend entirely on the Moose or Red Deer for sustenance, the generality of them not knowing

the method of killing them as is practiced by the other nations. But to compensate for this deficiency in hunting they surpass all their neighbors in the art of fishing (1) at which they become very expert by their constant practice as frequently they are compelled to leave the woods and mountains either by natural causes or indolence and fly to this grand magazine of nature to save their lives and some have been known to have died by famine before they could reach the lake which on the north side is one continued chain of mountains that extends for more than a hundred and fifty miles in length and many of them almost perpendicular above the water; on their surface the greatest sterility prevails as hardly a shrub or tree are to be seen on their rugged tops. On the opposite side of the Lake the face of nature bears quite a different appearance; instead of gloomy, desolated hills, nothing but sand is to be seen and the country generally flat and full of marshes which appear to have detached from the lake as there is only a narrow dyke of sand that separates them, which seems to have been formed by the face of the breakers during a series of storms with which the lake is often agitated to such a degree at times as to threaten a deluge over the lower part of its boundaries which be very low. Beyond the influx of the Athabasca River which is situated almost at the western extremity of the lake, little or no current is discernible but what is caused by the winds and even where the waters of Peace River swell beyond a certain height it changes its course and runs in opposition to its source and the many rivers which fall into it. Towards the east end of the lake on the south side there are mountains of a great height composed entirely of a fine yellow sand which extend into the interior of the country as far as the eye can reach; on some of them that are nigh the lake the tops of huge pine trees are seen forcing themselves through their surfaces which comparatively do not appear to be of more than eighty years standing and on the same principle as many feet in height; in the intermediate spaces between the trees not a shrub nor root is to be seen, which is an evident demonstration that this mass of sand has been detached from the main body by some great natural cause as it would be absurd to imagine that vegetation could make its way through such a mass of unfertile matter; as a further proof of this hypothesis there is a small river that takes its course through the middle of these sandy deserts whose waters are black colored; its banks and soil are composed of clay, and earth which appear to be in its original situation. Even the Indians philosophize on

the formation of this singular phenomenon but in so ludicrous a manner as would make it absurd to believe the existence of such a thing and had I not seen it myself I should not have dared to advance a word on the subject and even at the time that I saw this curiosity I had neither leisure or capacity to make a full investigation of its apparent origin and formation etc.

The whole population of the Chipweans used to frequent this post.

The territories of this nation are so extensive which allows them to run from one place to another as renders it impossible to determine accurately the number of souls that make the lake their local residence as from their naturally unsettled disposition they very seldom attach themselves to a particular place for any long period of time.

In the years 1801-2-3 there were not fewer than fifty tents that were at the Post at the lake, which at an average, by allowing two beaver hunters, two women and four more including superannuated men and women would make in all four hundred souls, etc.

THEOLOGY

The Chipweans have always been and are even at this day in a state of the darkest superstition and ignorance, which is somewhat singular, considering the long and uninterrupted intercourse they have had with the Europeans, as it might reasonably be expected that they would have become more enlightened but so far to the contrary they seem to be more tenacious of their doctrines than they are said to have entertained at a more remote period, which may arise from a twofold cause, viz the licentious manner of the Europeans, and the cautious attention which is shown to them must no doubt flatter their pride as they have a firm belief that they are superior in knowledge to the white people. Notwithstanding they believe that there exists a Supreme Being whose power can bring down Death and Famine upon them, yet they cannot be made to comprehend that the same Omnipotent Being has created the world, the heavenly bodies or mankind although they pay great attention when told of it but as their contracted ideas allow them to soar no higher than natural objects, made or formed by man it would be impossible to convey to them this knowledge in such a manner that they might

understand it and the time still seems at a great distance when they might attain to a more exalted notion of the Deity; however in affairs of a momentous nature they always implore his interposition whether in regard to the danger of war or dread of famine and previous to any great undertaking they generally allot a certain period of time for fasting, which is religiously observed, when in like manner they make sacrifices and offer up prayers to the Master of Life (as they style him,) deprecate his wrath on account of their bad lives. On the whole they are more afraid of the Devil or Bad Manitou than they are of the Great One; as they believe the former to be more wicked and mischievous they think that he is the hidden cause of their frequently missing their aim while firing on animals and also that he is often the cause of sickness and disease with which they are sometimes inflicted and of which they are extremely timorous so much are they afraid of dying. (2) There are a number of professed jugglers or conjurers amongst them whose sayings and dreams are looked upon as ominous in regard to future events and even influence the passions generally of them to such a degree particularly when they are of a dubious or disagreeable nature as will throw them frequently into a state of sadness and despondency. So credulous are they that they attribute many of their misfortunes to arise from the mauvaise médecine of which they believe the Europeans to be possessed as well as of juggling in a superior manner to themselves, owing to their knowledge of books of which the Chipweans conceive a great opinion. Generally every man amongst them has a small leather bag in which he deposits some things for which he has a regard and ever afterwards it is looked upon as sacred as he believes it to be the invisible residence of his tutelar deity; he takes it with him wherever he goes as the women must not touch of it for were they to touch it they think that it would immediately lose all its virtue; it is always hung up immediately over the place that he occupies and on all particular occasions they hold out the calumet; this greasy absurdity and at the same time repeat a few words by way of respect, as a neglect of this duty would be looked upon as a great sin.

Their notions of a future state are something similar to those entertained by the ancient heathen. After death they believe that there is a state of rewards and punishments but they do not determine the period of its commencement. The ideas they annex to God are activity and dexterity in hunting, a charitable

disposition in regard to worldly effects and the not destroying of any of their nation. Those who possess those qualifications are accounted righteous and after death they believe them conveyed safely across a river in a canoe made of stone into a fine country where there is plenty of animals of all sorts, that may be killed without the least difficulty and in fine, abounding with everything that is necessary to enable them to lead a happy life, free from care and trouble or of enemies. On the other hand how different do they believe the lot of the bad Indian who approaches with fear and trembling to this stony vehicle which is supposed by them to determine intuitively their irrevocable doom as it moves with the victim partly across the river so as to tantalize him for a short time with a view of the happy Elysium on the other side when lo! all of a sudden it instantaneously sinks into the gloomy river with its wicked load which is never heard of again as should it not be immediately devoured by the fishes and beasts of prey it is thrown out and is consumed by the sun and water and once more becomes as earth. (3) Thus, their notions of rewards still to be conferred on a material body without the most distant thought that they possess a soul which can partake of either happiness or misery.

ORIGIN, MANNERS, CUSTOMS AND DRESS

The Chipweans like most other Indian nations have not the least idea of their origin than what is involved in fabulous suppositions; they are even so stupid as not to be able to calculate time further back than the period while their grandfathers lived, which to them is a very ancient date. However, if we may be allowed to judge from analogy it would not be easy to determine whether they are an original nation or not as the Beaver Indians whose territories are almost adjoining, although a distinct nation speak almost the same language as the Chipweans but of very different manners and dispositions being both braver and more haughty in their natures. But let us leave this credulous race which is almost void of reason and proceed to the southward where we shall find the nation, whose language, manner and behaviour bear the greatest affinity to the Chipweans except in their warlike disposition. They were formerly a great and powerful nation but are now almost exterminated as a people having been the envy and terror of all the nations on the plains, who have taken every method to reduce them to their present number which is comparatively the smallest of all those

who dwell on the banks of the Rivière du Pas. While on their war expeditions they never hesitate to give battle to their enemies altho' they may consist of double their own number but they rush forward with a blind impetuosity and generally fall victims to an imprudent valor.

Notwithstanding the dissimilarity of character on this head from the Chipweans may not this people have been descended from them and that more enterprising than the rest have been enticed to leave the colder latitude and penetrate into the southward where they may have remained on account of its being a better country. Or may they have been the original inhabitants of the country they now possess and that some of them of a mere pacific disposition than the rest have been dissatisfied with their mode of life, living continually under the dread of enemies might have been tempted to leave their native lands and migrate to the northward so as to cultivate the arts of peace and remain secure and unmolested from the depredations and threatenings of their former adversaries.

The Chipweans at this day are of that peaceful disposition which must be a great cause of their having become such a powerful nation as they are at present and which seems to be the only argument in support of their being an original people. However, allowing the Crees, to be descended from them or they from the Crees it does not preclude the possibility of their having been at some time or other the same people as the former may have been rendered brave by the continual attacks they may have suffered from their troublesome neighbours, while on the other hand should the Chipweans be their descendants they may have in like manner forgot the art of war by finding none to oppose or disturb them in this extensive country.

The Chipweans are of a middling stature and rather slender-bodied but have very expressive and open countenances and open in appearance but in their nature are neither so active or yet are they able to endure so much misery and fatigue as the Europeans.

The Chipwean women are generally of a short, stout make, particularly downwards from the breast; they are much softer and more awkward in their manners than the females of the neighbouring nations who look upon the Chipwean ladies as greatly inferior to themselves in every respect. The men are possessed of

great patience, perseverance, and display a great deal of ingenuity in imitating the mechanical productions of the Europeans, which frequently they do with great nicety. Their only tools are the axe, the file and the crooked knife (4); with these they will make treens dovetailed in so neat a manner as might make one believe that they had been made by the hands of a professed mechanic; these they varnish with a substance composed of castorum and grease which give them a deep, glossy colour.

Their designs in forming calumets of various shapes from the crude marble indicate a latent genius, which, if improved might vie with the civilized European, as even in their native state they observe the most just symmetry and proportion in all their works; they are even indefatigable in investigating the operations of the mechanical powers and causes and indeed the whole bent of their genius seems to be centred in that art as they equally find it to be an amusement and of service in regard to mending guns, axes, treens, kettles, etc; their anvil is a stone and the hammer of the same substance; with these alone they will make both old axes and chisels into thin plates of iron, which they convert into various uses. In making of their snowshoes, which is a form peculiar to their nation (5), they show a greater nicety and dexterity than the Crees or Beaver Indians and the women also perform the part of matting them in a neat manner. Notwithstanding, altho' they possess so much ingenuity, they are at times very stubborn, choleric but on the whole of an inoffensive nature, which is fortunate for the adventurers to this country as by their going to Hudson's Bay they might live there free from all danger or fear of being molested from this quarter; on account of the great distance from this place they say themselves that they post nigh three moons to go to Churchill via Lake Athabaska but whether this behaviour in them entirely proceeds from principle alone may be doubted as when they find themselves superior in number to the white people they then assure a consequential greatness and would exact the most rigid submission were they to be in the least given way to; however when they are at the houses they are easily kept in awe; they are also of a very hoggish nature in their way of living as they always keep the best of the provisions for themselves and think anything good enough for the traders. They are very beggarly and are even not ashamed to ask the shirt from a person's back, however they do not take a refusal much amiss; they will not give a yard of line to anyone

without asking payment and even they never risk giving a present in case it should be accepted as such. They live in tents the same as the other nations but still more wretchedly as from their incapacity of killing the moose are necessitated to make them of parchment skins or in fact anything that they can find to screen them from the extreme cold of winter. Notwithstanding they suffer greatly on that account. Formerly they were clothed with the skins of the caribou but they have now partly left off that dress and men now follow that of the Canadians which they are very fond of as also of the French language, which causes us frequently to colour our words as many of them would understand us, so great is their facility for learning it; the women's dresses consist of a blue, red green cloth petticoat; a sort of sleeves of the same sort sewed from the wrist to the elbow and are left open above so as to join both behind and before, which almost covers their nakedness as the jupon is constructed to come up as high as the shoulders. Stocks of cloth is the fourth and last grand division of their parure; the hair is no ways adorned and is left to stand as it grows; this is their summer's dress and in winter they wrap themselves in a blanket or a caribou robe. Those females are extremely prolific, notwithstanding the slavish life they lead with their haughty lords and masters who look upon them in no other light than as fit to be used as beasts of burden, to conduce to their sensual pleasures and to bring forth children. Even in the infancy of the slave-devoted female she is not esteemed either by father or mother so much as the boy who is generally allowed to act according to his fancy or caprice; he will frequently usurp in a tyrannical manner over his sisters altho' elder and use them ill without being checked in the least by his father, who on the contrary glories to see his son treading in his own steps. When such conduct is permitted in childhood it is no way surprising that it should increase in a maturer age. The women are obliged to do all the work at the tent, such as culling wood for fire, poles to stretch the tent, clear away the snow, prepare the victuals and when all this is done his lordship sits down at his ease while the obedient wife takes off his shoes and puts on dry, comfortable ones for the night, brings him water to drink and, in fact, does everything in her power to make him easy; thus the life of those poor wretches, compelled to drag a sledge, weighing more than 150 lbs, through deep snows, thick woods, over mountains and precipices, in the meantime many of them are so far advanced in a state of pregnancy that they bring forth at these times unattended by anyone and what is

more surprising as soon as they are delivered they wrap up the tender child in a piece of caribou skin or blanket and proceed forward with their load as formerly. Little girls of 11 or 12 years of age drag incredible loads, while the boy of nearly the same age will be sitting at his ease on his mother's sledge. The men take their guns and proceed straight to the place where they intend to stop for the night as they very seldom remain long at one place. It is true the men have to undergo the fatigues of the chase but still the women must carry the meat home (6). When the Indians arrive from hunting they are not in a hurry to tell whether they have been successful or not, nor does anyone put the question to them -- when they have smoked a pipe which is prepared by the women and have reposed themselves a little they begin to drop a few hints, which are well understood by the women. The women set off early next morning, which will probably be a day's journey from the campment in quest of the fruits of the chase, which they must carry either on their backs or drag on a sledge about eight or ten feet long, one in breadth, made of birch or pine boards of half an inch in thickness made with the axe and crooked knife; upon this they can bring good loads as it slides pretty well over the snow. In times of scarcity they leave nothing of the animal, even the blood is brought home and is boiled with grease. The skin they scrape and dress into leather; they take the brains of the animal and rub it upon the skin to make it pliable and soft; afterwards they smoke it well and then soak it in warm water for a night in order to render it easy to work with a piece of iron made for that purpose. This laborious process is done wholly by the women as the men would think it below their dignity to interfere in works of that kind. Upon the whole the women of this nation are more healthy and robust than the Cree fair sex, which may be greatly assisted by their abstinence from spiritous liquors which the latter use to a shameful excess. One would be naturally led to believe that the spirits of the Chipwean women would be entirely broken but so far is it otherwise that as soon as they leave this state of slavery to cohabit with the French people they assume an importance to themselves and instead of serving as formerly they exact submission from the descendants of the Gauls, who are afraid to dislodge them for fear they should elope the first opportunity. Notwithstanding this good usage they frequently desert and return to their relations, where they submit implicitely to the yoke as formerly but generally they evince a greater spirit of dependance than when with them before when the Indian in his turn must act with

more condescension to avoid giving her occasion of leaving him. She has always enough of policy to insinuate how well off she was while living with the white people and in like manner when with the latter she drops some hints to the same purpose - by this plan she forments hatred and suspicion "entre le sauvage et le civilisé," which prevents her coquetry from being detected while at the same time she is courted by both parties. A plurality of wives is looked upon amongst these people as a great honour and he who can attain to that point is accounted a great man as it can only be a good hunter who is able to do it. This, in fact, is of great service to them and even to the traders, since it enables the Indian, to prepare and bring greater quantities of provisions, leather, etc., to the houses as when he has only one it is all she can do to carry wherewith to supply himself and family. One might naturally conclude that it would be solely from a love of variety that he kept several women but the natural disposition of the Chipwean appears not to be half so amorous and lascivious as the European. They are extremely jealous of their women; the generality never allowing them to go out of their sight and is probably with reason as their ladies are said to be a little fond of variety and some of them are even said to anticipate nature a fortnight d'avance in the diseases peculiar to their sex whereby they may withdraw from the tent into a small hut at a little distance where they usually retire at these times; the fire she makes serves as a signal for her friends to come and pay her a nocturnal visit while the unsuspicious husband is fast asleep. The Chipweans are entirely free from the inquietudes of a long courtship and unacquainted with languishing and sighing, the young female being wholly regulated in her affections by her parents, who adopt the same maxims practiced by Europeans of studying how they may dispose of the daughters to the best advantage without any regard to the inclinations of the young women, for if the son-in-law be a good hunter he generally supports the family of the wife's relations should they require it. She is bestowed on him about the age of thirteen or fourteen and the young couple generally remain with her relations until the time she begins to bear children which is seldom earlier than at fifteen and leaves off at thirty-five. There is no marriage ceremony amongst them (7) excepting that while the intended husband is out (often on purpose) the young woman takes possession of the place he occupies in the lodge which serves as a sign that all goes well and from that period they become as "one flesh." In

both sexes they make it a point of rooting out all nature's exuberances, that of the head excepted, the only reason they assign for so doing is that they conceive it to be more cleanly (8). Both men and women are pretty modest in their conduct altho' not so much so in their manner of speaking which would be indelicate to chaste ears. They generally live to a good old age; comparatively speaking they are subject to few diseases; some of them are haulted with a sort of dry leprosy which may be owing to their dirty mode of living as they will eat fish guts, gills, eyes etc., the moment they are taken from the fish - even in the midst of plenty they will cut off a slice of raw brochet and eat it with as great pleasure as an European would do an oyster. Still in spite of their uncleaniness they abhor the idea of dog flesh and even are afraid of such Frenchmen as eat it because they believe they would be able to eat a piece of a Chipwean were they starving and in fact they despise many of the white people on that account (9).

The Chipweans like other nations descry objects at a great distance and shortsightedness is unknown amongst them except from accidental causes they may be haulted with weak eyes. The women bring forth their children with little hartle or pain to themselves and decrepid children or idiots are never to be seen with them which is somewhat singular considering the cruel manner with which they are treated by their unmerciful lords who beat them without showing any mercy on account of the young in the wombs but will lay on them with the helve of an axe, a paddle or anything that the barbarous savage can put his hands upon. In other respects they are much slighted as they are not even allowed to smoke with the same calumet as the men nor are they permitted to touch the guns or walk in the same tracks where animals have passed as that would entirely spoil the conjurations and would stop them from taking a true aim but should the poor woman unfortunately step over the gun pendant qu'elle a son mal - now this is perdition to them; should the hunters be unlucky and starve they conclude that the woman's unfortunate stride is the cause of all their misfortunes as they believe that the Manitou looks upon the females as inferior creatures. New conjurations, councils, etc., take place, the poor Indian being in a state of despondency the most wretched and looks upon his wife to be the cause of all - again he goes to hunting and should he be fortunate he immediately believes that his juggles and sacrifices have had the desired effect but

if to the contrary miserable will be the fate of the poor woman even from her own reproaches so miserably superstitious are they. The men are great adepts in dissimulation - we read, they might be with the most polite courtier so much eloquence do they possess in their way. They exert themselves most when they wish to procure goods on credit altho' they have no inclination to pay them; from their great penetration in observing the vanity and passions of the Europeans they always choose the most prominent failing in those whom they address to dwell upon; they begin first to depreciate the foe whom they know we have no partiality and then by indirect flattery they endeavour to soften your heart and lastly when they observe by your countenance that you have been giving attention to what they have been saying they then disclose their minds and ask the things they would wish to have which if granted they promise to pay with so much seeming gratitude and sincerity - by their professions of honesty delivered in so pathetic a manner as would almost make us believe that they were equal to the primitive Christians did we not know them.* On the other hand should you appear to be dubious concerning their faith or honour they will exert themselves to the full extent of their reasoning faculties and solicit with such unremitting assiduity that a person is often at a loss to find out arguments forcible enough to refute their reasonings and it frequently happens that they get the better of many merely by their great loquacity. But no sooner are they gone than they praise their own capacity in having been able to dupe the white people. It is an incontrovertible fact that if necessity did not oblige them to hunt the Beaver to supply their wants the debts they contract on principles of honesty would never be paid by them although if the reverse be the case which seldom happens those that may chance to owe them are never left at peace until they have paid and should they be refused payment they will not be taken in a second time notwithstanding they consider it as a crime to do so with the European (10). The want of a proper state of subordination amongst this people may be a great cause of their dishonest dealings as had they chiefs possessed of competent authority they might be made to act more honorably than what they do. But, indeed, the idea of a chief with this people is merely

* N.B. They form plans and complots to obtain goods individually; a chief speaks for all by consent.

nominal as those who have attained to this rank have not the least power or influence over their followers, even a child will not do an errand for them without being solicited in the most humble manner - how can it be otherwise - the laced coat and hat are the only distinguishing marks of this office which is also removable at pleasure according to the good or bad behaviour of the Indian, who has them bestowed on him by the traders on account of his being a good beaver hunter or more probably because he is a villain who would have it in his power to stir up the others to mischief - by making him a respectable character they gain his confidence and friendship while he keeps the rest in awe. Their government resembles that of the patriarchs of old, each family making a distinct community and their elders have only the right of advising but not of dictating - however in affairs of consequence the old men of the whole camp assemble and deliberate on the subjects which have caused their meeting; when once assembled the principal calumet is brought out (11), which they pass around as they are seated circularly not forgetting his holiness on the medicine bag, who is looked upon as supreme of the party; during this time all is quiet as the women and children have been previously turned out, at last often a few groans and pious ejaculations from the old men which are answered by the young with great readiness, all this ceremony being done, Quaker-like the spirit moves one of the elders who gets up and makes a long harangue. The young men are permitted to be of the Council and even frequently interfere in their debates which they do with great asperity, particularly when they regard the Europeans or the neighboring nations of whom they entertain an implacable hatred - however the sage councils of these old Patriarchs act as a counterpoise to the impetuosity of youth who would not hesitate to destroy a straggling European were they not ever awed. Some of them are great orators and are said to deliver themselves with great perspecuity and address but particularly they apply their speeches more to the passions than to the understanding; the greatest silence prevails and they made it a fixed point of never interrupting one another while speaking; in general they are grave but not serious and will either join in solemn or gay subjects of discourse. They respect their own mythology and even should they come upon the Europeans in acts of devotion they behave with the greatest reverence as they consider themselves bound to respect everything sacred. In their own way they are not deterred by a false shame to practice their

own method in public, however at the same time they would never forgive a man who would laugh at them so tenacious are they of their principles. On that head "they would wish to do as they would be done by." In general the young do not desert the aged and are even good to them from motives of regard (12) as they cannot be benefited after their decease either by their real or personal property; the first which is only their rights as Chipweans devolves on the community at large and the last is deposited in the grave with the deceased so as to be at hand when he may take his flight to the blessed regions. When anyone of their nation dies (but particularly if a man) they set up dreadful howlings and the near relations of the deceased will rend their clothes and throw away or break their guns, kettles and everything that belongs to them. Everyone in the camp (as they have no villages) will throw some things of less consequence out of respect to the deceased (13). When a young man has been killed by accident or by premature death then they make dreadful yells, men, women and children join in chorus, the women generally loudest but soonest over. The tents are likewise cut in pieces and thrown to the four cardinal points. In every drinking match this melody is repeated and probably for years afterwards. The method with them of counting time is the same as practiced by other nations viz by winters, moons and nights; they have names for the different moons such as in January, the Big moon, and in Spring according to the arrival of the different sorts of game. For the four cardinal points they have distinct names which none of the neighboring nations are acquainted with. They are likewise very expert in knowing the stars particularly the constellations of the Greater and Lesser Bear, Pleiades etc. They observe the rise and setting of the stars by which at night, if clear they are no more at a loss to find their way than with the sun. When they are travelling they always count by the number of nights they have slept to determine the distance but never by days. The Chipweans are not much addicted to commit crimes of an atrocious nature altho' several Canadians have suffered death by their hands but it is believed that it has been much owing to their imprudent conduct in regard to their women of whom they are extremely jealous. Incest in the eyes of this nation is looked upon as a crime of the greatest magnitude altho' their dissembling nature does not allow them to resent it in the presence of the guilty because they are afraid of offending his relations, still they hold them in the greatest abhorrence and will never invite characters of that description to any of the feasts or

entertainments which is as great an affront as can be done to an Indian who is of so proud and consequential nature.

Lying, cheating and theft are never punished but if one should be killed although by chance then the vengeance of the relations of the deceased fall upon the perpetrator of the deed who takes every method to take away his life; still they are afraid to attempt it while in a sober state but generally when intoxicated he runs a great risk. However if the murderer be possessed of property by giving it to the relations of the deceased it will often turn aside their blood-thirsty intentions for a time but he generally falls a victim in the end as revenge can never be entirely eradicated from the breast of an Indian. Were it to terminate there it would only be doing common justice but so far otherwise that it often causes a perpetual war among the surviving friends who mutually cherish an implacable hatred even until death. On the whole such instances as the above seldom occur with this nation as they generally fight it out with the fist and plucking of hair (14); an Indian would always prefer to have his body beaten black and blue rather than have the face marked. They have a custom of pillaging women one from another and he that is the strongest gets the lovely prize; during the combat the woman remains a concerned spectator waiting with patience and resignation to know her future fate as were she to refuse to go with the victor his vengeance would in turn fall upon her who would quickly give her a little discipline by way of introduction to her new state and be it good or otherwise she must remain to such time as a more determined hero may stand forth (15). This race is much given to wrestling, which seems to be the only amusement they have, as for dancing which all nations are so fond of they are totally unacquainted with the art (16). Their pastimes are taken up in chatting and smoking as tobacco with them is accounted a necessary ingredient for subsistence, so fond are they of it. The women in like manner employ themselves in cutting lines from the caribou skin scraped to serve for snowshoes and nets which are made almost in the same manner as those of the Europeans but not so pêchante on account of the roundness of the line being so much thicker than those made of thread and even in those there are great differences as the finer the thread is the greater quantities of fish are to be taken but a net made of various colours is preferable to any which I have proved by trial; however the colours are not all equally attractive.

The red, yellow and the bronze are the best. The Chipweans make their lines of the same substance as their nets and use awls or frequently a knot of the pine tree inverted which makes a good substitute for hooks - these they set under the ice baited with a piece of red carp which is the best for that purpose; they visit them every morning and generally find trouts of a considerable weight. When they angle in winter they make use of the stomach of the white fish for bait which must be kept very clean; the Canadians likewise do the same and we frequently take from fifteen to twenty trouts in a few hours but principally in the month of March.

To sum up the character of the Chipweans in a few words: they are beggarly, cowardly, and mean in their nature but on the other hand they are susceptible of slights, persevering and ingenious; this last seems to be the most prominent feature as they neither can be called good nor bad Indians. The Crees or Beaver Indians only differ in being more brave and greater drunkards and more prouder than the Chipweans as the former cannot brook a refusal.

(1) Thompson (165) makes the same remark.

(2) This doctrine of two Great Spirits, one good and one evil, the Chipewyan evidently borrowed from the Cree. At least it seems to have been unknown to other Athapaskan tribes, but was widely current among the Cree and their neighbours to the south. The name for the good spirit, "Master of Life," is Cree. Cf. Mackenzie, c; Hearne, 325; and Thompson's remark (559) "This present race (of Chipewyans) almost every way imitate their neighbours the Nahathaway (Cree) Indians."

(3) Cf. Mackenzie, cxix.

(4) Cf. Hearne, 135.

(5) For the shape of the Chipewyan snowshoe cf. Hearne, 312; Mackenzie, cxxvi.

(6) For the status of women cf. Hearne, 102, 128-130, 301-304, 319-320; Thompson, 129-130, 161-163.

(7) Mackenzie (xciii) mentions this as a Cree custom, but states also (cxx) that Chipewyan men generally eradicated their beards. Hearne (298) agrees with Mackenzie.

(8) Hearne (301) and Mackenzie (cxxiii) confirm this.

(9) Thompson (131) explains that they considered themselves to be descended from the dog. Cf. Hearne, 324-5.

(10) Cf. Hearne, 299-301.

(11) Smoking was unknown to the Athapaskan Indians in pre-European times. This ceremony with the calumet presumably reached the Chipewyan from the Cree. Cf. Mackenzie, ci et seq.

(12) Cf. Thompson, 131; Mackenzie, cxxviii, and Hearne, 219, 325-7. In this last passage Hearne estimates that at least one half of the aged persons of both sexes were abandoned to

die of starvation and exposure.

(13) Cf. Mackenzie, cxxix.

(14) Cf. Thompson, 161-4, 219; Mackenzie, cxxv; Hearne, 141-3.

(15) Cf. Thompson, 130; Mackenzie, cxxvii; Hearne, 318-9.

(16) Cf. Thompson, 158, 165-6; Hearne, 315-6.

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ARE THERE NAHANI INDIANS?

by

John J. Honigmann

According to the map-makers two "Nahanni" Rivers flow into the Mackenzie and Liard rivers. But is there a tribe of Nahani Indians? Has anyone ever heard an Athapaskan Indian seriously designate himself as "Nahani"? There is, as will be seen, good reason why such a term would not likely be employed to refer to one's own group.

The logical place to look for Nahani people would be in the northern drainage slope of the Liard River or northwest of the confluence of the Liard and Mackenzie Rivers. It is here that the rivers bearing that name originate. This has long been rather sensationally described as a region of mystery, one including hidden valleys, cannibal Indians, and real enough hot springs. In 1890 Keith in his Letters to Mr. Roderic Mackenzie indeed wrote of the Fort Liard area as having been abandoned by the "Na ha ne tribe" under pressure from a new population (5, p. 11). However, this is not the only region where the elusive Nahani have been said to dwell.

From the upper Liard (Kaska) Indians, whose country borders that river from about Lower Post, B.C., to within some hundred miles of its source in the Yukon, the writer in 1944 heard that long ago Nahani hunted in the region between McDame Creek Post on Dease River eastward to Kechika River. These people are also said to have been a tribe of giants which died out because of addiction to certain evil practices (4, p.21). Dease River was at one time actually also called "Nahany" River. Another Kaska informant labelled the Pelly River people in southern Yukon Territory as Nahani. It is doubtful that they would acknowledge the designation.

While at Fort Nelson, B.C., in 1943, the writer was assured that Nahani merely constituted another name for the Kaska Indians (there called Grand Lakers) who were said to live west of Nelson Forks and northwest of Fort Nelson (3, p. 24). When

contacted the next year, the Kaska did not agree but, as already indicated, were ready with another application of the word (4, p. 21). The Handbook of American Indians, published by the Bureau of American Ethnology in 1912, also locates Indians called "Nahane" in the region west of the Rockies, i.e., the territory of the Kaska (1, p. 10). The Bureau's more recent Indian Tribes of North America (1952) gives "Nahane" as signifying "people of the west" and identifies them as a major division of the Athapaskan linguistic stock including the several bands called Kaska as well as certain Tahlatan Indians (6, p. 583).

Among possible conclusions, one is that the Nahani are a most nomadic tribe, shifting their location frequently and traveling long distances. Another is that the designation, Nahani, has at various times been applied to quiet distinct groups of people. The latter conclusion is distinctly more plausible. A hypothesis to explain this multiple usage of the word is not difficult.

Quite clearly "Nahani" is not of Indo-European origin. It is reasonable to assume that the word diffused to Europeans from Athapaskan speakers. But to whom did those speakers themselves apply the term? The situations in which the designation would likely be used became clear when the meaning of the word is explicated. The key to this lies in the bound morpheme na-, which signifies "enemy" or "hostile" (2, p. 225). The remaining morphology must be left to a better qualified Athapaskanist than this writer. It would seem that various Athapaskan people at different times designated relatively remote or distrusted Indian groups as evil, untrustworthy, or hostile. The literature contains numerous references to "Bad people." European visitors borrowed the appellation without fully understanding the context of use. By applying it to specific groups of Indians they have complicated the tribal distribution pattern.

Athapaskan Indians may still today use the word in this sense for people of whom they possess little knowledge, although tribal isolation is largely a thing of the past. But the word has also been reinterpreted within Athapaskan culture. The redefinition makes the meaning compatible with the altered situation. Nahani are now said to have lived in the past and to have disappeared. Thus, the current dwellers of the Kechika valley are no longer Nahani to the upper Liard River Kaska. Formerly, however, a

quite distinct and evil population dwelt there.

"Nahani" would probably not so readily have come to serve as a tribal designation in English if the northern Athapaskans more frequently applied names to themselves. This, however, appears to have been most uncommon. Bands were content to refer to themselves as dene, "human beings," and labels like "Slave," "Kaska," "Goat Indians," "Brush Dwellers," "Sekani," and others are appellations originally applied by neighboring groups or invading foreigners. For example, the Cree appear to have bestowed the name "Slave" on certain Mackenzie River people. The term Etchaottine, "dwellers in a brushy place" or "Brush People" for the people along Fort Nelson River and Bistcho Lake probably originated with neighbors. When neighbors feared or mistrusted the people they were talking about, the term "Nahani" was applied rather than a less forceful, purely descriptive name.

Are there Nahani Indians? Taking the position of some small, fearful Indian band which felt its safety menaced by mysterious neighbors who dwelt across the divide, yes, there were Bad People. But what group would normally acknowledge that they truly represented Nahani? Ethnographically the label has little value and should be left solely as a geographical place-name.

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TEIT ON TAHLTAN AND KASKA INDIANS

Editor's preface

This text by James Teit is the completed portion of a projected report on the ethnology of the Tahltan. Several more topical sections were to be written and inserted in the present manuscript. For some of these, notes exist. We hope, in later issues, to publish some of Teit's uncompleted notes for the missing chapters and a map by Teit showing band boundaries.

In the material here presented, corrections by the editor have been held to the minimum consistent with clarity. Editor's insertions are bracketed by slashes. Asen Balikci assembled the photographs and coordinated them with the text.

J. H. MacNeish

FIELD NOTES ON THE TAHLTAN AND KASKA INDIANS: 1912-15

by

J. A. Teit

PREFACE

The following information on the Tahltan was obtained by me in the fall of 1912 and during the summer of 1915 when I investigated the general ethnology of the tribe and collected information on their traditions, language, songs, etc., for the Anthropological Division of the Geological Survey of Canada. Incidentally I had gathered a little information whilst hunting big game in their country during a period of several years prior to 1912. Most of this information has been published in the Boas Anniversary volume. A brief report of my work among the Tahltan in 1912 was published in the Summary Report of the Geological Survey of Canada for 1912.

The information on the Kaska was obtained during the summer of 1915, when I also collected traditions, songs, etc., from this tribe, and additional information on the Tahltan and other neighboring tribes. Most of the information from the Kaska I obtained at the foot of Dease Lake, my chief informants being Albert Dease and his wife. The Tahltan information was collected for the most part at Telegraph Creek from Dandy Jim, who was specially selected by the tribe to give me the desired information, partly because of his superior knowledge of English and partly because he was considered to be of superior intelligence and one of the best posted persons in the tribe. However, I obtained some information from several other individuals of both sexes of the Tahltan and neighboring tribes, particularly from Big Jackson, Slim Jim, Dennis Hyland, Bear Lake Billy, Ned Teit, etc. I also received information on certain points from George Adsit, who has lived a number of years among the Tahltan and can speak their language. (He has also a knowledge of Cree and at least some knowledge of the Athapaskan dialects spoken by the tribes lying between the Cree and Tahltan, having lived among the Indians in this little-known region for several years.)

Albert Dease is a pure Kaska and probably the most prominent member of these people living in the Dease region, being looked upon as Chief.

Dandy Jim is a well known Tahltan noted for his affability and intelligence. He speaks the best English of any of the older Tahltan and also speaks Tlingit fluently. He is a member of the Nalakoten or Nahlin clan of the Raven Phratry.

INTRODUCTION - Nahani Tribal Divisions

The Tahltan and Kaska belong to the Déné or Northern group of the great Athapaskan family and linguistically are part of the division of this stock known as the Nahani. The two tribes speak closely related dialects and are neighbors. Their territories lie in the north-western interior of British Columbia generally speaking between the Cascade or Coast range of mountains in the West and the main Liard river to the East, and between latitudes 56° and 60° north. They form an extension of the Nahani to the south west, appearing as a point or wedge between the Tlingit to the west and northwest and the Nishga /Niska/ and Retikshen to the south (See map*). To the north is the main body of the Nahani, and to the east and southeast /are/ tribes of other divisions of the Déné. As the Tahltan and Kaska are the only occupants of Nahani south of latitude 60°, or at least the only Nahani tribes with headquarters south of 60° in British Columbia they may be named for convenience the Southern Nahani. The rest of the Nahani occupy a wide stretch of country extending north to at least between latitudes 64° - 65° north and, according to my present information, consist of some six recognized tribes or rather divisions speaking slightly divergent dialects. I have not as yet been able to determine the degree of divergence in the various dialects but if what information I have can be depended on in many cases the differences of dialect are slight, or less than between the Tahltan and Kaska.

The exact number and names of the Nahani divisions, it seems, can never be known exactly or definitely until most of the country occupied by them has been visited and the northern bands interviewed. So far I have been among the southern bands only. Other things which render the subject difficult and

* Map to appear in one of the forthcoming issues.

add to confusion are:

1) Two or more names are sometimes applied by different peoples (and even the same people) to one and the same band or division, and, again, two seemingly distinct divisions are sometimes called by the same name.

2) The nomadic nature of some of the bands, their wide range of wanderings; and the absence of well-defined boundaries of tribes and bands, etc.

3) The overlapping of territories in some places for periods of years and even occasional overlapping of headquarters of bands, or migration of families and bands (sometimes temporarily) into old territories of other bands seeking better facilities for trading or hunting. It seems that some of these people then lose their old names and are called by new names or sometimes by the name of the people in whose country they settle.

4) Lack of the tribal sides /sic/ or of tribal differentiation among some of the Indians themselves - several of whom may call themselves by one name at one time and another name at another, because they may have lived or made their headquarters for a number of years at each of two or three localities, thus seemingly looking upon themselves as being entitled to one name as much as another. This is made all the easier because nearly all the designations of groups of people among the Athabaskans are really not designations of peoples as such, or tribes, or nations, but have reference only to locality or environment, which, if changed by the people, the term by which they are known soon becomes inapplicable. Besides this, some of the designations for groups of people are very general terms not derived from specific place-names, such as 'mountain or high ground people,' 'by /the/ lake people,' etc., terms which may be easily used for widely different peoples. However, although peoples are thus loosely designated by names of their general headquarters still there is evidence that a number of the names of divisions and tribes are quite old; the people carrying the names have made their headquarters in the same general locality for a long time back.

One other thing which may be mentioned here is that although tribes of other linguistic stocks are

generally well differentiated in the minds of the Indians, - excepting perhaps in a few places where there has been much intermixture or intermarriage, - tribes of Athabaskan lineage are not differentiated in the same way. The Indians seem to consider all within their ken as bands or scattered groups of the one family speaking the same kind of language differing only in slight degree in certain localities. They seem to take no cognizance, for instance, of the linguistic groups of Nahani, Sekani and Slave. With them, on the whole, the closer the dialect or the linguistic relationship seems to them the closer the blood relationship is thought to be. However, if a dialect /of, for instance,/ Nahani, seems to differ more or be less understandable to them than a dialect of Sekani, they will consider the latter the closer related, although the former is the closer of the two in reality or according to the White man's point of view. It seems the languages of the Nahani group and the Sekani and Slave groups are on the whole rather closely related, although sufficiently distinct for separate grouping. Perhaps partly owing to this reason, the Indians have hardly any sense of the groupings.

In the Handbook of American Indians the following are given as the divisions of the Nahani group.

1.	Tahltan	Tahltan Division	Drainage basin of Stikine River and its tributaries as far as the mouth of Iskut River. Dease Lake, and the river halfway to McDames Creek, the northern sources of the Nass and some of the southern branches of the Taku in Alaska and British Columbia,
2.	Takutine		Teslin River and Lake and upper Taku River, the basin of the Big Salmon River extending north to the Pelly River and east to the Upper Liard River.
3.	Titshotina	Kaska Division	Between the Cassiar Mountains and the Liard and Dease Rivers.
4.	Etagottine		

5. Esbataottine (Bighorn people?) Mountains between the Liard River and the Peace River, British Columbia.

6.	Abbatotine 'Bighorn people'	Up the Pelly, MacMillan and Stewart River valleys, Yukon Territory.
7.	Sazentina	Region between Dease and Black Rivers, British Columbia.
8.	Ettchaottine 'People who act contrarily'	One division /around/ Francis Lake, B.C., and another in neighborhood of old Fort Halkitt.
9.	Etagottine (See No. 4) 'People in the air'	In valleys of Rocky Mountains between the Esbataottine and the Tukkutk kutchin latitude 66 north.
10.	Kraylongottine 'People at the end of the willows'	Between the Mackenzie River and Willow Lake, Mackenzie Territory.
11.	Klokegottine 'Prairie people'	Between Mackenzie River and Lakes Martre, Grandin and Taché, Mackenzie Territory.

and perhaps Lakuyip and Tsetsaut.

The list of Nahani tribes collected by me from Tahltan and Kaska differs considerably from the list as given in the Handbook. I did not get the names of Nos. 4, 6, 9, 10 and 11 at all. No. 6 may be the same term as No. 5, and Nos. 4 and 9 are probably the same. Only No. 1 corresponds with my list exactly. The Tahltan and Kaska class No. 2 as Tlingit. No. 3 is their name for the Upper Liard or Francis Lake Indians and No. 5 their name for the Beaver River Indians (the Beaver River that joins the Liard about longitude 125°, flowing from the north). They give a different name for Division No. 6. No. 7 is their name for the Kaska of McDames Creek. No. 8 seems to be the same name as applied by them to the Fort Liard Indians. I get no name of people in the exact habitats of 9, 10 and 11. I heard of no Nahani in the habitat given for No. 5. This region is occupied by Sekani and Slave. Of the two tribes mentioned as possibly Nahani, the Tsetsaut are considered different or more closely related to the Sekani, whilst the Lakuyip may be a division of the Tahltan formerly located on the upper branches of the Nass River.

Of the list of tribes obtained from the Tahltan and Kaska the following appear to be Nahani.

1.	Tahltan	They speak one dialect of the Nahani which may be called Tahltan.
2.	Sêzotêna	McDames Creek, Dease River, Muddy River and generally between Cassiar Mountains and the Liard.
3.	Titcotêna	Upper Liard River and Hyland River. They adjoin No. 2 in the north.
4.	Nā.ăni	Pelly River Indians. All the upper Pelly River. These people adjoin No. 3 in the north. According to the Kaska, Nos. 2 and 3 talk exactly the same dialect and No. 4 differs only in the slightest degree. These divisions speak a second dialect of the Nahani which may be called Kaska.
5.	eiyô.na	Adjoining the Pelly River Indians on the north, most of them on a large river which joins the Pelly, probably the Macmillan. They probably extend beyond to the head of the Stewart also. These people speak a slightly different dialect from the Kaska, my informants saying /that/ a good many words were more or less different. They will thus form a third division of the Nahani dialectically.
6.	Little Salmon River Indians (my informants had forgotten their Indian name)	On the Little Salmon River bordering, it is said, on 4 and 5. It is not clear whether their dialect is the same as /that/ spoken by No.5. It is said to differ rather

		considerably from Kaska. One informant said 'these Indians speak quite a little different from Kaska.' They speak nearer to the dialect of No. 5 but he thought not the same. Possibly these people form a fourth dialectic division or they may fall in the same group with No. 5. The Tahltans claim they have very hard work to understand them.
7.	Espātoten or histoten	The Goat tribe or Mountain Indians adjoining No. 3 on the east. On the upper Beaver River and in the mountains across the North and South Nahani Rivers between the Liard and Mackenzie Rivers. Speak a slightly different dialect from Kaska. Some informants said they talk very fast and some of their words are different from Kaska. When they speak slowly the Kaska can understand them fairly well. The speech of these people may form a third dialect of the Nahani.
8.	tsetsexoténa	The habitat and affiliations of this tribe are uncertain, but it seems they probably belong to the Nahani group and inhabit the mountains north of No. 7. The Kaska were not clear as to the relationship of their speech and their exact habitat.

These divisions appear to comprise all the Nahani people known to the Tahltan and Kaska. There may however be other Nahani divisions unknown to them further to the north. As will be seen from the map, these peoples occupy territories contiguous to each other in a wide strip running north from about latitude 56 to latitude 64 north. I did not hear of any Nahani bands east of

the Mackenzie nor south of the Liard to the east of the Kaska. According to the Kaska the country east of the Mackenzie and around the lower Liard is held by the Dogrib and other tribes they think closely related to them. The ātcotĕne of Fort Liard and the Black River, etc., appear to belong to this group viz., the Slave. In the Handbook Ettchaottine is given as a division of the Nahani, and again Etchaotine as the Slave proper, a division of the Etchareottine living between Liard River and the divide along Black, Beaver and Willow Rivers. This answers fairly well to the habitat of the ātcotĕne as given by the Kaska. The three terms seem to be the same, or possibly Ettchaottine may be intended for Titcoténa, viz., the Frances Lake Indians. South of the Liard along the Nelson River, etc., Sekani separate the Nahani from the Slave. To the south, Nahani border on Sekani and Tsimshian tribes and to the west on Tlingit tribes as far north as latitude 62. In the extreme north, /there is/ little doubt, they border on the Kutchin.

Names for the Tribe

In a tribal or collective sense the Tahltan call themselves titcaxhanotĕn 'people of titcaxhan.' They claim titcax.han is the name of an ancient seat or headquarters of the tribe close to the mouth of Tahltan River, viz., the little flat where the present salmon houses are on the East side of the government bridge crossing the Tahltan River. The meaning of the name is said to be 'salmon ascending the creek,' or to be connected with the ascent of salmon up the Tahltan River at this place, which was formerly a great salmon fishing place of the tribe and a central rendezvous and trading place. According to several informants this place was at one time the chief headquarters of the tribe and the original tribal seat.

The name Tahltan by which the tribe is now (altogether) known to the Whites is claimed to be of Tlingit origin. Taltankwan was formerly a common general term used by the Taku and Wrangel Tlingit for the tribe. It is really the Tlingit name for the low flat on the West side of the mouth of Tahltan River just opposite titcaxhan. Dandy Jim, who speaks Tlingit fluently, derives the term from Tlingit tał 'pan,' 'bowl' or something pan-shaped, and tan having the sense of permanency 'remain,' 'be,' 'is,' etc., the place being so named by the Tlingit because of the

deep basin-shaped hollow here. This flat was a great camping ground formerly in the fishing and trading seasons and the furthest east or most interior point /to which/ the Tlingit of Wrangel came to trade (with canoes.) The Tahltan River also gets its name from this flat. The Tahltan name of the River is tū.tzEdłe meaning 'small creek' or 'small water.' One informant gave taā.tzEdłe. Other explanations of the meaning of the word Tahltan are given by Morice and Emmons (see Emmons pp. 12 and 13,) but none of my informants agreed with their derivations.

The most common Tlingit name for the Tahltan is Konē.na 'strangers' or 'different country people' (according to some the Kaska and other interior tribes are not included in this designation.) TlínkEt áno kwán was given me as a Tlingit designation for any Interior Indians. The Kaska call the Tahltan na.ani (other pronunciations of the name are naha.ne, nêhrane, nExa.ne and nexōni, a name also given by them to the Pelly River Indians.) I got the following or many derivations of the name: 'people of that place' or 'people over there' (referring here to the West, see also Morice,) from or related to déne.han 'people of that place' (han with reference to a headquarters or place where the people of a country or district put up their food.) The Tahltan recognize themselves as Nahani because /they are/ so called by Indians living east of them. It seems this term was adopted by the fur traders, and as a designation for the tribe /the use of this term by/ the Whites precedes the term Tahltan. As the fur traders first entered the Tahltan country from the east they naturally adopted the designation used for the Tahltan by their eastern neighbors. Later, when gold was discovered, followed by an influx of Whites from the West up Stikine River through Tlingit territory, the name Tahltan seems to have come more into vogue and in time became practically the only designation for the tribe used by the Whites.

The Northern tribes of the Interior Salish call the Tahltan by the name of Stikine, but this is a modern designation learned since 1874 from White packers and gold miners, some of whom called the tribe by this name only with reference to their habitat on the upper Stikine River and tributaries. The Tahltan were quite unknown to the Interior Salish even in name previous to the advent of the Whites. The Nass and Tsimshian name for the Tahltan is said to be ēstike.n or estikhe.n from stikhen, 'big river,' the Tlingit name for Stikine River.

Habitat

The Tahltan claim very considerable area of country in the Cassiar district of British Columbia, the southern extremity of their territories touching latitude 56 and the northern extremity latitude 60. East and west their country extends from the Cascade to the Cassiar Range. The upper Stikine may be called the center of their territory. They control all the drainage basin of this river and only in a few places do they extend beyond to some of the neighboring feeders of the waters of the Taku, Nass, Skeena, Mackenzie and Yukon Rivers.

Characteristics of the Country

The region occupied by the Tahltan is of a semi-mountainous and semi-forested character. There are extensive areas of plateau and rolling country lightly timbered or for the most part open. As the timber line is low in this latitude and much of the country is equal in elevation to or above the timber line a great deal of country (all the higher parts) is almost devoid of timber. The lower plateaux and valleys are generally well timbered with trees of medium and small size - although nowhere growing thickly as on the Coast, nor is there anywhere much under brush as in the latter region. Many of the upper valleys are grassy or mossy in character and have very little timber. Moss is plentiful both in the open country and in the forests, and muskegs are often to be met with. The slopes of the hills and mountains, especially in the more easterly and westerly parts of the country, are often steep and rocky. The country as a whole shows much signs of erosion and in some places its nature is volcanic. The valley of the Stikine River, commencing immediately east of the Cascades for a distance of some forty miles, is drier than the rest of the country and resembles a good deal in appearance and flora some valleys further south in the Dry Belt of British Columbia. /To the/ west, in the Cascade or Coast mountains, where the Stikine and other streams pierce the range, the country assumes a different appearance, becoming very mountainous and rocky; glaciers and snow fields abound, and the lower valleys become gorge-like in character, with heavy timber and underbrush where the soil is not too rocky. Here the climate becomes cooler, and proceeding westwards the rainfall and snow fall become heavier and heavier.

However, very little of the Tahltan country lies within this wet belt. In the valley of the Lower Stikine the annual precipitation is estimated to be 100 inches or over, whilst in most parts of the Interior it probably does not exceed 15 to 25 inches. The southern part of the Tahltan country towards and around the head /waters/ of the Nass has more rainfall and snow fall than the northern and central parts and consequently this part of the country is on the whole more timbered.

The extremes of temperature are great. It seems the greatest summer heat in the valleys is from 85 to 95F in different localities, depending a good deal on altitude, and in winter the greatest cold from 45 to 60 below zero F.

The principal trees are black pine, spruce (of two or three kinds,) balsam, willow, birch, alder and aspen. Hemlock, balsam, cedar and poplar are common in the valleys of the Cascades. Larch, Douglas fir and several kinds of pine so common in the Southern Interior are entirely wanting. Larch of some kind however is reported in certain localities further east in the Kaska country and elsewhere beyond the boundaries of the Tahltan, and cypress is reported to occur in the valley of the Iskut. (For a further description of the characteristics of the Tahltan country see Emmons pp. 9-11).

Tribal Boundaries

I spent considerable time with a number of informants trying to locate as correctly as possible the boundaries or approximate boundaries of the territories claimed by the Tahltan. Generally speaking, the Tahltan boundary on the west follows the axis of the Cascade or Coast Range, but the central part of the range is seldom penetrated except at a few points, as it is practically nothing but a sea of high rocky peaks and glaciers almost devoid of life. The lower eastern part of the range next /to/ the Interior plateau is the only portion really used by the Tahltan. There is a break in the general western boundary line of the Tahltan in the neighborhood of the Iskut and Stikine Rivers. Here the Tlingit claimed the river valleys on the Iskut to almost through the Cascade range, and on the Stikine to well beyond the range into the Interior to a point at least about or a little above Glenora, according to some informants,

or to /?/ miles above Telegraph Creek, according to most informants. This is a distance of nearly 170 miles from the mouth of the River. They claimed complete right of way on these rivers as far up as the points mentioned and have been known to extort payment from Tahltan who wanted to go to the lower river or coast. The Tlingit at one time had a permanent settlement on the Iskut at the Forks and another some miles further up the main river. On the Stikine they always had a number of summer camps from the Canyon up to Glenora, where they dried salmon and gathered and cured berries. Besides these they had some temporary trading camps. They did very little hunting along the river, and in fact there was little to hunt excepting goats and bears, of which there were also plenty in their own country. It seems they seldom ventured far back in the hills anywhere, but kept close to their camps on the river. Before the cold weather set in and ice commenced running in the river they left for the Coast. The Tahltan then had complete control of the river as far down as about the mouth of the Iskut, for in the winter time, it seems, Tlingit hardly ever camped above this point. However, only a few of the Tahltan made any use of the river valley below the Clearwater River and that chiefly for trapping of furbearing animals. (It is said they could not cure salmon and berries properly in their own country without the aid of smoke and heat from fires as the climate was too wet. In the Interior, however, they could dry them in the sun and wind.)

The Stikine River valley between the mouth of the Iskut and Telegraph Creek was thus used to some extent by both Tlingit and Tahltan, both claiming certain rights there, but neither tribe had any headquarters nor permanent abode there, nor was there anything very conducive in the nature of the country and its resources and climate to promote permanent settlement.

On the north the Tahltan boundary, from about longitude 133W., its most western point, ran northeasterly parallel to the Taku and Nakina Rivers some considerable distance back from them on the south or east sides. It seems to have crossed the Inklin River a little lower than halfway between its mouth where it joins the Taku and its head at the mouth of the Sheslay. Continuing north easterly to near the head of Teslin Lake /the boundary/ passed just west of Spruce Mountain

in this part touching some of the sources of the Nakina. Embracing all or nearly all the small lakes at the head of Atlin Lake, it continued north easterly across the Jennings River not far from its mouth. The Tahltan thus possessed all the Nahlin, the other large feeders of the Taku from the east, and the southern sources of the Yukon which run into Teslin Lake. From the head of the latter lake or from the Jennings River their boundary ran to and beyond the water-shed dividing the waters running into the Yukon on the one hand and the Mackenzie on the other in latitude 60 N. Here it seems they claimed hunting rights on the upper Rancheria River and the whole country adjoining that stream to its junction with the Liard, where their territory ran to a point and they had a trading place. This was their most northern point. Bending back around the head of Blue River their line seems to have run south and south-easterly, crossing Dease River about the mouth of the Cottonwood and continuing across the sources of the Muddy River almost to longitude 127 W., probably the most eastern point of their territory. From here their line followed the center of the Cassiar Mountains south and south westernly between the sources of the Stikine and Finlay to the head waters of the Skeena, which they seem to have crossed somewhere to the east of Ground Hog Mountain. Continuing, their boundary followed the watershed between the Skeena and Nass Rivers to about latitude 56, (its) most southern point. Thence their line ran west crossing the upper Nass somewhere near the mouth of Cottonwood Creek, reaching the Cascades again somewhere near the heads of Bear and Salmon Rivers. It will thus be seen that the Tahltan occupied much of the headwaters of the Nass and some of the head waters of the Skeena as well as certain feeders of the Liard. It seems there may have been some overlapping of territory along Dease River, as some Tahltan claim they had right of way or control of the country down as far as McDames Creek, where they sometimes went to trade, whilst the Kaska claim they hunted the country up as far as Dease Lake. It seems the Tahltan did very little hunting below Canyon River or certainly little or none below Cottonwood River and Eagle Rivers.

NOTE: I found it rather hard to get a full understanding of the approximate boundaries of the Tahltan, as some persons had a knowledge of some but not of others. There may have been some changing or extension of boundaries within the last 100 years in certain places owing to trade and some changing of headquarters.

Boundaries are less well defined than /those of/ tribes further south, because /the Tahltan were?/ more nomadic and /had/ no real permanent villages formerly. Also certain families through intermarriage with neighbors, especially in the east and west, appear to have ranged over and used territory of both tribes.

Dress

Clothing of men and women was much alike. Usually full dress for men consisted of long boots or instead of these moccasins and long leggings, breech-clouts, belt, shirt, robe, and cap or headband. Some used no shirts. Mitts and neck-wraps were used in cold weather. Women wore boots, moccasins and leggings like those of the men. They used no breech-clouts, their shirts were much longer than men's shirts, and therefore may be better called dresses or gowns. Belts, robes, caps or hoods, neck-wraps and mitts were also used by women. Usually people went fully dressed or nearly so but this depended considerably on the weather. In very warm weather a few men when at home wore only breech-clouts. It seems that formerly boots were more used than moccasins and leggings in the winter time. No ponchos were used either large or small. Small ones consisting of single skins like those common among the Niłak were not used. No poncho vests tying at the sides like those of the Niłak were used. No aprons, skirts or bodices were in vogue. Cloaks and capes were not part or regular dress but only ceremonial. No clothing woven of any kind of bark was used although such was used to some extent by the Tlingit and therefore known to the Tahltan. All clothing was of leather and fur.

Moccasins

Moccasins were made of caribou and moose leather and sewed with sinew. Long ago there was only the one style or cut of moccasin known. This kind had a round toe and a long tongue. It was of three pieces, viz., bottom or foot, instep or tongue, and top, upper legging or anklepiece. The heel seam was T-shaped and there was no toe seam, the foot piece at the toe being turned up over the end of the foot and sewed to the long instep piece with considerable puckering to obtain the desired shape. The tongues of some of these mocassins were longer in proportion than others, some reaching almost to the end of the toes. In most of them, however, the tongue was further back reaching to about the base of the toes. The ankle piece varied in depth and consisted of lighter leather than the foot piece. The laces consisted of two strings of caribou leather which passed around the folded anklepiece holding the shoe tightly on the foot. The trailer was cut square across

and generally close up to the heel. (See Hatt, Fig. 24 and National Museum specimen No. 1). I have called this kind of moccasin Type A for the Tahltan or the 'round-toed' type. (It is the same as the No. x series of Hatt). It is still used by the Tahltan, some of whom prefer it in the winter time, especially for walking with snow-shoes. This type of moccasin occurs in the South among the Niłak and other tribes, but there it is uncommon and also modern, having been copied from moccasins used by the furtraders.

Three other types or cuts or moccasins are used by the tribe at the present day. One of these, which I will call Type B or the 'square cut toe' type is also a three piece moccasin. The tongue is short and the foot piece has a T-shaped heel seam and a T-shaped toe seam. The toe seam generally ends on the top of the foot very near the end of the toe rather than exactly at the end of the toe, but this feature varies somewhat. There is also some difference in the width of the horizontal cut at the end of the toe. Usually the skin at the end of the vertical seam extending from the tongue to the toe protrudes a short distance over the cross or horizontal seam, forming a short flap which hides it. The lower part of the horizontal seam is often more or less puckered, but this also varies in individual shoes. This moccasin is the same as Hatt's series VIII, and National Museum specimens Nos. 2 and 3. It differs from the same type of moccasin among tribes to the south (viz., Chilcotin, Shuswap, Niłak and Kutenai, etc.,) in the following minor details. Among the southern tribes the toe seam nearly always ends exactly at the end of the toe. The horizontal cut at the toe is always narrow and often exceedingly narrow. Instead of the upper part of the skin at the cross or horizontal cut or seam at the top overlapping and the lower part sewed up under it with more or less puckering, the opposite is the case. The lower part of the skin at the cut instead of the upper part inclines to protrude. (It is, however, nearly always cut very close) and the upper part of the cut is generally sewed down on the lower. There are in the south as well, some slight individual variations, but the above differences hold good on the whole. Some Tahltan moccasins of this type have the cross or horizontal cut exactly at the end of the toe, the upper and lower ends of the skin at the cut are turned inwards and sewed to each other so there are no indications of overlapping leather below or above. Some moccasins are sewed the same way.

A third type of moccasin common among the Tahltan is also of three pieces. I will call it Type C or the 'seam over toe' style. It differs from Type B only in having a straight instead of a T-shaped toe seam. This seam extends down the front of the foot from the tongue to and over the toe ending underneath the latter. Sometimes the end of the seam is slightly puckered and sometimes not. There is a little variation in the exact position of the ending of this seam, some ending nearer the end of the toe and others further back, more under the foot. In all, however, the end of the seam is decidedly under the foot. This style of moccasin is the same as Hatt's series No. VI. (See National Museum specimens Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8).

A very similar moccasin referable to the same type is used by tribes further south (viz. Shuswap, Niłak, Okanagan, etc.,) but with them the front or toe seam ends invariably at the point of the toe and never under the latter, and there is hardly ever the slightest puckering of the seam where it terminates.

The fourth type of moccasin is much less common than the others. I will call it Type D or the 'tongueless' or 'duffle' kind. This is a one piece moccasin and would probably fall in Hatt's moccasin series II. It has generally a shaped heel seam and a straight toe seam ending at the point of or under the toe. There is no tongue or instep piece. Sometimes uppers are added which would put it /in/ the two piece class. (See National Museum specimens No. 9 and 10). This moccasin, if not made in the low slipper style, is laced generally after the style of shoes of the Whites, the lacing passing through holes or eyes on each side of the opening which extends from the ankle to the lower part of the instep, This type of moccasin does not occur among tribes in Southern British Columbia. Among the Tahltan it has only come into vogue during the last eight years, or so and has been copied from the blanket and sheepskin duffles or extra socks used inside of moccasins in cold weather by the Whites in the North (Northern B.C. and Yukon, etc.)

Referring to types of moccasins A, B, and C, it may well be to note that all my informants agree that the 'round-toed' Type A was the only kind used by the Tahltan long ago and in fact until within comparatively recent times. It was also the only kind used at one time by the Taku Tagish, and all the neighboring Kaska. They also claim that it was at one time the principal and perhaps only type used by the Tlingit everywhere. It was also used by the neighboring Niska and Kitikshan but whether

/it was/ the only kind used by them is unknown to the Tahltan. Mr. Hatt has spoken of the wide distribution of this type of moccasin in the North, where it appears to extend across the continent from the Pacific to the Atlantic and also occurs among certain peoples of the old world (Hatt pp 171-175, 210, etc.)

/In regard to/ the square cut toe, Type B, all informants agree that this type is modern and not essentially Tahltan, as stated by Emmons (Emmons p. 43). They aver that Emmons may have misinterpreted information given him as to the relative frequency of this style of moccasin, which at the present day is probably more common among the Tahltan than the Kaska. The Tahltan say this type of moccasin was first seen among the Kaska and later adopted by the Tahltan, but it was not original with the Kaska. The Tahltan name for it is nê dō`kê which is derived from nê dō, a nickname given by them to a White man who traded for 'fine stuff' with the Kaska in the Dease River country. This man wore this kind of moccasin. He was one of the early fur traders who came into the country from the east. This places the introduction of this moccasin easily within historic times or since the coming of the Whites or fur traders (viz., not earlier than 1834 and probably some time after 1840).

Regarding the seam over toe Type C, all agree that this kind of moccasin was introduced a little later (a few years only) than Type B. This kind of moccasin also appeared first among the Kaska and was later adopted by the Tahltan. Thus both types B and C came in closely following each other in early fur trading days, and both came in from the east, having been adopted by the Kaska before the Tahltan.

'Slipper' moccasins are much used by the Tahltan in the camps and houses in much the same way as slippers among the Whites. They are just like other moccasins excepting that the top or ankle piece is lacking, thus putting them in a two piece class. They have no lacing. Some of them have a loop at the top of the heel for helping in pulling them on. In structure most of them belong to Types B and C, especially the latter. It seems probable these low slipper moccasins were not used long ago. (See National Museum specimens No. 8, 9, 5 and 4). All moccasins were sewed with sinew thread. There was no difference between the styles of moccasins used by men and women. In hunting and travelling moccasins with uppers or ankle pieces were always used.

Some moccasins made of thin skin had an extra

sole sewed inside to make them more comfortable for walking. Formerly when holes came in the soles or toes of moccasins they were soled and patched. Nowadays many people do not trouble doing this but throw away moccasins when the soles wear into holes. The laces or strings of moccasins are arranged somewhat differently from the common methods in vogue among the Interior Salish and Kutenai. Each moccasin has two strings, one on each side. One end of the string is knotted to prevent pulling through, and the other end is passed from the inside through an awl hole made in the foot part of the moccasin a little below the upper edge and about half way between the heel and toe or immediately below the shin bone. The string now passes through two holes made close together two or three inches further forward on the side of the instep near the junction of the foot piece with the tongue and upper. It passes in through one hole and out through the other. This arrangement makes a loop on each side of the foot through which the free ends of the strings are passed from opposite sides across the front of the ankle, keeping in place the front of the uppers, which are folded across the top or free part of the tongue. The two strings are then wound around the uppers from opposite directions and their ends tied. This method of arranging moccasin laces, although good, is inferior to the common methods of the Interior Salish and Kutenai. Among the Tahltan I have not noticed laces consisting of a single string encircling the foot nor with double loops at the sides, nor with ends twisted back around the loops, nor with strings passing through the tongue and uppers.

Wet moccasins were not stuffed with dry grass to shape them when drying. Formerly small sticks were used by some to keep them stretched.

No lasts were used in the making or shaping of moccasins.

No sandals were used and no fish-skin mocassins.

Only fancy moccasins had double tongue pieces. The ornamented piece was uppermost. The lower piece was considered the real tongue. Sometimes the outside of the leather was turned in, whereas the leather in the rest of the moccasin was always the reverse way.

In shape, tongues were universally rounded in the lower part where they fitted into the foot piece of the moccasin. Most of them were cut square across at the upper edge. A few, however, had the upper edge more

or less rounded or even occasionally somewhat triangular in shape.

Some slipper moccasins were provided with loops of thong or braid at the back of the ankle to pull them on with. The uppers of many moccasins were cut to project in front so as to better cover and fold over the front of the ankle/and thus cover it better./ (See Hatt, Fig. 24).

Boots

Long boots of caribou leather were very common long ago and continued to be much used until some time after the coming of the first fur traders. They were the same as a long legging combined with a moccasin of Type A. Forms of feet like moccasin Types B and C were never used for boots. The legs of boots stretched up to the thighs and they were square cut at the tops. They were held up by strings which fastened to a separate belt around the waist and were generally further kept in place by garters just below the knees. It seems in most cases the strings for tying the boot tops to the belt were attached to the front part of the boot tops and not to the sides. (See Hatt, Fig. 72 and Nat. Mus. specimens No. 11, 12, 13). These boots are now never used.

Socks

It seems the only kind of socks used were in the winter time. These consisted of soft thin pieces of skins dressed in the hair, just large enough in size to wrap around the foot. The fur side was generally put next the foot. The most common skin used was that of the marmot. Otherwise, dry soft grass shredded fine or caribou hair well teazed were used inside moccasins instead of socks. No socks of woven materials were used. At the present day woolen socks and blanket duffles are chiefly used. These are nearly all obtained from the stores. A few socks and stockings are of native make.

Leggings

Leggings were of caribou leather and square-cut both at the tops and bottoms. It seems none of them were cut to fit the thigh and extend up the outside of the hip. They reached from the ankle to the thigh and were fastened with strings to a belt in the same way as boots. Generally they were also held in position by garters. When traveling in snow they were further confined by the moccasin strings at the bottoms or had the moccasin tops folded over them and fastened. It seems, however, that boots were preferred to leggings by many people in the winter time. They were made to fit the length and thickness of the leg but were rather loose than tight fitting. None of them were shaped to fit the contour of the leg or to be glove like. (No. 14).* In later days, blanket leggings partially took the place of those made of skin and a few are still used by women in the winter time. (No. 15).* Some of these came only a little above the knee being held in place by garters. Skin and other leggings are now seldom used, not even over trousers. Women often use men's pants under their skirts when traveling in snow.

Breech-clouts

It is said these were used only by men, and more especially in the winter time. They were made of soft skins dressed in the hair and worn fur side next the body in cold weather. Skins of marmots and rabbits were chiefly used. They had strings attached to them for fastening around the waist or to the belt. Some had belts sewed to one end, and strings from the corners of the other end to tie the belt. The belts of others passed through a piece of leather sewed down over the edge of the skin at one end leaving sufficient room for the belt to be drawn through. Others again had short strings from all four corners for fastening the clout to the belts. Breech-clouts went entirely out of vogue with the introduction of trousers. None of them had long ends which hung down as aprons in front or at the back, and none consisted of long strips which merely passed under and over the belt and were not fastened in any way. (See No. 16, 17). *

* Nos 14, 15, 16, 17, refer to National Museum specimens.

Pants

No pants or trousers were used long ago. They commenced to come into use very shortly after the arrival of the first fur traders (possibly some time ca. 1835 to 1845). It seems before this time trousers had not been seen. The first made by the Tahltan were combination, leggings and breech-clouts varying somewhat in construction. Soon afterwards other styles a little more like pants were made. These were altogether of leather and like a combination of leggings up to about the waist, the tops of the leggings being enlarged and sewed together at the front and back so as to envelop the hips and posterior. They were held up by strings tied to the belt and sometimes by other means. Some of them were combination boots and trousers. Only a few of these garments were used. These leather trousers probably resemble the Nahane trousers figured by Hatt (see Hatt, Fig. 73). Soon afterwards, however, the Tahltan commenced to make better copies of the white man's trousers. These were made of caribou leather and more patterned in every way after the old style pants used by the fur traders and sailors, which opened with a flap in front. These trousers became quite common. Commencing with the Cassiar gold rush in 1894 and the consequent establishment of numerous trading stores, leather pants soon went out of vogue and are seldom used now.

Garters

Garters were universally used by men and women. Most of them consisted of plain strings and narrow bands of leather which were tied over the leggings or boot legs below the knee. Some were fastened permanently to the leggings, the ends being loose. Garters were often ornamented with bead or quill embroidery excepting at the ends where they tied. In later years some garters were fastened with buttons at the sides of the legs. Some other garters, often also fastened to the leggings, were of strings of leather twisted together. A number of them fastened to leggings had down of birds caught in the twining. Some of these garters were more for ornament than for utility.

Shirts

Shirts were of caribou and moose leather, generally the former. Some were also made of marmot and other strong skins. These were worn fur side out. In structure men's shirts were the same as women's dresses, only they were shorter and had no pleats below the breast opening. All shirts reached half way between the thigh and knee, and all appear to have been square cut at the bottom. All had full length sleeves sewed to the body and all were slit a short distance down the chest, the opening being tied with strings. They also tied with strings at the wrists. None of them opened on the shoulders. Most of them had low vertical collars and low cuffs. None of them had hoods. Shirts were worn with and without belts over them. (No. 18).* It is claimed that low collars, low cuffs and openings in front are all old and have not been copied from the whites. It is said that very long ago shirts were not very much used, but in later times they became quite common and were used by most men. Later still, after the arrival of the first fur traders they became practically universal. Some skin shirts are still used but nowadays they are cut after the fashion of white men's shirts, viz., are cut to shape from patterns, have deep cuffs, lying down collar, button down the breast and some have pockets. It seems no shirts with hoods were used by men.

Boys' shirts were like men's shirts but their lengths varied more and they had less ornamentation.

Winter shirts used by young children of both sexes were made of marmot, from ground squirrel and other skins. They had attached hoods, and the ends of the sleeves were closed or sewed together, thus covering the hands as well as the arms and doing away with the necessity for mittens. These shirts opened in front, where they were tied with strings, and some overlapped on the chest when closed or tied. They varied somewhat in length. Generally they were worn fur side out. (No. 19).*

* Nos 18 and 19 refer to National Museum specimens.

Dresses or Gowns

Women wore dresses or gowns of caribou leather, much resembling men's shirts, but very much longer and of more ample width, especially in the lower or skirt part. The shortest ones reached half way between the

knees and ankle, but most of them reached almost or quite to the ankle. All appear to have been square cut at the bottom. Dresses were of two skins. To obtain the necessary length and width the greater part of one skin formed the back and the other the front. I did not learn whether there was a definite tribal method of placing the skins (head part up or otherwise). The outside surface of the skin was always out, and the middle or best part of the skin used. This part of each skin was cut out to the desired length and width of the dress, both parts being exactly equal in size. The side cuts, or those lengthways with the skin, were made in a gradual slant outwards from top to bottom. This was for the purpose of giving additional width or flare to the dress in the lower part. The cuts at the top and bottom were made straight across. The two pieces of skin were sewed to each other at the sides from top to bottom and across the shoulders, excepting the neck opening and the openings for the sleeves. Sometimes the side seams were left open for a few inches up from the bottom. From the middle of the neck opening the dress was slit down the breast thus making a breast opening. The sleeves were made from selvage pieces of the two skins, if these pieces were sufficiently large and of good enough quality. If not, other skin was used. The sleeves were of full length and comparatively close fitting. They were wider at the shoulders and narrowed towards the wrists. The seam was on the inside of the arm and was sometimes sewed full length. However most dresses were opened from the wrist to about halfway to the elbow. A low collar was sewed to the neck opening and low cuffs to the hand openings. The latter were closed with tie strings sewed to the cuffs, and the neck and breast openings were closed in like manner. The neck and wrists were close fitting. It seems there was generally no attempt at shaping the top of the sleeve or the opening to which it was sewed. Both were joined squarely. Immediately below the breast slit a pleat was put in most dresses by folding the skin about two inches over to one side and the fold or pleat sewed down to the dress at this point. This had the result of making one edge of the skin at the breast cut overlap the other, thus quite closing the opening when tied. It seems sometimes two pleats were made, one from each side, the chief object of this it seems being to reduce the waist. Usually a band of skin was sewed to one edge (the overlapping edge where there was such) of the breast cut. This band overlapped and when the dress was tied it completely concealed the breast cut. It generally extended far enough down to also conceal the sewing of the pleat,or pleats, if such existed. Most dresses had permanent

belts attached or sewed to them at the back. The ends were brought around the waist and fastened with tie strings in front. Many had a couple of long strings inserted in the seam at each side of the dress at the waist. These were intended to tie around the belt if desired and keep it from sagging at the sides. Dresses worn by nursing mothers had the slit in front considerably longer than in dresses worn by other women. This was to facilitate the suckling of their babies. In many cases at least the entire dress with all accessories such as fringes etc. were made of two skins.

Coats etc.

No coats, overcoats or vests were used until after the coming of the whites. No separate cuffs or half sleeves were used as among some tribes. Armlets are used by some of the young men nowadays but they are nearly all of white manufacture. A very few are made of bands of leather ornamented with quill work in the same way as garters. A few coats are made of caribou leather. Some of these resemble somewhat the old style shirts, whilst others are fashioned more like White men's coats.

Belts

Belts consisted of bands of leather about two or three inches wide and sufficiently thick to preclude much stretching. Caribou skin was chiefly used. Only a few were of other kinds of skin. Many belts were used separately and many were attached to the clothing, as particularly in women's dresses and to a less extent on men's shirts, breech-clouts etc. Some belts consisted of twisted goat's wool.

Mitts etc.

No gloves were used until after the coming of the whites. Mitts were made of leather and also of skins of marmot, caribou and beaver dressed in the hair.

Some other furs were also sometimes used. Mitts nowadays are cut after styles of mittens made by the Whites. Formerly they were made very much after the style of the moccasins of the 'round toed' kind. A piece of skin larger than the length and width of the hand was bent over the ends of the fingers and sides of the hand and sewed with puckering to an insert piece (resembling the tongue in moccasins) which covered the palm and interior part of the front of the hand. The thumb formed a separate piece sewed to the body of the mitt. Mitts varied in length, some coming up the arm a short distance. To the upper edges of the mitts were sewed the ends of the carrying strap, the bight of which encircled the neck, allowing the mitts to hang down from the front of the shoulders. (For modern mitts see National Museum specimens Nos 20, 21, 22. For old style mitts No. 23). Carrying straps consisted of strips of caribou leather flat or in ribbon form or sometimes twisted as cord. Some were of twisted cord of goat's wool. At the present day many consist of colored yarn.

Leather gloves of their own manufacture are used by everybody. In the winter large mitts take their place; these are also all of their own make. A few woolen gloves and mitts procured from the stores are in occasional use.

Neck-wraps

In very cold weather neck-wraps of fur were often used by both sexes, consisting of entire skins of foxes and other fur bearing animals of similar or smaller size. These were simply wrapped around the neck as tightly as convenient and the heads and tails tied together. Handkerchiefs and woolen neck-wraps procured from the Whites are now used extensively.

Caps, etc.

Caps were made of fur, hair side out. They consisted of a wide band to fit the circumference of the head, the ends of which were sewed together. To this was sewed a circular piece to form the crown. The skins used were chosen for lightness and warmth, fox and marten being the most common. Beaver was also used,

and lynx occasionally, according to some. No caps of marmot skin and bear skin were used. Some say beaver caps were common. Winter caps had flaps of fur sewed to the sides. In really cold weather these were tied down over the ears with strings which fastened under the chin. The fur side of the flaps was next the ears. At other times the flaps were tied with the strings up over the top of the cap.

In the heat of the summer most people went bare headed.

Some young men wore headbands which were in every way the same as the caps excepting that there was no crown. Some even in very cold weather wore these crownless caps but with ear flaps. Boys wore caps similar to their elders.

The women wore caps different from those of the men and more like bonnets or hoods. They also were of fur and used chiefly in the winter time. It seems most of them were made of two or three pieces of skin. A wide strip encircled the head downwards to below the ears. To this was sewed a rounded back piece which covered all the rest (or back part) of the head. Often a narrow strip of the same or different fur was sewed on as a margin or trimming to the front of the cap. These caps tied under the chin and were used by girls of all ages as well as women. At the present time some women use caps of the same kind as the men in the winter. Caps of their own manufacture are still used to some extent by the tribe in the winter time. Many of them are lined on the inside with calico, etc. Silk handkerchiefs are now much used on the head by women and also by some men in warm and moderate weather. Hats procured from the traders are the common headwear of men during moderate weather. Some young men wear hat bands of native manufacture with hats. In the winter time some wear woolen toques some made by themselves, as these are purely ornamental. For further mention of them, see under ornamentation of clothing. Mention of other kinds of caps and head bands belonging rather to ceremonial costume will be found under that heading.

Robes

Robes were used by people of all ages and

both sexes. Most of them were of animal's skins dressed in the hair and worn hair side out. Probably the most common robes used were those made of marmot, ground squirrel and lynx skins. Many of the wealthy people wore robes of marten and fox skins and the Naskotin used fisher skins. Many robes were bordered with strips of caribou leather two or more inches wide. Some had only the neck so bordered. Most robes were held in place with tie strings which fastened at the neck and chest, and also by belts around the waist. The latter were not sewed to the robe. Rabbit skin robes were also used a good deal, especially by the poorer people or children of poor people. These were of two kinds woven and unwoven. The latter consisted of rabbit skins sewed together double so there was fur both inside and outside the robe. When children were seen wearing these robes some people laughed and remarked "Poor children. Their parents must be poor." Robes worn of twisted strips of rabbit skin were used chiefly by women of the Talakotin. A few robes of caribou skin in the hair were used. No robes of leather were used. Woven goat's wool robes procured from the Tlingit were hardly ever worn. They were used only as ceremonial clothing. Robes varied somewhat in size and shape. Most of them were just long enough to envelope the body from neck to the ankles. In width they were large enough to overlap in front. Some were a little shorter. A good many were larger, some of them being long enough to envelope the head as well as all the rest of the body. (For a woven rabbit skin robe see National Museum specimen No. 27).

Beaver skin robes were seldom made because their skins were considered too heavy. This skin was used chiefly for caps and mitts and sometimes for lying on. No bear skin robes were used. This skin was also considered too heavy and was chiefly used for lying on.

No robes of woven lynx or of leg skin of lynx and fox were used, although the Tahltan had heard of their use by some Interior tribes. No robes or clothing or bedding were made of skins of wolf or dog. One informant said the hair of these animals was the same as poison and therefore, the Indians never used their skins. Hardly any robes or clothing were made of skins or sheep or goats. Sheepskin was too tender and did not wear well whilst goat skin had some parts too thick and some too thin. People who wore clothing or robes of these skins were laughed at or were considered very poor.

Blankets

Blankets and bedding for lying on consisted of all kinds of large or hairy skins sometimes sewed together, caribou, moose, bear, goat, sheep (caribou, bear and sheep most commonly used). Buffalo was used long ago before they became extinct in Tahltan country. All kinds of robes were used as covering.

CEREMONIAL AND DANCING CLOTHING

Every one aimed to dress in his or her best at all gatherings, feasts, dances, celebrations and ceremonial affairs. The clothes worn by some were merely Tahltan clothes of a fancy kind, viz., the best a person had as to newness, cleanness and richness of ornamentation. Most people had some garments of good quality on which considerable labor had been expended in fancy work, and some pieces exhibited the best art of the tribe in quill work, bead work and other ornamentation. These garments were kept for holidays and special occasions. However, most of the ceremonial clothing was of Tlingit type, and a great deal of it was procured ready made from the Tlingit. I did not try to get particulars regarding this class of clothing as it does not really belong to the Tahltan culture. Chief among this kind of clothing may be mentioned the so-called Chilcat blanket. All the wealthiest Tahltan acquired blankets of this kind from the Tlingit, which were used by them on ceremonial occasions. A kind of apron or skirt and a kind of shirt or coat, all of similar materials and weaves were also in use. Some cloaks or mantles and capes of Tlingit manufacture were also used; also short leggings with horizontal fringes, belts, necklaces and many kinds of head dresses. Among the latter may be mentioned the North Coast head-dress set with sea-lion whiskers, having a carved mask in front and a train of ermine skins behind. These were used by men. Blue woolen blankets and cloaks bordered with red cloth and ornamented with pearl buttons or with shells became very common in later days. Sometimes the buttons were arranged so as to form realistic figures of animals, etc. They were used by both sexes. Among what seems to have been head wear of their own manufacture were fur caps and headbands of fur and occasionally of embroidered leather, some having pendants of skin fringes set with feathers in various fashions. (See Nat. Mus. specimens Nos 28, 29, 30, 31, 32.) There were also different kinds of caps made of red and other cloth also decorated in various ways

with feathers, caps made of head skins of large animals retaining the ears and sometimes small horns. (See Emmons Fig. 8), narrow headbands of twisted velvet off caribou antlers (National Museum specimen No. 34) and others of twisted fur and twisted bird skin, and large grizzly bear claws set in the form of a crown. (See Morice Fig. 172). These may possibly have been of Coast origin. No eagle or hawk feather bonnets of the same styles as used by the plains and plateau tribes were in use, the only approach to them being a head band set with large or small standing feathers in the form of a crown and ornamented with ermine skins and tufts of small feathers. This head dress may have been the same or very similar to a kind used by the Carriers (See Morice Fig. 165). It may or may not have been of Coast origin.

Possibly of native origin were robes and cloaks of fur, blanket, etc., ornamented with animals teeth and claws either as pendants or sewed on in rows. Also requiring mention are various kinds of belts, shoulder straps or sashes, pouches and knife cases, much used as parts of ceremonial costumes. Many of the belts were of red cloth richly embroidered with beads. Others of leather were embroidered with bead or quill work. Some of the belts had long fringes decorated with shells (Emmons figures a ceremonial belt of the Tahltan which is probably of Kaska or Liard make). Shoulder straps or sashes consisted of wide strips of red cloth richly embroidered with beads etc. Two were worn, one over each shoulder. Sometimes their ends were confined by the belt. These may be survivals of the straps of the shot pouches and powder horns formerly worn over the shoulders. The ceremonial pouches seem to be survivals of the fire sacks and the shot and bullet pouches. The pouches are often small and of little utility. On the outside they are covered with solid bead work. The carrying straps are also beaded and resemble the belts and shoulder sashes. Knife cases are often of embroidered red cloth and hang around the neck with straps of the same material. Some cloth necklaces or breast pieces were used. These were covered with embroidery or with rows of shells, etc., one above the other. Some had pendants. Their shapes varied. Some were crescent shaped and may have resembled a similar object in the ceremonial costume of the Carrier (See Morice Fig. 167).

Some embroidered collars, close fitting to the neck and having long fringes often strung with shells, etc., were also in use. These may have been of Tlingit origin. Tassels of leather were fairly common on some

ceremonial clothing and some tie strings ended in tassels. It seems no tassels of dyed hair were used. Tassels were frequently ornamented by wrappings of porcupine quills in different colors.

ORNAMENTATION OF ORDINARY CLOTHING

According to my informants, in older times every day clothing used when working, hunting, etc., was on the whole plain; very little of it had any embroidery. Articles of clothing ornamented with rich bead and quill embroidery etc., were kept for holiday dress and used at dances, etc. Young people and wealthy people had more ornamentation on their clothes than others.

Moccasins

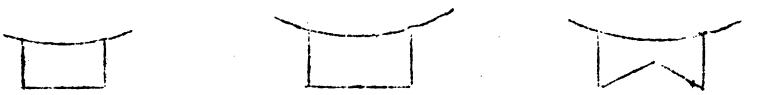
The common ornamentation of moccasins consists of embroidery on the tongue and along the seam bordering the latter. A very common method is to cover the tongue with red or blue cloth and border it with two to seven closely connected and parallel lines of beads in different colors. Frequently the same number of lines of silk embroidery is used instead of beads. Three seems to be a very common number of lines to use in this margin. The lines are in alternating colors or they may be of varied colors. The former method is most common. Sometimes the border is composed of silk work in two or more colors, the threads or stitches crossing each other as in quill work. Occasionally the border is of quill work in two or more colors. Instead of cloth the tongue itself is often ornamented with bead work (very rarely silk work or quill work) forming open designs where the surface of the tongue is the field. Only very rarely does the beading cover the whole tongue and appear as a field for designs. In all cases the ornamentation is done directly on the skin. I have not noticed nor heard of its having been done on strips of skin etc., which were later sewed on the moccasin. Many moccasins have plain tongues, the only ornamentation being the border embroidered with bead, silk or quill work. Piping of skin or of red cloth is frequently used in all the seams of moccasins. This piping is always cut close. This is the only ornamentation which occurs on the front or toe seams and heel seams of moccasins. The top seam connecting the foot and legging pieces of the moccasin is often ornamented by piping of leather or of cloth. The piping here, instead of being cut close to the shoe,

is cut generally one to two and a half inches from it so as to form a fringe or flap surrounding the foot and reaching the tongue on each side. When of leather, the edge of the flap is generally pinked or cut in a very short tooth-like fringe or in a series of square notches made by cutting out each alternate piece of the fringe between cuts (see flap on Yellow-knife moccasin, Hatt Fig. 18). When of cloth, the edge of the cloth is often bound with braid or ribbon. Occasionally the flap is of leather and covered with cloth. Usually leather flaps are narrower than cloth ones and have no ornamentation other than the pinking. Cloth flaps, are usually wider and are often ornamented with bead embroidery, either only as an edging or as an edging combined with open designs covering more or less the entire flap. I have not seen or heard of quill work occurring on these flaps, and it seems silk work is also rare. Most flaps are left loose and hang down as a kind of fringe concealing to some extent the laces at the sides of the moccasins. Others have their lower edge stitched down to the foot of the moccasin. In this case there are no side loops on the moccasins, or in other cases they exist but are not used. All informants agree that piping cut close is old, and most of them think the rather narrow pinked flaps of leather on moccasins is old. On the other hand they consider that wide flaps which are embroidered are comparatively modern and likely came in with the traders. They do not seem to think that the cloth flap is an adaptation from the leather flap which has come in with the advent of cloth and beads. However this may be, these flaps, both of leather and cloth, are particularly common on moccasins of a number of Athabaskan tribes and the Tlingit. It may be remarked that slipper moccasins, which lack uppers, are nearly all provided with flaps of considerable width. As a rule these are stitched down on the moccasin, but some are loose, excepting their upper edge where they are generally enclosed in a binding of colored braid or colored ribbon procured from the stores. Sometimes fur and rarely bird skin are used instead. Leather flaps on slipper moccasins are rare, nearly all flaps being made of red, blue, and black cloth. Sometimes the edge of the cloth is cut in wavy lines with or without pinking, and occasionally two or more layers of cloth of different colors are laid one on the other and the edges of some or all are pinked.

Rarely the uppers of moccasins are pinked around the edges but they are never ornamented in any other way. Moccasins were not set with cut fringes like those of leggings etc. and it seems appliqué work was never used. A very few moccasins had wrapped quill

work laid over the tongue seam instead of cross quill work. It seems a narrow piece of skin was used as foundation and this stitched on. This was quite rare, and it is uncertain whether it is really very old. It resembles somewhat the horse hair embroidery of the Interior Salish.

Trailers were seldom cut in an ornamental way by the Tahltan; in fact most moccasins had none, as they were cut off even with the shoe. Rarely they were stitched up on the heel of the shoe. A few were retained full length, generally projecting half an inch or so. Most of these had square ends. The only other forms I have seen or heard of are as in the sketch below.



Some of the most fancy moccasins, besides having the usual embroidery on the tongues, were further ornamented with beaded designs all over the fronts.

Boots were ornamented along the big seams with cut fringes ½ to 2½ inches long on the seam following the outside of the leg. If the fringe was short, about 1 inch in length, it was pinked instead of being cut in the ordinary way. Sometimes, instead of the piping being left long to form a fringe, it was cut flush with the surface of the boot and the seam ornamented with quill work. It seems that as a rule if fringes were used there was no quill work and vice versa.

No painting or staining was done on moccasins or boots.

Body Wear

Leggings and pants were ornamented in the same way as the leg of boots. Shirts of men and dresses of women were also ornamented in the same way. If the piping forming the fringe was comparatively wide or long it was cut, and if comparatively narrow it was pinked. If cut flush with the garment it was covered with quill

embroidering. Some fringes had alternating parts pinked and cut. According to my informants fringes were never long and never finely cut, as was often the case among the plateau tribes. Among the latter, fringes were sometimes cut into fine strings, and on the whole were of much greater length than among the Tahltan and other northern tribes. Extra pieces of skin pinked, fringed or embroidered were hardly ever sewed on clothing for ornament. Some men's shirts and women's dresses had extra pieces sewed on the opening in front which were pinked or fringed, but these were for utility rather than ornament. Sometimes part of a fringe was cut and part pinked, these alternating. Some fringes on shirts and dresses besides being pinked were further ornamented with punctures. These generally consisted of small round or triangular holes.

A shirt or dress with fringes usually had no quill work ornamentation and vice versa. Fringes were never cut very fine. This holds good for ancient times as well as lately. Ornamentation by fringing was more common on men's shirts and less common on women's dresses. Most of the latter, instead of fringes, had quill work embroidery along all or most of the seams. Many had also some embroidery, generally stripes, on the front and back of the dress above the waist and at the neck and bottom. No fringes of thongs like those so common on women's dresses of the plateau tribes were used.

Handwear

Mitts were sometimes ornamented with fringes and pinking along the seams. A few had embroidered stripes of quill work on the upper parts. At the present day the upper or cuff parts of mitts and gloves of the high or gauntlet kind are frequently richly ornamented with bead and silk embroidery, red cloth, etc., and the strap connecting the mitts, if of colored yarn, is embellished with tassels of this material. Mitten straps of leather frequently had the edges pinked for ornamentation.

Headwear

It seems there was little ornamentation on caps, hoods and headbands. Caps, or rather hoods, used by women and girls were often trimmed in front with strips of fur of different kind from the body of the hood. These were more or less ornamental. Headbands made of entire skins of small animals retained the feet and tails

these being retained for ornament and worn at the side or back. Men's caps were occasionally ornamented with small bunches of feathers sewed to the front or to one or both sides. A few headbands were also thus ornamented. A great variety of caps ornamented with ribbons, colored cloth, pearl buttons, shells, feathers, beads, teeth, etc., are in use but they belong to the ceremonial dress.

Robes

Robes were ornamented in various ways. Sewed rabbit skin robes often had the skins arranged according to color in various ways so as to give a striped or other effect. Sometimes the white skins were grouped in one area, the darkest ones in another and the medium or half changed skins in another (this if the blanket was made chiefly of fall skins). This method was also employed to some extent in other fur robes. In robes made of skins of small animals the tails (and occasionally the head, feet and ears) were often left on for ornament. The strips of leather forming edges to many robes were frequently ornamented with more or less quill embroidery in stripes and also rarely with red paint applied in stripes. The insides of robes often had all the seams or joinings of the skins painted red. No robes were painted with pictographs or designs as among the plateau tribes.

Ornamentation of robes with pendants, claws, teeth, shells, etc., appears to have been on ceremonial pieces only. Some robes had fringes of the same material or skin which composed the robe. These fringes were short and never cut very fine.

Designs

It seems there were no designs either in quill or bead embroidery pertaining particularly to clothing. The quill designs were all geometric and generally arranged in lines or narrow strips. Bead designs are chiefly floral and many appear to have been adopted from the Tlingit. As stated already, clothing was very rarely painted excepting sometimes along seams. Rarely some people made a few fanciful designs in clothing in red and black. These had no meanings or at least had nothing to do with dreams. Only shamans occasionally painted marks or designs on clothing which had connection with dreams or manitou.

Belts

A good many belts used in ordinary dress both by men and women had more or less quill embroidery on them and some had fringes or thongs along their lower edge which were strung with dentalia. Some others were ornamented with fringing or pinking only. Very few belts were altogether plain.

PERSONAL ADORNMENT .

Necklaces were formerly much used, but more by women than by men. Necklaces and collars pertaining specially to lads, maidens, widows etc. have already been described.

It seems no necklaces of quills were used, nor others of bone tubes or copper tubes.

Some wealthy people wore large plates or pendants of copper with men's heads incised on them. These were obtained from the Tlingit and they were costly. One informant said these plates of copper were worth more than similar plates of gold would be worth now. A person owning one was considered wealthy it is said.[1]

Dentalium shell necklaces were used by everyone. The best ones consisted of very large and ivory white shells. These were much more valuable than necklaces made of medium, small, and poorly coloured shells. The shells were strung on sinew thread and caribou string and were of various sizes and lengths. Some people used a number. It appears none of them were of breast plate form nor covered the breast in a series of necklaces connected with a single neck piece, as was common among the plateau tribes. Necklaces of lynx teeth were used a good deal by women and children. Men who had bear, wolf, beaver, etc. as manitous wore claws of these animals as necklaces. After the traders came bead necklaces came into use. Charms of stone, etc., enclosed in leather were much used as pendants. Nose ornaments were in vogue. None of them were of shells.

[1] (The Tlingit tell a story of the origin of these copper plates. The first one was obtained by a poor man who became wealthy).

They were circular in shape and resembled buttons, rings, apparently cut out in a single piece from some kind of fine bone or ivory. The small ends sprung apart and were inserted in the septum of the nose. It is unknown whether these bone nose ornaments were made by the Tahltan or procured from other tribes. In later times silver nose rings were used. These were procured from the Tlingit, who also used them. Bone and silver nose rings were used by both sexes but chiefly by women. Nose ornaments of the forms in vogue among the plateau tribes were not used. Almost all were of haliotis shells procured from the coast. Boys and men wore from one to three shells in each ear, many girls and women had four. Poor people bored their children's ears when they were infants, often only two or three days after birth. The nose was bored at the same time. Wealthy people had their children's ears bored at intervals of two or more years. The first holes, one in each ear, were bored when the child was three or four years old, about two or more years afterwards the second holes were bored, and after similar intervals the third and fourth. A daughter of wealthy parents got her fourth ear rings when about ten or twelve years old. Each time her ears were pierced her father or parents gave a feast and numerous presents to the people. They also gave a feast and presents when her nose was bored. Only people of high rank or possessors of much wealth did this. It seems if the father of the girl was a Raven, he gave the presents only to members of his own phratry, and vice versa if a Wolf.

Boring of the ears and nose was done with an awl or with a needle and a quill or a sinew thread inserted immediately afterwards. Earrings were not put in until the wound had healed. Sometimes holes were made with a porcupine quill which was pulled partly through and left there, the sharp end being clipped off or tied up. Labrets were not used by the Tahltan, but only by wealthy people of the Tlingit and Taku. Some of these people gave a feast and killed one or two slaves at the time when their daughters' lip was pierced. It was believed that wearing of labrets prevented early wrinkling of the face.

Bracelets were used long ago. These were of leather and ornamented with quill embroidery. Later they were replaced by metal bracelets (silver, copper and brass, etc.) procured from the Tlingit. Some of these had incised totemic designs on them, some were flat and others round. Some wealthy women wore as many as six of these on each arm. No horn and wooden bracelets were used. Finger rings came into use in late

times. They were of metal (silver, etc.,) and procured at first from the Tlingit.

Hair Dress

Most men cut their hair square across about level with the shoulders. Some cut their hair a little higher, others a little lower. A few wore it full length. If the hair was very long it was tied with a single string at the back of the neck. Men never braided their hair. Almost all people of both sexes cut their hair a little in front square across above the eyes. Young women especially wore their hair in a single braid full length down the back. Older women generally wore their hair in two braids with the ends turned. Some boys and many girls wore their hair loose and hanging down the back or confined it merely with a string tied around at the back of the neck. (Fashions of pubescent lads, pubescent girls and mourners, etc., are mentioned elsewhere). Young children had their hair full length or almost so behind and cut across above the eyes in front. Most men and women parted their hair in the middle, but a few men parted theirs on one side. Many of both sexes painted the parting of their hair red. The hair was never painted and the only kind of grease or oil used on the hair was bear's grease.

According to tradition, combs were scarce very long ago but more plentiful later. They were made of wood, bone and antler. Most of them were somewhat square in shape and had only a few teeth, some not more than four. Those made of caribou antler had the most teeth and were probably the best combs. Informants say a common type of comb was like those of the Chilcotin. No fan-shaped combs like those of the plateau tribes were used. The hair was never roached, shaved, singed or burned off. Hair was cut by putting the head down on a small smooth board resting on something solid. The hair was combed and spread out evenly on it and then cut across with a sharp knife of shell or stone, etc., in the hands of another person.

Hair cut off was generally burned. If the hair of a young woman of high class was very long, it was sometimes kept by her people and used by male relatives at dances, etc., as a kind of wig. Usually the hair was sewed to the lower edge of a head band and hung down full length all around. There was no custom

of clipping the hair of slaves as a sign of their servility or to obtain their hair for any purpose.

Most men pulled out their beards as whiskers and moustaches were not considered beautiful or desirable. Some however did not care and eradicated little or none of what grew. Tweezers of bone and copper were used for the purpose and the process was commenced when the first hairs commenced to come. It seems neither women nor men pulled out any eyebrow hairs. These were left to grow in the natural way. Hair growing on parts of the body was also never removed.

Nowadays all the young men shave, but as their beards do not grow as rapidly as those of the Whites they do not need to shave so often.

Face Painting

There was little face painting excepting at dances and festive occasions and no body painting excepting at those times. Face paintings at ordinary times was considered more of a woman's than a man's affair. A few men painted their faces as they took a notion from time to time. The paintings generally took the form of spots or stripes of red or black or both and could hardly be called designs. My informants said no particular figures or designs were used, except by shamans on special occasions and by some men at dances. A few young men who wished to preserve their fair complexion in the spring when the chinook winds blew smeared their faces and painted somewhat like girls. Women painted more than men, the common color being red which was usually put on in spots or all over the face. (For painting of pubescents see same.) Most women painted to prevent sunburn and preserve their complexion and not for show or adornment. Totemic emblems were painted on the face and sometimes the body by some men at dances. This was particularly the case with men of the Nanaai clan (see under Social Organization. /Ed: This section was not written; it exists only in the form of casual notes/).

Tattooing

Before the days of steel needles tattooing was done with a fine bone. The design was drawn on the skin with a charred pencil or point of charcoal. There were generally two operators. One punctured the skin with the point of the bone and lifted it up slightly. The other person tapped the bone a little and then rubbed moist charcoal into the wound. This process was repeated all over the surface intended to be tattooed, the punctures being made close to each other. Some operators did not bother outlining the designs. Later tattooing was done with a fine needle and thread, the latter being dipped in charcoal mixed with water. The needle was passed under the skin and the thread pulled through. This kind of tattooing made clearer or more well-defined lines than tattooing by the old method. Tattooing was not done at any particular time of life and was common to both sexes. Many however of both sexes never tattooed. The faces, forearms, wrists, and lower legs were the parts tattooed. Some marks were simple designs or figures such as straight lines, dots, and arrows. Some designs were totemic or pertained to the phratry or clan. Raven people sometimes put on figures of the raven and toad. Wolf people had figures of the wolf's tail, and Nanaai used the bear's foot and the Killer Whale.

No object /purpose/ is known for the use /usage/ in tattooing of simple lines, dots, arrows, etc; totemic designs were used to show the person belonged to the clan or phratry possessing these totems. Face tattooing has long been out of use and none of the old Indians can remember having seen people thus tattooed.

Ideas of Beauty

The following were and are ideas held by the tribe regarding what constitutes beauty. However, taste of individuals varied to some extent.

DESIRABLE OR GOOD LOOKING	NOT SO GOOD LOOKING	UNDESIRABLE OR UGLY
Skin (both sexes) white or light, smooth	Medium color Medium smoothness	Dark Rough
Mouth (both sexes) medium size	Very small	Very large
Nose (both sexes) straight, slightly aquiline	Very convex	Concave, very flat
Cheek bones (both sexes) slight or medium		Very prominent
Head (both sexes) common shape	Very wide or pressed or deformed	
Feet (women) small	Medium	Large
Feet (men) small or medium		Large
Hands (women) small	Medium	Large
Hands (men) small or medium	Large	
Knuckles (women) small	Medium size	Large
Bones or joints (women) small	Medium size	Large
Eye-brows (both sexes) immaterial		
Hair of head (women) long, thick		Short, thin
Hair of head (men) short		Very long
Do of pubis (women) some		
Do of pubis (men) immaterial		
Beard (women) none		Any
Beard (young men) none	Moderate amount	Very much
Beard (old men) immaterial		
Moustache (women) none		Any
Moustache (men) none or moderate size		Very much
Hair on body, arms, legs, etc., (women) none (men)	A little	Very much
Body (women) plump	Slightly thin	Very thin
Body (men) medium	Slightly fat	Very fat
Stature (women) medium	Short or slightly tall	Very tall

Individuals' tastes however varied on all these points.

Strength and endurance, especially in men, were considered very desirable and of more importance than the stature and shape of body. Tall men were considered good looking, but not equal to short men for strength and endurance. Some tall men were very good walkers but short men were better than tall men as workers and packers. They could carry heavier loads without becoming fatigued. Men who were skilful hunters, good-tempered and of kindly disposition were most desired by women. These qualities were more considered by women than good looks, etc. Some men considered a light smooth skin preferable to fine features. Some would say, "That woman has a beautiful face and fine features but her skin is too rough". It is said that women (or all persons) of the Raven phratry had rougher skins than women or people of the Wolf phratry. This is said to be owing to their descent from Big Raven who like the raven bird had rough skin, especially on the legs. A very wide head or a very flat nose was considered ugly. People having these features were said to resemble slaves. A man would say of a wide-face, flat-nosed person, "That woman is ugly; she resembles a slave".

SUBSISTENCE--VARIETIES AND PREPARATION OF FOOD

The food of the Tahltan consisted of flesh of animals and of fish supplemented by some vegetable food during the summer season. Animal flesh especially was the chief subsistence of the tribe, but fish was also important. In comparison with the Plateau Tribes the use of roots and berries was insignificant. Shell fish taken from salt or fresh water were not eaten. It is said they were fairly abundant in one large lake near the head of Nass River, but in all other parts of the Tahltan country were exceedingly scarce. There were no domestic animals excepting the dog, and no agriculture was practised, except for a period of years the cultivation of tobacco.

The flesh of the following animals was considered good food; the caribou, moose, buffalo, sheep, goat, bear (of all kinds), lynx, beaver, marmot, porcupine, ground squirrels, and hare or rabbit.

Tree squirrels and muskrats were eaten occasionally especially if food was scarce but they were not considered very good food. Squirrels did not have enough fat.

The flesh of the otter, marten, mink, fisher, wolverine, wolf, dog, bush rat, and mouse was not eaten. Only in cases of direct necessity did people eat flesh of these animals, and the last resource was the dog. Of birds, grouse of all kinds, ducks of all kinds, geese, swans and a few other large birds were eaten.

Fresh water fish of all kinds such as salmon, trout, grayling, white fish, pike etc., were eaten.

No reptiles and insects of any kind were eaten. Any person who ate anything unusual or different from the food eaten by all was laughed at and spoken about. /Ed: this section was not completed/.

TRAVEL, TRANSPORTATION AND TRADE

BOATS

Travel was nearly all on foot and this still continues to be the principal method of locomotion. It seems that formerly water travel was not very important to the Tahltan. According to tradition there were no canoes or at least no good canoes long ago. Bark canoes were used in a few places where crossings were made, also on some parts of sluggish streams, and on some lakes. These canoes were made for temporary use only and were seldom used excepting for short periods. They were never used more than a single season and usually the parties who made them threw them away when through with them just as people do rafts. They were roughly made of bark of large trees (varieties uncertain) peeled in the summer and sewed and fastened with wattup,/spruce roots/and light withes. They were so scarce and have been out of use so long that very little is now remembered about them. It is said they were of about the same shape as the skin canoes now used by the Kaska, but were of cruder make than the bark and skin canoes made by tribes to the east and north. Very few large trees having suitable bark for canoe covering are to be found in the Tahltan country excepting within the coast or Cascade Range. Some informants claim that long ago even bark canoes were not made and rafts alone were used. These were of poles lashed together with withes. It seems at least that in ancient days rafts were much more used than bark canoes and in some parts of the Tahltan country they were the only means employed for crossing of rivers and

lakes and for hunting and fishing on their waters. Rafts were also temporary and thrown away after using. After trade sprang up with the Tlingit, dugout canoes of the types used by the Tlingit were bought occasionally by the Tahltan and used on the Stikine River for crossing and moving up and down the river. Nowadays boats made by themselves or by White residents are used almost altogether. Rafts are still used for crossing streams back in the mountains. Good dugout canoes were taken great care of. They were kept in shady places and protected from the weather. Canoe houses were made for some of them, in good positions above high water mark. The earth was excavated and banked up at the sides and the excavation roofed with poles and sheets of bark. (See photo.) Paddles, poles, tow-ropes and in later times sails used on dugout canoes were all of the same kinds as used by the Tlingit.

Snowshoes

Snowshoes were in universal use in the winter time for traveling and hunting and are still as much used as ever. Although snowshoes have been used by the tribe for a very long time back still tradition is emphatic in saying that at one time they were unknown. (See similar tradition among the Carrier, see Morice p. 151.) Most informants agree that the first snowshoes were flat and had a round head. (It seems the snowshoes first used by the Carrier were of this type, see Morice p. 152 and figure 141.) Later round-headed snowshoes were bent up a good deal /i.e., turned up at the toe./ Then the kind having the head shaped like a duck's breast-bone came into vogue, and in late times these were replaced by the present shovel-nosed type. At first sinew was used for filling,/webbing,/and later babiche. I collected the following story regarding the origin of the snowshoe.

> "Very long ago, when the World was young, people were nearer to animals than they are now, for they were ignorant of many of the arts and had few tools and implements. At this time they had no knowledge of snowshoes and when the snow was very deep they could not travel far from their camps. People wanted to have snowshoes and tried the making of many different kinds and shapes. Some had round frames and some were long. The tails and noses were of various types. All the shoes were rude and none of them

satisfactory as to all points. The first ones were flat. Later they made them with a round nose bent up considerably. After much discussion it was proposed to make a shoe with nose the same shape as a duck's breast bone. This was tried and found satisfactory. At first people did not know what to use for filling nor how to put it in. For a long time they used sinew. Later they learned how to make babiche and cut it from skins of young caribou. Later they learned how to make the foot filling different. People were engaged in trying to put in filling properly when willow grouse came along and said 'let me try.' He made snowshoe tools such as the mesh needle, snowshoe awl, etc. He put in the first proper filling and made the first good snowshoes. People copied him and after this made good snowshoes."

The frames and ground sticks of snowshoes are made of sapling spruce and of birch. The sticks are carefully selected for toughness, grain and freedom from knots. They are scraped and smoothed and bent into shape when green. Parts which are to be bent very much are rendered more pliable by steaming or immersing in hot water. The frame is of two sticks of equal lengths brought together and fastened at the nose, (head or toe) and the tail (or heel.) At the nose the sticks are spliced together and covered with a lashing. The spreading of the frame is a gradual process done with sticks and lashings and repeated wettings until the proper shape is obtained, when it is allowed to set. The wood of the frame is heavier or thicker in the middle of the shoe and thinner towards the ends. It is generally more or less squared, the flat or wide sides of the sticks are extended inwards and outwards and the narrow sides upwards and downwards. No frames are made of wood which is altogether round or of natural unworked form. The cross bars are of birch wood, willow, etc., put in flat sides up and down and their ends let into mortises in the frame. A selvage thong passes through perforations in the frame forming a series of loops on the insides of the latter to which the fillings in the front and back spaces of the shoe are woven. These fillings are very closely netted and are made of fine babiche cut from skins of young caribou, young moose, or mountain sheep. The filling of the central or foot space of the shoe is of heavier babiche or of thong cut from skins of older caribou and moose, or skins of bear and goat, etc. This filling is not woven through any loops in the sides

of the frame but passes over and enwraps the latter and also the cross bars. The netting or weaving in all snow shoes is hexagonal, excepting the central or foot filling which is square or quadrangular in some. The part of the foot filling where the ball of the foot rests is often reinforced with an extra wrapping of thong across the shoe. The frames of shoes are generally made a little straighter on one side. When in use the straighter sides are next each other. At least five varieties of snowshoes were used by the Tahltan.

1) The common snowshoe of the tribe at the present day is the kind called "shovel-nosed" by the Whites because of the peculiar shovel or scoop-shaped form of the nose. The tail is also of peculiar shape being wide to near the end where it narrows abruptly and terminates in a sharp point. The nose of the shoe is turned up and rounded in form, the central portion curving inwards in a rounded point. Three cross bars are used one in front and one at the back of the foot filling, and the third near the heel where the frame narrows abruptly. The exact shape and structure of this type of snowshoe will be seen in the figures (See specimens, National Museum No. 35, 36, 37; see also description in Emmons p. 60.)

2) A second kind of snowshoe occasionally used by the tribe is flat and the frame is of one or two pieces. It has a round nose, sharp pointed tail and generally only two cross bars. It is as a rule only used in cases of urgency or necessity when better kinds of snowshoes cannot be made. It is considered a temporary or makeshift shoe to be thrown away when the necessity for its use is past. A few people sometimes make them for children. It seems this kind of snowshoe is the same as described by Morice for the Carrier (see Morice p. 152, Fig. 141.)

3) A third variety of snowshoes now also very seldom used by the Tahltan is generally known as the Kaska or sharp-nosed snow shoe. The frame is of two sticks. Both ends are sharp pointed and the nose is very much turned up. There are three or more cross bars. This shoe is the same as the common kind in vogue among the Kaska and Carrier. (See Morice, p. 153, Fig. 142.)

Of these three types of snowshoes the second is possibly the older, as I heard no traditions of

its introduction. The sharp-nosed type is said to have been adopted from the Kaska and after its introduction became for a time the common shoe of the Tahltan. Later it was superceded by the shovel-nosed type adopted from the Tagish and upper Taku Indians and this kind is now almost the only shoe used by the tribe.

4) Two other kinds of snowshoes are mentioned by the Tahltan as having been in use formerly. One of these called the "duck's breast-bone nose," seems to have resembled the "shovel nose" -- somewhat in the form of the toe, but the latter was wider and less curved inwards. I did not receive further information on this type of shoe except that it was also used by the Tagish formerly.

5) The other kind of snowshoe called "round or oval nose" had a frame of two sticks which were thinned and joined together with a strong lashing at the toe. The latter was wider and more rounded than the present round-toed shoe of the Kaska, which has a very narrow point. It had only one cross bar forward of the foot and two in all. It seems to have resembled the flat shoe No. 2 in every way except that the "nose" was turned up and possibly a little narrower, and the frame was always of two pieces. This shoe therefore seems to correspond to the ait-za or ordinary snowshoe of the Carrier. (See Morice p. 153). It seems to be almost if not quite obsolete nowaday - but it is said to have been at one time very common among both the Tahltan and Kaska. Snowshoes of the bear foot type (See Morice p. 154, Fig. 143), according to my informants, were never used by the Tahltan even in remote times.

Some snowshoes especially those of women are ornamented with short tufts of colored yarn at intervals along the outside of the frame and on the "nose." It seems this is comparatively modern. (See National Museum specimen No. 37.)

The tie strings or straps of snowshoes were of thongs or strips of leather. It seems sometimes two strings were used and sometimes a single piece. The latter is said to be the oldest. The methods of adjusting and tying these straps to the snowshoe and to the foot varied in different tribes. Some informants claimed a tie exactly similar to that used by the Carrier (as shown by Morice, Fig. 141) was in use. I noticed two methods of adjusting the strings

among the Tahltan. These will be seen at a glance by referring to the sketches. Both are single string fastenings; both were common and both are said to be old. Of these two common styles, that represented by A seems to be most common; one informant claimed it to be an older style than B. Some men use an additional piece of thong or a wrapping around the part of the shoe string which goes over the top. This is to thicken it and to prevent cutting into the toe.

Snowshoe spurs or crupers /sic, grippers?/ were in use. These consisted of tips of goat's horns attached to snowshoes to prevent slipping on very hard or heavily crusted snow and icy ground. Two were attached to each shoe on each side of the frame near the front cross bar where they were lashed in place. The butt end of most of them was notched on one side to better fit the frame. They are still used. (See National Museum specimens Nos 38A and 38B). According to Emmons similar spurs are also used by the Chilkat and Nishka etc. (See Emmons p. 61).

A winter walking stick or snowshoe staff was in use, chiefly by hunters in deep snow. It was made of sapling spruce and had near the lower end a circular snowshoe-like frame filled with a netting of babiche. Most of them were of the same type as used by the Carrier (See Morice, Fig. 144). It seems others differed only in the method of netting. (Also see description by Emmons, p. 61). These sticks are now seldom used.

Most informants claim that no methods were in vogue for preventing the slipping of moccasins on icy ground. All agree that no cross pieces of leather for this purpose were sewed to soles of moccasins as was common among the Interior Salish. However a few people used a somewhat different method which I have noticed on at least two pairs of old moccasins thrown away at Tahltan hunting camps. Instead of strips of leather sewed on, a thong is passed in and out through awl holes or small slits made in the sole of the moccasin across the heel and the ball of the foot. The end of the thong is doubled back and threaded through the loops or parts of the thong on the outside of the sole. This forms cross pieces on the sole of the moccasin-resembling twisted cords.

Dogs

The Tahltan claim to have had dogs from the earliest times and their origin is lost in antiquity. It is thought that they originated from wolves (viz., the timber wolf of the North) and have been tamed by Indians. Probably the first were litters of pups captured by the Indians and raised in captivity. The most gentle of these were preserved for breeding and in process of time through selection and constant contact with men the Indian dog was evolved. The Kaskas especially often bred dogs with male wolves and do so yet to improve the strain. Attempts to breed them with the fox have always failed. The Tahltans considered all their dogs to be of one breed or descent, although they varied considerably in size and colour. All had the same shape of face, nose, ears, and tail and the same quality of hair, in these respects resembling wolves. In size there was a large kind, the largest of them somewhat smaller than the timber wolf, and a small variety, the smallest of them no larger than terriers. A number of dogs were of medium sizes resulting at least in some cases from crossing between the large and small kinds, or the small variety may itself have been evolved through selection and breeding of the smaller of the middle-sized dogs who themselves were probably simply individual variants of the common large dog. Some Indians paid attention to the breeding of dogs for certain hunting qualities. For instance two dogs known to be specially good for beaver would be mated; thus certain families or strains of dogs possessed more pronounced qualities than others for the hunting of certain kinds of game. This was hereditary in them and no doubt developed through breeding. Certain dogs, say, that did not belong to a strain peculiarly efficient for beaver hunting through training and frequent use became as good or almost as good as those possessing the strain. On the other hand many who did not belong to this particular strain never became any good at beaver hunting. Dogs were also sometimes bred for size and color but this was more to suit individual tastes or fancies of men, women and children. Some women and children liked small dogs and dogs of peculiar or pronounced colors. Most dogs, especially the larger ones, resembled wolves in their general colors and markings. Like them they were all more or less white underneath and of different shades of grey, brown and black above. Some were very light grey or almost pure white and others almost pure black. Some were reddish and some spotted. Most of them, however, were intermediate grey and brown colors.

Although the largest of the Tahltan dogs resembled the wolf in its main characteristics, still there was sufficient difference between them to distinguish them. At the present day the dogs of the tribe are all more or less mongrelized, some of them have a strain of the old Indian dog in them but most of them are of breeds introduced by the Whites (since 1874) and crosses between these. A very few remain, perhaps now not more than two or three, of a very small variety of native dog generally known as the "Tahltan bear dog," because it is said they were particularly used in hunting of bear. According to one informant they had a good "nose" for bear, taking the hunter to where it was or, in the event of "jumping," followed it up "giving tongue" and worrying it by snapping at it, thus retarding its progress until the hunter caught up. Being small and very nimble, the dog always managed to evade the bear when he struck at him or rushed him. This specially small dog of the Tahltan will probably become extinct. All I have seen of them are black or dark grey, some of them are quite black in color with the exception of white patches on the breast, muzzle and sometimes on the feet and underneath the belly and flanks and a very few grey hairs in the body coat. With extreme age they take on a markedly grey phase of color all over the body. Dogs were plentiful among the Tahltan. People who had sluts gave all the pups away they did not wish to keep. Dogs had no price, even the most valuable hunting ones, and they were not bought and sold as some dogs are at the present day. Anyone who wanted a dog could always get a pup and sometimes also a large dog for nothing.

Formerly no particular care was taken of dogs. They slept just like wolves and lay inside and outside the camp at any place. No kennels or dog-houses were made for them, nor even brush spread for them to lie on. At the present day some people make shelters for dogs they value and spread brush for them to lie on. Generally dogs ran loose, but when considered necessary they were tied up, as for instance when people were afraid of their stealing or afraid of their being killed and eaten by wolves. As a rule people kept food and skins and other valuables dogs might eat or tear out of their reach in trees, and on scaffolds etc. When it was inconvenient to do this they tied up all dogs known to steal.

No special halters or ropes were used for tying dogs such as were in vogue among the interior

Salish. Any kind of stout line of leather or rawhide was used. To give greater strength some of these were plaited. No bone toggles were used on the lines, which were simply tied. Dogs were fed on meat and fish and ate all kinds of scraps and refuse around the camp. When their owners had an abundance of food they got plenty to eat and when food was scarce they necessarily received very little. The Tahltan aver that their old breed of dogs could not live at the coast. Many times Tlingit trading parties took dogs home with them, but in all cases these dogs lived but a short time or became very unhealthy. They developed pulmonary troubles and soon died or became mangy. Whites who have taken away to different parts of the coast specimens of the small Tahltan "bear dog" say that in all cases these dogs soon became sick and died.

The Tahltan claim that formerly dogs were used by them for hunting only, and it is only about fifty years ago since they first commenced to pack and haul with dogs.

In fact it seems packing and driving came in about the time of the Cassiar gold rush in 1874, and for this reason, the introduction of these processes is generally credited to the Whites. Some Indians aver that a little packing had been done a few years previous to this time. However this may be, packing and driving generally came in about this date. Wooden sleds and dog harnesses of the common kinds used by Whites in the North are those in use, and the methods of driving appear to differ in no ways from those generally prevailing in the North.

In packing dogs' pack-bags are used. Some of those formerly in use were made of leather, but at the present day all are made of different kinds of canvas or tent material. In shape they are like saddle-bags used on horses. Most of them are of a single strip of canvas of the proper length and width, the middle part of which is intended to rest on the dog's back. The ends are doubled up outwards and sewed to the body so as to form a bag on each side of the dog, a sufficient loose end being left on each side to stretch over and cover the mouth of the bags. Sometimes one loose end is longer than the other, the shorter one simply covering the mouth of the bag of which it is an extension whilst the other reaches over the back of the dog and covers both. Sometimes both are of equal length, one loose end being tucked

under the other across the back of the dog, either end being available as top cover. Material to be packed is placed in the bags, it being necessary to have the contents of each about equal in weight. The covers of the bags are fastened down with a lacing of thongs passed through a series of loops of the same material in the upper sides of the bags, the lacing passing from one bag to the other across the lids /sic/ and the back of the dog. The bags are kept in place by a single slash rope of leather or canvas about ten or twelve feet long which is first passed around the ends of the bags below the sides of the dog and then around the bags underneath the dog and back over the top to the point of commencement. There are several slightly different methods of fastening the bags. (For specimen of the common dog pack-bag of the Tahltan see National Museum specimen No. 39).

Dogs pack weights of twenty to fifty pounds according to their size or strength. Families have two or three to six or more dogs. The difficulty of feeding them at certain seasons almost alone limits their number. Large active dogs good for both packing and driving and well enough haired to withstand severe cold are in demand and some dogs exchange for as high as $40.00 or even more.

Horses

The Tahltans saw the first horses about 1875, when pack trains of horses and mules arrived overland from the southern interior of British Columbia to pack during the gold mining excitement. The packers with these trains were Whites of various nationalities, Mexicans and Indians from the Shuswap and Lillooet tribes and from Thompson River. Accompanying the latter were two Shahaptin Indians, one a Yakima and one a Wallawalla. Most of these pack train hands soon returned, and after a time most help of this kind was supplied by young men of the Tahltan, who thus became acquainted with horse packing, and horse management, including shoeing of horses. With the diminishment of mining most of the pack trains had left by 1884. However, some horses were retained in the country for packing purposes by traders and others and there was again an increase of horses and packing during the Klondike excitement. Later packing of supplies for the Yukon Telegraph Line and development of big game hunting due to the annual arrival of wealthy whites, added to the packing done by traders

and others over the portages, has kept horses in the country until the present time. Although Tahltans do nearly all the pack train work and a number of them have been in constant contact with horses for years, hardly any of them have become horse owners or attempted the raising of horses. This is probably not to be wondered at considering the life of the Tahltan. Long winters, cutting of hay, infeeding interfering with trapping, soft ground, etc., /militate against owning horses;/ the country is better for dogs.

Previous to the use of dogs for packing and hauling, goods were transported entirely on the back, except that in the winter, when snow conditions were favorable, hand toboggans were used. The latter are still used when dog sleighs are not available. Camp materials, food, meat, etc., are still in large measure transported on the back, and parties may often be met shifting camp or on the way to hunting and trapping grounds, all members carrying loads according to their strength, from aged people to children of ten and twelve years. Of course all the dogs have packs as well.

Loads were carried on the head with tump-lines. Occasionally for sake of change men sometimes carried with straps passing over the chest or shoulders. The common tump-line or pack strap used by the Tahltan consists of a strip of the leg skin of the caribou or moose (generally the former) cut to an even width and dressed in the hair. Some are dressed only a very little. The strip is usually about two feet long by four or five inches in width, the narrower sizes being generally used by men and the wider by women. To each end of the strap is sewed a piece of heavy leather five or six inches in length, of the same width as the strap and with rounded ends. To each end of these is sewn a double string of caribou leather or stout thongs about eighteen or more inches in length. These strings are used for attachment to the lashings of loads or to the carrying loops of pack-bags, etc. The strings are never wound around loads as is so often the case among the plateau tribes and therefore no great length is required. With many pack straps bone stretchers are used to keep the band flat. They are sewn across the inside of the band just above or at the junction of the leather ends by thread or strings passing through holes bored on their ends. Some are simply seized in position /sic/. Most of them are made from the upper leg bones of caribou of grizzly bear which are split and smoothed into a flat shape. Many of these bones were ornamented

with incised designs on one side. It is said the designs have no special significance, being merely for ornamentation, each person making them according to fancy. (For illustration of these bones and their designs see illustration of 16 of them, Emmons, Fig. 12). For illustration of a packstrap see Emmons, Fig. 11. The Tahltan claim this is a woman's strap. See also National Museum specimen 40.

Some pack-straps were made of heavy leather throughout, but these did not differ in size and construction from those of leg skin.

At the present day Hudson's Bay sacks are sometimes used in place of tump-lines for carrying light loads across the chest or the head. Breast straps attached to bundles for carrying across the chest were made of plaited caribou strings, (three or four strands). These varied in length and the longer ones were used as dog halters and for various other purposes. In carrying they were often doubled (specimen 41, National Museum).

Many loads had breast-straps as well as head-straps attached to them so persons could relieve the strain by using one and then the other. Heavy loads were carried on the head, especially up hill or on difficult ground -- but light loads were frequently carried across the chest. Pieces of skin, blanket, clothing, etc., were often used around the shoulders, across the chest, and even across the head under the straps to relieve the pressure with heavy loads. If the material packed was hard, pads were sometimes placed between the back and the load for similar reasons.

Bundles and large bags for transportation were lashed in various ways with cords of caribou leather. Some of these lash ropes had toggles made of bones of bear and other animals which were used for hitching the rope around. These were employed for easier adjustment and releasing of the rope. Emmons describes some of the methods of attachment (see Emmons p. 52). For other common methods of lashing and adjustment see lashing as arranged on woman's pack bag, National Museum specimen No. 42 and 43. (The latter has bear-bone toggles). Small quantities of meat were carried in game bags, but large loads were done up by lashing with caribou line and carried with a head-strap. Brush was generally put between

the meat pack and the back, or sometimes the folded skin of the animal. Meat for carrying was also rolled up and lashed in the skin. No skewers were run through the pieces of meat to keep them in position nor were temporary bags made of skins as among the Nitak and Shuswap. /One of the Salishan Ntakyapamuk or "Thompson River Indians?/

Skins however were made into temporary toboggans and meat hauled in them on the snow as among the Interior Salish.

Skin Toboggans

As already mentioned skin toboggans are still used to some extent for hauling stuff on the snow and before the advent of the wooden dog sled were extensively used for this purpose. They were made of legskins of caribou in the hair, trimmed in even width and sewed together with sinew, the hair /being placed/ all the same way and lengthwise with the toboggan. The bag of /the/ toboggan is closed at the top with a lacing of thong which passes through slits cut in the skin along the borders. The tow line passes through two heavy loops of hide at the head, the skin there being drawn together when in use making the toboggan pointed and easier to drag in the snow. Women generally hauled these toboggans (See National Museum specimen No. 44; also description of Emmons p. 53).

Trade

According to tradition very long ago there was little or no intertribal trading and the Tahltan group relate the following of pre-trading days. People were few and widely scattered and therefore seldom met each other. Long ago the Tlingit of the Coast were never met. They never came up the Stikine very far and the Tahltan never went down far. There was thus no trading with the Tlingit. At last Tlingit commenced to come up the river and finally met the Tahltan. After this they came often and finally came annually. The time when trading with the Tlingit commenced was long ago, but still not so very long ago. The time is quite indefinite. It seems, however, that the Tlingit have traded with the Tahltan for a long time back. No doubt a great impetus was given to this trade by the arrival of trading vessels among the Tlingit in the beginning of last century and the establishment of trading posts by the Russians. In the quest for furs the Tlingit became in this trade middlemen between the

Interior Indians and the White traders of the coast; it is said for many decades they made handsome profits. For a long /time/ they resented any interference from Whites or others in their trade monopoly and opposed in every possible way the establishment of trading posts within their trading range in the Interior. Only with the rush of miners to the Cassiar gold fields in 1874-1876 was the Tlingit monopoly broken up. At this time several thousands of Whites poured into the country overland from the south as well as up the Stikine from the Coast, and numerous trading establishments sprang up in the Tahltan and Kaska countries and White traders have controlled the trade ever since. The Tahltan traded almost exclusively with the Tlingit and the Kaska. There was hardly any trade with tribes to the north and south. As in other parts of British Columbia and the Pacific slope all the main arteries of trade ran east and west across the mountain ranges and not north and south between them. All of them reached across both the Cascades and Rockies, thus connecting the Pacific coast with the Plains. The main trade route in the Cassiar Region passed up the Stikine River to the Tahltan, thence across country to Dease Lake and to the Kaska on Dease River, thence following the Liard to the Mackenzie. A branch crossed Tahltan country to the Liard at the mouth of the Rancheria, its influence extending north and east. A trade route of some importance skirted Tahltan territory on the north. It followed the Taku and Nakina Rivers across the Teslin Lake, where it divided, one branch going up to the Nisutlin and over to the head of the Liard, and the other or main branch going down the Teslin River. This route however was not important to the Tahltan. There appears to have been little trade into the eastern interior by way of the Nass and Skeena River, or at least it did not extend north or effect the Tahltan and Kaska. The Tahltan acted as middlemen between the Tlingit and Kaska.

Goods were transported on backs on /sic, to the?/ Rancheria River and also to the head of Dease Lake, then by trail or canoe to the Kaska at the foot of the lake or beyond to McDames; rendez-vous was nine miles above Telegraph.

The Tlingit traders brought their goods in canoes up the Stikine to above Telegraph Creek. The canoes used were mostly large sea-going canoes capable of carrying several tons weight. They took from one to two weeks to make the trip of over 160 miles up

stream from the salt water, according to the weather, stage of water and their inclination for haste. The return journey was often made in two days. Some Tlingit came up to trade in the spring shortly after the ice had broken up in the river (about the end of April or early part of May). They brought large quantities of oolachen oil and salmon eggs as well as some common trade stuff. Sometimes very few of the Tahltan were near the river at this time. If they found people and disposed of their cargoes quickly they returned at once. If they could not find many people and were unable to dispose of their loads, they remained until they managed to do so. If their stay was thus protracted they sometimes did not return until June. The Tlingit families who claimed hunting and fishing rights on the Stikine and who cured salmon and berries on the creeks running into the river east of the Cascade range came up in July and stayed for a month or more, when they returned with their fish and berries. They returned in the latter part of September along with other Tlingit solely for trading and remained for two or three to five weeks. Sometimes as many as fifteen large canoes came. The last of the Tlingit traders left late in October just before or about the time ice first commenced to run in the river.

It is said that in the early part of the last century there was a long succession of long summers and late falls, when there were only very light frosts in October and no severe cold until late in November. One year a large trading party of Tlingit in a number of canoes, depending on the weather they had noted as prevailing in the fall for a number of years back, stayed until some time in November or at least two weeks beyond the usual time the Tlingit left for home. They had no sooner started than a sudden and very severe cold snap came causing much ice to run and the river to freeze across in places, whilst on the lower reaches of the river very deep snow fell. From the mouth of the Clearwater down they got stuck in numerous places and had to portage their large heavy canoes over the ice jams. Within a few days the people of many canoes ran out of food. Many of them were poorly prepared for severe cold as they wore Coast clothing and were not well provided with moccasins and other necessary clothing for cold weather. Besides they did not know much about hunting and were unprepared for undertaking hunting and snowshoeing under the circumstances. Fish could not be got until the salt water was reached. It took them about two

weeks to reach Wrangell and during this time they suffered severely from hunger and cold. Most of them were either sick or frostbitten when they reached home. At one place on the way they camped for the night in deep snow on the river bank and lit a fire at the base of a large tree. It happened the tree was hollow and in the night time it fell over killing a prominent Nanaai chief called Keceskê. The Tlingit believed Tahltan shamans intentionally or through negligence by boiling rabbits had brought on the cold before the Tlingit had time to get down the river and home. Next year the Tlingit demanded payment from the Tahltan for their chief's death and the privations they had endured. The Tahltans considered the demand for several days and finally agreed to pay something. They did not wish to have war with the Tlingit as it would stop trade. They paid them a considerable part of their demand, each clan contributing so much. This happened about eighty years ago.

Articles of Barter

The Tahltan sold to the Tlingit caribou and moose leather consisting of whole skins, especially of caribou in large numbers (occasionally skins were halved or quartered); considerable sinew thread and some babiche lines done up in packages; leather bags of various kinds, some of them fancy bags embroidered with quills; moccasins and some articles of clothing; some snowshoes; many robes of marmot, ground squirrel, and other skins; furs of all kinds, fox, lynx, beaver, marten, fisher, wolverine, bear, ermine, etc. They received in return slaves, oolachen oil, salmon oil, some salmon eggs, shells, principally dentalium and haliotis, some ceremonial and dance clothes and head dress, goats' wool blankets, especially Chilkat blankets, metal bracelets, ear rings, and nose rings (most of these were of copper and silver), finger rings in later days, stone axes, axes or hatchets of iron or steel in later days, steel traps in later days, guns and ammunition in later days. The first guns were procured from the Tlingit and were very costly. Ammunition was also at first very dear, five beaver skins being the price of a cup full of gun powder. /The Tahltan also procured from the Tlingit/ copper plates (one of these was equal in price to a good slave), copper, and in later days iron, both in forms of short rods, bars or sheets; iron or steel knives in later days; colored glass beads large and small in later days, buttons of different kinds in later days, shell knives large and small; a few mats,

chiefly those woven of cedar bark; a few dug out canoes (some large), and tobacco (especially in later days. The tobacco was of at least two kinds, a trade twist tobacco, and a leaf or loose kind supposed to be grown by the Tlingit); some pipes or hard wood and metal; liquor (especially rum in later days), dressed skins of moose during the period when moose were scarce in Tahltan country. A mooseskin at this time was worth five beaver skins. /Other items received were/ some iron tools such as awls, chisels, gimlets, etc., in later days; some woven baskets of Tlingit make; some bark baskets specially used for boilers or kettles. It was said that most of these came from Chilkat country or north of there. The first intoxicant the Tahltan saw was a keg of rum procured by the Tlingit from White traders on the coast and brought up to the Tahltan at so much a cup. Some time afterwards for a period of years the Tlingit brought rum. Latterly they made special trips in canoes to Victoria, B.C., to procure it. They brought kegs of rum, generally small, but some of them quite large, all the way up the coast and then up the Stikine a distance altogether of over seven hundred miles. A great many skins were paid by the Tahltan for large unbroached kegs, so many in fact that no single man could afford to buy one; usually a clan clubbed together in purchasing one. As the Tahltan country was rich in furs and the Tahltan besides handled most of the Kaska fur the business done by the Tlingit was very lucrative.

The Tahltan also traded a good deal with the Kaska. They bought most of their /the Kaska's/ furs and resold them to the Tlingit. Besides furs they bought some robes and dressed caribou and moose skins from the Kaska. Owing to the distance and the fact that articles were carried for the most part on the back, trading was chiefly in light and valuable things. The lighter and more valuable furs, skins and robes were those generally bought from the Kaska: fox, lynx, marten, fisher, mink, ermine. Beaver being a staple fur was in demand.

It seems a little copper was procured from the Kaska. The articles bartered for the above were chiefly light valuable things procured from the Tlingit, such as dentalium and haliotis shells, shell knives, ornaments such as bracelets, earrings, etc., beads and trinkets in later days, stone axes, copper and iron in small numbers or quantities. Some tobacco and ammunition in later days, etc.

Usually these things were exactly double in value to the Kaska. Thus a cup of gun powder procured from the Tlingit for five beaver skins was sold by the Tahltan to the Kaska for ten beaver skins, and other things in proportion.

BIRTH, CHILDHOOD, PUBERTY, MARRIAGE AND DEATH

Pregnancy

It is believed plenty of exercise and light work is best for a pregnant woman. A woman should be energetic and busy during pregnancy, thus exercising her body and mind. She should not, however, do any hard lifting, nor should she engage in violent exercises nor in any kind of work or amusement in which she would have to twist her body in any unusual way. Engaging in any of these things might cause the child to become misplaced in her womb or possibly cause the string to become misplaced. A woman who was lazy during pregnancy, sat down a great deal, did little work and ate a great deal would have a hard birth, for the child would be too big. If a woman engages in light exercise nearly all day long everyday and eats moderately or sparingly she will have as a rule an easy birth. Her child will not be too large and it will be healthier or stronger.

Some pregnant women make a practice of rising early many mornings. In the early morning they take a long walk or walk around much and also take a bath. Some think that to do this will make the child to be born fair of complexion.

A pregnant woman should not see any dead animal or corpse. If she saw the dead bodies of people and animals her child would die or be stillborn.

She should not eat to excess, especially of fat meats. This would make her soft, fat and lazy. Some women do not eat the flesh of any very young animal during pregnancy and this restriction is sometimes also enjoined on the husband.

Child Birth

Small brush lodges were made for women about to be confined. They were of no particular style and conformed in shape and structure to the ordinary brush

lodges. Some were excavated slightly so that the inside consisted of a shallow hole or depression a little lower than the base of the lodge walls. These lodges were carpeted with moss or dry grass. Near one end of the lodge a short pole was sunk solidly in the ground. This formed a vertical post in height about equal to a person sitting on the ground. The butt end of a lighter pole was sunk in the floor of the lodge a short distance from the post and the smaller end bent down and fastened to the latter at a point a little below the top of same. This pole formed a kind of quarter circle or half bow and was adjusted for length and height to suit the woman's convenience. Over this pole the woman leaned with her arms embracing it or holding it when giving birth, or at least when having birth pains. The woman was attended by one or more (generally several) female relatives or neighbors who had experience or who had given birth to children. The woman's husband and all men were excluded from presence at the confinement and they were not expected to give assistance of any kind. Only in cases of child birth when no women happened to be near, did the woman's husband attend to his wife. When giving birth was difficult or protracted the midwife (or attendant women) helped delivery by kneading and massaging downwards, etc., on the belly and sometimes also with her hand in dilating and assisting the passage of the child. Hot drinks were also given the woman. Midwives generally felt along the neck of the child being born to see the string did not encircle the neck and cause choking. Only in cases of very hard births was the assistance of men or doctors sought. These men were shamans or others who had knowledge of the mystery of birth. All of them had actually witnessed the birth of game, viz., had seen goats, caribou and other game animals giving birth to their young. They also in communion with their manitous had received knowledge about the mystery of birth or had been instructed by game mothers regarding same. Some of these men had helped game to give birth and they were considered the most powerful of this class of men. Generally they had helped a female of some kind of game to give birth by striking or touching her with gun cover, a stick, switch, skin, etc. Some helped in other ways such as by painting her red. Thus each man differed somewhat in method and experience. No two were exactly alike in their knowledge and procedure. When a case was much protracted and had gone beyond the powers of the midwives one of these men was summoned. Before entering he went around the confinement lodge sunwise,

then he touched the patient with a switch or painted her red, or did whatever he had been accustomed to do when helping caribou, goat or other game mothers to give birth. This helped the woman to give birth naturally or as easily as game. If one of these men had helped an animal to give birth and the young had been stillborn or had died shortly after birth, he never tried his powers on women nor attempted to help them, for if he did their children would also be stillborn or would die in the same way.

The navel string was tied with sinew thread and cut with any kind of sharp knife (scissors are often used nowadays). No medicine was given to hasten the coming of the afterbirth. The latter was taken to some secluded place near by and hung up in a tree. The length of the string connecting the afterbirth with the child was observed. If it was long it was said the child would live to a great age. If of moderate length the child would live to an average age and if short the child would die young. The midwife wiped the mouth, nose and eyes of the newly born infant and touched these features lightly with her fingers as if shaping them in a certain way. This was done so these features would grow right and afterwards be of good shape and proportion. The head was not touched nor shaped in any way at birth or later. Dressing of infants' heads was never practised

by the Tahltan and neighbouring tribes. They knew, however, that head deformation was practised by tribes on the coast living south of the Tlinget and Haida. Also unintentional flattening of infants' heads was hardly possible as no boards or cradles were used like those of Indian tribes to the south, such as the Salish and others.

The newly-born infant was first wrapped up in fur to exclude the air and keep it warm. Some short time afterwards it was washed in warm water, then wrapped in a small rabbit skin blanket and placed in a bag or baby carrier of dressed skin. When it became a little stronger and answered the calls of nature dry soft moss was put between its legs to absorb all moisture and keep the baby clean. This moss was changed three or four times a day or oftener.

The pad of moss was held in place by a soft breech clout of marmot or other skin in the hair. (see National Museum Specimen No. 46)

The most common kind of moss used was that called baby moss (Sphagnum). Women about to be confined often gathered and stored up a lot of this kind of moss beforehand. Failing this moss, two or three other kinds of soft moss were used. If no proper moss was obtainable, as happened in rare instances, dry soft rotten wood was used. After childbirth the mother was

fed soft food for several days and given plenty of water to drink. Many also drank copiously of medicines of at least two kinds, viz., a decoction of the sap wood of spruce, and a decoction of the wood of a black berry. Mothers were also fed on soups of meat and salmon or drank the nourishing brews obtained from the boiling of the staple foods. It is said this had the effect of improving and increasing the milk supply and was therefore beneficial for the baby. When the mother felt strong and well enough she returned to the living lodge. No payments were made to midwives. Some informants say that probably very long ago some midwives may have received pay but they are not sure of this. Some wealthy men at the birth of their children gave a feast to the neighbours and distributed skins and leather, etc., among them as presents. It seems this ceremony generally took place when a man's wife returned with her baby from the confinement lodge, but some gave it soon after the birth was announced.

There was a custom if the infant was a male for the father to repair to the confinement lodge shortly after the afterbirth had come. He took with him a miniature bow and arrows, the latter about five inches long. These he had made as soon as he had learned his child was a boy.

Holding them in the infant's hands, he made

motions as if the infant was shooting the afterbirth with an arrow. Sometimes the arrow was actually shot at the afterbirth. At the same time the father prayed aloud, saying "May my boy be a good hunter and a good shot in after years." He then wrapped up the bow and arrows and going to some tree in a secluded place (or any place near by, according to some) hung the package up in the tree or hid it in the branches of foliage. This ceremony was performed from an hour or two to one day after the afterbirth had come, and generally after its completion the afterbirth was removed by one of the women. It was believed the conducting of this ceremony helped to make the boy become an expert and lucky hunter, and he would never be unable to obtain game when he required it. Another custom (practised some time after the baby commenced to suck) was to place a beaver's tongue in the baby's mouth while it was sucking at the breast. This was supposed to loosen the tongue so that in after years the child would be able to talk Tlinget and other languages without difficulty.

Navel String When the navel string adhering to the child had dropped off, it was stretched as much as possible with sticks and dried. This stretching was supposed to help the baby to grow and become a big person. The more it would stretch, the bigger the child would become. The string was then rolled up its full

length, generally the ends being bent together until they met. It was then wrapped round and round with sinew until no part of it was visible. When finished it resembled somewhat a little loop. It was then attached to the back of the head of the bag or baby carrier. /These last 2 sentences are out of context in the original. They seem to be pertinent here./ Sometimes it was covered or wrapped with skin or leather, but usually sinew wrapping alone was used. Great care was taken that it should not be lost, /for if it was/ lost the child would grow very slowly, and might be small or delicate of body and weak of intellect. When the child could walk well or had reached the age of three to five years, most mothers took the navel string to some secluded or hidden place where they concealed it in rocks (generally in a crevice of a steep rock or cliff) or hung it in a concealed place in a tree. Sometimes it was deposited in a rotten tree stump. Whatever country the pouch is deposited in the child will have an attachment for. Hence a mother might purposely deposit it in a certain locality that the child might become attached to the place and make it its home. A dry place was chosen, the drier the better so that the pouch (and the navel string) would last longer. Sometimes the navel string was placed inside a bear's den. This would make the boy a good bear hunter.

Often a little circular bag of leather was made and the wrapped navel string sewed to the edges, the sack being made to fit the diameter of the string. The parents enclosed in the sack some feathers, down, etc of birds etc., and then sewed up the aperture. Some of these things were emblematic of what they desired as manitous for the child. Some were emblems of their own manitous and some were charms to ensure protection during childhood and success in hunting etc., when the child became an adult.(see National Museum Specimen No. 45.)

No gum or particular medicine was put on the child's navel to make it heal. It was merely powdered with charcoal. Charcoal powder was also used on all parts of infants where chafing might occur such as in the armpits, around the neck, etc.

Twins Twins were occasional, but there are no cases in memory of triplets having been born. There were no beliefs regarding twins similar to those held by the Thompson and other tribes to the south, and no special ceremonies in connection with the birth and rearing of twins. Neither were twins supposed to have any special powers of any kind. In fact twins were considered rather unlucky and some considered them not as strong as other children. It was thought they were more liable to die young than other children. Also if one died the

other was likely to die soon as both were considered to have, as it were, one breath. They were almost as halves of a whole.

Carriers As already stated, babies were placed in bags or baby carriers. Hammocks were also used but no board carriers or cradles of wood, bark, basketry, etc. The carriers of the Tahltan consisted of large pieces of dressed leather of caribou or moose which could be folded and fastened so as to form a bag when the child was to be carried abroad. When in the house the carrier was generally unfolded for the greater convenience of the mother attending to the infant. The folds of the carrier formed a covering or blanket for the infant, who was further covered with robes, etc., as occasion required. Carriers were of two general styles. Those used for very young children consisted of a piece of skin almost square and amply large to fold around the child. It was folded across the child's body first from one side and then the other and fastened tightly with the strings sewed to the skin at the proper places. The folds overlapped in front forming a double covering there. The doubled end was then folded up over the child's legs and fastened with tie strings to the lower front of the body. The top of the skin was equal in height to the child's neck or head or extended above the head if desired. Often the top was folded so as to

cover the head entirely, the face only being left open. Sometimes the skin was cut narrower at the top and sewed together there so as to form a hood which protected all the child's head and face. In this case the child when being encased in the carrier was placed on its back with its head inside the hood part and the carrier was then folded around the body and legs of the child as already described. Some of the carriers for infants had no tie strings to fasten up the bottom part to the body; in this case the foot part (sometimes exceptionally long) was folded up first and the sides folded across on the top and fastened, thus holding the foot part also in place. These bags, carriers, or folded robes for children were provided with loops of thong at the back, one on each side about level with the shoulders of the infant. To these, the ends of the pack strap for carrying the baby were fastened. Some had two sets of loops for attachment of straps, for use over both the mother's head or shoulders. Most women used the straps over their head or forehead. As may be supposed the child was carried vertically with its back towards the mother's back. In all cases the baby was wrapped in a fur blanket before being enclosed in the carrier. This fur blanket was next the baby, whether in bed, in the house or carried. (see National Museum Specimen No. 47.)

The other style of carrier in vogue among the Tahltan was for older children. It also was of caribou or moose leather. This bag was made a little larger than the size of the child, and in construction was a little more like a real carrier. The upper edges of the piece of skin were sewed together to form a hood over the child's head. The lower part of the skin was divided in three by two cuts reaching about one third up the bag. These cuts were parallel and only a few inches apart. Narrow strip in the middle and wide strips at each side. The latter were sewed up into legs closed at the ends or feet. The narrow strip of flap was folded up over the abdomen of the child helping to keep the child's pad in place. The sides of the bag were folded over the front of the child's body and fastened with tie strings which also passed over the folded-up flap or breech piece preventing it from slipping down. Some bags had an extra piece (or pieces) sewed to the side to better cover the front of the child. These bags were also provided with loops for attachment of the pack strap. Many bags had special pack straps attached to them permanently.

Baby carriers were not ornamented very much. Some had pinking around the edges of the skin and fringes along seams if there were any. Piping of red or blue cloth were sometimes used in seams in later

times. Seams were also painted with red paints. Some carriers of late have been ornamented with narrow stripes of different colored cloth or braid sewed on to the skin. (see National Museum Specimen No. 47.)

Larger children were frequently carried on the woman's back enclosed in her robe. In this case no carriers were used. The child sat on the mother's back /with his/ face towards her and legs on each side of her waist. The robe, blanket, or shawl passing over the mother's shoulders and fastened tightly around her waist supported as well as covered the child.

"Conduits" As a rule a new carrier was made for each child. A few families, however, were not particular about this, and used the same carrier for more than one or several of their children.

The Tahltan say that regular carriers of stiff materials were used by the Tlingit because they wanted their children to have straight strong backs and be of good appearance when adults. They cared nothing about the legs. On the other hand, the Tahltan cared little about the back. They wanted leg development in their children. They desired that they have long strong legs and be good walkers.

Conduits of bark, wood, or skin common in carriers of the Interior Salish were not used by the Tahltan and neighboring tribes.

Hammocks Hammocks were commonly used in the lodge by the Tahltan, and as far as current tradition goes are as ancient as the carriers already described. They consisted of a piece of strong moose or caribou leather suspended by two parallel ropes of rawhide or babiche. The edges of the skin forming the sides of the hammock were stitched down over the ropes, enclosing them loosely. The hammock was kept stretched by sticks placed crossways between the two ropes, preventing the latter from coming too closely together. These sticks generally had notches in the ends to prevent their slipping off the ropes. The hammock was arranged for height to suit the convenience of the mother in attending the child. Babies were swung to sleep in these hammocks. At the present day blanket or canvas is generally used instead of skins and tump ropes instead of rawhide etc.

Infancy And Childhood Children were suckled often for a period of two or three years, when they were able to eat almost all kinds of food. Young children were fed the most tender parts of meat picked for them by their elders, but at an early age all attention of this kind was neglected and the child helped itself to whatever it could eat. Some mothers at first masticated food for their children. Children learned through observation and were also taught by their elders. Mothers generally

taught their girls and the maternal uncles were chief instructors of boys. Some fathers, however, did considerable teaching of their sons. However, very little serious teaching was done until children reached the age of puberty.

The father, mother, and uncles sometimes lectured the children on behaviour, etc., and gave them information generally in answer to questions. Mythological and other stories were frequently told to children. Children were rarely thrashed and were not scolded excepting sometimes by the mother; parents were very considerate and lenient to their offspring. Children spent much of their time playing together and amusing themselves as children do in all lands, and little restraint was exercised by their elders. Girls generally played only with girls and boys with boys.

They commenced to work at an early age, however, and with increasing years, they played less and worked more. Little girls helped their mothers in many ways by looking after the younger children and doing errands etc. Boys learned shooting, snaring small game and carrying of burdens etc., at a very early age. Little lads of ten and twelve years often accompanied their fathers or uncles on short hunting trips and worked as hard as their ability and strength allowed. Parents were very fond of their children and harsh

treatment by them was unknown. On the whole their children were docile and obedient. Mothers often sang to their young children (infants to about six years old) and composed songs to them. These songs expressed their love, pity, admiration and solicitude for them and some of them were full of pathos. Some mothers consider they honor their children in the eyes of others by composing songs to them, and exceptional mothers have composed ditties to each child. These songs were also sometimes used as lullabies to soothe and put children to sleep. The airs of these songs are sometimes taken by other people and used for other occasions, and their origin becomes lost.

The following are customs in connection with children. It was believed the souls or lives of infants were only slightly connected with their bodies and therefore care was exercised that the two did not become detached. Some women when carrying their infants away from the camp or house commenced to call a·nē, "come on", to the baby's soul or spirit the moment they left the camp, and continued to do this the first half mile or so they traveled. This was done in case the child's soul wanted to stay in camp and would not go with the body. Also whenever she crossed water, the mother dropped small bunches of brush in the water and called "come" to the child's spirit. This was done even if

the water to be crossed was only a foot wide. It was believed the baby's spirit was afraid of water and would not cross with the body excepting this was done. Even if the spirit was in the baby and not following it when the water was reached it might through fear leave the baby when the water was crossed. Care was exercised thus with children until they were strong enough to walk or at least to sit up. After they had passed the most helpless stage of infancy, there was less danger, as the soul by this time had become used to the body and was more satisfied to dwell in it. The body and soul had become more adapted to each other and had commenced to function as one being, or at least be in unity.

If a child cried much at times or was, as it were, naturally a cry-baby, the mother made a little image in human form of grass with legs, arms, head, etc., and placed it next the baby's breast or heart for about four days. The first day hereafter when the father went hunting he tied a string to this image and trailed it behind him as he went along. When he had gone some distance into the woods he concealed the image by covering it entirely with dry leaves. If this did not entirely succeed in changing the baby's disposition the same thing was repeated again, and the baby then ceased all excessive crying.

At repeated (often frequent) intervals during the first to fourth year of a child's life the father prayed over his child. With his hand he stroked its naked body, then holding his hand palm up, towards the Day Dawn, he blew along it as if blowing something off the palm. At the same time he prayed aloud (to the Day Dawn) saying, if the child was a boy, "May my child be strong and healthy", "May sickness always pass him by", "May he be a good hunter", "May he be wealthy" etc., and if a girl, "May she be good at work","May she be good at making embroidery" etc. He prayed for whatever he desired for the child in the way of health and accomplishments, etc.

PUBERTY OF GIRLS

The attainment of puberty was considered the most critical and important period in a girl's life. What she did at this period would effect her future life and ensure her good luck or the reverse. She therefore at this time had to undergo a period of careful training to make her lucky and fit her to become a useful woman and esteemed member of the tribe.

Pubescence was considered a "great mystery". At this first budding out of womanhood girls were believed to be endowed with certain supernatural powers over persons and things the misuse of which might do very great harm both to themselves and people in general.

A girl could unwittingly cast spells on people if not prevented. She was also unclean and therefore was capable of giving offence to game animals or of making them afraid. For these reasons, her powers had to be directed and controlled. Thus girls were isolated etc. and many restrictions and taboos were enjoined on them. Certain of these restrictions extended to beyond the period of the girl's training and isolation.

On the first appearance of catamienia a lodge was at once erected for the girl and to this she had to retire. Girls' lodges were constructed of the same materials and were of the same shapes as other lodges of the tribe. All were small in size or generally just large enough to accommodate the girl for sleeping, sitting and shelter. Lodges used by rich people's daughters were of the ordinary lean-to-types and covered with skin instead of brush etc. The lodge was first pitched about five hundred yards away from the main lodge or lodges of the people or sufficiently far away to be beyond the general noises of the camp. After three or four months the lodge was shifted closer to the people's camp and at the same time the brush or other floor covering of the lodge was renewed. After a time (perhaps another three months) the lodge was shifted again closer and the shifting occurred at intervals until at last just before the girl's period of isolation

ended her lodge was so close to the camp it almost formed a part of same. As soon as the girl was isolated, her mother, aunt or some elderly relative took charge of her and became her attendant and instructor. The girl was robed in a blanket of dressed caribou skin, which covered her almost down to her feet. The upper part reached above her head over which it was drawn so as to extend beyond her face on both sides. Some of these robes had the upper part sewed into a rude hood which covered her head and extended forward about two feet beyond her face, precluding her seeing on each side. The robe was held in place by a leather belt around the waist. She used the ample hood part of the robe to hide her face when she was aware of anything being near which should not see her face or which she herself should not see. It was believed her glance was harmful to men and to game etc. Men should not see her face nor be seen by her. For this reason all males, including her nearest relatives, kept away from her for several months and she kept out of their sight. Only females were allowed to visit her. Female relatives and neighboring women sometimes came to chat with her and give her instruction. They continued to visit her during the whole time of her training. During this period the girl had to learn something of all the work and duties which would devolve on her in future years.

She had to acquaint herself with and, as much as possible, perfect herself in all kinds of women's work. This was done under the guidance of her attendant and the women who visited her from time to time. Her work was examined and criticised by these women, who also related her progress and always encouraged her to persevere and do better. Thus she commenced to do all kinds of sewing and embroidery, to make moccasins, do netting, fill snowshoes, etc. It was considered right that she should be industrious at this period so she would in after years have this virtue. Therefore, /in order/ that she be kept busy, and to ensure sufficient practice, many women brought moccasins for her to make or to mend, and sewing to do for them. She had to finish properly all the work brought to her and received no payment of any kind for her work. The girl had to work diligently at making robes, clothes and all kinds of things made by women, and thus also learned all kinds of cutting, shaping, and sewing. Girls had to keep out of sight of people generally and men in particular and therefore spent by far the greater part of their time in their lodges. Girls wore no head bands, but tall caps of leather were used by some. Of late years these have been made of red or blue cloth. Garters of twisted skin enclosing birds down were used. Each girl used a drinking tube and scratcher of bone suspended around the

neck by a leather string. If a girl drank water without the tube, the water would hurt her stomach and cause her internal sickness of some kind. Tubes were made of the long wing bones of swans and geese. Eagle wing bones and lynx bones were not used. As a rule they were entirely unornamented in any way. They were generally carried in tube carriers made of square and oblong pieces of skin varying in size and worn with a string around the neck. The piece of skin was folded in two and the middle sewed across a little below the fold making a pocket to fit the circumference of the tube. The skin below formed two flaps which were often ornamented with fringes and pendants as well.

The tube was inserted and carried in the pocket, the embroidered flaps below being merely for ornament. Some were made of single or undoubled skin. These fancy tube carriers are nowadays generally made of cloth and embroidered with bead or silk work. (See National Museum Specimen No. 48.) Also, there are good specimens illustrated by Emmons, Plate VIII B.&E. Scratchers were made of various kinds of bones. (See National Museum Specimen No. 48.) is of swan bone. The flaps are of caribou leather beaded and ornamented with beaver claws and strips of wooden bead work. The carrying strap is of leather into which bird's down is twisted. A small bag of grease was carried attached to

the same neck string as the drinking tube or to the ornamented flaps of the latter, and every day, early in the morning, the girl smeared her mouth or lips so she would not require much food. The sack was replenished from time to time as required. (See National Museum Specimen No. 48.)

For the first three to five days, the girl when eating wore a necklace consisting of a bent willow rod wrapped with hair of goat or sheep, etc. Of each kind of variety of meat she ate, she tied a small portion to the necklace with a string. This was done so the game would not become angry or sorry because she (a pubescent) had eaten of their flesh. If the animals became sorry, insulted, or angry they would withhold (or withdraw) themselves and the hunters would be unable to get them or have other bad luck in hunting them. For the same reasons fresh meat was taboo. If, by necessity, other meat or food not being available, the girl had to eat fresh meat of the principal game, she wore a mask whilst eating it. These masks were made of light willow hoops covered with skin of goat, sheep or other game animals. The only fresh meat which girls could eat with impunity was that of porcupine, ptarmigan and the different varieties of grouse. On the first day the girl smeared her face with pitch or gum of trees, and blackened it by rubbing charcoal over

all. From time to time as required this was renewed during the whole period of isolation. It is said this was done to make the skin of the face white in after years. For about three days, she wore a string tied around the back three fingers of each hand so the joints of her fingers would not grow big. A white or light complexion and small hands with inconspicuous joints were considered beautiful and therefore desirable. Faces of girls are not painted black nowadays but gum is still used. At the same time that the face was first blackened the girl's hair was done up. It was divided into two locks or bunches which were brought together and crossed tightly at the back of the head or near the neck, each end being tied firmly to the main part of the opposite lock.

The hair was not combed for a long time, often several months, and with some not until the period of training and isolation was over. The girl must not touch her hair or head with her finger tips or scratch it with her nails. She must use her scratcher for this purpose. When she handled firewood or put wood on the fire she must use mitts. This was so the skin of her hands and especially that of her finger tips would not be rough in after years. Other ceremonies girls performed were as follows. The girl rubbed her body with small, very smooth water worn stones, preferably those

of a black color, so her skin would be smooth and soft. Some rubbed the entire body including the privates. She blew water out of her mouth, catching it in her hands and rubbing it over her body. At the same time she prayed and said, "May I obtain good things as easily and quickly as I do this". She put smooth stones down the neck of her robe and when they dropped out she uttered the wish that she would always be delivered of child easily.

She caught some lice and put them on a chip of wood or bark which she set afloat on water. At the same time she said "May lice leave me, and may I have none in after years".

She carried a load of wood (or anything) and whilst carrying it, prayed, "May I be strong and able to carry heavy burdens".

She attached stones to the ends of her hair and prayed her hair would grow long.

She made quick movements with her body and arms, etc., and prayed, "May I be able to move thus quickly when I become old". When a girl lit the fire she did so as quickly as possible, meanwhile praying, "May I always be able to light fires quickly even when I am old". She walked fast and ran fast sometimes, praying, "May I thus be able to walk and run fast when I am old." She picked berries quickly, picked needles

off trees quickly and picked things off the ground quickly praying meanwhile that her movements would always be quick and her fingers always nimble. She ran up hill and asked that her wind would always be good. She crossed below where water was trickling or oozing and after passing directed the water into one channel and made it flow past the place where she had crossed. Then she prayed, "May no harm or sickness cross my path or follow me".

The girl's mother gave her a pack of dried fish and other food. When little girls visited her she gave them some to eat and also some to take to different people. She did this until all had been distributed. When the last had been given away she prayed, "May I always have food to give away, and may I always think of giving to others. May I always be liberal and never stingy".

The mother hid in the girl's lodge some small fancy thing, or pretty thing or something nicely beaded and told her to look around as she might find something. The girl searched and on finding the article prayed that she would always be lucky in finding good things and valuable things, that good things would come to her easily, that she would be favored with plenty of furs and other valuables, that she would, as it were, pick up wealth, and that she would find a good husband.

Formerly some girls made medicine or went through a ceremony to help them in obtaining good husbands. This custom however has fallen into disuse lately and little is remembered of it. It is said to have been discontinued because if not done properly, the girl was injured thereby, everything turning out the reverse of what was desired. Girls did not burn part of their first blood nor did they light ceremonial fires and jump over them. A girl who was extra tall for her age, pressed down her head and prayed she would become no taller, whilst very short girls stretched themselves and stood on tip toe, etc., praying meanwhile they would grow taller. This was done because middle height was most desirable and a woman very short or very tall was not admired.

If the girl felt unwell or lazy, she jumped up quickly and cried "I am well now. May I always be able to get up out of bed if I am sick. May I never be very sick or lazy until I die".

She put a little water in the bottom of a basket and emptied it on the top of her hair. If it ran down over her body quickly, she prayed, "May sickness always leave me as quickly as this water runs". Girls made no miniatures of their handiwork to hang up as a record or for display. They put up no scaffolds and dug no trenches. Girls did not put any bird's down on

their head or hair, for if they did so their hair would turn grey very early in life. No particular washes were used for body, face or hair. Girls slept in their lodges at night and seldom left them for long nor ventured very far away. However, most mornings girls went out of their lodges for a short time to walk and exercise. Just at dawn they made wishes and prayed for obtaining of their desires. They returned to their lodge soon afterwards before people were generally astir. Some girls washed their bodies at daybreak with their hands and prayed, saying "May my body always be clean and without smell. May I always be strong". No sponges or brushes of branches or twigs were used in washing. Some girls did not wash in creeks, etc. They blew their breath over their arms and bodies, saying "May I never smell. May my body always be clean". It seems girls did not spend much of the night roaming around nor travel far, as girls of the Nilak and some other tribes do, nor did they wash themselves frequently like them. The ceremonies performed by girls varied somewhat in different individuals, also some practised more ceremonies than others. This was the case even in older times. A peculiar custom was the carrying by girls of little bags into which they put all their mistakes, and evil words and thoughts etc. These little sacks were tied around the mouth with thong or sinew. If at any time during

her training period the girl made a mistake of any kind or did a fault such as speaking to someone she should not have spoken to, she placed her mouth to the sack and put the words in it by speaking them. When finished she immediately pulled the string tight, imprisoning them. She did the same if she had any wrong or evil thoughts, and if she had lost her temper or been angry. When any of these things had been put in the bag she immediately afterwards prayed, for instance, "May I lose my bad temper, may I always have a good disposition". "May I never be a hasty speaker". "May I never be a gossip". "May I always do what is right", etc., etc. Thus the girl trained herself to be good tempered, and to think before she spoke or acted. At the end of her training period the girl concealed the sack with its supposed contents within a hollow tree or in a split or crevice in a rock and left it there.

Girls always prayed to the Day Dawn even although in their prayers and wishes they did not mention or address it by name. When men were near by or thought to be within sight, girls covered up their faces or kept looking at the ground in case they might see them. It was especially bad for a girl to see her brothers or uncles. If she saw them they might be hurt and die. It was also bad for girls to hear caribou or large game spoken of or named. If a girl unintentionally had lis-

tened or heard game named she purged herself of this action, by putting it in the bag among the other evils. If people (especially men) within hearing of the girl wished to speak of game, they whispered or told the girl's mother, who thereupon told the girl to stop her ears. If a girl by any chance commenced to hear game spoken of, it was her duty to stop her ears with her fingers at once. If a caribou had come within sight of the camp and the people wished to speak about it and the hunters discuss going after it, the girl stopped her ears and then lay down on the ground entirely covered up. She did not uncover herself or get up until the hunters had killed the caribou and returned to camp. If she did not do this the caribou would run away or the hunters have bad luck. If a girl happened to see any game (especially large game such as caribou, etc.) she at once covered her head with the hood of her robe and turned her face the opposite way. She did not tell anyone what she had seen.

Girls went through no special training for obtaining of manitous, the objects of their training thus differing considerably from those of boys. Nevertheless some girls became 'mystery', or obtained medicine which led to their having manitous. Knowledge of this kind came to some of them in dreams during their training and a few developed it later in life and became

almost equal to shamans.

The following were restrictions on pubescent girls, especially in regard to food:

The girl could eat no fresh meat excepting the flesh of porcupine and grouse and the feet of caribou and most kinds of large game. However, girls might eat the flesh of all kinds of game and fish which had been dried or smoked, even if ever so little. They would also eat tripes and insides of caribou and other animals. In camps where there was a pubescent girl hunters never brought in entire carcasses of animals. They cut up and partially dried or smoked nearly all the meat at some distance from camp, bringing in only a very small portion entirely fresh.

A pubescent girl must eat no heads of any kinds of game animals. This would influence future children of the girl in some evil way, as for instance they might be troubled with earache or have abcess of the ear. Also to do so would make game too smart and wise and hunters would not be able to get near them. She must not eat beaver's feet, for her offspring might then have twisted or weak legs or feet and be poor walkers. She must not eat bear's feet nor head's nor intestines of bear, as it might affect her children deleteriously, /and, they might/ be slow; she must not eat goat's feet for her offspring might be lazy and

slow walkers. She must not eat fresh meat from any part of a bear for at least three years or for a considerable time after she returned to live among people. She must not eat fresh beaver meat for the same space of time. She must not eat fresh meat of caribou, moose, or marmot for at least one year or during the time of her isolation. If a party had no meat except fresh meat for the girl to eat, the women smoked the meat a little before giving it to her to eat.

If a girl ate fresh bear meat, the hunters would be unable to find bear. If she ate fresh beaver meat, they would be unable to catch beaver. If she ate fresh marmot meat it would rain and the party would have continuous bad weather. A pubescent girl must not cross a salmon stream whilst salmon are running. They would stop running and people would be unable to catch them. The period of isolation and training of girls lasted one to two years, in different families. Nowadays it is only a very few months; also nowadays many girls are not properly isolated; they are merely confined to a corner of the dwelling house. At the end of the training period, the girl had to sweat-bath, after which her body and head was washed and her hair combed by a woman of the opposite phratry. If the girl was Raven, her mother got a woman of the Wolf Phratry to comb the girl's hair. The girl's father had to give this woman a present.

Her face was now painted red, instead of black, and it was thus painted plain red for the next four years (if she remained unmarried). Her hair was now worn straight down the back and many ornaments were attached to it. These hair ornaments, besides being ornamental, were believed by their weight to help the growth of the hair. A common hair ornament worn consisted of a long flap of leather increasing in width towards the bottom and entirely covered on the outside with quill work or fringes arranged with dentalia in alternating horizontal rows. The bottom edge was ornamented with pendants of various kinds. In later days glass beads were substituted for the quillwork, etc., and tufts of colored yarn for the bottom pendants. These hair ornaments or flaps were worn one on each side of the head, extending down over (or near) the ears. The largest and most elaborate of them were used by daughters of wealthy people (See National Museum Specimen No. 49.) , also illustration of a similar good one Emmons plate VIII D. Besides the side ornaments a somewhat similar back ornament was used. It was attached to the middle of the back hair and hung down from near the top of the head. It also was made of leather and richly embroidered with shells, quills or beads and further ornamented with fringes, tassels, and pendants. Generally two or more of the pendants consisted of oval-shaped stones

enclosed in leather and embroidered. These were weights intended to assist the hair to grow long. Daughters of wealthy people wore very large long back flaps elaborately ornamented. (For an ordinary ornament for the back hair, with weights, see National Museum Specimen No. 50.)

As already stated young women wore their hair full length. It was never braided. It seems some divided their hair in the middle and gathered it in three portions--two side locks and a back lock the three hair ornaments being used for tying these. It seems again the hair of some hung quite loosely and was not gathered into locks. In the latter case the hair ornaments were, it seems, attached further up on the hair than in the former case. The face was painted and the hair combed every morning. Some oiled their hair frequently.

Besides the hair ornaments, collars and necklaces were worn by young women. Some of these were very showy. Those worn by daughters of rich people had a great wealth of ornamentation. The most elaborate ones were of willow rods bent into semi-circular form to hang on the breast. The rods were enclosed in leather which was embroidered all over on the outside with dentalia , quills or beads. The outside edge of the necklace or collar was fringed and

the fringes strung with beads and dentalia, etc. The ends of the fringes had pendants of claws, tufts of died wool, etc. Later many of these collars were covered with red or blue cloth and ornamented with pearl and metal buttons and tufts of colored yarn. Some wealthy girls had long fringes on their collars. They were completely hung with dentalia. (For specimens of richly ornamented collars with frame of rods, see Emmons Plate VIII C. & F.) Other collars or necklaces had no framework of rods; they consisted of strips of skin richly embroidered and hung with fringes of dentalia, etc. (See Emmons Plate VIII G.) Some resembled a belt and consisted of strips of skin entirely covered with dentalium shells (see Emmons Plate VIII A); still other necklaces of skin more or less ornamented with embroidery and fringes and having pendants of stone were also commonly used. These stones were natural forms of odd shapes, many of them crescent-shaped. Some of them were charm stones or lucky stones retained in families. (Stone weights on hair ornaments were also sometimes of this character). However it is said the main object of wearing stone pendants with young women's necklaces was to make the girl heavy or slow to do wrong, make mistakes, run after men, etc., wise and heavy instead of hasty, light headed or giddy. (For specimens of women's necklaces with stone pendants see National

Museum Specimen No. 52.) All collars and necklaces were fastened with strings at the back of the neck. They were considered emblematic of maidenhood. It was taken off when a girl got married or knew men.

When the girl entered among the people she donned new clothes of the same general kind as worn by women. Her high cap, if she had worn such, her robe and other old clothes were given away. The robe was generally cut up and the pieces distributed among the women. If her cap was of red or blue cloth it also was cut up in small pieces and given away as pieces for covering tongues of moccasins. Often at the same time the girl's mother cut up several of her dressed caribou or moose skins and gave them away to the women. If the father of the girl was wealthy he gave a feast to all the neighbors and presents of skins. The father gave the presents only to people of his own phratry. If he was of the Raven phratry, women of this phratry married to Wolf men received presents just like others of the phratry. The girl was now marriageable and could easily be distinguished as a marriageable maiden by her hair dress, ornaments etc. At the end of four years, after her becoming pubescent, if the girl was still unmarried she changed her style of face painting. From now until marriage she painted her face in fanciful styles, (if she so wished) and she increased the ornaments

on her person. She wore if she desired other short and long necklaces of strings of dentalia and beads, etc., such as used by women in general. These were in addition to those used by her as a marriageable young woman. Although now living among the people the girl had to act in a shy and retiring way and behave modestly. She should not talk much, especially with men. She spoke sometimes to her father but seldom to her brothers and male cousins. She could, however, look at them as she wished. Some informants say girls did not care to see their brothers and males of their own phratry and did not encourage conversation with them. They however deny the use by girls to bits of sinew which they tied to their collars, when they wished to speak with males of their own phratry (see Emmons P. 105). All these restrictions were removed at the end of four years.

Girls' ornaments were not used after marriage or in later life. Down was not used on the head until after marriage and only for dances.

PUBERTY OF MALES.

The time at which boys commenced training was in a general way less definite than that of girls. Boys commenced training about the time their voices changed or when they were big enough to undertake hunting and go on trips alone. Thus some lads commenced to train at an earlier period than others. Some were nearly men

when they commenced to train whilst others were quite young. Boys did not have the dangerous powers of girls during adolescence and therefore they had fewer restrictions put on them. They also went through fewer ceremonies and the length of their training period was less definite. Almost the only object in the training of boys was to obtain manitous. Very few special ceremonies or training were in vogue for perfecting boys in certain careers, and very little attention was paid to gymnastics and special physical exercises. Usually they continued to train only until such time as had obtained the manitous. Whilst seeking their manitous lads went off alone on trips in the mountains, remaining away from two or three to upwards of ten days at a time. The beginning of training was ushered in by a fast, usually of four days duration, on the first trip to the mountains. Some fasted again on later trips for shorter periods. Some lads washed or bathed to a considerable extent whilst others did not. In the same way some lads sweat-bathed and others not. Evidently washing and sweat-bathing were not as universal nor considered as important as among the Salish tribes. Each lad followed his own bent, and had to some extent his own methods of procedure in trying to obtain his manitou. Some desired different manitous from others. Some had their minds set on obtaining a certain manitou

whilst others had no special desires in this way. Some could not get the manitous they wished for, even if they tried to get them for a long time. This was because these particular powers (animal spirits) never came or appeared to them. In the end they had to be satisfied with whatever came to them. Some boys trained just in so far as directed in their dreams and followed their dream instructions throughout. To induce dreams and also to obtain their manitous more quickly and easily lads concentrated their thoughts as much as possible and kept their minds fixed on the objects of their desires. They practised this and trained themselves in mind concentration and will power.

Some by this kind of training are said to have learned to read the minds of people and animals, etc., to some extent. Lads called on spirits of animals, birds, and powers to become their manitous and solicited aid from them and knowledge. After a time some of these spirits or powers took pity on them and spoke to them in dreams, thus becoming their manitous. Sometimes one or more of these powers spoke to them repeatedly and imparted more or less knowledge or instruction. Lads prayed to these powers before obtaining them as manitous, asking them to assist them so they would be successful at hunting. At the same time they practised those things they wished to become expert at, such as hunting, etc.

After obtaining manitous they solicited them specially. Some lads developed or obtained a good deal of knowledge during their training; some developed shamanistic knowledge and became nearly as knowing as some shamans. Some obtained the knowledge of seeing things which were distant, and could tell what had happened to things stolen or lost and where these things were. They could also tell what people were doing, although these people were absent and far away. Some others seem to have obtained knowledge of doing certain things more by practice in the doing of these things than by any knowledge directly imparted by their manitous. However, in cases like these, it was supposed (at least by some) the powers of their manitous really helped them secretly to achieve success in their undertakings. Some lads who desired to be lucky hunters practised the "cutting of tongues", like some who desired to be shamans (see under shamans)*. However most lads desiring to be good hunters prayed to become such and practised the real hunting of game. Those desiring to be good gamblers prayed to be such and at the same time practised the games of chance so as to become adept at them. Several kinds of roots were considered to be good charms for obtaining luck in games. Lads dug up different kinds

* Editor's note: /The section on shamans is not included in this typescript; apparently the writing was never completed./

of roots and tested them as charms. Those they had no luck with they discarded, whilst perhaps one or two they adopted as charms because they found, whenever they used them, they had luck in playing. A charm good for one individual might be no good for another and vice versa. Some lads who desired to be good warriors prayed to be such and practised mimic warfare. They also looked for charms or something which would lend them power and help them to win. At last they would light on something which would be of value. Eagle feathers gave the winning power to many and therefore a number of men when going to battle wore eagle feathers. Lads desiring to be shamans practised curing of the sick. They had more to learn than others, for to become a strong shaman required much knowledge and generally this could not be obtained excepting by long and hard training. (For some practices of lads learning to be shamans, see under shamans) Having obtained a manitou, the lad later hunted the animal or bird representation of his manitou. Having killed one he kept the skin. It seems by a person keeping the skin near him or in his possession there was created a greater bond between the man and his manitou and the latter exercised a kind of guardian influence on the former. No shooting, running, jumping and other similar ceremonies such as practised by adolescent youths of the

Salish tribes were in vogue. It seems lads at puberty did not dress in any particular fashion, nor did they do up their hair in any special style. No scratchers or drinking tubes were used by them and not any particular face paints.

Some boys went through a special training different from that of ordinary boys. Those who underwent this kind of training were called by the same name as applied to pubescent girls. They consisted of lads who at puberty developed some kind of hard lump in their chests. This lump is said to be like a small stone in his breast. The lad tells his father, who then calls him pubescent and has him isolated. Generally his maternal uncle or maternal grand uncle takes charge of him and henceforth acts as his attendant and instructor. He wears a head band, a belt and two shoulder sashes of red willow (cornus) withes twisted. From now on he trains in a similar way to girls. He has to get up early and pray to the Day Dawn. He must be industrious and work at something almost continually. He bathes in streams so he may be strong and clean in after years. He walks and runs and practices shooting and marksmanship, so he may be an expert shot and a good runner and walker. He runs up hill so he may have long wind. He carries heavy loads and walks as fast as possible with them uphill so he may be able to carry

heavy burdens with ease. Thus he trains so that in after years he may be energetic, strong, athletic, long-lived, a good hunter, able to undergo hardship, and able to do hard work. When the lad has finished his training, his insignia of red willow bark is removed, he sweat-bathes and now becomes the same as other pubescent youths. Hereafter he trains like them and goes on trips in the mountains for the purpose of obtaining a manitou.

It seems the boring of the nose and ears and tattooing formed no part of the puberty ceremonies of either sex. It is said blood letting or scarification of the body, legs, etc., was not practised by the Tahltan youths, but it occurs among the puberty ceremonies of the Kaska. However, some Tahltan men practised it. The tip of the tongue was not cut or made to bleed by adolescent youths or others. Burning of the body was practised to a slight extent but only as a game among the older children. (See under games.)*

Pubescents only rarely made paintings of any kind. A few of both sexes made rude figures of animals etc., on blazed or peeled tree trunks. These had little meaning and it is said were made for show much in the same way as whites do who cut their initials, etc., on trees. A few of such pictures were representations of

* Editor's note: /Not written, apparently./

things seen in dreams, which the boy or girl took a fancy to illustrate in this way. A whipping ceremony was in vogue but it had little or no relation to puberty.

Almost all young men (and most young women) obtained songs during their training at puberty. Lads generally acquired them whilst on trips in the mountains. Some obtained them directly or indirectly from their manitous, but it seems most of the songs were music heard (or thought to be heard) sung by unseen beings supposedly ghosts. When a youth heard a song in this way, he caught the air of it and practised it until he could sing it well. When he considered himself sufficiently proficient to sing the song in public he did so. All the other young men after painting their faces and putting down or feathers on their heads accompanied him in the singing of it. If the tune was a good one for dancing, having the right time, etc., they also danced to the song. After this the song could be used at any time. Some of these songs had airs quite new or different from any known or in use, whilst others were simply old familiar airs changed sufficiently so one could say they were different or at least variants. All young people were fond of singing and many young men and women invented songs. Most of them were old airs changed more or less. These also were introduced and sung in the

same manner as others. All songs thus introduced were named after the person who introduced them and were called "so and so's song". Most lyric songs and many dance songs are known to have originated in the ways described. The themes of these songs were varied; some were of a serious, others of a comic nature. Some were love songs, and some described the doings and feelings of people and animals. It seems none of them were real medicine or shaman's songs.

No annual or other manitou dances were held as among the Salish where young people sang their manitou songs in turn.

Young men from the time of their attaining puberty until marriage lived in a lodge by themselves. Where people lived in large camps sometimes as many as twenty young men inhabited the young men's lodge at one time. This lodge was of no special construction, being of the same shape and materials as other lodges. All the young unmarried men of both phratries lived together in this lodge, those of the Raven phratry sleeping on one side, those of the Wolf on the other. They slept, ate, played games, sang and amused themselves. They went out from here singly and in groups to the mountains for hunting of game, training etc. They got their own wood and water and did their own cooking. They mixed very little with other people and kept to themselves.

A few stole away at night to visit or sleep with sweethearts, but this was not the rule. Most lads were afraid to have any connection with the opposite sex, at least during their training period, for it was believed a lad doing so would be retarded in obtaining a manitou and would never be a good hunter. It is said the young men had a great deal of fun among themselves and many did; married men consider the years they spent in the young men's lodge as the most happy time of their lives.

MARRIAGE

Persons could only marry members of the opposite phratry and never one of their own. The male took the initiative and did the choosing in marrying the girl of his choice. His mother with her husband then went to see the girl's parents. If they were agreeable the marriage was thereupon arranged and the lad was told he would get the girl. The lad now commenced to work for his future parents-in-law. He gathered and split wood for them whenever he saw they required help of this kind, and he also hunted frequently and gave them the game he killed. He was very attentive to them and was constantly on the alert to do them some service. If his future parents-in-law went off on some lengthy hunting or trapping trip he accompanied them and worked for them. He also hunted

and trapped and gave all he killed to them. In their turn they saw he had plenty to eat and was well provided with moccasins. He did not sleep and eat in the family lodge but outside in a shelter by himself, and it was the duty of his future mother-in-law to feed him. He continued thus to work for his future wife's parents for several months. There was no set time, but most lads worked from two to three to upwards of six months. A good many worked an entire winter. Arriving at some convenient time the lad's parents again met the girl's parents, this time to discuss the marriage presents or purchase price of the bride. These presents generally consisted of blankets, skins, shells and other things of standard value. After the value of the presents had been agreed on the lad's parents again visited the parents of the bride accompanied by some young men relatives or friends of the lad who carried the presents. When the latter had been received and had been passed upon as satisfactory a date was set in the near future for the union of the prospective bride and bridegroom. Sometimes a feast was given to the bridegroom's parents by the parents of the bride. This was done by some wealthy people. On the date appointed the bride's mother took the bride to the house of the bridegroom's parents and delivered her to the bridegroom. The couple were now considered fully and ceremonially married. The presents

(or purchase money) received by the bride's parents were distributed among their relations. Afterwards the same value of presents was given by the bride's parents to the newly-wed couple. From now on the wife followed her husband wherever he went. Generally he took her at once to his uncle's house where they spent their honeymoon. Later they generally started a house by themselves. It was the rule for the man to continue living among his people although he might have a separate house of his own. Thus most frequently wives lived among their husband's people. However visits more or less lengthy were occasionally made to the wife's people.

Some say lads who were engaged to be married generally still continued to live with other young men in the young men's lodges, only repairing occasionally to the home of his fiancee's parents to do work for them. If he went off on a trip with them he lived in a separate shelter. Thus at the time of his marriage as a rule he was not an inmate of either his own parents' house nor of his fiancee's parents house. When the marriage ceremonies had been completed and his bride delivered, he did not enter with her into the house of the parents of either side, but straightway took her to the house of his uncle, cousin or some other relatives where they lived for a time. Afterwards the couple might visit or live with either set of parents but

generally they lived with the bridegroom's people and only visited the friends of the bride.

Whether the husband stayed chiefly with his wife's people or his own did not matter, for during his life time he was under obligation to give presents of food or other things to his wife's parents from time to time, and this was always expected of him. The wife was considered the property of her husband and his people, but this did not mean that others of his male relatives or phratry had any rights of intercourse with her, at least during her husband's life-time. Their children, if they had any, belonged by right to the wife's people, being by descent members of their mother's phratry.

In case of death of their father or mother the children, if young, were taken in charge by their mother's people. It seems this was more particularly the case if the mother died and the father did not marry his deceased wife's sister. Marriages between members of different clans and bands were encouraged because of the advantage of thus securing the right of hunting in different grounds.

Early marriages were believed in and most girls were married soon after they had finished their training at puberty. It is stated there were even some cases where girls were married before they were mature

or had become pubescent.

Girls when married at once took off their necklaces, collars and other ornaments they wore which were emblematic of maidenhood.

They also changed their style of hair dress and henceforth wore their hair as women did in a single braid which hung full length down the back. After marriage they seldom painted their faces except for dances. There were no marriage dances nor marriages by touching as among the Salish tribes. Neither were there marriages by elopement nor by feats of strength, etc., such as wrestling as is said to have been the case in some tribes to the North (Eskimo, for instance).

Sometimes a lad was suspected of sleeping with a girl and was found out. The girl's mother then asked her daughter the truth of the matter. She would acknowledge what she had done and give her reason as owing to her love for the lad or man. The mother then went to the lad's father and told him. If the two families were of about equal rank a marriage was then generally easily arranged. If however the lad's father was very wealthy or of high rank and the girl belonged to a very poor or low family there was often difficulty and much bad feeling. Perhaps the lad's father did not wish his son to marry into such a family. If the lad was in love with the girl he sometimes managed after a

time to get his father to assent. The marriage was then consummated in the usual way. Once the girl was admitted into the family by marriage she at once was considered as high and equal with them, and vice versa if a poor boy thus married a girl of a wealthy or high family. If the father would not consent to his son's marriage and perhaps the son used no persuasion in the matter, then he had to settle the trouble by paying a lot of goods to the girl's parents. Often the payment was more than he would have given had it been regular marriage presents.

Marriages were occasionally arranged for very young children. Two families well disposed towards each other and having young children of about equal age agreed between themselves that when their children grew up they should marry each other. This was sometimes carried out. No presents were given until the marriage actually took place. Sometimes, however, the two children when grown up did not like each other, in which case the agreement between the parents was allowed to lapse. Nothing of course had been done to make the agreement binding. Occasionally the parents of a very young girl or girl under age offered or promised their daughter when of age to some wealthy man or man who was much liked or esteemed. Generally when the girl came of age she became the wife of this man in the ordinary

ceremonial way, even if he was very much older than she was. Anieti or people who were of high rank through wealth always aimed to have their children marry among their own class. Sometimes lads or girls of this class followed their hearts and against their class interests married persons who were poor and of low rank. This, however, was exceptional, as it was not easy to go against the wishes of their parents and relatives, and, as it were, lose their cast. This is now almost all broken down as people are about equal to each other nowadays in wealth and the old aristocracy of wealth exists no longer. If a husband habitually ill-treated his wife her father could take her back by paying him for his loss. This was about equal to or a little over the value of the marriage presents received for his daughter and the gifts the husband after marriage had given to him.

Polygamy was practised, but very few men had more than one wife. A few had two. This practice had now died out. No woman had more than one husband.

If a man's wife died her unmarried sister was supposed to become his next wife. If for some reason he did not marry, his children if young were taken by his deceased wife's relatives to be reared by them.

As a nephew succeeded his uncle and inherited his property he also was expected to marry or at least

support his uncle's widow.

If a man's uncle had a young wife but he himself was old and had become too poor to support his wife properly, he might say to his nephew, "Henceforth you will look after and support my wife. She will be the same as your wife". The nephew then supported his uncle's wife and after her husband's death she became his wife in reality even although he had a wife already. Etiquette or custom required that a man and his mother-in-law should not speak to each other. The mother-in-law avoided her son-in-law as much as possible. She did not speak to him directly not even meet him if she could help it. If she met him on a trail, she turned her back so as not to see him until he passed. It is said the speaking to each other of mothers-in-law and sons-in-law was also tabooed among the Tlingit.

The following were beliefs regarding marriage and procreation:

1. It was believed marrying generally changed a person's luck. A man who was unlucky or a poor hunter often became lucky or a good hunter after marriage. Also the reverse was sometimes the case. The change after marriage was due to the man's wife. A man might get a lucky woman or an unlucky one for his wife and this affected the man's luck for good or evil. Some men were not influenced this way after marriage.

2. For a man lack of sexual intercourse was bad. He became lazy, lost his energy and spirit, and became unhealthy. Very much of it was also bad. It weakened him and made him of a cross disposition. A medium amount was best and was necessary for his health, spirits, etc.

3. A middle-aged or even elderly man made women conceive more quickly and easily than very young men. It seems this was because they were considered to be mature and therefore to have more stamina, and more fertility of semen.

4. Unlike the opinion held by some individuals of Salish tribes, conception could only take place from one man, the seed of two men never combining or taking part together in impregnating the female. Therefore a child could have but a single father.

Customs Relating to Women As in most tribes women were isolated during each recurring period of menstruation. At these times a woman had to live apart from the people in a shelter or small lodge erected nearby for the purpose. In shape and materials these lodges were like other lodges of the tribe. This custom is now going rapidly out of vogue. If the woman retires to a corner of the common lodge it is generally considered sufficient nowadays.

A woman at this time must not mingle with men

nor touch any of their belongings, especially those things connected with hunting. She must not touch any game and must not eat fresh meat of any kind of large game. If she did so the game would become smart or wise and the hunters would be unable to get them. She must not eat any kind of meat from any part of a bear. Some informants claim the restrictions on menstruating women as far as food was concerned were just the same as those enjoined on pubescent girls. They must not eat bear meat, nor fresh meat of caribou, moose, sheep, beaver, marmot etc., nor the heads of animals. They could eat feet of caribou and moose but not of bear. Women did not eat the intestines of bears. If they did, their children would be sickly and ugly. After the child-bearing period was over they might eat intestines and feet of bear and also heads of any kind of game, etc. Some claim women menstruating did not eat even the feet of caribou and moose if fresh. In fact they were supposed to eat no fresh meat of any kind nor fresh fish of any kind. They ate only well-dried meat and dried fish. This was because the spirit, life, or soul of the animal was still in the meat when fresh and the fresher the meat the more of the spirit it contained.

Two or three women may occupy the same menstruation lodge, if convenient. When the woman returns home, medicine bags, guns, etc., and children are taken

out of the house and reentered after the woman has entered. Otherwise the people would have bad luck.

DEATH, BURIAL and MORTUARY CUSTOMS.

When a person died the death was at once announced to the people, who assembled and immediately commenced to sing a death chant. Only middle-aged and old people joined in the singing of death chants. If young people sang, they were apt to die early in life. The song was sung in presence of the corpse and the latter was addressed in the song. It is said that sometimes when it seemed sure the person was dying the people assembled beforehand and sang the chant at the death bed. The chief and possibly the only object in singing the death chant was to assist the soul of the dead person to find the trail to the sunrise land, and therefore some thought the singing of the chant at the time of the death rather than afterwards, gave him all the more chance of easily finding the trail. It is said the beginning of the trail is obscure or hard to find and dead people are liable to have trouble in finding it and sometimes go on the wrong trail or get lost. It seems the change from the state of life to that of death is considered to be sudden and extreme and the soul (especially that of an elderly person) on its being parted from the body is more or less in a state of shock or partly stupified and therefore needs people's assistance.

People always wished the souls of their friends to go to the sunrise land; by always directing them in that direction there was more chance of their going as they wished.

The singers strike the ground with short sticks as they sing and move very slowly forward. The words given in one of the old death chants (probably the oldest one) collected by me are as follows:

"You are the same as a piece of a mountain,
you are a piece broken off the mountain,
pieces break off continually and will
continue to break off until there are
no more and all is flat. This mountain
thou art a piece of it, thou art the
same as a piece broken off. Pieces
will break off until all is flat.
Now you will stand well kátcéde,
(the corpse or soul is here addressed
by the name of his clan or phratry)
We are going to sing for you and we
will make it well for you. Now thou
stand good, kátcéde, thou art in a
good position. I'm going to make a
song for thee, I will sing good for
thee."

Then the singers lifted their sticks and

pushed them out or pointed them to the East, at the same time singing "Yana'a. This way is the trail. This way it goes. Don't miss it. The trail goes right to the east where the sun gets up". It is claimed there are four death chants in use. Two of these are said to be very old and the other two not quite so old.

It may be noted that although the Tahltan claim this song to have originated in the Tahltan country and the air to be purely Tahltan, still they say the words of the song are generally in the Tlingit language; sometimes however Tahltan words with the same meaning are used.

The corpse was laid out and wrapped in a skin blanket which was tied in place with ropes encircling the body. Some of the things belonging to the deceased which were to be burned with him were placed near the body.

The corpse was kept in the house for one or two days or occasionally longer. It was taken outside when the pyre was ready and soon afterwards burned. When the body was to be removed, the pole or poles (one or two) used for carrying were passed through the ropes binding the corpse. They were considerably longer than the latter, extending beyond the feet and head. Men held the ends of the pole in front and others the end at the back. A hole was made in the side of the lodge

and the corpse was passed to other men outside. This was so the ghost would not find its way into the house again. Those who had carried the corpse to the hole did not follow it outside but after passing it out turned back and went out the door. It seems this was for fear the souls of the carriers might be going along with the deceased. When the corpse was about to be taken out, all the young children in the house were covered up so they could not see the corpse being removed. When the latter was out of sight in some cases, and not until burned in other cases, the children were uncovered.

There was no custom of passing children over fire or making them jump over fire at the death of a parent, but it was customary to make children jump at their deceased parent's feet. This was done shortly before the corpse was carried out. One after another the young children jumped across the portion of the skin blanket extending beyond the deceased parent's feet. Any who were too young to jump were passed over it by their guardian (viz., the relative who now was to look after them and rear them /who/ walked with him, (or her) directly towards sunrise or the Day Dawn. After walking some distance, their guardian passed his hands over each one of them in turn and then, holding up his hands together level with his face, palms up, he blew

sharply along them as if blowing something away. At the same time he prayed, "May these children be healthy and strong. May they never be sick". It is said this ceremony was for the purpose of removing (gathering together and then blowing away) all evil from the children.

A peculiar custom in vogue was as follows: If the deceased was a child and the mother wanted to have it reborn by herself, she had a string tied around her waist, the other end of which was attached to the hand or foot or sometimes other part of the corpse. Brush (balsam twigs or any kind of brush) was spread to the hole in the lodge (through which the body was removed) and the string from the corpse passed along the brush. A number of pointers, consisting of short sticks were erected along this path with their ends leaning in the direction of where the mother was. These were to help the soul or ghost to follow in the desired direction. Corpses were generally burned in the day time. Part of the string would burn up during the night or early morning. The woman's husband now cut the string close to his wife. The long part of the string was burned and the short part was allowed to remain attached to the woman for four days. It was then removed and burned. If the mother did not desire to have the child come back in herself, she might select a married daughter

for the purpose and, if she consented, the string was tied to her. Women sometimes desired that adult relatives who died should be reborn by them. Thus a married sister or other relative would desire to have a brother or a sister reborn by them. Strings were tied to them in the same way.

When a person was burned there were always some goods burned with him. If a man, he had some clothes, moccasins, kettles, weapons and food burned with him. It is believed that all these things were required by a man to use when travelling on the trail to the spirit land.

If the deceased was a wealthy man and possessed slaves one or more slaves were killed at his death. Their bodies were not burned but thrown away some distance or more often thrown in the river or in water. If the deceased had been a kind man and fond of his slaves he told the people before his death "Do not kill any of my slaves", and none were killed. They became the slaves of his heir.

If the man had been fond of his slaves and he thought they would not be treated very well by his heir, he requested that they should be liberated at his death, which was done.

No dogs were killed when their masters died, and there was no custom of relatives of a deceased

person killing someone, such as an enemy, or undertaking a war expedition to appease their sorrow for the death of their relative.

Songs, it seems, chiefly mourning songs or death chants, were sung at the pyre, where the body was consumed slowly. In singing these songs the people swayed their bodies from side to side in peculiar motions.

The people who prepared the corpse, carried it, constructed the pyre and did all the work in connection with the corpse and its cremation were always of the opposite phratry of the deceased and all were elderly. Young people never did this work and seldom any below forty years of age.

No restrictions were put on these people in the way of eating and purification, etc. All they had to do was afterwards to wash their hands and faces. They /were/ not required to purge themselves by drinking medicine nor by pushing twigs down their throats to induce vomiting. This latter custom was unknown or at least never followed by the Tahltan in any ceremonies, such as those connected with death, puberty, etc.

After the funeral fire had burned out, the charred bones of the deceased were collected and wrapped in skin. They were then placed on the top of a small crib of logs built up a few feet from the ground

on the top of a post erected for the purpose, within a small house or kind of box built on the ground or built some little height above the ground. In later days small trunks were secured from the Whites and used instead of boxes and grave-houses of their own manufacture. Sometimes, at least in later days, the bones were put in a box, and a house erected over all. Sometimes they were placed in a kind of house or vault built on the ground in the shape of a house roof or a V tent or occasionally the roof was of this shape and the sides were of short light logs laid closely together as in a log cabin. It seems once they were deposited in the grave-house or vault or in boxes or trunks they were seldom troubled with further and the structures were allowed to fall into decay and gradually get scattered or disappear.

However, long ago, when no wooden coverings were used and it was noticed the skin wrapping had become rotten and the bones showing, one of the opposite phratry was engaged to re-wrap the bones in new skin. The person who did this work was paid by the heir or relations of the deceased.

Cemeteries or graveyards were generally situated on prominent points and edges of terraces near the main camps or villages. A number of old grave-yards may be seen in the Tahltan country. Some

of them overlook lakes, streams and villages. Not all are in prominent or high places; some are to be met with on low or flat land, especially near trails. Many of the modern graves since burial came into vogue are surrounded by fences. A very few graves have short mortuary columns with or without carved totemic figures. These have probably been adopted from the Coast. Small dolls are to be seen in some grave-houses; some of these appear to have been bought from Whites. They may have been dolls of children buried there.

It was expected that on the third day (or about three days) after the burning of the corpse, numerous ghosts would come around to get the spirit of the deceased or to search for it. Therefore at this time a single eagle feather was hung at the top of each house door or doorway to keep them out. These feathers were kept hanging for two or three days. No rattles or strings of hoops were used to keep away ghosts. No juniper or other strong smelling plants or evergreens were burned or used in other ways to keep ghosts away. Places where corpses have lain or graves or depositaries of the dead were not swept with branches of the rose or other trees.

All close relatives of a deceased person cut their hair shortly after the death of the relative. From the time of the relative's death until the hair

is cut they frequently sing songs in which they mourn the death of the deceased. After the hair is cut they sing no more. The hair was cut by some at about level with the top of the shoulders. Others who did not have very long hair cut it across level with the lobes of the ears. The Tahltan narrate the origin of the custom of cutting the hair as a sign of mourning.

Widows lived apart from the people in little shelters or lodges a short distance away from the other houses. They blackened their faces so the tears could be seen when they cried. Formerly people cried a great deal when a relative died. They cried very much although they knew it was not right to do this. Crying made the trail wet and slippery and difficult of travel. For this reason souls did not desire much crying. Crying had the same effect as rain here on earth, which causes the creeks and rivers to swell and makes the ground wet and slippery. At the present day people say crying makes the steps slippery that the dead have to climb. Nowadays people cry but little when a person dies. For the first two days of her isolation a widow had to continue lying on one side. She must not turn over. During this time she was covered entirely with a blanket and fasted. On the second day a woman of the opposite phratry brought her some food on a large flat stone. On the same stone was a number of small stones or peb-

bles set all round. Each one of these pebbles represented a living relative and was called by name. The stone was left with the widow over night. During the night she prayed, "May my relatives be well, may they live long, may none of them be sick, etc." It is not clear even to informants whom the widow supplicated. Some say they think she prayed and talked to the dead or souls. Next morning the attending woman came and gathered the pebbles. She tied them up in a wrapping or in a sack and took them away buried them in a dry place underneath the roots of some tree. After this the woman ate the food. For a long time she ate each day off the flat stone. She was not allowed to eat fresh meat or fresh fish for one year. Then she commenced to eat fresh feet of game and paunches of caribou. She must not eat fresh bear meat for four years, excepting the feet, which she might eat a little sooner. These restrictions are now broken down. In referring to this my chief informant said, "Nowadays people are like dogs. They have no restrictions nor regulations about these matters and therefore they die off. Formerly when people observed these things they lived a long time and there were many people".

There was no custom of spitting out the first mouthfuls of food. No boughs of trees were used to keep off ghosts nor to wash with. There was no

custom of placing boughs with their tips in a certain direction. No breech clouts were used to prevent connection of ghosts. No strings or thongs were used around the wrists, ankles, etc., by widows and other bereaved relatives.

Each widow wore a robe which was tied in front for her by a woman of the opposite phratry. She must not take it off for one month. At the end of this time the woman came and untied the robe for her. After this she could do it herself. A woman of the opposite phratry made a necklace and belt for the widow and put them on her. The belt was always of leather. If it broke before the time arrived for taking it off, it was considered a very bad omen or unlucky. The necklace was made of thong and reached down to the abdomen. Attached to it were a number of pendants consisting of small flat stones which represented relatives. The necklace and belt were used for four years and were at the end of this time taken off by a woman of the opposite phratry. It was not necessary that the same woman should perform all these services; often different women acted. Widows wore their widowhood belt and necklace the full time, even if in the meanwhile they had married. The belt and necklace were buried in the same manner as the stones already mentioned as placed on the dish with the widow's first

meal.

A widow did not comb her hair for about one year more or less. The hair generally became matted and uncomfortable. For this reason some women used scratchers like those of pubescent girls. At the end of the year a woman of the opposite phratry washed and combed the widow's hair. The widow now washed herself, and afterwards wore same kind of clothes as other women. Her period of widowhood was now considered over. Until this time widows were prohibited from picking berries, and cutting up or even touching game animals and fish.

Widows and all close relatives of deceased persons did not dance or sing for a long time.

Very few restrictions were placed on widowers. Some fasted and lived apart from the people for a short time, never longer than six months. These observances were altogether optional and many never observed them. All widowers were prohibited from hunting for one year. This restriction was generally observed fully.

Any people who were close relatives of a deceased person might select to become special mourners. Usually men became special mourners for men and women for women, but some times the sexes were mixed. These people were called <u>Ō´tcing</u>. One person always took the initiative and others of the same clan might join. All acted alike and performed like ceremonies irres-

pective of sex. If a man f.i. /sic/ chose to become O´tcing he told some one of the opposite phratry to cut his hair. After the corpse had been burned he went back to the house and became very sorrowful. Often others of the same clan, generally relatives, offered to join in his sorrow. All had their hair cut and dressed in robes which were fastened with leather belts around the waist. They ceased singing mourning songs and, /upon/ arising, became very active. They walked around much. They walked to the north and also to the east and addressed the Day Dawn, praying to be made lucky etc., as they desired. They had to be energetic and work a great deal. They must not walk slowly or work slowly. They fetched water, gathered, split and carried firewood for all the houses of the opposite phratry. They got up early in the morning and lighted all the camp fires. An O´tcing slept and rested as little as possible. He placed a pointed stick at his head so if he fell asleep it would prod him. Then he jumped up quickly and prayed, "May I always be able to wake up and get up thus quickly" and "May I always be able to rise early in the morning". He made pointed sticks and sat on them. When they pricked him he got up quickly and prayed, "May I always be able to arise thus quickly and may I never be lazy". He wiped his eyes with raven's feathers and prayed, "May I always

be able to wake up early as the raven does".

These ceremonies were supposed to make persons energetic, good workers, early risers, etc., and help them to retain these qualities even in old age. They continued to be O'tcing for four days. They then discarded their special dress and afterwards acted like other people.

Generally one year or a little over after a person's death, the nearest relative gives a feast at which all the debts of the deceased are paid off. Just previous to the paying off ceremony a deceased man's relatives and clan kin gathered together to discuss his succession and the disposal of his property etc. To the meeting, his property was brought and his wife had to be present. The nearest oldest relative took charge of the proceedings. He asked the unmarried men in order of their age and relationship who of them would take the widow, name, place, and house of the deceased. If one of them agreed, then the widow and the house were given to him and an entire half of the deceased's moveable property became the mutual property of himself and the widow. The other half was divided among the deceased's relatives. On the man agreeing to take the widow, they were at once united, the half share of the property was handed to them and the widow took her place as his bed-mate the same night. In the event of no one

consenting to take the widow and name, etc., of the deceased, the whole property was thereupon divided among the relatives. The widow was not free until after the paying ceremony for the deceased or otherwise not until given her freedom by the deceased's relatives. This was generally done at the paying ceremony if no one of her deceased husband's relatives cared to have her. Occasionally one of the relatives changed his mind and took the widow before the "paying ceremony". Sometimes a widow became very much insulted and angry when all the relatives refused to take her and she thereupon went off and commenced to live with another man. This was considered unlawful and sometimes caused much jealousy and much talk. Usually however the relatives let the matter drop.

The feast for the deceased is really given to the members of the opposite phratry, but everybody within convenient reach attends. The guests arrive dressed in ceremonial or dancing costume; speeches are made relative to the deceased, his life, death, debts, etc. At the feast food was given in a ceremonial way to the spirit, soul or ghost of the deceased. This food was put in the fire and burned. At the same time the deceased was advised of the gift by the people or person in charge saying "We give you this food". In addressing the deceased his name was not mentioned nor was the common word for

'give' used.

The feast and paying ceremony generally lasted from two to four days, depending a good deal on the rank and prominence of the deceased and his family. The guests or members of the opposite phratry did most of the dancing and singing. In some of the songs they eulogised the deceased and his family. A special class of songs was used at these ceremonies. I have collected some of these songs. One of the songs belongs to the Talakoten clan of the Wolf phratry. The words used in it are "I have lost a good thing, my nephew". The singer in these words regrets the loss of his nephew who was a good man. The other two are katcéde songs. In one of them the words are "My uncle, have you gone for good (have you gone never to return)"? The reference is to the person's deceased uncle for whom he is paying. In the other, the words are "My uncle, you are the same as meltenéteguz" (an instrument used to rasp over the flesh and make the blood come. Used in ceremonies by some men to make them healthy, strong, powerful etc.). The inference is that through the death of his uncle, for whom he is paying, he has been made strong (in property or rank etc.). Other words are "Perhaps I am not so strong as you are (or were) to think". When the guests heard these words in the song they expected he would show his strength by making

big payments etc. In the singing of these ceremonial songs, a second person assisting in the singing of the song repeats the words of the leading singer. Words were often used extempore in these songs. On the last day of the feast all outstanding debts of the deceased were paid and payments made to all members of the opposite phratry who had assisted in any way or done any service in connection with the funeral and cremation, etc., of the deceased. All obligations on account of the latter were now forever discharged.

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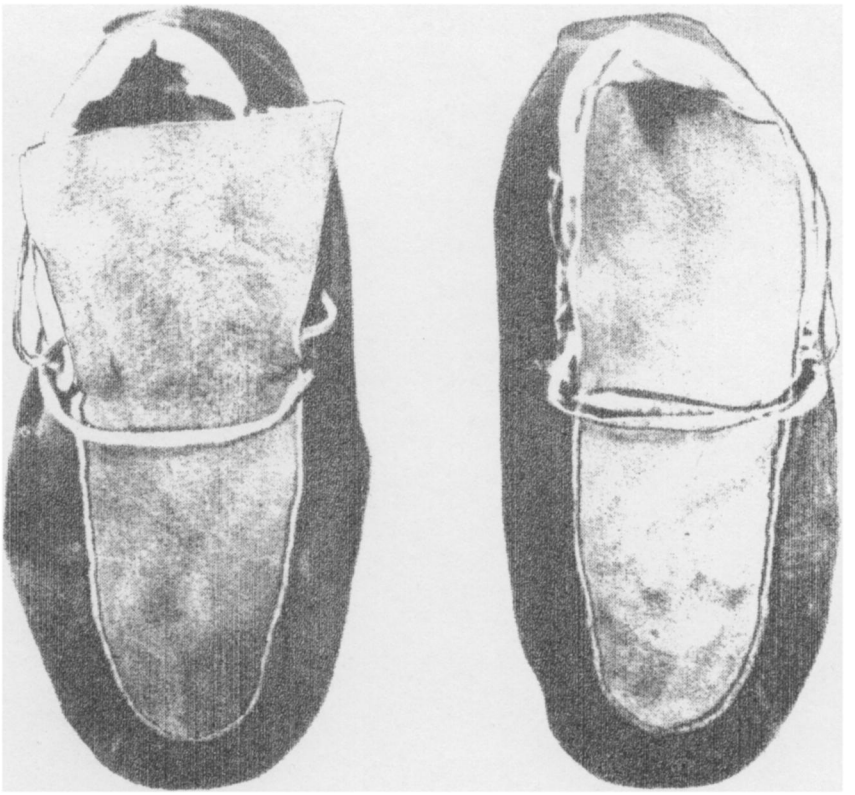

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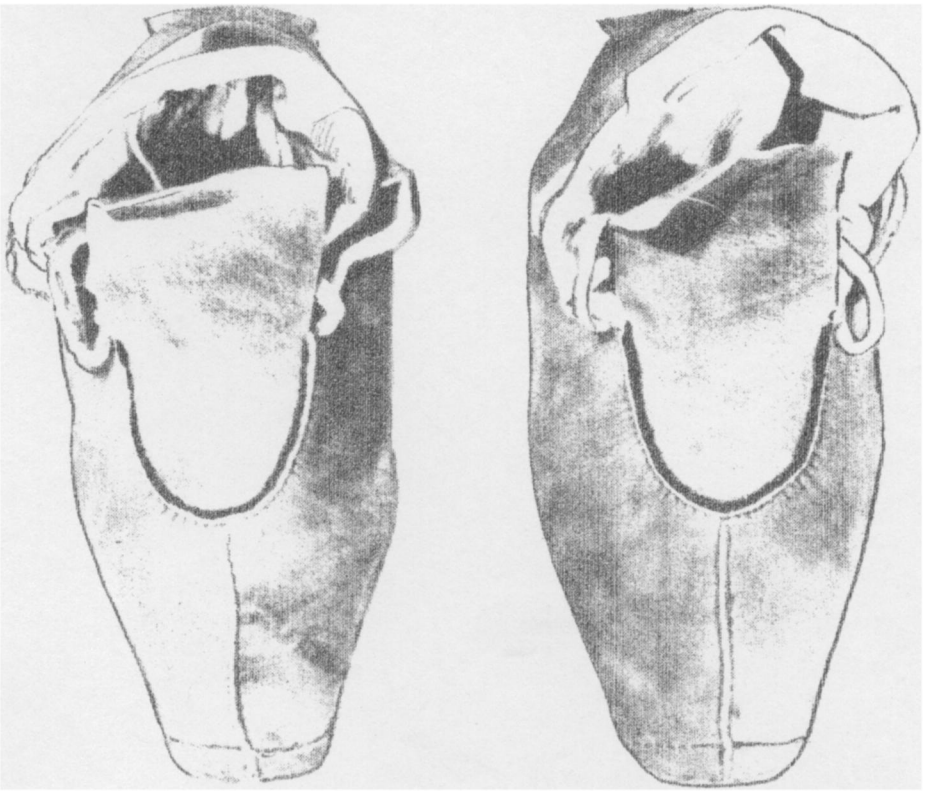

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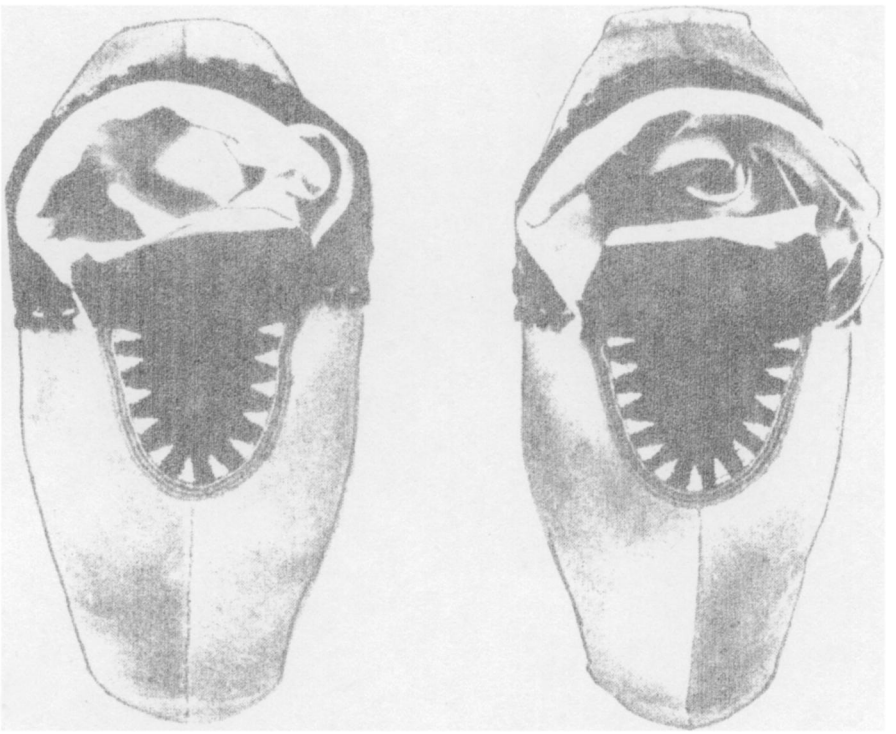

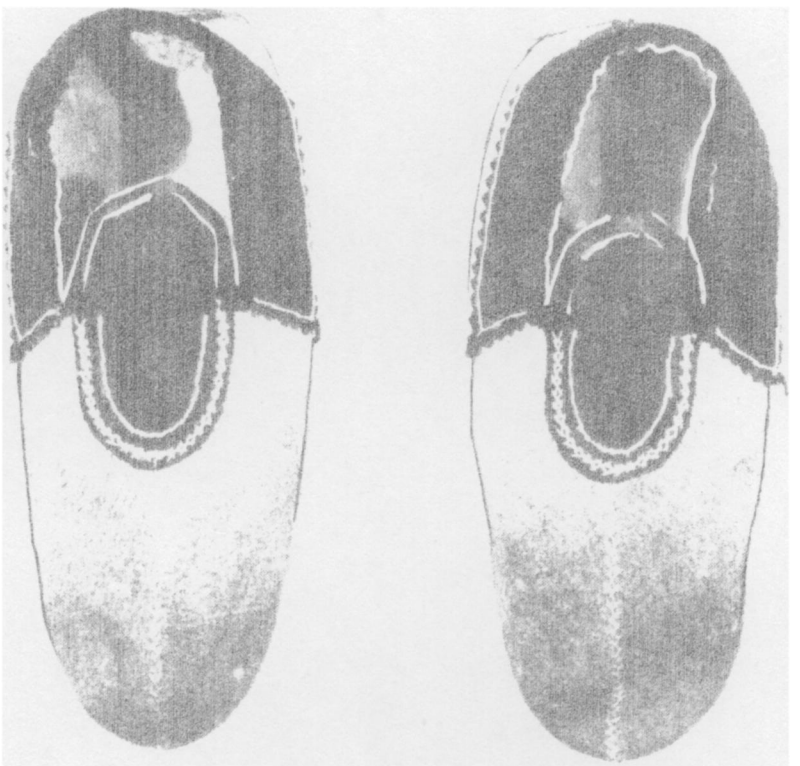

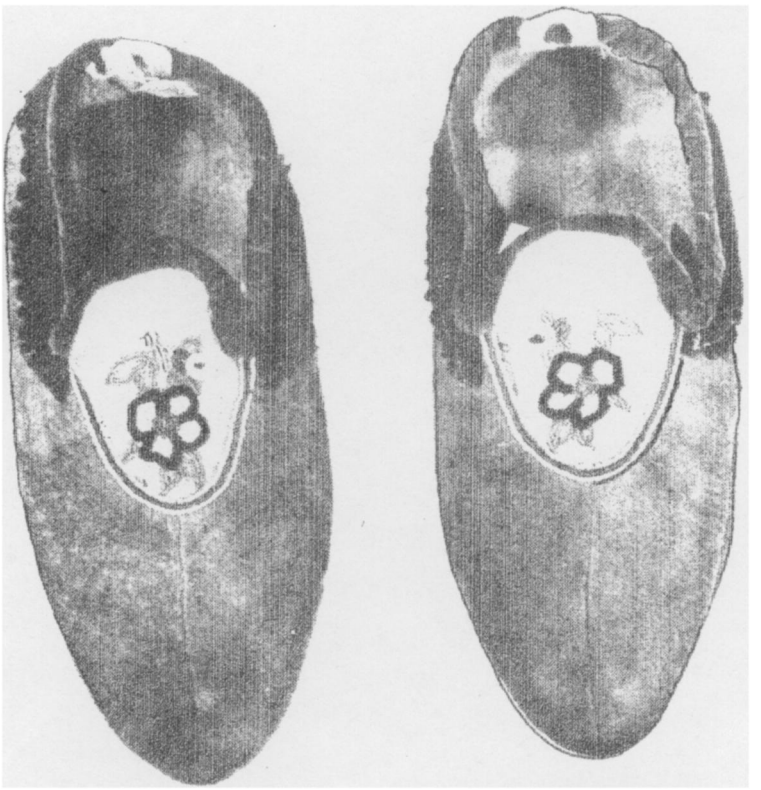

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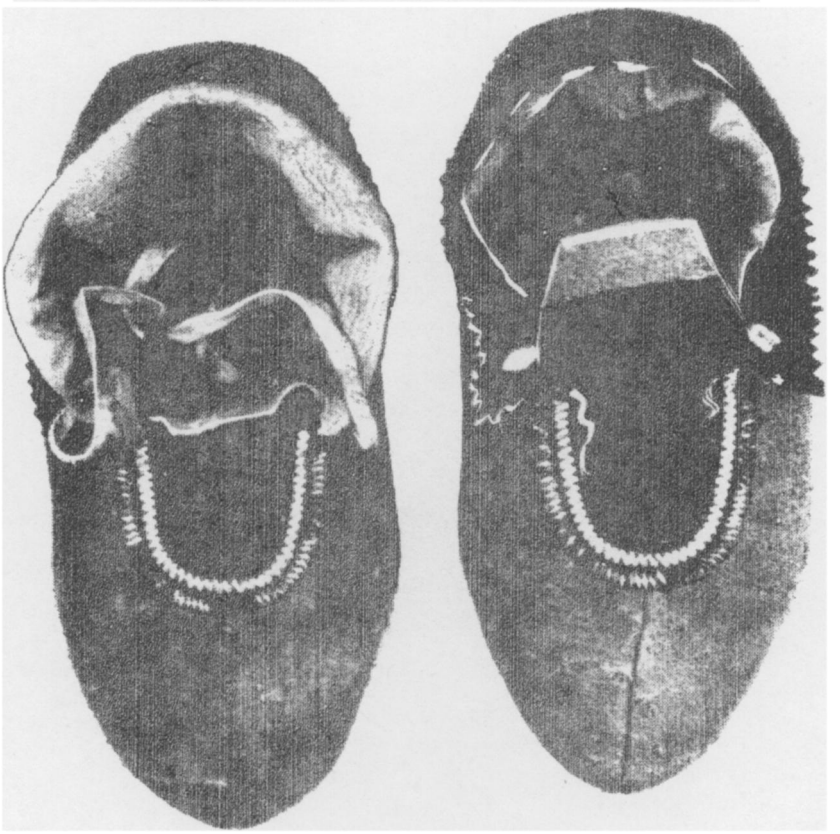

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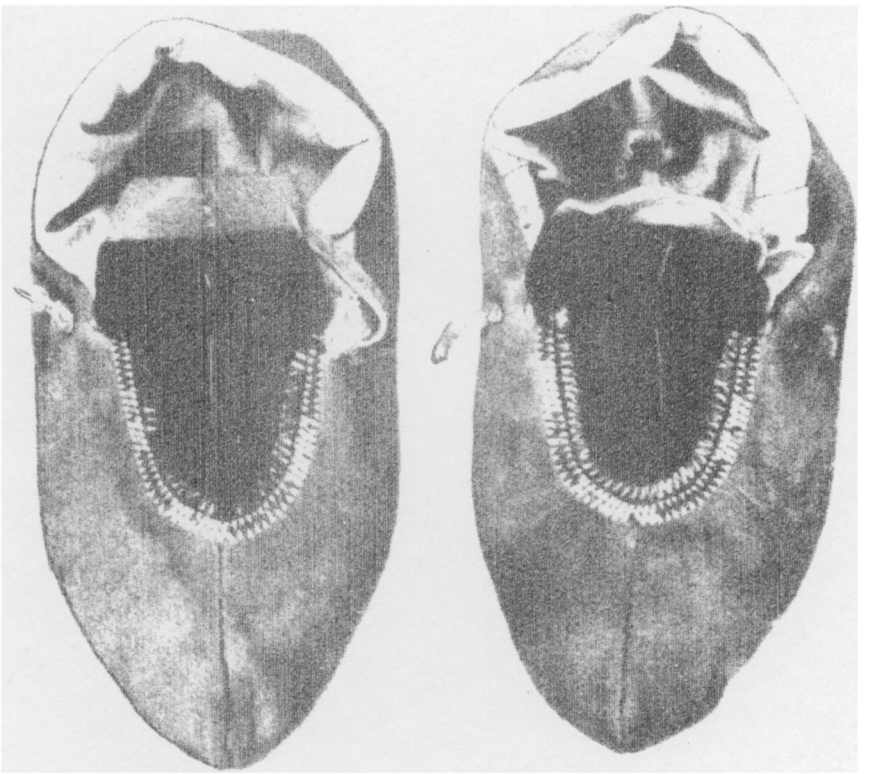

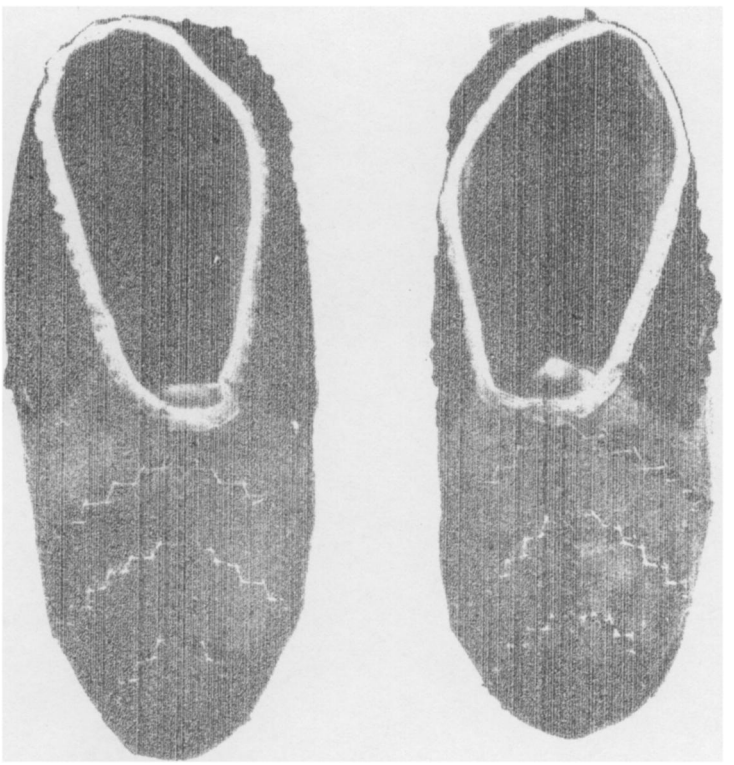

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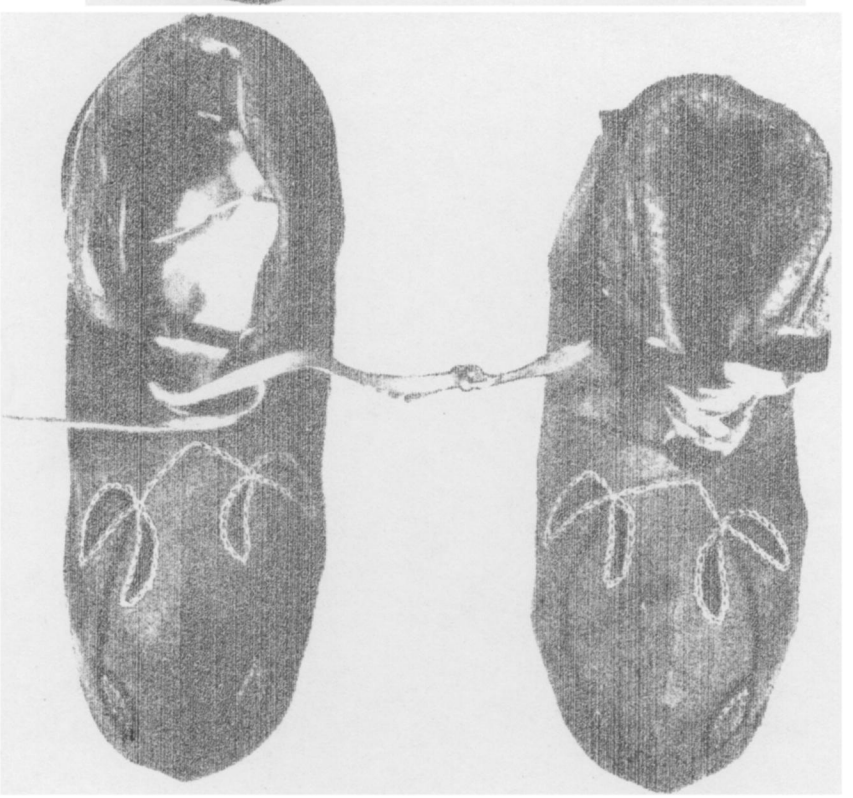

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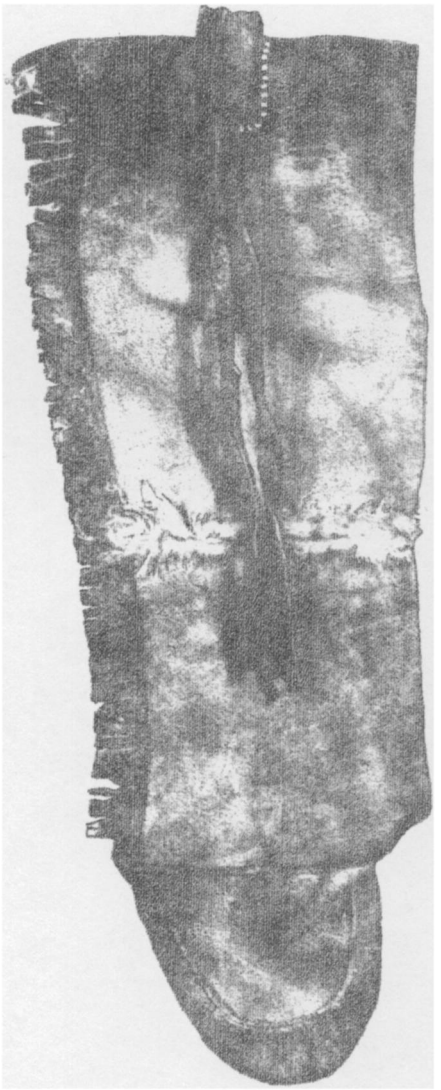

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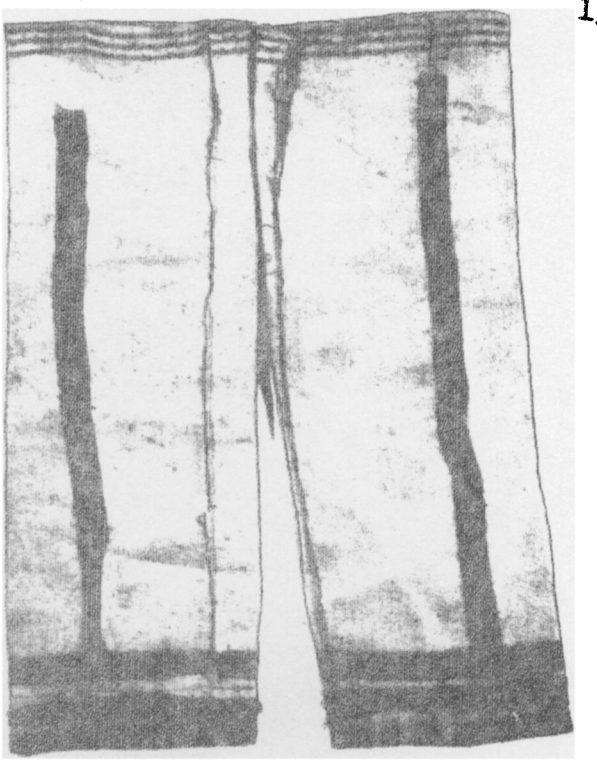

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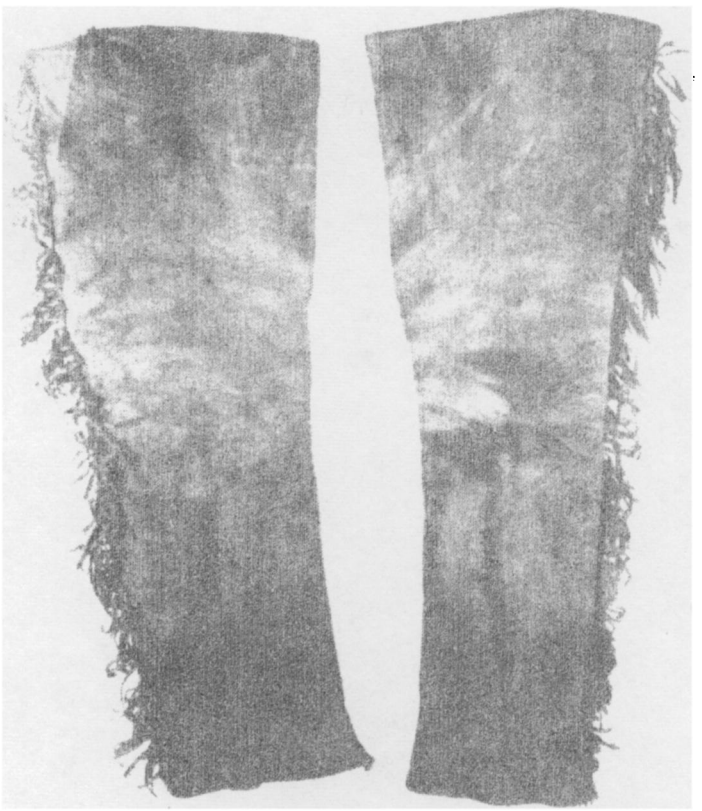

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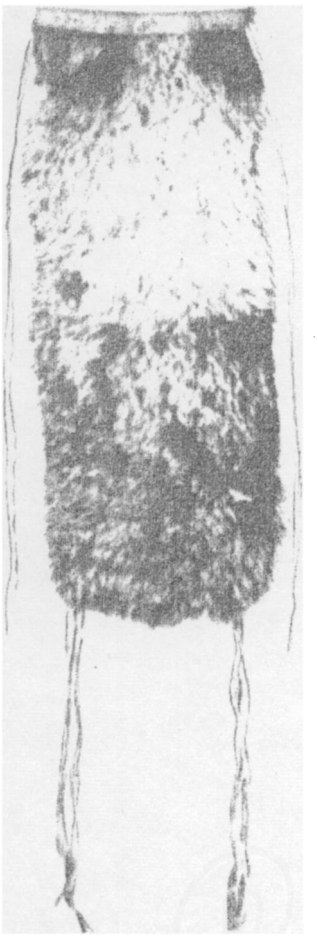

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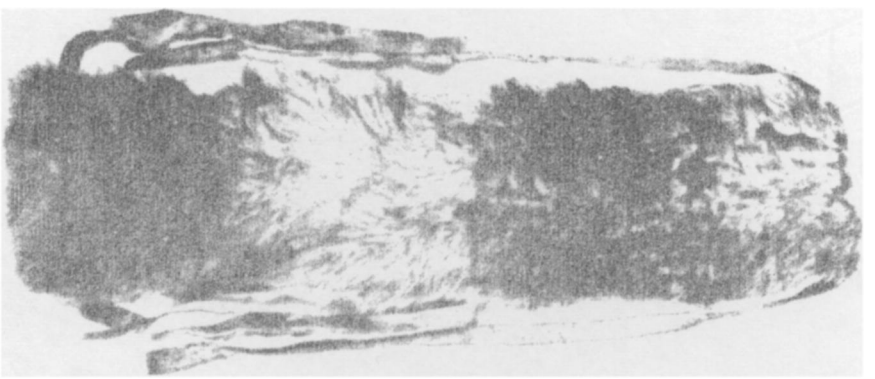

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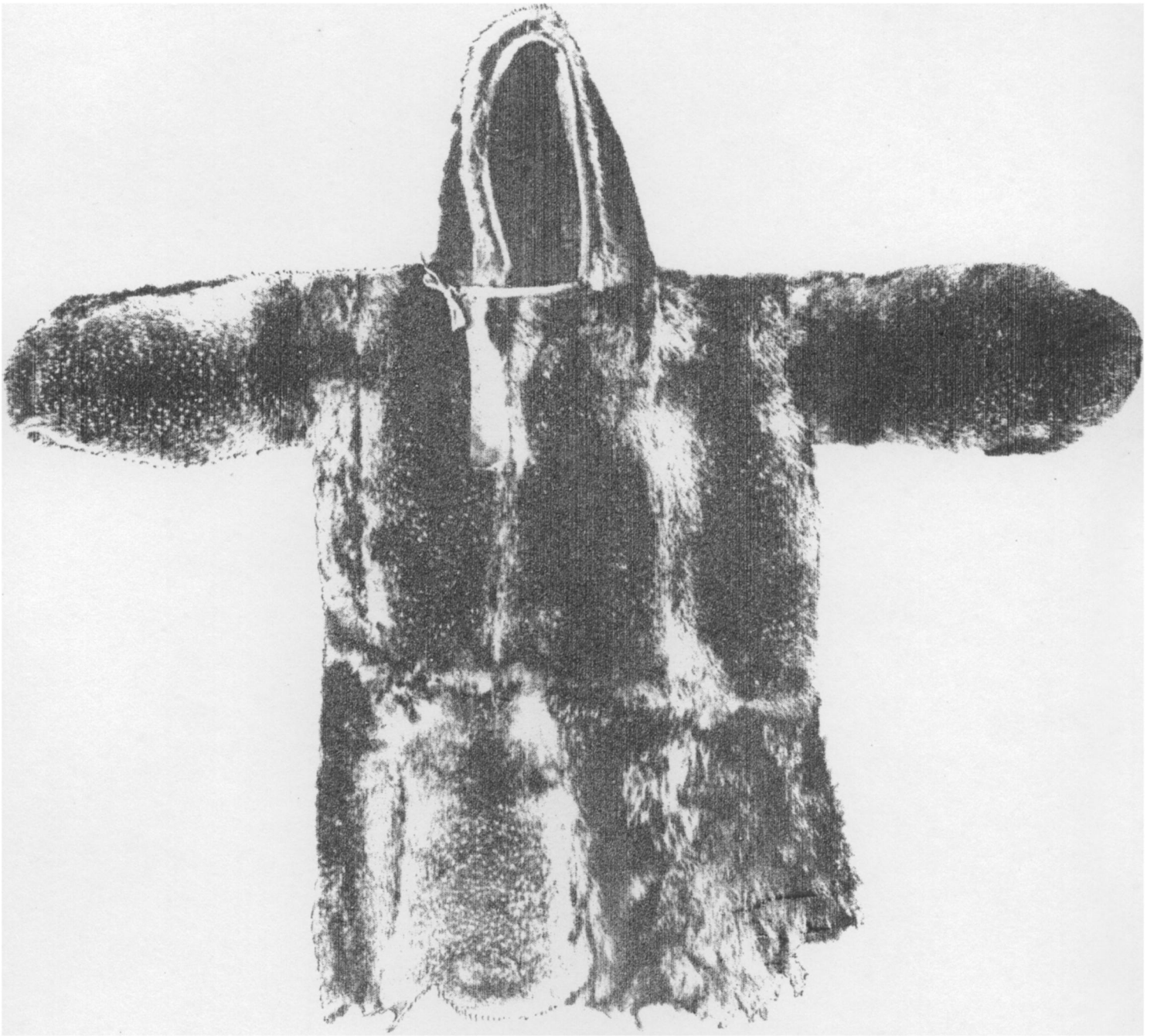

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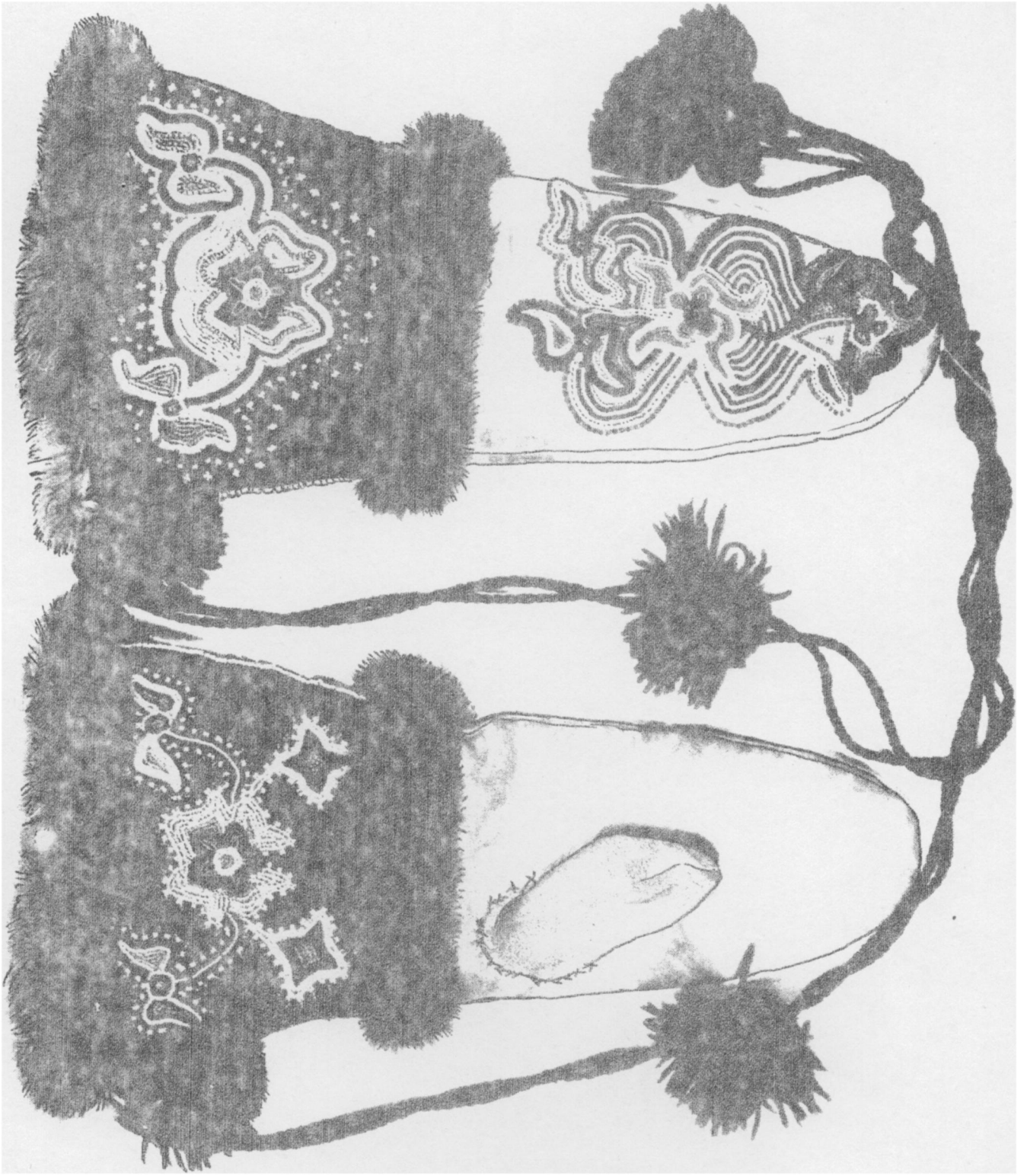

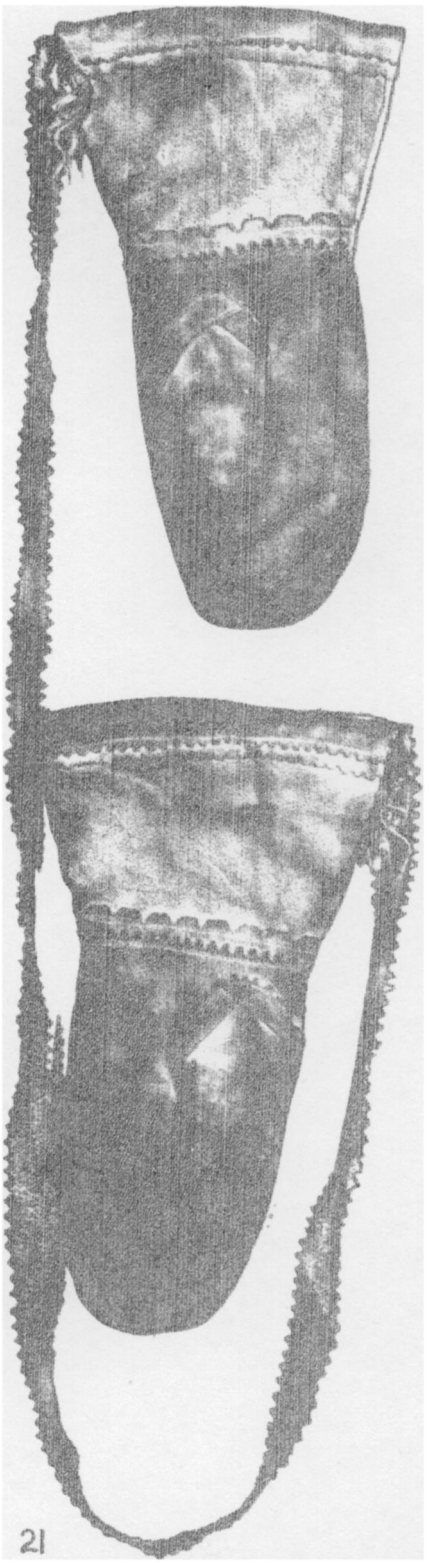

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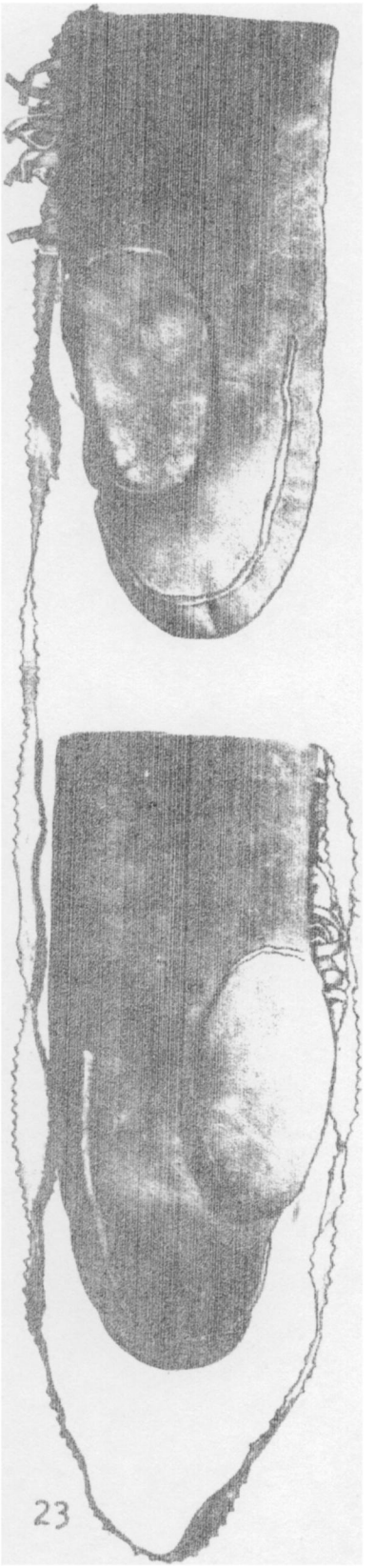

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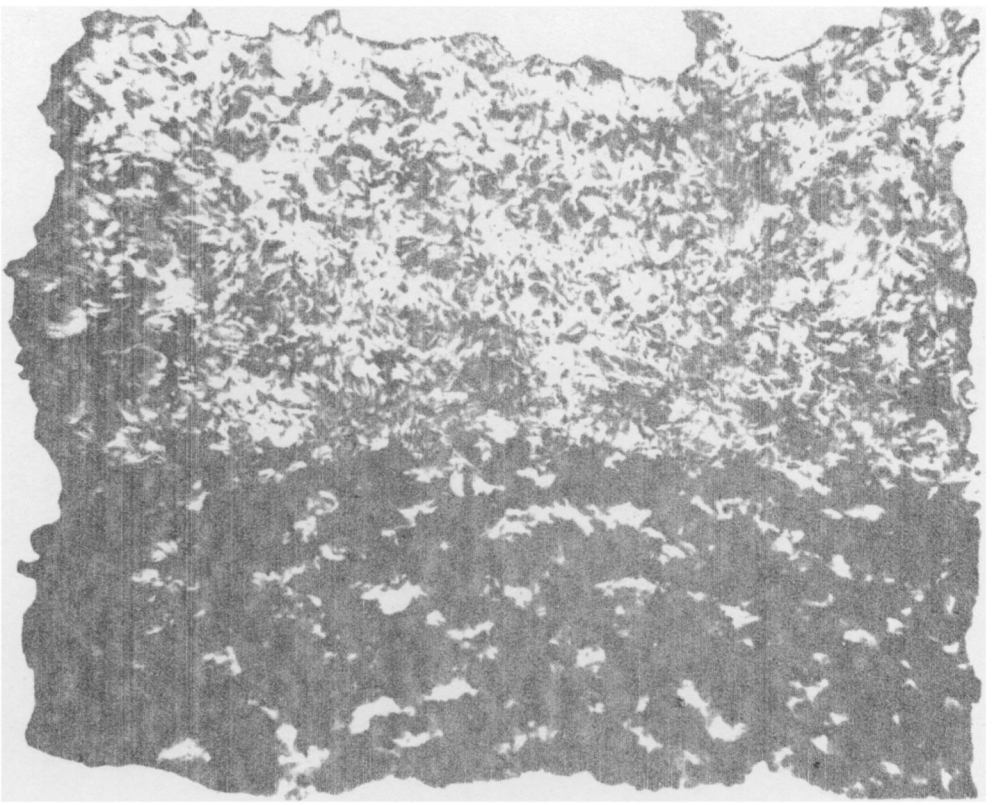

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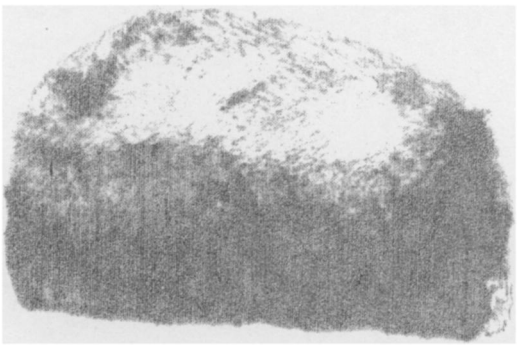

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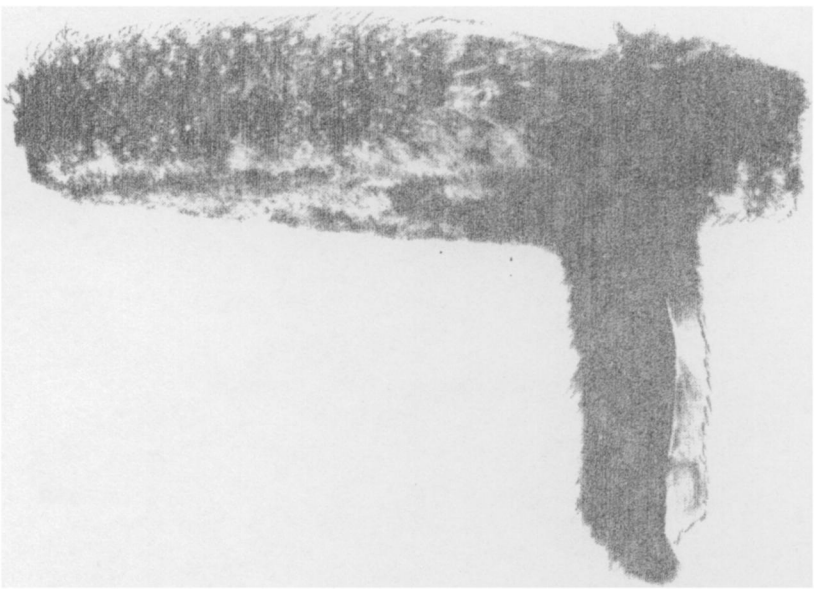

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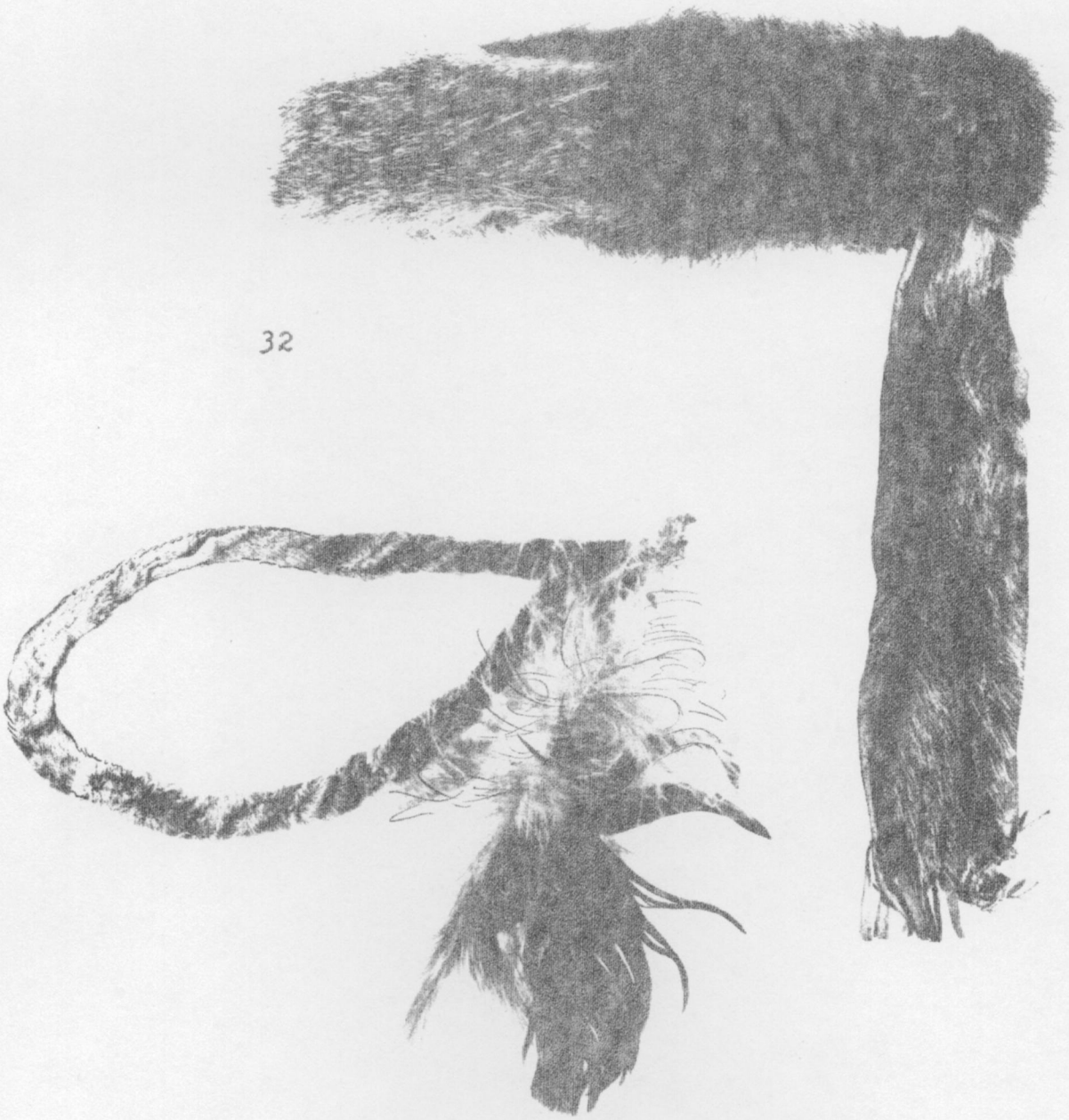

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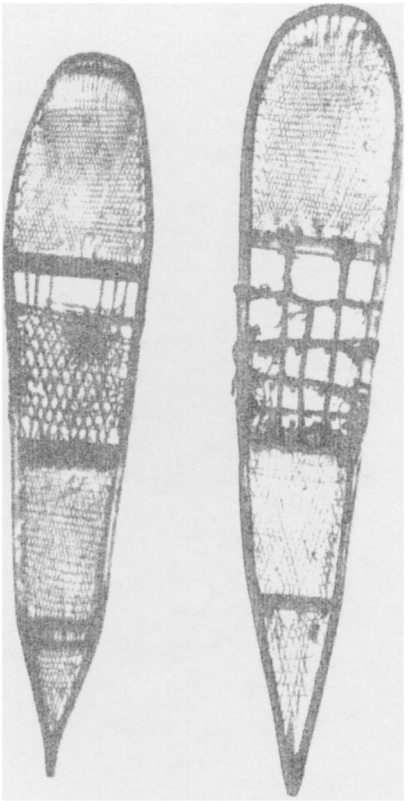

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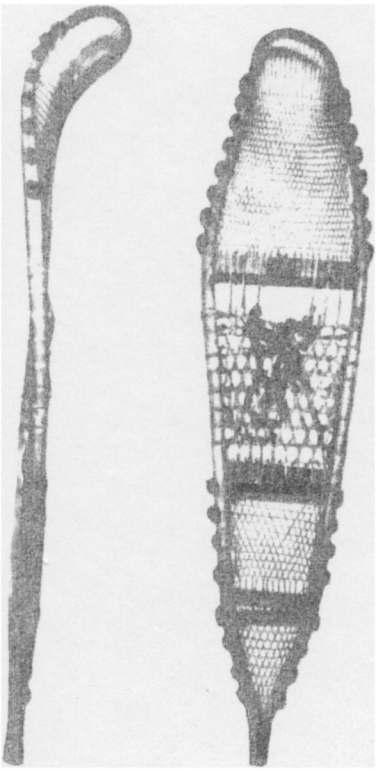

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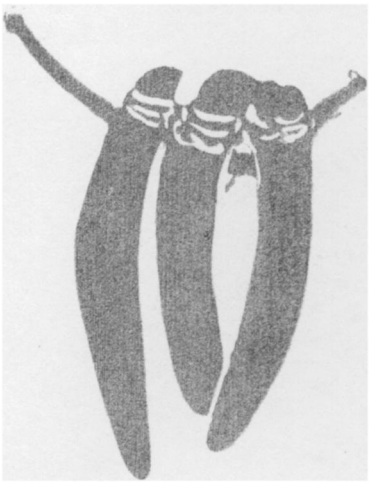

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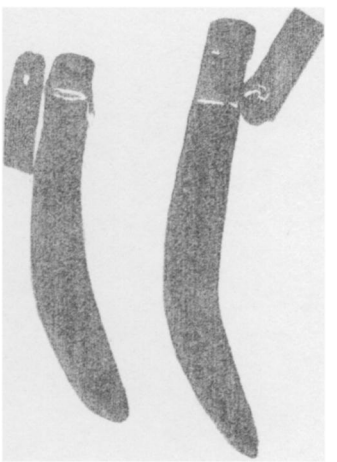

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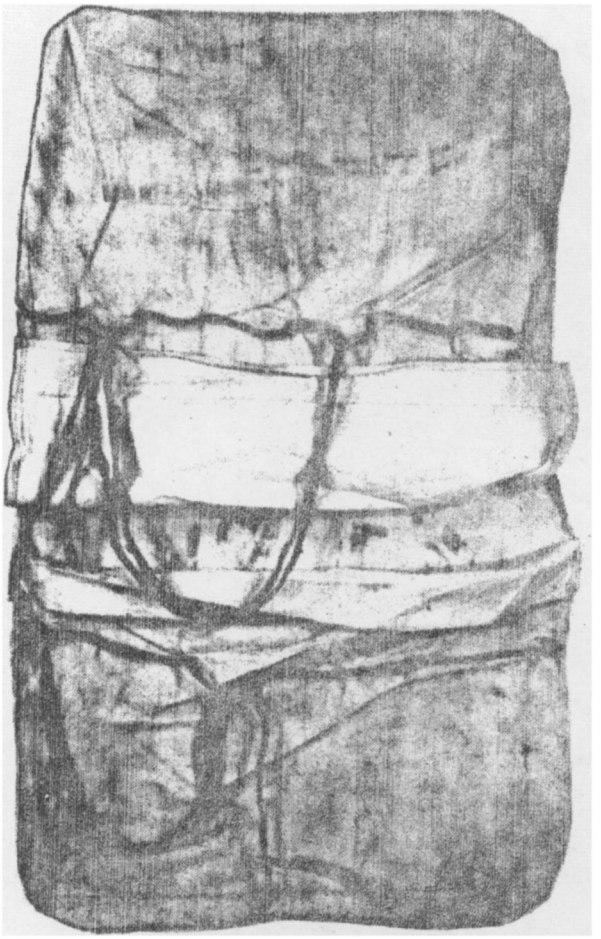

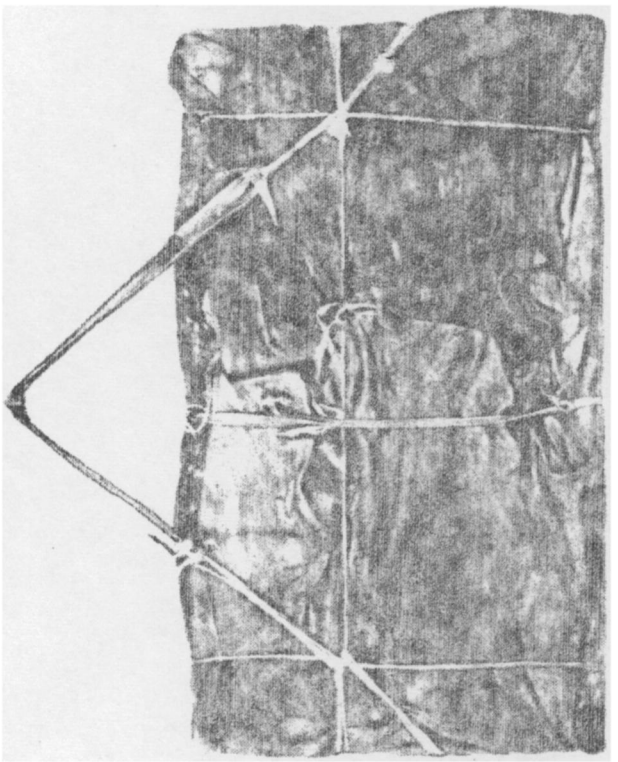

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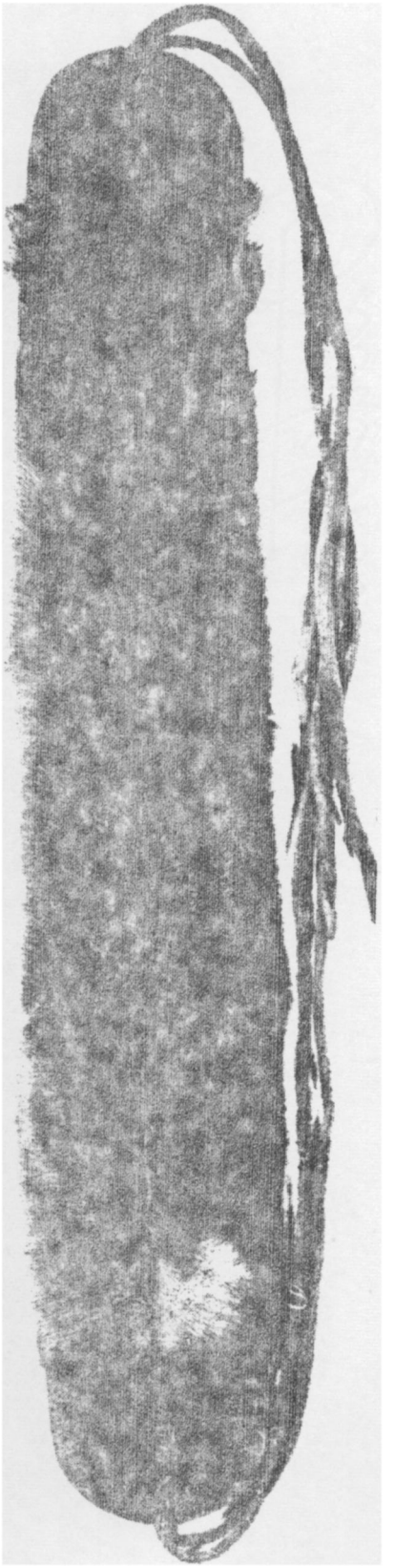

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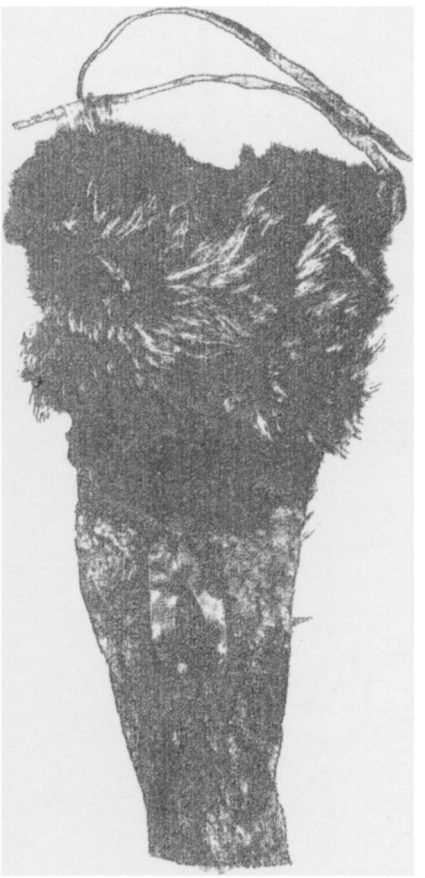

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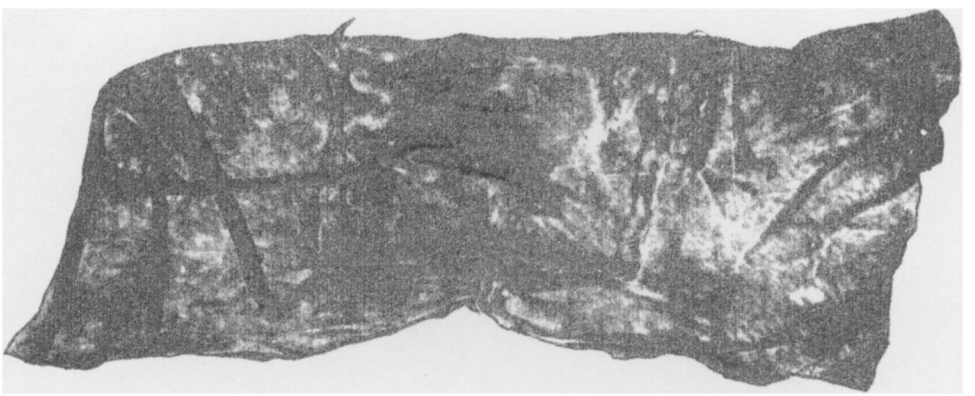

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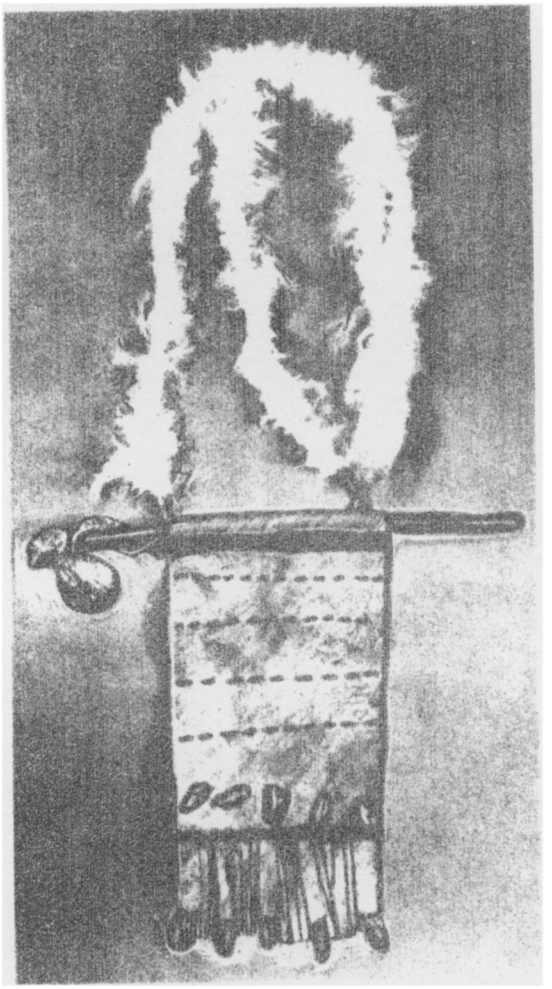

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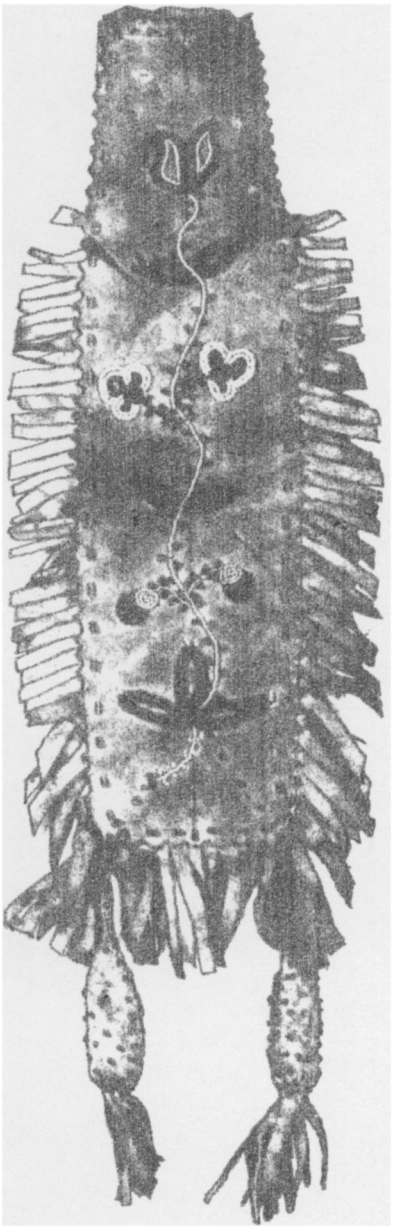

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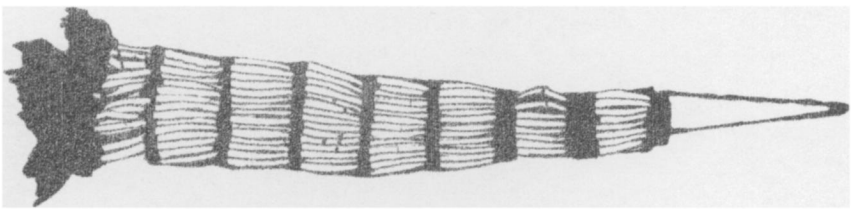

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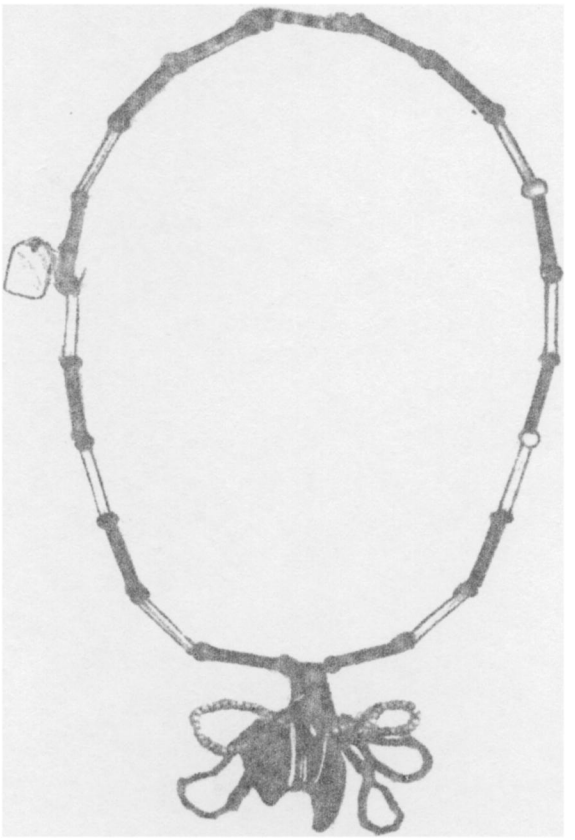

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ERRATA

In the previous issue of Anthropologica (Number 2, 1956) there were several typographical errors in the article "Leadership among the Northeastern Athabascans" by June Helm MacNeish, pp. 131-163. The corrections are as follows:

Page	Line		
131	8	for	specially as manifested
		read	especially as manifested
132	14	for	organization may be well surmised
		read	organization may well be surmised
136	10-11	for	The number of families involved might range from two or three (Petitot 1891, p. 76) to perhaps a dozen.
		read	The number of families involved might range from two or three (e.g., Richardson, 1851, vol. 2, p. 76) to perhaps a dozen (e.g., Petitot 1891, passim).
140	6	for	Though not unique (see 4)
		read	Though not unique (see Field, n.d.)
148	11	for	(Franklin, p. 270); (1819-20-21-22).
		read	(Franklin, n.d., p. 270)
149	8	for	the universality of leader figure
		read	the universality of the leader figure
149	31	for	accord him, "demand right" (see 10)
		read	accord him "demand right" (see Hoebel, 1954)

Page	Line		
149	34	for	established demanding right
		read	established demand right
153	43	for	"superior knowledge of competency"
		read	superior knowledge and competency
155	3-4	for	the Chippewayan (North-eastern Athabascan tribes
		read	the Chippewayan (North-eastern Athabascan) tribes
156	9	for	(McLean, p. 86)
		read	(Murdock, p. 86)
157	24-25	for	most of the nineteenth century non-professional observers
		read	most of them nineteenth century non-professional observers

Cum permissu Superiorum.