SUBMITTED TO REV. H. POUPART, O.M.I., PH.D.

DEAN OF THE FACULTY OF ARTS

LANGUAGE, LEGENDS, AND LORE OF THE

CARRIER INDIANS

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FOREWORD

These observations regarding the aborigines of the Carrier tribe of the Dene race have been noted during twenty years of close association with members of the tribe.

Two men have been responsible for providing most of the information included in these pages. One of these was the late Reverend A. G. Morice, O.M.I., who was always approachable and ever ready to assist any student who sincerely wished to improve his knowledge of the Carrier Indians. Through him knowledge of the language was obtained and his two-volume book entitled "The Carrier Language" reveals the intimate study he made during twenty years' residence among these aborigines. Father Morice died on July 21, 1938, at Winnipeg, Manitoba, before he was able to revisit the Carrier Indians who hoped to see their good friend again.

A chance meeting with Chief Louie Billie Prince in 1926 gave an opportunity of acquiring further knowledge of the Indians of this tribe, particularly those belonging to the Na'kaztli'tenne sub-tribe. This man was long recognized as the Senior Counsellor of the Indians in the village of Fort St. James and until recent years he served as Chief. He travelled widely in his younger days and his name may be found in the different pages of Test'Yes Nahwelnek as he moved
about within the Carrier territory. He visited Winnipeg when the Hudson's Bay Company celebrated the 250th Anniversary of their establishment, and he brought back to his native village much wisdom as a result of his trip. However, he regarded the native philosophy and the aboriginal sociological mode of life as being much superior to the white man's method of "living in a hurry." He could not comprehend the electric lights. He wondered at their being wasted all night long in the cities while people walked aimlessly to and fro. The stores and office buildings were everywhere locked up but the windows were lighted brightly, while in the morning, with sunlight streaming down for as much as four or five hours daily before business commenced in June, the stores still remained unopen. To the Indian traveller this has remained a mystery that has not been logically explained.

Through Father Morice and Chief Louie Billie Prince a kindly regard for the aborigines has been stimulated, and with their complete knowledge of the Indian language, they were both able to give the student of Indian lore an appreciation of the philosophy underlying many Indian traits and customs. The peculiarities of the aborigines are not at all strange to the natives but rather our manner of life is to them very mystifying. The game laws of the Province, which are frequently broken unintentionally, are beyond their understanding. They fail to realize that these laws are made and
enforced for the benefit of sportsmen who wish to shoot game and catch fish for sport rather than for use. They think that their old ways of protecting game are much superior to ours.

In the following pages an effort has been made to show that the Salishan tribes - the Okanagan, Thompson, Lillooet, and Cowichan - living to the south of the Dene country have left legends and landmarks that are of interest to their neighbours in the north. Similarly the Coast Indians - including the Nootkan, Kwakiutl, Bella Coola, Haida, Tsimshian, Tlinkit - have histories and customs entirely different from their Dene neighbours.

The Carrier Indians, who are the subject of this discourse, were misnamed by their eastern neighbours on account of their custom of having the widows carry the bones which remained about the funeral pyre of a departed Chief. This name "Carrier" or "Porteur" was given them by the Sekanais tribe; however, their real name indicated that they were "navigators." Their seven sub-tribes were assigned to distinct regions of the Carrier territory and their hereditary hunting-grounds included the area as far south as Alexandria, about 52° 30' north, and they occupied the country north to beyond the 55th parallel. The region extended east to about meridian 121° and west to 125° and 30'.
Their neighbours on the south-east were the Shuswap tribe of the Salishan race. On the south were their congeners the Chilcotins, whose dialect was very different and whose people were warlike and had, on occasion, been troublesome. To the south-west were the small tribe of Bella Coola Indians who had strayed off from the main body of the Salishan race at an early period. Immediately to their west were the Babine Indians, - a very similar tribe to the Carriers. They spoke a slightly different dialect and acquired a number of strange customs from their Kwakiutl and Tsimshian neighbours. On the north and east were the Sekanais Indians, who, like the Beaver, Nahanais, and Kaska tribes belonged also to the great Dene race. In fact it is believed that the Sekanais Indians were simply a branch of the Beaver tribe. The "Beaver" were known as the "Tsa'tenne," while the Sekanais were properly known as the "Tse'khe'ne" or "the people who lived in the Rocky Mountains."

Very little has been said about the Indian villages belonging to the Carrier tribe. Such villages as Thalhtan and Tsechah were important to them but belonged to their western neighbours from whom they secured many utensils and weapons through trading with the coastal tribes. Their villages, such as Thache, Pinche, Yekutche, Tsaoche, Nakaztli, Chinlac, Nautli, Leitli, and others to the south were largely residential villages and were in no way commercial centres,
prior to the arrival of the white explorers and traders who followed Alexander Mackenzie. These villages have largely ceased to exist. Some were totally wiped out during the smallpox epidemics of the '60's, others have been practically absorbed by the modern cities which have grown up on the sites favoured by the aborigines, as in the case of Prince George, which absorbed Zeitli village.

Among the outstanding relics of aboriginal times the "Dagger of 'Kwah" is the sole representative of the early Russian influence. The owner of the first iron axe obtained from the Russians and brought to the Carrier tribe by way of one of the trading villages was Na'kwoel. His iron implement has long since disappeared. 'Kwah owned the first iron dagger ever to appear among this tribe. It has been in the possession of 'Kwah and his descendants for two hundred years and is now in safe-keeping in the Parliament Buildings at Victoria. For many years Chief Louie Billie Prince, a great grandson of 'Kwah, was the guardian of this famous weapon, but he found some difficulty in retaining it due to the eagerness of souvenir hunters. He worried over its safe-keeping when absent from his cabin on hunting and trapping expeditions. The dagger was regarded as the emblem or symbol of Chieftainship in the Carrier tribe, and since Louie Billie Prince has given up the weapon he is not now regarded as the Chief but he remains the Senior Counsellor of Na'kaztli.
In recent years this fine old Indian has been visited by troubles and deaths on several occasions, and after his wife died in 1930, he wrote saying that he was "low in spirit and dejected" as a result of his bereavement. Later on he suffered the loss of a son who was drowned in the Stuart River not far from his dwelling. He spent many anxious days seeking for the remains, and after finding them he comforted himself by making a wooden cross, which he later set up on the river-bank to mark the place where the son's body was found. He has more recently suffered the loss of a grandson, who died from the great scourge - tuberculosis. In a communication just received from him, he rejoices in the fact that the European War is now over and his son, Solomon, who has been serving with the Canadian Forces in Europe, has come through unscathed and will shortly be returning home. Age is beginning to slow the movements of this active man. He celebrates the 80th anniversary of his birth on June 18, 1945, and even yet he engages in trapping and hunting in the lonely woods.

The following observations deal with facts concerning the Indians, and it discusses legends, lore, and landmarks of the Carrier Tribe; it also refers to the lives of the two men who, more than any others, have influenced the thinking of the Carrier Indians. Although there are
references made to many historical events and the geography of the Carrier region is frequently referred to, this cannot be regarded as a historical or geographical expose. It is a simple record of episodes and occurrences of interest to the tribe, and it serves to introduce the Carrier Indians to the student who may be inclined to take an interest in this branch of a truly great race, - the Denes or Athapaskans.
Chapter One

A DIFFICULT LANGUAGE

The Carrier Indians are a branch of the Dene or Athapaskan stock and bear close kinship with the several tribes that occupied the vast expanse of Prairie land between the Rocky Mountains and the Hudson Bay. The approximate southern boundary of this aboriginal race was the Churchill River west to Peter Pond Lake, thence along the Athabaska River to 55° north latitude and along the upper waters of the North Saskatchewan River (1). The several tribes of Algonquins were their immediate neighbours along the country to the south while their northern neighbours were the Eskimos by whom they were shut off from any coastal outlet to the Arctic Ocean or the Hudson Bay (2).

Within the present boundaries of the Province of British Columbia this tribe of Carriers and several other Dene tribes were kept from approaching the sea-coast by Indians of the Salishan race on the south and also by the Kwakiutl, Tsimshian, and Tlinkit tribes who inhabited the coastal strip extending into Alaska. Briefly the Dene


(2) Ibid.
race occupied an area in the form of a large spear-head driven into Canada and extending from Alaska clear through to the Hudson Bay. Evidence available indicates that they entered Canada from Siberia by way of Alaska (1).

In spite of their inland habitations, the Carriers were largely fish-eaters. They secured their supplies of this staple food from the Great River (now called the Fraser River) and its tributaries on which they lived. Annually the hordes of salmon returned as regularly as the summer. The Carrier language gives evidence of this annually recurring event in the names of several of the months.

Starting with our month January which the Carriers called "Sa-cho" (2) or "the month of the big moon," the following two months were called "Tcez-sel" and "Tcez-cho" (3). The meanings of these names are rather obscure but by the suffix of each it is understood that the one means "lesser" and the other "greater." Just what the prefix "Tcez" means is not certain.

For April the name of the month is "Cin-uza" which means "the moon of the bare ground," (4) and it refers to the arrival of spring after the ground has been

(4) Ibid, page 57, section 130.
covered with snow during the preceding winter. The month of May was called "Tecus-uza" meaning "the moon of the carp," (1) for during the month of May the carp were the fish usually taken by the fishermen.

The Indian word for month is "sa-nen," but it is sometimes written "Sa" and sometimes "Za" either of which is also the name for moon. It is quite understandable that the same word is used to designate month, sun, and moon.

The name for June is "Tanren-uza" which means "the moon of summer." (2) It is usually contracted to "Tanruza." That is the month when many of the wild berries of the district are beginning to ripen and is a time of rejoicing among the Carrier Indians who rely on them for food.

July is called "Kezel-uza" meaning "moon of the land-locked salmon," while August is "Thallo-uza" or "salmon moon" and September is known as "Pit-uza" which means "moon of the bull-trout." October is referred to as "Loh-uza" or "moon of the white-fish." (3) For the month of November the Carrier Indians had a name which was "Panraz-netse-kheh," (4) which literally means "during one half of it one navigates." This alludes to the coming of winter in the

(1) Ibid, page 57, section 130.
(2) Ibid, page 58, section 131.
(3) Ibid, page 57, section 130.
region peopled by these Indians; usually winter frost and snow comes on in November and makes navigation difficult. December is "Sa-tco-tenai" which means "a part of the big moon." (1)

Some particulars with reference to these fish-eating people are not easy to understand, but the importance to the tribe of the harvest coming from the sea and arriving late every summer is well known. Besides the great river (which was called the Fraser because of the great exploratory feat of Simon Fraser who in 1808 reached its mouth) and its tributaries these Indians very often visited such fishing waters as the Bella Coola, the Skeena, and the Nass Rivers, from whose waters large supplies of salmon for drying for winter use were taken. Many of the Indian tribal wars were fought over the rights to these streams in which the fish abounded, and such wars were not entirely settled at the time of the arrival of Europeans.

The purpose of the following pages is, in part, to indicate some of the facts concerning the Carriers and their immediate neighbours with whom they frequently had differences. In this work the Indians are dealt with in British Columbia from east to west along the southern boundary of the Athapaskan race. The Indians met with in this part of the country were almost entirely those of the

Salishan race. Only brief references to legends and pictographs of these tribes are recorded. Along the Pacific Coast the mention of the Tsimshians takes precedence over the Tlinkits and Kwakiutls for the reason that the Tsimshians were traders and they intermingled among the westernmost Carriers and the Babines to a greater extent than was done by their neighbours either immediately to the north or to the south.

In aboriginal times, the Chilcotin, Tsetsaut, Thal-than, Nahani, Sekani and Babine Indians were all comparatively remote from the Carriers who were grouped about the waters of the Stuart, Nechako, and Blackwater Rivers. However, representatives of the Carrier tribe have intermarried with the two latter tribes, and they have moved about within their ancient territories to a considerable extent. The old lines of boundary demarkation are not now readily noticed.

The travels from the east of Alexander Mackenzie and his associates in exploring the route to the Pacific Coast in 1793 is now a matter of authentic history. It is here referred to because of its profound effect upon the lives of the Indian tribes within British Columbia through which Mackenzie and his voyageurs approached the coastal waters at Bella Coola.
Among the other important events which played their part in the lives of the Carrier Indians, it seems that outside of the Fur Trade of early days, the stampede for gold in the early sixties and the construction of the Interior telegraph line along the banks of the Fraser River, thence across country to the north-west and up along the Skeena River, created the greatest impression upon the native mind. The prospectors were searching for gold which to the native had no value, and the telegraph line builders put through a roadway that has been followed by moccasined feet for four score years, and enriched the natives by the stores left when construction was discontinued. It meant a great deal to the natives who were thus afforded a ready supply of nails, wires, and other valuable materials which they skillfully used in the making of arrow-heads, fish-hooks, snowshoes, sledges, and canoes.

The Carrier tribe of Indians with their seven sub-tribes were called "porteurs" or "carriers" by the early Northwest Fur Company traders because of the peculiar custom that was common to all of them. On the death of a leading man or "Toeneza" they would cremate his remains on a great pile of dry wood gathered together for that purpose. After the cremation the widow of the deceased, who during the cremation had been required to tenderly see to the
burning of the body, was made to gather up any charred bones that escaped the burning. These she had to place in a small leather bag and carry them about with her wherever she went. In this custom the Carriers differed from their neighbours, and they retained this practice of cremation and carrying of the bones for more than forty years after the establishment of the early fur-trading posts shortly after the beginning of the 19th century.

Chief 'Kwah is about the earliest Indian of his tribe whose grave is now known, for prior to the death of 'Kwah burial among the Carriers was unknown, cremation was the recognized form for the disposal of the dead. Great care had to be observed in the matter of disposing of every last piece of wood gathered for the ceremony. The Indians were particular about all of the wood being burned. It was a sacrilege to use any of it for cooking or other heating purpose.

The burial custom was instituted shortly after the arrival of the Christian priests, the first of whom visited this region in 1842. He was Father Demers and he made a journey through from Kamloops and Alexandria (1) by the old trail that brought him to Stony Creek and Fort St. James, where he arrived on September 16, 1842. He was followed by Father John Nobili who three years later

came into the Carrier country bringing the Gospel message. He reached Fort St. James about the end of September, 1845, and during his brief visit among the Carriers "he succeeded in abolishing the customs of burning the dead and of inflicting torments upon the surviving spouse, and obtained a solemn renunciation of all their juggling idolatries." (1) Another Priest well known among the natives was Father LeJac after whom the Indian Residential School on Fraser Lake is named. He was the first priest to visit the Babine Indians.

In the foreword to the Carrier Prayer-Book, third edition, issued at LeJac, B.C., in 1938 by the late Bishop Emile-Marie Bunoz, O.M.I., just one year before the death of its author the late Rev. A.G. Morice, O.M.I., he mentions that the student must ever remember that Carrier is a language remarkable for the backward progression of its words. He further gives a number of notes which are useful in the study of the translation (2). Among the notes are the following items added to by supplementary information taken from "The Carrier Language."

This language contains no article, and except when they represent persons, there is no number or gender indicated in the substantives; thus, "yerh" means house or houses. It is necessary for the sexes, even in speaking

(1) Ibid, page 608.
of animals to add "khei" meaning husband for the male
animal and "at" meaning wife for the female. Such personal
nouns as terminate in "en" in the singular are sometimes
changed to "ne" for the plural. He quotes the noun "nahwol-
neken" which signifies "priest" is changed to "nahwolnekne"
for the plural, meaning "priests." There are many other
personal substantives similarly dealt with as may be seen
in perusal of Test^es Nahwelnek, or in studying Father
Morice's two volume work dealing with the language.

The various terms expressing kinship are numerous.
Many of the nouns begin with the element "X" and have the
pluralizing suffix "khe" at the end. In the vocabulary
there are such words as: "brothers," "Xe'^etsin-khe";
"wives," "Xkei-khe"; "husbands," "Xreskhe-ne," and "sisters,"
"Xe'^tes-khe."

A peculiar feature of the language has to do with
the method of counting. The aborigines were not mathemati-
cians. They had a very intricate system in dealing with
such numbers as could be expressed by showing the fingers
of the two hands. The numeral adjectives indicate this
method of counting. They are here shown under five distinct
sets for the numbers one to ten inclusive (1).

(1) Father Morice, "The Carrier Language," volume I, page 153,
section 329.
These are the figures one to ten:

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<th>I. Non-personal</th>
<th>II. Personal</th>
<th>III. Multiplicative</th>
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<tr>
<td>1. iXo</td>
<td>1. iXeren</td>
<td>1. iXerh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. nankhe</td>
<td>2. nane</td>
<td>2. nat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. tha</td>
<td>3. thane</td>
<td>3. that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. tenge</td>
<td>4. tine</td>
<td>4. tit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. kwollai'</td>
<td>5. kwollane</td>
<td>5. kwollat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Xthakanti</td>
<td>7. Xthakantine</td>
<td>7. Xthakantit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Xketenge</td>
<td>8. Xketine</td>
<td>8. Xketit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. iXo hulerh</td>
<td>9. iXo hulerhne</td>
<td>9. iXerh hulerh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. hwonizyai</td>
<td>10. hwonizyane</td>
<td>10. hwonizyat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

IV. Places, houses  V. Species

| 1. iXerenhen    | 1. iXoh     |
| 2. naten        | 2. nauh     |
| 3. thaten       | 3. thaunh   |
| 4. titen        | 4. tiuh     |
| 5. kwollaten    | 5. kwollauh |
| 6. Xkethaten    | 6. Xkethauh |
| 7. Xthakantiten | 7. Xthakantiuuh |
| 8. Xketiten     | 8. Xketiuuh |
| 9. iXo hulerh   | 9. iXoh hulerh |
| 10. hwonizyaten | 10. hwonizyauh |

The Carrier system of counting being based on
the number of fingers of one hand is quinary; thus, the
number six is rendered by a word which refers to both
hands, on each of which three fingers are held out while
the speaker utters the equivalent of that number which
is "Xketha." It means literally "on," -ke-; "one another,"
X-; "three," -tha. The same process is resorted to for
eight, while for nine the Carriers unconsciously conform
to the Greek method, saying, "iXo hulerh," meaning "one
is lacking" (that is using both hands entirely to make
ten). (1)

(1) Ibid, page 152, section 328.
The Carriers used the second list of numeral adjectives for domestic animals as well as for persons, while the third list is used for successive occurrences. Thus the Carriers say: "nat dzin" for "two days"; "that rhet," "three winters"; "kwollat thez," meaning "five nights," and "hwonizyat nahwotezet" for "ten years." (1)

It should be noted, however, that when it is a question of months they are counted by the first series of numerals.

The fourth series is resorted to in connection with houses, villages, and places. Examples are: "naten hanelyih-ket," meaning "two fields," and "thaten kreitlih-therh," meaning "three willow groves." (2)

As to the fifth list, it refers especially to assemblages considered as wholes, kinds, species, or pairs. For example; two kinds would be "nauh titorh"; three colours would be "thauh oten," and five households would be "kwollauh eniXni." (3) The first series is used on all other occasions. (4)

The numbers after ten are obtained by adding the word "on'at" which is the equivalent of our word plus. (5) To this they append the number it may be desired to express;

(2) Ibid.
(3) Ibid.
(4) Ibid.
thus, "eleven" would be "hwonizyai on'at ilo" and "twelve" is "hwonizyai on'at nankhe." For twenty the Carriers would say "nat hwonizyai" and for "one hundred" they say "hwonizyat hwonizyai," meaning "ten times ten." To express the number 365 in the Carrier language it would be necessary to say: "that hwonizyat hwonizyai on'at Xkethat hwonizyai on'at kwollai." To simplify this very clumsy method of counting, the younger generation of Carriers has adopted the English word "hundred." As to "one thousand" and higher numbers, they were beyond counting capacities of the prehistoric Carriers. Their descendants now use a slightly corrupted form of the word "thousand" which is "iXerh thauzan."

The ordinal adjectives are the former first list shown followed by "hwoX" or "pel" with it, such as "pel nankhe," meaning the "second"; "hwoX thaten yerh" meaning the "third house," and "hwoX hwonizyat" meaning the "tenth time." (1) It should be noted that the verbal adjectives,—that is practically all of the real qualitative adjectives whose meaning allows of it—are liable to be affected by four forms denotive of the nature, shape, or dimensions of the objects which they qualify. There is one for undetermined things, another for round objects, a third for long objects and anything relating to sounds and a fourth which connotes space or impersonality. Examples

of these are "nzu" which means "good" or "nice" and "ninzu" refers to the head or face, which is round and in this case means "fine," then the word "dinzu" or "tinzu" is said of sticks, rods, pencils, and all long objects as well as of the "voice." The word "hunzu" applies to anything containing space and impersonality, such as a house, the forehead or the sole of the foot. Added to these simple forms there are two compound ones which refer, the one "hwodinzuzu" meaning fair or beautiful to the "weather," and the other "pe-hunzu" to the inside of a receptacle. So a Carrier Indian would say "thepe stya hwodinzuzu!" meaning "what fine weather!" the word "stya" being an admirative particle. These Indians also would say "nti usa' pe-hunzu" meaning "this kettle is clean." (1)

The adjectives, either conjugable or not, follow the noun to which they refer. As for example, "tene nyiz" meaning tall man; "unin tenerai," his face is bearded; "tetcen dintsi" meaning bad stick and "dzut pe-hwozel" meaning warm coat; literally, coat inside is warm. Strangely enough the numeral adjectives precede the nouns as in English. Carriers say "nane tsekhu" for "two women" and "hwonizyat on'at naten yerh" for "twelve houses." (2)

(1) Ibid, page 10, section 17.
There are two kinds of personal pronouns in the Carrier language. One is the strictly verbal pronouns, which form integral parts of the verbs just as the terminal suffix of the Latin verb does, and then there are, in addition, separate independent personal pronouns. The former are noted in the changing personal crement of each verb; as for example "esten" meaning "I work," "inten" meaning "thou workest," and "ehten" meaning "you work." This will be further exemplified. The independent personal pronouns are chiefly of two kinds and are shown herewith:

- s-lu, my-mother
- n-lu, thy-mother
- u-llu, his-(her)-mother
- ne-llu, our-mother
- nuh-llu, your-mother
- pe-llu, their-mother
- norh-llu, our-mother

- se-ni, my-mind
- nye-ni, thy-mind
- pe-ni, his-(her)-mind
- ne-ni, our-mind
- nohwe-ni, your-mind
- pepe-ni, their-mind
- norhwe-ni, our-mind

The following table will recapitulate the foregoing, and present at a glance a vue d'ensemble of the Carrier possessive pronouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st form</th>
<th>2nd form</th>
<th>3rd form</th>
<th>4th form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>my</td>
<td>s-</td>
<td>se-</td>
<td>s-</td>
<td>s-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thy</td>
<td>n- (ny-)</td>
<td>nye-</td>
<td>ny-</td>
<td>ny-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his, her, its</td>
<td>ye-</td>
<td>ye-</td>
<td>y-</td>
<td>y-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>its (impers.)</td>
<td>hwo-</td>
<td>hwe-</td>
<td>hw-</td>
<td>hw-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our</td>
<td>ne-</td>
<td>ne-</td>
<td>ne-</td>
<td>ne-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our (of two pers.)</td>
<td>norh-</td>
<td>norhwe-</td>
<td>norh-</td>
<td>norh-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your</td>
<td>numh-</td>
<td>numhwe-</td>
<td>numh-</td>
<td>numh-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>their</td>
<td>pe-, rhi-</td>
<td>epe-, rheye-</td>
<td>ep-, rhey-</td>
<td>pep-, rhey-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the Carrier verbs they consist of at least two elements, the pronominal crement, which varies according to the person, and the radical element generally remain invariable. The following is an example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st conjugation</th>
<th>2nd conjugation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>es-tên, I work</td>
<td>esres, I gnaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ūn-tên, thou workest</td>
<td>ūlres, thou gnawest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e-tên, he works</td>
<td>(y)ežres, he gnaws (it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etse-tên, we work</td>
<td>tsežres, we gnaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eh-tên, you work</td>
<td>ežres, you gnaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erhe-tên, they work</td>
<td>rhežres (rhiyežres), they gnaw (it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ū-tên, both of us work</td>
<td>ūlres, we both gnaw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3rd conjugation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ežtiX, I eat (berries)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ūltiX, thou eatest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(y)ežtiX, he eats (them)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsežtiX, we eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ežtiX, eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rheltiX (rhiye1), they eat (them)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ūltiX, we both eat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are in the Carrier language no fewer than fifty-one kinds of verbs, all of which change essentially in the negative. An illustration of the negative of the above-mentioned verbs is shown in the three conjugations as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st conjugation</th>
<th>2nd conjugation</th>
<th>3rd conjugation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Xê'- zestên, I do not work</td>
<td>Xezesres, I do not gnaw</td>
<td>Xezetil, I do not eat (berries)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xê'- zintên</td>
<td>Xezilres</td>
<td>Xezetil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xê'- zestên</td>
<td>Xezilres (yiyežres)</td>
<td>Xezetil (yiyežtil)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xê'- tsežtên</td>
<td>Xtežres</td>
<td>Xtežtil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xê'- zehtên</td>
<td>Xeželres</td>
<td>Yežetil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xê'- rheštên</td>
<td>Xerhežres (Xe-rhiyežres)</td>
<td>Xerhežtيل (Ye-rhiyežtيل)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xê'- zîten</td>
<td>Xezîlres</td>
<td>Xezîltil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3rd conjugation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Xezîlres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xezîltil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
For the whole of the conjugations, the reader is referred to "The Carrier Language," volume II, page 196. The verbs provide a very difficult study, and practically the whole of the second volume of "The Carrier Language" is devoted to an examination of the verbs (1).

It is important to note that every complement in a word or bit of phrase precedes in Carrier instead of following the term or verb to which it is related. For example, "tenethi inli" is literally "an old man thou art" and means "thou art an old man." The expression "hwodzih sisre," literally, "a caribou I killed," means "I killed a caribou." In this way the Indian expression differs from our English method of placing words in a sentence.

The vocabulary which may be presented at the end of the present work should give a very general idea of the meanings of Carrier words, but for an understanding of them it requires the spending of considerable time among the tribes listening to the soft, guttural speech of the natives.

Chapter Two

PILAKAMULAHUH, THE ABORIGINAL LECTURER

Fairly distinct geographical boundaries separated the various tribes and races in aboriginal times. Strict observance of these boundaries was essential on the part of those who wished to remain in peace and safety within their own domain. It was seldom that the aborigines strayed far beyond their tribal confines in times of peace. However, the prosecution of war was dear to the heart of man even among Indians and frequently they intentionally strayed into their neighbours' territory.

West of the Rocky Mountains the valleys in which the tribes were settled were, for the most part, separated by mountain ranges. Sometimes a tribe occupied a definite territory within a valley and another tribe, perhaps of a different race, kept to another section of the same valley. The great waterway (already mentioned), known by a variety of local aboriginal names, explored in 1808 by Simon Fraser and named the Fraser River, in his honour, is a good example. In exploring the Columbia from its head-waters to its mouth, David Thompson observed that each native tribe knew the river only in its particular section.
Occupying the region from the Fraser River's mouth to the vicinity of Spuzzum were many members of the Cowichan tribe of the Salishan race (1). They had their tribal name for the great waterway which the Spaniards, about 1789, named Canal de Florida Blanca (2). Within the rugged Fraser Canyon lived the Thompson Indians whose territory extended north almost to Lillooet (3). These Indians occupied both banks of the Cita'tko (4), now called the Thompson River, which joined the Kooi (5) or Fraser River. The confluence of these two rivers was formerly known as "The Forks" (6). The place is now called Lytton (7). Through an error in geographical knowledge, the early traders and others believed that David Thompson had explored this river Cita'tko. Simon Fraser gave Thompson's name to it and also to the aboriginal people living to the south of it. The nomenclature has persisted and some historians have perpetuated the error (8). There the

(5) Ibid.
"Wild Onions," (1) as the Lilooets were called, possessed both banks of the river Kooi to a short distance above Pavilion where the Shuswap tribe claimed the stream and all fishing privileges.

The Shuswaps not only dominated the waterway of the main stream as far north as Soda Creek but they held the mouths of several important intervening tributaries as well. This tribe was very populous and kept to the eastern bank of the Kooi. They spread through all the region lying between that river and the Cita'tko up to its head-waters (2).

Of course, all of these four aboriginal tribes were members of one parent stock--the Salishan--so it is not surprising that they should dwell in comparative peace in a long valley where geographical obstacles to intercourse made travel difficult. There game was abundant and hordes of salmon annually struggled upstream. During the fishing seasons, in years when fish were plentiful and the people were well-fed, all was peaceful. Satisfied and busy people seldom disturb their neighbours. Occasionally, troubles are recorded as having existed between the tribes

of the Salish race and one of these unfriendly affairs is
worthy of repetition. It involves the Okanagans, a tribe
occupying the Southern Interior of British Columbia and
the present state of Washington between the Thompson terri-
tory and the domain of the Kootenay race. (1) The Okanagans
were among the seven tribes that traded their furs at Fort
Kamloops (2) after it was established about 1810. The other
tribes were the gentle Atnah, the lively Kootenai, the
surly Similkameen, the fierce vindictive Teet, the treacher-
ounous Nicoutamuch, besides the always hospitable and friendly
Kamloops. (3)

Since the settlement of the International Boundary
in 1846 between British Columbia Province and Washington
State, the Okanagan Indians evidently thought it would be
wise to have durable and visible reminders of the presence
of the line over which they were forbidden by law to move
freely. Thus, about 1865, the Boundary line was put through
and the Indians placed markers so that the members of the
tribe living respectively on the American and Canadian sides
of the 49th parallel would know when they came to the
Boundary even though it were on a plain. It is said that
these Okanagan chiefs met near the 49th parallel and had a
ceremony in the vicinity of Midway. This used to be an

(1) Ravenhill, Alice, "Native Tribes of British Columbia,"
page 23.
(2) Bancroft, H.H., "History of British Columbia," volume
XXXII, page 136.
area in which the Indians annually congregated for the purpose of gathering bitter-root or spetulum (*Lewisii rediviva*). (1) There they blazed and bound together two saplings of the Western Yellow pine (*Pinus ponderosa Douglas*) (2) that grows well in that dry climate. The trees united and grew, and to this day they mark the meeting place and separate the Okanagan Indians into their respective divisions.

There may be other examples of the art of grafting by aborigines but no finer specimen has come to my notice. Near the Kitsumgallum River in the Skeena Valley there is an unusual fruit-tree graft. There an apple scion was made to grow on a cherry stock in 1924. It was still thriving when seen by the author in 1927. (3)

It was through a Spokane chief, named Pilakamulahuh, who was connected with the Okanagan Indians and had a wife of Dene stock--possibly a Chilcotin woman--that the following incident came about. The Indian chief had been east of the Rocky Mountains with a band of Indian buffalo-hunters and he had seen white men on horses making great depredations among the buffalo herds, just about where the city of Helena, Montana, now stands. This Indian returned to his

home at the lower end of Okanagan Lake, possibly near the present Inkameep Indian Reserve, (1) in the fall. He was a much travelled man and had seen one of the wonders of the world. No Okanagan Indian had seen the equal of what he had witnessed. He had personally watched the white men, mounted on fast horses, killing the racing buffalo a hundred yards away and he told the story well. He repeated to the dusky warriors in the southern Okanagan Valley some of his experiences. He entertained other Indians of the village with stories of the whites whom he had encountered and his fame as a story-teller became so widespread that he was a welcome guest at the different Okanagan villages. In fact, his story-telling occupation became his chief business. He did little else than make journeys far and near to gratify his own vanity as a narrator and to satisfy the curiosity of his eager hearers. (2)

The people of the Shuswap Lake invited him to visit them and tell of the wonderful things he had seen. He first visited Spallumcheen where it took a whole month to tell all he knew of the doings of the white people and their "thunder sticks" which killed whenever pointed at a buffalo. From there he visited villages on the Shuswap

Lake and the South Thompson River, spending a month at each
place. He was given a great reception by the Indians of
Kamloops who, at that time, lived in their underground
dwellings by the river, where, till a few years ago,
**keekwilly** (1) holes could still be seen. The many "keekwilly
holes" still to be seen in the vicinity of Nicola (formerly
called Smee-haat-loc but now named for an old Shuswap chief)
(2) are ample evidence of the great number of Indians who
dwelt there. Commander R.C. Mayne, R.N., who wrote of
his experiences among the aborigines of the Southern Interior,
-speaks of the undulating valley that extended for several
miles, "which was dotted with Indian villages, the smoke
of whose fires was rising into the clear air." (3) He
-says further that they "could see Indian horsemen galloping
-about in various directions."
He wrote of a time perhaps
-eighty years after the massacre of the Seton Lake Lillooets.
Incidentally, it might be noted that Lillooet was known
-as "Cayoosh" in olden times. (4)

These visits with friendly tribes and the round
-of story-telling occupied so much of his time that Pilakamulahuh
-was not prepared to return in the fall to the

(2) Mayne, R.C., "Four Years in British Columbia," page 114.
(3) Ibid.
(4) Ibid, page 95.
prairies to join the annual buffalo hunt. Instead, with his faithful squaw and his little son, he accepted the invitation of Chief Tokane to spend the remainder of the summer at Pavilion where the Shuswaps had control of the fishing grounds of the Fraser River. Fishing was at its height just then and the neighbouring tribes were agreeable. They all loved a good story.

The trip to Lillooet was made by way of the Hat Creek and Marble Canyon. Hat Creek, which was named Riviere du Chapeau (1) by the early French traders, was a sort of cut-off route which made the going rather easier than by way of the forks of the river at Lytton, and it was much safer as far as unfriendly Indian tribes were concerned. By Hat Creek they went, passing the big rock which gave the strange name to that little mountain stream. Here, near the creek, is a great boulder with holes in it sizeable enough to accommodate an Indian's head. The natives say that in olden times their medicine men would stand with their heads buried in these rocks for hours at a time listening for the mysterious spirit messages from another world.

After wearing one of those strange stones on his head for a couple of hours and giving full reign to his imagination, the Indian medicine man could give utterance

to unusual pronouncements. It is unfortunate that present-day visitors to this valley are usually in a great hurry and they pass along to the Marble Canyon to the west without taking the necessary time to spend by the noisy waters of Hat Creek. It is also regrettable that present inhabitants of the area are ignorant of the very interesting lore of the region.

The aborigines that now inhabit this region between Cache Creek and Clinton are descended from those who formerly resided about Hat Creek, but they know nothing of how those rocks came to be hollowed out on one side at the height of a man's shoulders. They show how the medicine man used to stand for hours at a time, his head buried in the rock, awaiting spirit messages. They think the holes were made by friction, taking many years, and the fact that there is a smaller hole on either side of the main opening gives colour to the theory that they were used as rests for the hands.

At Pavilion this lofty chief, Pilakamulahuh, entertained the Fountain (1) band of Lillooets. This place got its name from a fountain of clear water that spouts up in the middle of it, and from the confluence of the Bridge River which was called Hoystien (2) by the natives of the

(1) Mayne, R.C., "Four Years in British Columbia," page 131.
(2) Ibid.
place. Many other Indians of the same tribe came from farther down the river. They listened with great interest to the stories about the human beings with white skins, blue eyes, light curly hair, clad in woven material and armed with weapons that killed not only buffalo, but birds on the wing at great distances, shod so that they could walk over the cactus without being pricked. The story got better as the speaker travelled.

It is interesting to recall that Pavilion was so named from the fact that it was the burial-place of an important Indian chief (1). It stood on a natural terrace, high above the river and when visited in 1859, a large, white flag was flying over it (2). This may have been named in honour of another chief than the Spokane brave, but it is significant that near here Pilakamulahuh had been done to death.

The chief of the Seton Lake band utterly disbelieved this highly coloured story and said so in plain language. He further asserted that there was no animal on which men could ride and outstrip a buffalo and no weapon that made a noise like thunder and smoke like fire and sent a missile so fast that it could not be seen. The horse had not as yet made its appearance in either the Okanagan, Shuswap, or Thompson territory, although the Lillooets too were later to become excellent horsemen. In brief, the surly old chief declared Pilakamulahuh to be a liar.

(1) Ibid, page 129.
(2) Ibid.
This was an insult that the Okanagan chief felt he did not have to take. He reached for his bow but the Seton chief's reach was quicker. He drew his bow and wounded him with two arrows. His friends, the Shuswaps, carried him back to their own camp at Pavilion where he died. But, before expiring, he urged his son N'kuala, then a mere boy, to avenge his murder. The Shuswaps wanted to retaliate at once but the wishes of their dying guest had to be considered, and what were a few years to an Indian tribe. The Shuswaps would be on hand to share in the massacre when the time arrived.

That is the story the old Indians of the Okanagan tribe used to tell. The death of the first "Chautauqua" lecturer was adequately avenged a dozen years later. N'kuala had reached manhood and it was possible for him to obtain the fire-belching thundersticks of which his father had spoken. After a successful winter's hunting, N'kuala obtained ten guns and a supply of ammunition, tobacco, and pipes. The following winter he trained the best men of his tribe in the use of guns. From the traders, who had established themselves at Walla Walla, he received the gift of a horse. So now with firearms and a horse in his possession he felt ready to undertake the task of avenging his father's death.
During the years that followed the killing of Pilakamulahuh, the aborigines belonging to the Seton Lake band fortified their village as a protection against probable attack. Some of these fortifications were found among the Lillooets by Simon Fraser on his journey in 1808. (1)

It was only natural that the son of an Indian chief should have a keen desire to spill the blood of the "Wild Onion" tribe whose chief doubted his father's veracity. There were many braves who were ready to join in the foray against the Lillooets. Meeting the Shuswap, Thompson, and Similkameen bands in solemn council, N'kuala, who was a full-grown man, invited them to join in the attack. They agreed and in the height of the salmon season they fell suddenly upon the unsuspecting Lillooets killing over three hundred of them and taking many women and children as prisoners. Little resistance was offered because the noise and deadly fire of the guns and the terrifying appearance of N'kuala on horseback directing the attack completely demoralized the astonished Lillooets. (2)

After horses had been introduced into this interior region the Indians became excellent riders and were fond of their animals. Early writers have told of their interest in horsemanship. Ultimately almost all Indian men owned splendid mounts and today there are many wild horses on

(1) Fraser, Simon, "Journal," page 178.
the ranges of British Columbia. (1)

These Okanagan Indians returned to their country by way of Nicola Valley. A short distance to the south-west of where now stands the city of Kamloops, here they passed another rock of more than usual importance. This rock, which is now in Thunderbird Park on the corner of Belleville and Douglas Streets in Victoria, has recently been placed by the Provincial Government in the unfortunate company of totem poles and grave-posts belonging to the Coastal tribes. It is certainly out of place in the vicinity of these carved totem poles. It used to stand on the border of the Thompson, Shuswap, and Okanagan territory on the high plain almost in view of the Iron Mask Mine, and for centuries it was used by the Indians in those parts as the rock on which the womenfolk kneaded together amalanchier berries, venison, and other ingredients which went in the manufacture of pemmican. In olden times, Saskatoons, as the amalanchier is commonly called, grew plentifully on the surrounding hillsides, and in protected spots they still yield their tasty fruit which are picked by diligent squaws and dusky children.

(1) Mayne, R.C., "Four Years in British Columbia," page 300.
When the rock was first removed to Tranquille across the Thompson River in 1933, it was found to weigh 3,750 pounds. It was slightly hollowed out in the top, the central basin being surrounded by a lip or margin fully two inches in depth. It had two small compartments as well as the one large one but these, through the action of weather and the moving from place to place, have almost disappeared. That great pemmican stone looks simply out of place in its present situation.

A number of specimens of sculpture in low relief on rocks in the southern interior districts have been reported by the Victoria Memorial Museum at Ottawa. (1) These petroglyphs include one below Chum Creek (2), near the Fraser River; another half-way between Lone Cabin Creek and Big Bar (3) on the same river, as well as one on Leon Creek (4) in the same locality. Then on the east bank of the Fraser River, a quarter of a mile above the mouth of Fountain Creek (5) one was reported. Half a mile east of Lillooet (6), on a boulder, was another. It is possible that all five of these petroglyphs were carved by the same Indian tribe.

(2) Ibid, page 609.
(3) Ibid.
(4) Ibid.
At one point between Hedley and Keremeos, below some boulders, is an ice-cave (1) at which ice can be secured at any time of the year. Pictographs or rock paintings are to be seen here (2). They are all well worth inspection and there are several groups of such paintings to be seen. It is here that the basaltic columns occur which have been called the "Giants' Causeway of British Columbia." (3) Then farther to the east there are pictographs about half a mile from Vasseau Lake (4) in the Okanagan Valley.

So here we have the situation as it existed when the white men first worked their way down through the Fraser Canyon. It is little wonder that Simon Fraser, after passing through the territory of the Denes, came upon a pallisaded village in the Lillooet country. It is recorded that other tribes, but particularly those of Coast districts, subject to occasional visitations from the fierce warriors across the straits, resorted to the use of artificial fortifications. At the mouth of the great river Simon Fraser discovered one such protected village. (5)

(2) Ibid.
(3) Ibid.
The Cowichan Indians in the Coastal districts took similar precautions against such war-like attacks and to this day the earthworks that were thrown up as barriers to invading tribes may still be seen. (1) Here too is another example of aboriginal art, for half a mile south of the east end of the Alexandria bridge at Spuzzum, on the east side of the Fraser River, within fifteen miles of Yale, a petroglyph two hundred and fifty feet long has been reported. (2) This one is perhaps the most remarkable one in a region abounding in aboriginal records.

(1) These earthworks are on Saanich Peninsula, at Comox, and at other points, particularly on Vancouver Island. (2) Smith, Harlan C., "Petroglyphs in British Columbia," volume 29, No. 4, 1927, page 609.
Chapter Three

LORE OF THE PACIFIC COAST

North of the Cowichan Indians roamed the Kwakiutls with (1) their totem poles in every village along the Coast. Over approximately four hundred miles of the sea-coast and except for the small area occupied by the Bella Coola Indians on Burke Channel, Dean Channel, and the estuaries of the Bella Coola, Dean, and Kimsquit Rivers, they held the coast until they contacted the Tsimshians near the mouth of the Skeena River. The Bella Coola tribe deserves more than passing mention. The name means "Beautiful Valley" and in such a one they have lived for untold ages. The tribe originally belonged to the Interior Salish stock. How they came to be separated from the parent race is not known, however, they have been driven by the Chilcotins from the interior and hemmed in by the Pacific and Coast tribes on the west so that they have occupied the "Beautiful Valley" from sheer necessity. This valley has been settled for half a century by Norwegian immigrants who brought to the new settlement, about Hagensburg, real agricultural skill. In many ways these people have improved the valley and modernized it. However, there is still much of the aboriginal life and culture remaining.

Take, for example, the Indian village of Stuie which is situated about forty-two miles up the valley from Bella Coola. According to our modern maps it is on the "ko" rivers of the Chilcotin Indian tribe—the Atnarko, Hotnarko, and Tsedakuko—right near the confluence of the Talchako and the Bella Coola River. The Indians named the village "Stuie" meaning "a place of refuge" where with their families they took shelter from their enemies who frequently attacked them from the sea. Both the Haidas and the Tsimshians were terrible foes to meet in open warfare, and it seemed to the peaceful Bella Coolas that the rocky valley offered greater hospitality and protection than could be had on the coast. Commander Mayne spoke of two native villages in this vicinity, namely, "Nautchaoff" and "Kougotis" situated on the "Alanoish" or "Bellhoula" River. One of these was perhaps the "Friendly Village" referred to by the great explorer.

About three miles east of Stuie is a huge rock weighing several hundred tons, which was used as a milepost in ancient times, and one mile farther on is a painted rock, probably the site of ritualistic initiations by tribal medicine-men. Extremely interesting rock paintings.

(1) There are many spellings of this name.
(3) Mayne, R.C., "Four Years in British Columbia," page 147.
are to be seen in this valley, and down about five miles to the south-west is Alexander Mackenzie's rock, where he recorded the end of his transcontinental journey in 1793.

One hundred yards to the west of the painted rock by a fresh water spring is an aboriginal rock sepulchre which is still intact. It is one of the few of its kind to be seen in British Columbia. It is probable that this sepulchre, which is of interest to the student of Indian lore and archeology, may have attracted the attention of Mackenzie and his party as they approached the Pacific over a century and a half ago.

Mackenzie's Valley, which lies to the north, is mentioned in his Journal which states that on July 15, 1793, he camped on a very pleasant green spot. The original camping-place is not certainly known now but the clearing still marks the site of the old Salmon House where, as recently as forty years ago, the Indians used to congregate for the taking and drying of salmon. Mackenzie's rock near Bella Coola is preserved as a National Monument by the Historic Sites Commission which has erected a pillar which bears the inscription "Sir Alexander Mackenzie's Rock, and the end of the First Journey across North America." It states the famous legend written by the great explorer, "Alex Mackenzie, from Canada by land, 22nd July, 1793." Mackenzie's performance was one of the outstanding feats in the history of Canadian exploration. (1)

(1) "Lady Tweedsmuir of Elsfield," National Geographic, volume LXXIII, No. 4, April, 1938, page 451.
In his Journal Mackenzie says, "I now mixed up some vermilion in melted grease, and inscribed in large characters on the south-east face of the rock on which we slept last night, this brief memorial." It is possible that the natives, who flatter the whites by imitating them, followed Mackenzie's example by painting the rocks in the valley--at least there are local evidences to support this theory.

The Tsimshians occupied much of the Skeena River Valley and also the valley of the Nass and this tribe extended northward until they contacted the Tlinkits.

The name "Tsimshian" indicates the first habitat of this tribe for it means, or expresses, literally "the people living along or on the banks of the Skeena River." This name correctly records an historical fact for this tribe, many generations ago, had lived at different points along the banks of that stream. The several bands whose names are here given indicate to those acquainted with the topography of the region and the language of the Indians the exact original location of all of them. (1) In all, there were nine sub-tribes located about Fort Simpson, on the Skeena, in 1857, with an estimated population of 2,300 Indians. The great decimation of Indians had scarcely begun.

These sub-tribes were: the Kitlootsahs or "people living inside"; the Kishpokaloats or "people of the land of the elderberries"; the Kitnakangeaks or "people who live where there are lots of mosquitoes"; the Kitandoahs or "people of the land of the poles"; the Kitsahclahs or "people of the canyon" (now called Kitselas canyon); the Kitlahns or "people of the island"; the Kitnatowiks or "people of the rapids" (literally, the people where the water runs swiftly); the Kitseesh or "people of the land of the hair-seal traps," and the Kitwilgeanls or "the people of the last place down." In addition to these sub-tribes, there were five bands of Tsimshians living away to the north of the Skeena, occupying the Nass and other valleys, and three bands were settled on the coast to the south of the Skeena.

The Tsimshians had chiefs who were the "Skoyalie" or "Royalty" of the tribe. They also had aristocracy or "Legakets" from which the tribal counsellors were selected. These men got their rank and official standing by giving away personal property, thus the potlatches were recognized. Potlatch is a Chinook word which means "to give away." Besides the common people or "Waheims" there was a lowly order of slaves or "Kligungita," either taken as prisoners of war or obtained by barter.
However, it is possible that the Tlinkits were the first aboriginal tribe in the Coast districts of British Columbia ever to have contact with white explorers from Europe. These lived to the north of Dixon Entrance, in Russian Alaska, there were also some scattered bands of Haidas, but the Kwakiutls kept to their home waters farther south. Of course, the Tsimshians overshadowed their neighbours in skill and culture, and were recognized as a superior, though warlike, race.

These and other coast tribes left many records of their early deeds in the petroglyphs that appear at different points on islands and boulders of the mainland. At least forty-four had been reported in 1927 (1) to the Victoria Memorial Museum at Ottawa. Some are still in fair condition and some have been marked the Historic Sites Commission.

It is recalled that in 1741 the Russian expedition under Vitus Bering and Captain Chirikov sailed south-eastward along the western coast of America in the vicinity of Alaska to about 58° north latitude. It was there that the Russian expedition reported the loss of fifteen men. It seems that the Acting Fleet Master with ten armed men were instructed to go in a yawl and explore one of the deep coastal indentations.

Very careful description of this particular incident has been given to us in the records of the Russians. The record states that the Master of the expedition was told to go ashore and make a landing, if possible, to search for human beings and treat any such gently. He was also to present them with a few small presents; namely, "a copper and an iron kettle, two hundred beads, three packages of Chinese tobacco, one piece of Nankeen, one piece of damask, five rattles and a paper of needles." (1) He also received several ten-ruble pieces to be distributed among the inhabitants and he was accompanied by a Koriak interpreter as it was believed that the Koriak language would likely be helpful.

The mythology of the Haida, Tlinkit, and other Pacific Coast aborigines closely resembles that of the Koriak and other tribes of northern Asia, and this indicates that the two groups were at one time neighbours. It also goes to show that the Bering Sea was used as a route for ancient migrations of our northern aborigines. (2)

Nothing was ever learned of the fate of the Fleet Master and his ten men who were instructed in writing to "see where there is a safe place for a ship to come in and anchor for a time, take soundings and make a sketch

The instructions were carefully worded and information of all kinds was sought regarding the rivers, the inhabitants, their nature, and the opportunities of trade. Although it was expected that the expedition would return to the ship within a day the men were instructed to take along provisions enough to last for a week at least. A signal was to be given when the men landed. This signal was to be the firing of a rocket, but the signal was never seen or heard. While ashore the men were told to keep up a big fire, especially at night. However, the only fire seen by those on board the ship was observed five days later. During all the time the Russians had coasted offshore they had seen no fire, no buildings, no boats, nor any other signs of human beings. Therefore, when they saw the fire they fired guns and their boat did not return to them. However, from the ocean they could see that as they fired signals from the ship the fire blazed brighter on the shore.

The Russians naturally concluded that the boat had possibly been damaged and could not come out. With this idea in mind the officers consulted and decided to send ashore the small boat with the carpenter, the caulk and the necessary tools to repair the long boat. The boatswain and a sailor volunteered to go with the other two
men who were instructed on reaching the shore and finding the boat in need of repairs to attend to the necessary work. The Fleet Master on being found was to return with three or four of the men without delay. (1)

These men went ashore but they did not return and did not give the required signals. Fifteen men from this expedition had now visited the bay and none had come out. The following day, however, in the early afternoon, two boats were sighted, a small one and the other one larger. The Russians proceeded to meet them but as they drew near it was seen that these were not the Russian boats because their bows were sharp and the men did not row but paddled them. They were evidently coastal canoes. There were four men in one boat and a man standing in the stern, while three of them paddled stood up and called in an unknown tongue to the Russians who signalled with handkerchiefs and waved an invitation for them to board the ship. This had no effect on the natives who proceeded shoreward and entered the bay out of which they came. The Russians were now certain that some misfortune had happened to their men. The Acting Fleet Master had now been absent eight days and during that time the weather was fair for returning and the mother ship stood close by. The action of the natives and their fear to come close caused suspicion that they had either killed the explorers or held them prisoner.

But even yet the expedition did not turn back. They waited another day and then sailed back at once for further misfortunes.

The fact of this Russian expedition having brought with them copper and iron kettles and other durable goods, including the necessary tools for making boat repairs, leads one to believe that these things came into the possession of the aborigines and, as later events show, some of the tribes used such articles for barter before the end of the eighteenth century.

An interesting legend concerning the first visit of the whites is recalled by Kithrahtlas, a Tsimshian chief. This legend is told because it throws some light on the story of the Carriers having secured European wares in pre-European times. It is as follows:—

"One day, when my grandfather was a small boy, four people from our village were out fishing for halibut. There was a great fog, and nothing could be seen. When their lines were all down, they suddenly heard a strange noise coming from the sea. But the fog was so thick they could not discover anything. They thought it was some great monster coming in from the sea, up to the shore where the village was, so they pulled up their lines and paddled to the shore, to tell their people to look out for the sea-monster.

"When they came near the shore, the fog lifted, and then they saw a big round monster swimming in the sea. Trees were growing out of its back, and heads of men were hung on the branches of the trees. Then a baby monster came out of the belly of the big sea-monster, and there were the heads of many white ghosts sticking up from the back of it, and they had long sticks, and pushed the water back with them, so the baby monster flew towards the shore.

"When it came to the beach, the white ghosts lifted up the sticks, and the tears of the salt water crawled down the sticks and fell in the water with a great drip-drip.

"Then the white ghosts went on shore. When the Indians saw them, they were afraid, but the white ghosts pointed to their halibut, and the Indians gave them one, and they cut it up and threw the pieces in a round black box.

"Then they wanted fire, and an Indian brought two sticks to make a fire with, and commenced to rub them together. But the white ghosts laughed, and one of them took a little dry grass, and something from his pocket, and made a big noise and a flash, and fire came right away in the wood. When the Indians saw that they all 'died.'
"Then they put the black box right on the fire, and it did not burn up, but the halibut was cooked. Then the Indians 'died' again.

"After that, the white ghosts empty a sack of maggots in the kettle. After a while they take the maggots out, and put them in a dish, and then they pour over the maggots the 'grease of dead people. Then they want the Indians to eat the maggots and the grease. (1) But the Indians run away behind the rocks. Then the white ghosts eat the maggots and the grease themselves.

"When they sit and eat, a goose flies over their heads. Then a white ghost takes a long stick and points it at the goose. Then there is a big noise and a small smoke, and the goose falls down and is dead. When the Indians see that, they 'die' again. But the chief and his slaves now come down to the beach. And the chief was painted black and red. And he stood up right before the white ghosts, and he looked wild at them. And the blood of many men makes his eyes very red. And when the white ghosts see his red eyes, then the white ghosts 'die.' And when the chief dances and sings the war-song, and sings very hard and high, then the white ghosts 'die' again."
Chapter Four

THE DENE TRIBES AND RIVERS

Evidently, the native tribes of America crossed by way of the Bering Sea from Siberia. It is thought that the last to enter Canada was possibly the Eskimo race which migrated to this country about the beginning of the Christian era (1), although it is assumed that the Athapascan or Dene race only preceded them by a few centuries.

Inland from the coastal region of the far north lie the habitations of the Yukon tribe of Indians who are of the Athapascan or Dene stock. They, like the tribes of the Stikine and other interior river valleys, have names that indicate their Dene origin. All of these related tribes appear to occupy the river banks and lake shores throughout the interior country.

Father Morice is our authority for the geographic tribal boundaries of the members of the Athapascan race. These people, he says, occupy the country from the shores of Hudson Bay on the east to the mountain ranges that slope down toward the Pacific. Their southern boundaries are the height of land between the Churchill and Nelson Rivers following the former in a south-western direction to Cold Lake, Alberta, then along the ridge which divides the basin of the Athabasca River from that of the North Saskatchewan.

where the line crosses slightly north of Tete Jaune cache. It runs due south from there to a point between the head of the Cita'tko, or North Thompson River, and Quesnel Lake whence it reaches the Kooi, or Fraser River, half way between Alexandria and Soda Creek. The river then forms the eastern boundary of the Dene's nation as far south as latitude 51° 30' north. The Lillooet Mountains in the south and the Coast range in the west then form its natural frontiers until the territory of Alaska is reached.

All of the immense region to the north of that line with the exception of a narrow strip of land on the sea-coast occupied in turn by the Kwakiutl, Bella Coola, Tsimshian and Tlinkit is Dene territory right through to the lands occupied by the Eskimos to the north (1).

The dividing line between the Athapascan or Dene territory in the west and that in the east is the Rocky Mountain ridge. There are only two gaps or passages through the mountains of the "tse-thi." These are the passes through which the Liard River, known to the Indians as the "Eret'qi-die" or "Strong Current River," makes its escape and the pass farther south where the Finlay River or Tsutsi of the Sekanais becomes the Unjigah or Peace River and

flows onward till it joins the Mackenzie which, on account of its gigantic banks, is known as the "Naotsa" to the Denes who inhabit its basin. (1)

Much is still unknown regarding the people who inhabited this section of Canada and adjoining Alaska in past ages. Arrowheads have been found on bedrock below twenty feet of frozen gravel (2) and only scientific research will reveal what wonderful pages of human history lie buried in that northland.

Flowing into the Pacific Ocean is the Great Yukon River which Father Morice claimed should be spelled and pronounced "Yukhon." He believed that the "k" sound in this word should be very guttural (3). At any rate, it is so in all terms for rivers in all of the Western Dene dialects with the possible exception of the Nahanais language. There is very little doubt the "river" is meant by the second syllable of this word. In this way, primitive peoples call the main artery of aboriginal commerce flowing through their own country; to them this is the river.

It may be noted that the streams flowing through all aboriginal lands have a meaning indicative of this feature. In this way, the Tsimshians called the Skeena River "Ksien." Similarly, the "Nla'ka'pamuh" or Thompson

Indians applied the name "Kool" to the Fraser River. Also the Shuswap Indians in the vicinity of Kamloops designated by the name of "Cita'tko" the great stream which modern geographers, by an error, designated the Thompson River.

(1) In almost every river-name the Carrier Indians included the syllable khoh or ko.

A notable exception to the rule just given is the native name of the Fraser River among the Dene tribes which were stationed on its banks near the meeting place of the two branches. They uniformly called it the "Kthakhoh" which means "one river within another." A sub-tribe of Carrier Indians living at Zeitli or "the confluence" with the Netchako, which appears quite as important as the main stream coming in from the east, doubtless recognized thus the equal importance of the two streams which at that point flowed one within the other.

This Kthakhoh is the same as the Tacouche-desse but the difference in spelling may be explained from the fact that the first European to travel over these waters was Alexander Mackenzie. He was accompanied by a number of Indians from east of the Rockies. To them the word

for "river" was "desse." In the Carrier language the syllable "che" signifies a river mouth, and the two syllables "ta cou" are but a corruption of the word "thakhoh" meaning "water river." The "Y" is a very common suffix in the Carrier language which will be explained later. Most likely Tako or Thakhoh was the name applied to this water-way by other Carriers.

So rivers are recognized at the outset as being the important waterways for this aboriginal people. They never wandered far from the main streams, or the navigable tributaries, unless portaging from one body of water to another. In some cases they had well-worn paths that led long distances between villages on different lakes. This was true of the great trails over which Oolachan fish and grease were brought for trade to the Indians of the interior. This was the case in the "Lakes District" where their trails from the Nazko to the Nechako and from Nautley to Na'kaztli still show in the primeval forests.

Although of a single stock or race, these Interior Indians in whom we are particularly interested are divided into four or five distinct tribes residing within the present boundaries of British Columbia. They include the western Nahanais, which are divided into three bands with distinct linguistic differences. There are those of the Stikine
River or the Thalhthan Nahanais, also the Taku sub-tribe who lived on the river of that name and some distance to the north of its basin and, lastly, the so-called Kaska Indians who occupied the vicinity of Dease Lake and McDame Creek. (1) Both of these words have the ko syllable, though they have been slightly mutilated on modern maps.

The name Kaska Indians became well known in Western Canada through the wanderings of prospectors and gold miners who invaded their territory in search of gold about eighty years ago. The district commonly referred to as the Cassiar is simply a corruption of Kaska or Kasha. The main seat of this whole Nahanais group is Taltan (which should be pronounced as though spelled "Thalhthan"), a fishing village on the Stikine River from which native hunters go abroad as far to the south as the sources of the Nass River, and north as far as Teslin Lake. The language of this tribe Father Morice found to be quite difficult, differing from the Carrier and Sekanais dialects. (2) The Nahanais tribe occupied the whole drainage basin of the Taku River as well as the upper portions of streams which flow northward to the Arctic Ocean.

(2) Morice, Rev. A.G., "Fifty Years in Western Canada," page 125.
The great Cassiar country is particularly well known to mining men. Attention was first drawn to Cassiar by the discovery of placer gold on Thibert Creek in 1873. (1) Other principal streams on which gold mining was successfully prosecuted included Dease, McDame, and Walker Creeks. It is said that during the first decade after discovery of the precious metal, more than five million dollars worth of gold had been recovered. (2) Although the region was long ago abandoned by prospectors, it is still well known and has promise of again coming to the front. (3) The Kaska Indians for whom it was named have not entirely disappeared.

The Nahanaïs boundary is rather difficult to determine, but their immediate neighbours to the south and east were the Sekanaïs, more properly the Tsekheňe or "people of the rocks." (4) A number of early writers have referred to this tribe of Indians. Harmon calls them Sicanies, Hale speaks of Sikani, Richardson of the Tsikani, Lathan of the Tsikni, Powell refers to the Sicaunie, Kennicott to the Thekenneh, Brinton calls them Sekanies, while Pettitot writes Thekkane. (5) All of these writers referred to the same tribe of Indians, who were regarded as "quiet, trustworthy and industrious." (6)

(1) "British Columbia Directory" for 1884-5, page 226.
(2) Ibid.
(3) Ibid.
(5) Ibid.
These were the Indians whom the white fur traders from Eastern Canada encountered when Alexander Mackenzie made his overland journey to the Pacific Ocean in the summer 1793. He travelled by way of the Peace River and crossed the Rocky Mountains through the Peace Pass. In writing of it he tells that above the Peace Point this river was called the Unjigah, which is the same as the Unjika to the average Sekanais Indian. The suffix "ka" indicates "river" when used in connection with place names. In the Sekanais language "khah" is the equivalent of "river" and this is usually written "ka," "ca," or "ga" as all these syllables are similarly pronounced by this tribe of aborigines. The river names in the Indian tongue had definite meanings. Omineca, for example, means "lake-like or sluggish river" and has been spelled and defined by Father Morice as Omenekhah, "a river that overflows its banks." However, another historical, but less accurate, authority has remarked that it is called "after a species of whortleberry growing there and forming a staple article of food of the Indians!" (1)

It seems a pity that the early explorers were not more careful in recording the place-names of the aboriginal tribes. Had they paid more attention to the language, they would have rendered present-day students a real service. However, it would appear that all white (1) Op. cit., page 322.
explorers in Western Canada were more interested in giving new names to geographical features than they were in perpetuat­ing the aboriginal names.

The Sekanais tribe occupied many parts of the drainage basin of the Finlay, Parsnip, and upper Peace Rivers. The Finlay River was known as Tsutsi or "big water" in the Sekanais tongue. To the Carrier it was Thuthi which has the same meaning. This river is joined by the Ingenika, Mesilinka, Osilinka, Omineca, Ospika, Chowika, Attichika, and other "ka" streams and enters Ingenika River at Finlay Forks. Likewise, the Parsnip River, flowing down from the south, has as tributaries the Missinka, Hominka, and the Mischinsinlika, as well as the Nation, Manson, and other streams which go to swell the great volume of the Unjika.

It seems that the Unjika or the Unjigah was first called the Peace River from the fact that a band of Algonquins known as the Knisteneaux Indians made peace with the Tsa'tenne or Beaver tribe on the banks of this waterway in aboriginal times. (1) Peace Point was where the pact was made. However, this is the geography of the great Canadian prairies and is apart from our study, which is devoted to the British Columbia aborigines.

This Sekanais tribe were a very wandering people. They did not possess any definite villages although they now centre mainly around Fort McLeod and Fort Grahame. It used to be that they set up their lodges wherever a few families decided to make their home for hunting season. They were hunters and not fishermen and the rivers upon which they lived did not have the advantage of the Pacific Coast salmon which were a staple article of diet to their western neighbours.

Before the white traders arrived among them this tribe had the advantage of being remote and inaccessible to their neighbours. They did not become affected by the potlatch or certain other western customs. They were a nomadic tribe in aboriginal times, having no villages. They had no buildings of any kind (1), of their own building. They had not a single regular rendezvous, apart from the trading posts, near which they would pitch their tents and stay for a week or two. Becoming restless, they would remove their tents and next be camped perhaps ten miles away. The Beavers and eastern Nahanais were likewise always moving about in search of their daily bread, which had to be followed through the woods.

It is said that the Sekanais who were meat-eaters despised their western fish-eating neighbours. (2) These people who lived in the valleys and glens of the Rocky

Mountains and along the north-eastward flowing streams did not even bury their dead, but very often they left them lying under cover of the brushwood shelters in which they died. (1) They did not observe a number of the customs common to the western Denes. But that was not altogether to their disadvantage for among the things which they did not possess was the potlatch (2) which was one of the vices which their western neighbours had adopted from the Tsimshians of the Skeena River valley.

When we consider the Kutchin Indians (3) by the Yukhon, the Nahanais of the Liard basin, the Sekanais by the headwaters of the Tsutai or the Babines inhabiting the basin of the Skeena, we find that the aboriginal word for their particular waterway signified "the river." In the same way, the several tribes occupying the valley of the present Fraser River referred to this great stream (4) as Kooi, Tacouche, and Ethakhoh, depending on the part of the stream flowing past their villages. The tributaries of this stream were given names which indicated that beaver, salmon, bear, mosquitoes, or berries abounded in or about each. Thus we find the Tsa-lla-khoh (Chilako), Tsapenren, Takho, Chilco, and other creeks with similar

(1) Ravenhill, Alice, "Native Tribes of British Columbia," page 105.
(3) Jenness, D.
names. The Indian names are now so greatly altered that they are unrecognizable. Take for example, the name *Tsa-lla-khoh*, which means Beaver Hands River (1); it is now called *Chilako*, which has no special meaning. Locally it is known as Mud River; perhaps that is a significant name for this meandering little stream now, but in former times it was the habitat for countless hundreds of beavers. It was also the site of an important native village which stood at its mouth. *Bednesti*, (2) the meaning of which cannot be understood by natives living in the region, is properly written "*Pit enistai*" and means the lake where "the bull-trout got gluttled," in the Carrier dialect.

Some of the old customs such as the holding of potlatches, which the missionaries had practically abolished (3), occasionally make their reappearance. In June, 1943, a potlatch was held at *Stella* and Indians from neighbouring villages were in attendance. Quantities of flour, bacon, and other household necessities were given to those present.

In this connection Mr. T.P.L. Mulvany, who has known the Carriers intimately for the past fifty years, states that, "In regard to the potlatch custom, it appears to be taming down. The younger Indians look on the old ceremonies with contempt. Still, at Babine three years

(2) Ibid, page 59, section 134.
(3) Ravenhill, Alice, "Native Tribes of British Columbia," page 121.
ago a tremendous crowd of Indians congregated and, although it was noticeable that there was no representation present from the Skeena, all the old Indians from points between Hagwilgate and Fort Fraser were present. The first day was taken up with sports and dancing by the younger Indians, but at night all the older ones gathered in the smoke-houses and the game of 'lahal' continued till morning. In 'lahal' games the Indians squat around a blanket and the contesting teams sit opposite each other. It is merely a game of 'which hand is it in?'

"Old William, the Babine chief, produced two peculiarly carved toggle-shaped bones. One of them had a black ring around it. The stakes, consisting of many moccasins, knives, rifles, boxes of ammunition, and skins, were placed, and towards morning the losing team were actually stripping off their clothes and betting them.

"At none of the potlatches of later years have I seen anything to compare with the orgies which were customary at Fort St. James some fifty years ago. It is evident that the potlatch has almost developed into a harmless social gathering. At Burns Lake in July last an old-timers' gathering was held, the original intention being just to have a quiet meeting of those who had settled in the Bulkley and Nechako District prior to the railway
track being connected at Fort Fraser. Chief Matthew Sam sent invitations to all of the Carrier chiefs, rented the local recreation grounds and by really creditable work staged a good celebration. The Indians have their own hall at Burns Lake and dancing among the younger Indians was almost continuous for a week. The older Indians, however, gathered in the smoke-houses and in a big old-fashioned brush-camp where the game of 'lahal' went on for twenty-four hours a day. Finally, the old natives staged an Indian dance carried out in aboriginal costumes. A few old bear skins, a quantity of swansdown and the usual run of hideous masks did nothing but excite the contempt of the younger Indians. It looks as though the potlatch customs were just dying a natural death. As Chief Matthew Sam put it, 'We want to be like white people in every way and have the same rights.' (1)

"I think that Chief Louie Billy Prince should be a wonderful source of information for you. However, I find that the present-day Indians are loath even to discuss old customs. The old Indian spirit is dying out, and this war will do more toward assisting them to imitate the whites than any complicated plan of education could possibly have done."

(1) Manuscript letter from T.P.L Mulvany, 1175 West 10th Avenue, Vancouver, B.C., March 25, 1945.
In this connection an interesting letter written by Chief Maxine George of Fort Fraser states, "We have noticed that our Indian soldiers don't rate with the whites and have missed many good jobs because of the poor education they have. By all means, we want our children to go to the schools as the whites. It would be very nice if they went to high schools and colleges, if possible." (1)

In a letter from the Indian chief at Fort St. James, he says, "You were asking me about the names of our soldiers who have been killed,—here are their names: Private Philip Tyee, Private Alex Casimir of Tatchi, and one of my grandsons, Private Herbert Prince. Four of our boys were wounded too; one of them has gone deaf. He was told he could go home, but he refused to do so and is still fighting. He has a brother in the Army so he doesn't want to leave him." (2) The same correspondent further states: "Those wounded in the army overseas were Private Frederick Prince and Private David Benoit. This is all I could tell you. Private Frederick Prince was wounded two times. First time they told him to go back home, but on account of his young brother Private Raymond Prince being with him that's why he did not want to leave him behind. There are two more Indian soldiers from

(1) Manuscript letter from Chief Maxine George of the Fort Fraser Indian Reserve, February 1, 1945.
(2) Manuscript letter from Chief Louie Billy Prince, Fort St. James, B.C., April 3, 1945.
Stella who were wounded and are now dead. It was Private Pierre Thomas who was wounded before Good Friday and died on Good Friday. He died in Holy Week this past Easter. Private Pierre Thomas is Long Charlie's daughter's son. Last year Private Albert Jardins was wounded and is dead."

(1) These letters indicate present trends and show what some of the Carriers are thinking.

"An educated Indian is a bad Indian" is a general opinion expressed by many ignorant people. I have yet to meet an Indian that was in any way harmed by the teachings of Father Morice. Some of the finest characters in the Northern Interior are those who in their young days came under his tuition. They did not become scholars but they became thinkers, which is better.

In the study of the Carrier method of educating their children, one cannot but be struck with the very close similarity between the methods used by the aborigines and those advocated by Dr. John Locke, the great English educator of the 17th century. "A sound mind in a sound body was the central thought in all of the Indians' training." This appears to have been true among all tribes of Canadian aborigines. In a practical way the Indians gave first consideration to the health of the body, and it may

(1) Manuscript letter from Chief Louie Billy Prince, Fort St. James, B.C., April 3, 1945.
be assumed that the sickly or delicate children did not survive. John Locke suggested that children be not too warmly clad winter or summer. The aborigines saw to it that the children went barefoot,--in fact, went around in the nude until they were several years of age. They were thus taught to bear the hardships of winter cold and summer heat. One particular feature was that when they reached the age at which footwear was necessary, they wore mocassins made of leather tanned in such a way that it readily absorbed moisture. Common colds were unknown among the Carriers until the disease was introduced by the fur traders. In fact, they were free from many of the disorders that affect the Indians of the present time.

Another of Locke's teachings that the Indians had already adopted was that their young were reared in the open air and in natural surroundings, wearing clothing that was not too tight or "straight-laced." It is almost necessary to read Locke's "Some Thoughts Concerning Education" in order that the development of Indian youth might be understood (1). The Indians were materialistic in their educational methods, and they taught their young men to be adept with the bow, fleet of foot, and cunning in woodcraft. That means of education and the product of that method was very different from our modern schooling, but it had its advantages.

Chapter Five

CARRIERS OR NAVIGATORS

There was no habitation at Fort St. James, which was later known to the natives as Na'kaztli, when James McDougall visited it in January, 1806. Prior to that time, one or two traders had explored the territory as far west as Carrier Lake, which is fifteen miles east of the present trading post on Stuart Lake.

Carrier Lake indicates that this region is within the domain of the tribe which the Sekanais called the AreXne. This name, as already indicated, referred to their custom of carrying the partly consumed bones of their braves who had been cremated. Just as the Chilcotin and Shuswap Indians buried their dead (and the Sekanais and some Nehanais left the bodies uncared for or simply dropped on them the brush shelter which had been used as a temporary residence in the course of their wanderings) so the Carriers and Babines practised cremation. (1)

The name of "Carrier Lake" shows that this tribe wandered far afield in olden times. The tribe was referred to as "Porteurs" by the French-Canadians who early traded European articles for furs. This name was bestowed on them by their Sekanais neighbours who called them "AreXne" because of their custom of forcing the widows of dead

warriors, after attending cremation of their remains, to carry the bones that escaped the burning. These were placed in a leather bag or pouch and suspended from the neck of the "Carrier." The unfortunate widow carried these for a year or more during which period she was regarded as a drudge and was no better than a slave.

The Carriers of Thatla (the correct Carrier word is "Tha-tlah" and it means "the furthest point from the outlet of the lake") or Takla Lake, as it is now called, were referred to by the Babine tribe as the Quotne or the Koetene. This is the same designation as the name of an altogether distinct race of aborigines far to the south and east. It is thought by some Carriers that Quotne or Koetene is the same word as Kootenay or Kootenais and signifies "River People." It seems to be quite logical to interpret it as "River People" for we have already seen that rivers are the important links of travel that bind together the several bands of related Indians. It is apparent to those acquainted with either the Kootenay tribe or the Carriers that the word has the same significance in either case.

A reputable writer has left a record of these inhabitants of the north. He wrote of them that all the natives of the Upper Fraser are called by the Hudson's
Bay Company, and indeed generally, "Porteurs" or "Carriers." (1) He says that they deserve the name and that it originated from their bearing a corresponding name among their neighbours, the "Beavers." (2) He further remarks that they call themselves "Ta-cully" or "Tah-killy" signifying "wanderers on the deep." (3)

To the Carriers themselves then we look for the real name of the tribe, and we find an appellation that has nothing to do with the peculiar custom of carrying around the dead bones of their relatives as alluded to above. It refers to the mode of transportation commonly used by and for the living members of the tribe. They were the navigators or Thakoekhelne (4), that is "those who go on the water." Harmon speaks of them as Takehine. Evidently, his hearing and his knowledge of their language were defective. He failed to note the aspiration of the first syllable or duplication of the second syllable of the name; apparently he was unaware that "tha" meant "water" while "ta" means "lips." (5) Others than Harmon erred in writing of them. Richardson called them Takuli,

(1) Mayne, R.C., "Four Years in British Columbia," page 298. 
(2) Ibid. 
(3) Ibid. 
(4) Morice, Rev. A.G., "The Great Dene Race." 
Anderson spoke of them as Tahkali and Tacully. Dall referred to them as Takulli and Pettitot speaks of Talk-colis. These were all the Thakoekhe'ne and all were good canoe men, splendid navigators, living by, on, and around water, and harvesting much of their food from it.

There were seven sub-tribes of Carriers, the TXaz-'tenne occupied Trembleur Lake shore and the northern part of Stuart Lake. The Na'kaztli-'tenne lived on the southern half of the same expanse of water which, prior to the coming of the white man, was known as Na'kalren. The newcomers had first called it Sturgeon Lake but soon it became known as Stuart Lake in honour of John Stuart, the early associate of Simon Fraser. Incidentally, John Stuart was a maternal uncle of Lord Strathcona. (1) During the early years of New Caledonia the Na'kaztli-tenne were the most important group of Indians with whom the Northwest Fur Traders dealt and Fort St. James was the great emporium of Western Canada.

Then there were the Nautlo-'tenne (2) who lived around Na-tleh penket. This name signified "it (the salmon) comes back." Today, "Na-tleh penket" is known as Fraser Lake and this section figures prominently in aboriginal legends as any part of the Carrier region.

The Tano-'tenne (1) was the designation of the people of Zeitli, now Prince George, where many Sekanais later made their homes. These Tano-'tenne as well as the Nutsa-'tenne, (2) the Nazkhu-'tenne (3) and the Ethau-'tenne (4) dwelt beside the muddy but turbulent river which was known to them locally as Ethakhoh.

The Nutsa-'tenne occupied the Blackwater basin while the Nazkhu-'tenne had villages around the mouth of the Blackwater and the Quesnel River. The Ethau-'tenne dwelt at Alexandria. From here onwards the river was known as Tacouche-dese. This name smacks of redundancy for, as already noted, "Tacou" is likely a corruption of Tha-khoh and "che" means "mouth" in practically all Dene dialects. (5) Therefore, the literal meaning of the words would be "water, river, mouth, river"--which even to the natives was ridiculous.

Possibly this name was given to the river by the men who accompanied Mackenzie or Fraser from the east of the Rocky Mountains. The word "Desse" is used in this sense by other members of the Dene or Athapascan race living on the prairies. In fact, Tsi-desse is the name

(3) Ibid, page 38.
(4) Ibid, page 38.
for the Peace River used by the Indians living at Fort Vermilion. The word Tacouche was readily understood by the Carriers who had many streams, similarly named, around their habitat above Fort St. James.

It was the land of the Na'Kaztli-'Tenne (1) that Simon Fraser, John Stuart, and a few companions entered in late July, 1806, on their way to erect a trading establishment on the site where James McDougall had put his blaze mark on a spruce tree in the previous January. The story is told by Father Morice who in 1885 met personally members of the tribe who were alive and present when the white strangers first arrived there. His record shows that there was great apprehension among the natives then living at Tsaoche, at the mouth of the present Sowchea Creek (2), when they saw the strangers approaching. (3) Tsaoche was at that time the headquarters for the whole Na'Kaztli-Tenne tribe. It was well supplied with fire-wood. Even today it is protected in winter by the surrounding spruce and balsam forests.

'Kwah was the head-man of his tribe at that time, though it was Toeyen (an inferior individual) who received the gift of a piece of red cloth from James McDougall. It

(2) Map of Central British Columbia, Provincial Department of Lands, May 1, 1940.
took several years for the white traders or intruders, as the natives sometimes regarded them, to realize that an error had been made in their choice of a head man to represent the Indians. The Carriers had no chief in the strict sense, but the fact that 'Kwah had four wives and had succeeded as a warrior by his own prowess in battle indicates that to the natives he had both rank and wealth. For an Indian he was in decidedly comfortable circumstances. (1) He was truly a Toeneza-cho as his epitaph records.

This 'Kwah possessed the only iron dagger his tribe had ever seen prior to the coming of the white man. (2) It is thought that this weapon, as already mentioned, was of Russian manufacture. It may have belonged to the ill-fated expedition of Bering and Chirikov previously referred to. An iron axe or adze had been acquired by Na'kwoel an honoured Toeneza of the Na'kazli-‘tenne. Through the gambling proclivities of 'Kwah it was lost to the Tlaz-‘tenne, living around the present village of Stoney Creek. (3) This axe possibly came into the Carrier country by way of Tsechah which was an Indian village near

the confluence of the ancient Hwotsen-khoh and the Skien. The present-day settlements of Ackwilget or Rocher Deboulle and Hazelton are in that vicinity and indicate the approximate boundary that separated the Babine and Tsimshian Indians. It is possible that both the first iron axe and 'Kwah's dagger had come through this village and into the interior at approximately the same time which was prior to 1750. The great "grease trails" of the Tsimshians and Tlinkits will be referred to in another chapter. They served as trade routes in early times.

Na'kwoel was a haughty individual and rather proud and self-important, but he became a nuisance to himself and all of his tribe before his demise at the age of 110. Before his death about 1765 he prophesied, with reasonable accuracy, that at his passing Na'kal or Mount Pope would dance in his honour; it actually did show some sign of upheaval at that time. The natives date from Na'kwoel's death the fall of the face of the cliff, which broke away and plunged into the lake. (1) The story of Na'kwoel and his death have been so often repeated among the Indians that the average stranger gets the impression that he is a much more recent notable than he really is.

That mountain consists largely of lime rock which is comparatively soft and is affected by moisture and freezing. This, in part, explains the many caves and holes that are still to be found there. On a number of occasions portions of the mountain had plunged into the lake but the piece that broke off in Na'kwoel's honour was particularly large.

There was no burial-place, tsen-ket, or burial custom for this illustrious owner of the first iron axe in the Carrier region. Na'kwoel was cremated as this practice was quite general among the natives of that tribe. (1) Later on, however, by the time 'Kwah joined his fathers, the tribe had just adopted the practice of burying their dead (2). 'Kwah was buried after his death at the outlet of Stuart Lake just on the left bank of the river (3).

Before 'Kwah's death, about 1840, the old chief placed on his tribe the responsibility for maintaining his resting place in good condition. (4) He made the promise that as long as his grave was well tended his spirit would see that the salmon returned to the lake each year, but if his grave was left uncared for by the natives, the salmon would fail

(3) Ibid.
(4) McKelvie, B.A., Vancouver Province, January 16, 1938, "Chief 'Kwah's Historic Dagger."
to make their accustomed return and starvation would over­take the tribe. There was something of an order in the last request of this old Indian warrior. The grave is kept in good repair, and will be while his descendants are able to keep it so.
Chapter Six

INVENTION OF DENE SYLLABICS

There were several missionaries of the Oblate Order who came into British Columbia long before the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Among them were missionaries to the Carrier Indians. (1) One of these was the late Father Nicolas Coccola, O.M.I., whom I first met at the LeJac Indian School. He was greatly beloved by the Carriers to whom he ministered at that time, but he was even better loved by the Kootenay Indians far away in the south-eastern part of British Columbia. On March 1, 1943, Father Coccola died in the Bulkley Valley District Hospital after more than sixty years of faithful service among the aborigines.

Possibly no Priest did more extensive ethnological, geographical, or historical work in addition to his missionary undertakings than did Father Morice for his interior district. The first years of his ministry were spent at St. Mary's Mission on the north shore of the Fraser River (2) about fifty miles from its outlet. There he worked with another young priest--Father Jean Marie LeJeune, O.M.I.--among the Cowichan Indians of the coastal Salish tribe. (3)

(2) Ibid.
Together these two missionaries established the original Indian brass band which Father Le Jeune conducted and brought through the Fraser Canyon to play at the various camps and entertained those who were engaged in railway construction. (1) For more than half a century Father Le Jeune continued to work among these Indians, and the Shuswap, Okanagan and Thompson tribes. Throughout a long and useful life he continued to give to the Indians the music of speech which he circulated by means of the "Kamloops Wash-Wah." (2) This word is the Chinook for "speak, talk, echo, and conversation," (3) and the "Wah-Wah" was passed from hand to hand among the Indians until it was worn to shreds. It is claimed that more than 2,000 Indians learned to read Father Le Jeune's shorthand and very much enjoyed their particular paper. (4) To them the paper talked and told stories of the doings throughout the land in which they were particularly interested. At first, the paper consisted of only four tiny pages, but by 1904 the June issue had grown to a total of eighty pages. (5) They are now very rare and highly-prized.

(2) Museum and Art Notes, volume VI, No. 4, page 123.
(3) Ibid.
(4) Ibid.
(5) Ibid.
Father Morice found it very difficult to educate the Indians of the Carrier tribe in reading, writing, and spelling. The spelling was particularly hard, and it is doubtful if the language could be written with the ordinary English alphabet. If it could be written, the question was how to read it. Spelling is difficult enough for an ordinary white child, but it was an impossibility to the Indian. So Father Morice's ingenuity had to be relied upon to find some means whereby Indian thoughts could be placed on paper. He invented the means by which the natives have been expressing their thoughts during the past sixty years.

Upon leaving the mission in 1882 Father Morice was appointed to Williams Lake Mission in the Cariboo. There he came in contact with Indians of the Chilcotin tribe, the TsiYkhoh-'tin (1) or the TsiYkhoh-'tenne. These are the southernmost branch of the Dene race in British Columbia. At that time they were still savages and some of the aborigines were still clothed in wild beast's skins,--at least such was the condition at that time of about half of the tribe which was called "the stone or mountain Chilcotins." The name TsiYkhoh-'tenne means "Young man's river people" although it is also much like "Mosquito River people." At the time of Father Morice's coming among them, these were a nomadic people who, on occasion, would repair to a group of log huts in the Chilcotin Valley.
One of the first efforts of Father Morice was to find a practical means of acquiring the Chilcotin language. (1) He secured the services of an old Chilcotin woman who, through the medium of the Chinook jargon, was able to carry on some conversation with the Priest, whose knowledge of English had been gained after he had left France for the wilds of Canada. From her he had his first lesson in those extremely delicate vocal explosions commonly called "clicks." (2) The important thing in having learned some of the Chilcotin language was that it was helpful to him when he took on his new duties at Stuart Lake among the Na'kaztli-'tenne. While in charge of the Williams Lake Mission, Father Morice had four of the southernmost divisions of the Carrier tribe under his supervision. These included the Indians of Alexandria, Quesnel, Blackwater, and Lhuskuz. (3) Naturally, the priest had to extend his knowledge beyond that of the Chilcotin dialect in order to address his congregations who spoke an altogether different language. It is said that Fathers Morice and Le Jeune were the only Catholic missionaries on the mainland of British Columbia who mastered the Indian languages sufficiently to use them in their pulpits. (4)

(1) Morice, Rev. A.G., "Fifty Years in Western Canada," page 27.
(3) Morice, Rev. A.G., "Fifty Years in Western Canada," page 37.
The traders who worked for the fur companies had never learned the Carrier dialect. They contented themselves with the trade jargon known as Chinook. This jargon, which is understood and spoken now by most adult Indians, and by many traders, is very limited in the number of words it contains. (1) It was made from French, English, Spanish, Hawaiian, and Chinook languages. The Chinook Indians lived around the mouth of the Columbia River. They early came in contact with the traders by their proximity to Fort Astoria.

Of course, the Chinook jargon with its few words is only a language for trade. It cannot express the fine shades of meaning that are contained in the beautiful and rich language of the Carriers. The following is a sample of the Chinook and expresses the "Lord's Prayer" as well as can be done with its limited vocabulary. (2)

Nesika Papa  klakata mitlite kopa Saghalie
Our Father who livest in the above

kloshe mika nem kopa konaway kah.  Kloshe spose mika chako
good thy name over every where.  Good if thou become

delate Tyee kopa konoway tillicums.  Kloshe spose mika
true chief over all people.  Good if thy

tuntum mitlite kopa illahee kahkwa Kopa Saghalie.  Potlatch
mind is on earth as in the above.  Give

(2) "Okanagan Historical Society," page 129.
kopa nesika kopa okoke sun nesika mukamuk. Manook klahowyat to us to this day our food. Pity

nesika kopa nesika mesachie mamook kahkwa nesika manook klahowyat us for our evil doing as we pity

klasta men spose yaka mamook mesachie kopa nesika. Wake mika any man if he does evil to us. Not thou

lolo nesika kopa kah mesachie miltite pe spose mesachie carry us to where evil is but if evil

klap nesika kloshe mika help nesika tolo okoke mesachie. find us good thou help us conquer that evil.

Delate konoway illihee mika illihee pe mika hias skookum pe Truly all earth thy earth and thou very strong and

mika delate hias kloshe, kahkwa nesika tikegh konoway okoke. thou truly very good, so we wish all this.

Kloshe kahkwa.
Good so.

While this Chinook was useful for purposes of trade, it can readily be seen that it had deficiencies for everyday exchange of ideas. On that account the prayers were rendered in the Carrier language by Father Morice whom the Indians called "Pel Molis," finding difficulty with such consonants as "F" and "R." The "Lord's Prayer" is given thus, with a somewhat free translation. (1)

Nepa, yakez sinta en, sutco nyuzi tolthi', nken-nehwoten holle', yakez hokwohtse yenket tca nyeni kennent-siyul' en. Dzin thatsek nellessete antit dzin neranin'aih,

Our-Father in-heaven thou-sittest who, may thy-
name be-honoured, it-obey-s-thee let-it-become, in-heaven
as on-earth too thy-will let-it-be-done-to-thee-like. Day
every our-bread now day (to-day) give-us, and in-the-same-
way-as those-to-whom-we-lent for-them we-throw-away, thus
thou too thou-lentest-us for-us throw-away, and it-tempts-us
to-it lead-us-not, but evil to draw-us-from. Let-it-be-so.

When in 1885 Father Morice received instructions
from his bishop to proceed to Stuart Lake Mission, he was
not exactly going to a foreign mission. His previous train-
ing, especially among the Blackwater Indians, was now of
assistance. The chronicler who wrote his memoirs states
that on the evening of August 20 he reached the outlet of
that beautiful lake and slept among the Indians encamped
on an island for salmon fishing. This was now the fishing
season and the Indians of his new parish, being fish-eaters,
were busy with their season's harvest. The small island
referred to is just opposite 'Kwah's grave and can be seen
from the bridge over Stuart River.
Within two months after his arrival among the Carriers of Stuart Lake, the young priest had devised and immediately set out to teach his Dene syllabary. He claimed for this syllabary that by its use the untutored natives would in a short time be taught to write, spell, and read. He based the Dene syllabary on that of the Cree Indians, which had been invented some years before by Rev. James Evans. (1) In his Memoirs he gives full credit to that pathfinder for his pioneer work. (2) However, he greatly simplified it. There is some resemblance between some of the characters in both syllabaries, but Father Morice's invention expresses the vocal explosions and indicates the proper vowel sounds contained in the consonantal signs most efficiently. Both the Cree Indians and the Indians of the Dene tribes regard Rev. James Evans and Father Morice as "the men who taught birch-bark how to talk." (3) It is said that James Evans, by his syllabic system containing less than fifty characters, was able to teach natives of the Cree tribes to read within an hour. Father Morice was equally expert as a teacher, and in a single evening he imparted the rudiments of the syllabary to many Indians. A number of aged natives, all of whom can express their thoughts clearly, concisely, and accurately in Dene syllabics, are

(2) Morice, Rev. A.G., "Fifty Years in Western Canada," page 87.
still to be found, in 1945, among the Carriers and Babines. They all claim that they had not had more than two weeks' training, and such primitive schooling as they enjoyed was nearly half a century ago.

The Dene syllabary gives the vowel sound by the direction of the curve or angle of each sign. This vowel sound is always perceived without the least effort of the mind. All cognate sounds are rendered by similarly formed characters, the general shape of which denotes the phonetic group to which they belong. Their intrinsic modifications determine the nature of the particular sound they represent. The modifications of such fundamental characters take place internally and are in conformity with logical and easily learned rules. Finally, in that system all of the smaller signs are consonants without any vowel, and in no instance is any of them used in a different capacity. (1) Father Morice claims that he knew a young man who learned the syllabary in the space of two evenings. Knowing how to use the syllabary includes all necessary knowledge of spelling and reading. The Indians were apt pupils and Father Morice was a capable teacher.

The Indians of this tribe of Carriers had a remarkable reverence for the written word. Their first contact with a letter had been the delivery of one in the spring of

(1) Morice, Rev. A.G., "Fifty Years in Western Canada," page 90.
1812. This is the very first long-distance transmission of a letter within the Carrier territory on record. (1) On the 6th of April, six couriers from Fraser Lake arrived bringing a letter addressed by David Thompson, the explorer to the manager of the North-West Company at Stuart Lake. Thompson was at Ilk-kay-ope Falls on the Columbia River and had written the letter on August 28, 1811. It took exactly eight months and eight days to reach its destination and had been carried by Indians of all the intervening tribes, a striking tribute to the awe inspired in the native breast by the white man's magic writings. They all treated it with the same respect, and it was handed on from Okanagan to Shuswap to Carrier and carried throughout the length of its long journey by Indians travelling by snowshoe or canoe. (2)

Writing of this letter, D.W. Harmon in his "Journal" of Monday, April 6, 1812, states: "Six Indians have arrived from Fraser's Lake, who delivered to me a letter (3) written by Mr. David Thompson, which is dated August 28, 1811, at

Ilk-kay-ope Falls (1) on the Columbia River. It informs me that this gentleman, accompanied by seven Canadians, descended the Columbia River to the place where it enters the Pacific Ocean, where they arrived on the 16th of July. Mr. Thompson, after having remained seven days, with the American people, set out on his return to his establishments, which are near the source of the Columbia River. From one of these posts, he wrote the letter above mentioned, and delivered it to an Indian to bring it to the next tribe, with the direction that they should forward it to the next, and so on until it should reach this place. This circumstance accounts for the great length of time that it has been on the way, for the distance that it has come might be travelled over in twenty-five or thirty days."

Throughout the fur-trading years the only means of communicating with the outside world was by the annual "brigades" and occasional "expresses." These were maintained by the fur-trading companies to transport their furs, goods for barter, and for carrying letters and papers.


Note - The Ilth-koy-ape Falls on the Columbia River are now called the Kettle Falls. They are forty-one miles south of the International Boundary. This name is evidently a Salish word: "Ilth-kape" means "kettle or basket woven from the osier willows." The Salish word "hoy-ape" means "woven trap or net." Therefore, this word "Ilth-koy-ape" describes the place on the river where the Indians fished with the basket net.
To the Carrier Indian a letter was test̓es melset or "paper travels." (1) Paper was called etest̓es being the same word as is used by the Indians for "fur" or "parchment." (2) The pencil with which the words were written on the paper was called a "paper stick" or test̓estcen. (3) Father Morice printed many papers and bound them together in the form of books and these became test̓es xenilteX̓, which means "papers bound together." (4) Similarly, the newspaper printed each month for the use of Indians and in their own characters was known as test̓es nahwelnek, which means "paper story." (5) This "paper story" was circulated every month throughout the length and breadth of the Carrier country for several years. (6) It was eagerly read in every village by many natives who looked on their copy of Test̓es Nahwelnek as a prized possession. The way this paper was preserved and guarded is remarkable. One can still find the occasional issue fifty years of age that is in good condition and is read by a few of the old Indians who know the syllabary and use it. All of this came about as a result of a little educational work done by a priest who loved his Indians. (7)

(2) Ibid, section 93.
(3) Ibid, section 105.
(4) Ibid, section 166.
The first page of the first issue of the Indian newspaper is reproduced herewith. The following is a transliteration of it in the Carrier language with a free translation into English:

Test̕es Nahwelnek
Paper Story-teller

Na'kaztli et e'tsinla
Fort Saint James-there-made

Etechu Test̕es 1891 Pe̊³ 10 Sanen
First Paper The 10th month

Ahwez ulene "Test̕es Nahwelnek" wekha' ninzen pe, wekha'tune:
Not get someone "Paper Story-teller" if they want it, ask for it.

'kacha au stape yu'en huze̊ ilert.
not too late yet.

Netest̕es ninthal'tset te, au eyu hana'ztulni rai'torh.
Our paper, if it gets lost, don't have to ask for another one.

Takhelne therh nehwo'ten ho'kwen na'tsehwelnek.
Indians amongst happen stories.

Na'kaztli et - Tit lesmen inle ta, Aleksi cha,
Fort St. James, there four weeks ago, Alexis too,

Tomyas cha, Tsapenren ntet la eta Yane yahatla et ile̊t ltzis
Thomias too, Beaver Lake where long ago many people died all

za tahezsai.
one night.

Thu pepa yu selli 'ke hetga lentorh. Pepa thenatehtl
Water turns to medicine it seems (turns to poison). Pray for th

Zulya pezkhe 'tsekheyaz hweztli. Pelomen t' setni.
Julia had one girl baby born. Philomine the name was.

Tit lesmen hwot'sen Tepa thepe nteta.
Four weeks time Tepa was very sick.
Thache et.-- Tepin u'at 'tsekheyaz se'Xtsi.
Tachi there.-- Stephen his wife a little girl had.

Yekuche et,-- Chon pel thane pezkheh hwoztXi.
Portage there,-- John number three of his family born.

Hwot'at et -- Ezak-chozh uye'yaz Mishel tazsai.
Babine there -- Issac-George his young son Mishel died.

Nulkheh et -- MeX taye u'at tatsah.
Nulki there,-- Mel chief his wife is dying.

Zeitli et-- Cheni-chon thepe nteta hoh ngan sta.
Fort George there--Jenny-John very sick, that's why I stay here.

Laklatwit et - Nansit taye uye, Choni en cha, in'kez Akhwen
McLeod there - Nansit chief, his son John him, too, and Akwin
uye' 'kes ncha Payes en cha nahel'toh tahezsai.
his son the biggest one, Pius him too, they both died.

Nta' nehwo'ten ho'kwen na'tsehwelnek.
(From) Down (below) south we tell stories (news).

Nta' nehwo'ten hokhwen na'tsehwelnek,
Last salmon time (August) a letter.

Nastleh ta, pel lezak hwezen'a ne'tso'keankez:
written by Father Le Jac said:

.... Nahwelnektco mtoh kamloops 'tse X'tseya, inkez shuzwapne
The Bishop here Kamloops direction went, and Shuswap people

Xane cha, temsenkhoh-'tenne ulene cha hepa iXnaostil.
many too, Thompson-people some too, they all came for him.

Alkoh 1300 eheniXtsek inle.
Altogether 1300 that many that time.

Hwonilcho'hwe thepe su' hetga; nahwelnektco perha
They did the right every way; The Bishop was glad for them,

hus'tet.
talk after.
YeXthekhu khwiX'az, nahwelnekto nat tzen neyerh nalyis inle
The Bishop two days at our house took a rest that time
in'kez pel petar cha, si cha peX in'tem hoh okanakan tse Yesiya.
and Father Bedard too, and myself too, with him in Okanagan
direction walked.

Ankwes 250 okanakanne yszihXi 'ket hetetiztii; thepe hunzu inle
Almost 250 Okanagan people on horseback to meet him, very good.

Kheyerh cha thepe su rheni heyuzeXi'sai ....
Their village too very good, heard him with eyes and ears ....
antit au'et hwilyameslek 'tse sethi'a.
now already behold toward Williams Lake direction they send me.

Of this historic magazine the author of Father
Morice's "Memoirs" states that he published with his special
type a monthly review which gave the chief news of the new
and the old worlds, related the life of a historical
personage, furnished stories and useful information and
answered any questions of his readers each month. (1)
That this is true can best be ascertained by perusing any
issue over the period from October, 1891, to May, 1894. (2)
A wealth of information exists in those issues.

Natives in the several Indian villages of Central
British Columbia were overjoyed when they read items referring
either to themselves or to their acquaintances. It is
little wonder that they preserved their precious copies!
The vital statistics there recorded were frequently read.

(1) Morice, Rev. A.G., "Fifty Years in Western Canada,"
page 91.
The birth of one (1) or the death of another had more than passing interest. Even items telling of the building of a log hut or the construction of a workshop (2) or the shaping of a canoe were all welcome news and very much a part of the Indian life. The paper brought distant places closer and told of doings of the world outside. (3) The report of the birth of the present Chief of Fort St. James appears among the items recorded and is a matter of delight to him to know that attention to the event was given over half a century ago.

The imagination of the average Indian is very keen although he lacks definite knowledge of far-away places. One old chief regretted to me the fact that he was now too old to climb a high mountain range near the head of Francois Lake. He said he had often thought of making such a climb because he wanted to see what the other half of the world was like. (4) He claimed that he had travelled all through the part of the country on his side of the mountains, and he had heard stories from the south which made him want to see what their cities were like. To him the world existed only to the horizon. For these natives Father Morice told something of the doings of New Westminster (5), Kamloops, the Okanagan and even Winnipeg, and the natives wondered what those places were like.

(1) Ibid.
(2) Ibid.
(3) Ibid.
One of them, after visiting Winnipeg, returned to Fort St. James and reported to his friends that all the people in that prairie city were crazy. He had never seen city lights before. The marvel of electric lights on the streets and in the stores amazed him. He saw people all around him when the artificial lights were on but on trying to enter a store in broad day-light the next morning he learned that the place would not be open for business until 9 o'clock. To the Indian this was foolish for at that season the sun was up before six o'clock. At the village of Vanderhoof, B. C., Indians may be seen squatting by the steps of stores for hours awaiting the opening that always seems late on summer mornings. It remains a mystery to the Indian why the white man should waste light, staying up so late at night, yet he does not make use of the day-light in the early morning hours.
Chapter Seven

SOME LEGENDS OF NA'KAZTLI

By the end of the last century the Indians were expressing their ideas and notions in a variety of items that they printed on logs, blazes made in trees on birch bark and on paper. They carved, marked, and engraved on almost any surface that would hold a message. The number of signs was surprising. Some of these items were trapline notices, "No Trespassing" signs and instructions to other Indians. Others were simply informative. Bishop E. M Bunoz, O.M.I., (1) of Prince Rupert informed me a few years ago that about the beginning of the present century these Indian writings were to be seen on many fences, tree-stumps and other places throughout the interior of the Province, and Father Morice states that a traveller through the northern forest of British Columbia could not help noticing that there had come into the country some artificial way of rendering one's thoughts which was beyond improvement. The Indian would tear off part of the bark of a tree trunk, or blaze it with his axe and, with one of those pieces of charcoal which remain silent witnesses to past conflagrations and are to be found in all parts

of the Columbian forest, would write on the bare wood such information, message, or appeal as he wished, which would afterwards be deciphered by the future passer-by. (1)

Also in the preface to his Carrier Prayer-Book published at Stuart Lake Mission in 1901, Father Morice says:

"The present is the fourth book printed with the signs of the methodical Dene Syllabary, which first came into use in the latter part of 1885, and which has since rendered most valuable services. Therewith the natives of northern British Columbia can write correctly and read with the greatest ease their various dialects, and therefore learn without the help of their spiritual guide all the lessons of the Catechism, all the prayers or hymns which he may direct them to acquire. They now correspond by letters, keep private accounts of their dues and of their debts, and post or scribble on the trees of the forest records of their late deeds or of their present wants for the benefit of parties likely to follow in their tracks.

(1) Morice, Rev. A.G., "Fifty Years in Western Canada," page 93.
"And all this, let us not forget, without any regular schooling, since our Indians acquire reading by the merest pretense of mutual teaching.

"The beautiful simplicity of their graphic system, the logic and method with which its characters are formed and grouped, the ease with which the respective position of each is discerned and the corresponding sound realized, but, above all, the fact that with them to spell is to read, have alone rendered such satisfactory results possible."

(1)

Father Morice, who prior to his death on July 21, 1938, was awarded the honorary degree of Ll.D., acquired a great deal of Indian lore while publishing his TestXes Nahwelnex. One of the Indians from whom he gleaned much information was Louie Billy Prince who was but twenty-one years of age when Father Morice came to Stuart Lake in 1885. He is a direct descendant of 'Kwah and is a son of the "Prince" of whom the Hudson's Bay servants wrote reproachfully when he asserted himself and traded at distant posts. (2) Several records of his episodes with the Chief Traders, notably with Donald Manson, are chronicled. (3)

This Indian has been my chief mentor in Indian affairs, and has on June 18, 1945, reached the age of eighty years. During the past score of years, I have heard from his lips the stories that were written down by Father Morice.

The story is given of the ancient "Little People" who lived within Mount Pope, or Na'kal as it was called by the tribe. It is quite similar to that which was told to Father Morice by Louie Billy Prince of Fort St. James in August, 1919. This old chief, who has accompanied me on many journeys throughout the Carrier region, is the main source of information regarding Carrier legends. He has a good memory and deliberate, clear delivery. His knowledge of ancient tribal beliefs is very sound.

On one occasion, in company with the Hon. K. C. MacDonald, I was listening to an oration being delivered by one of the aborigines, outside of the church in a native village. Not being able to follow the speaker, who spoke well, I remarked "that man is quite a speaker, isn't he?" The Chief drew himself up and answered firmly but caustically, "Yes, he's a great man, he thinks." It was evident that the Chief entertained his own opinion of the outside speaker, and it wasn't high.
The story regarding the name Na'kaztli which belongs to the village at Fort St. James is as follows:

"In ancient times, people of different tribes hated one another, therefore, inhabitants of Na'kaztli made war against the Little Dwarfs. The Little Dwarfs used to go down to Na'kaztlen for war and fought in the water in spruce-bark canoes. Many of the arrows, which they shot from their bows, fell in the water which was flowing off from the lake. The meaning of the name of the lake was "it flowed off with the arrows of the Little Dwarfs." At that time the outlet of Na'kaztlen was barred off by a causeway. Once more the Little Dwarfs having come down to the lake on a war expedition broke through the causeway by shooting their arrows into it. Pieces of the causeway floated down and became an island. This is what is now called Long Island on one side of which is the grassy outlet." (1)

Another story told by the same Indian relates to those Etnaneyaz or the Little Dwarfs who lived in Nakal. The story is as follows: "The people we call Little Dwarfs are short, small men about three feet in height. They are stronger than ordinary men. They have a village inside

the mountain that is called Nakal. People could see them only at certain times. In the early spring two men left Na'kaztli on the bare ice in the direction of the northern end of the lake. Near Tsetesgeh (1) they perceived someone who was approaching them. He was a very short man, a Little Dwarf, who was loaded down under the weight of a black bear which he was carrying. The two villagers, thinking him an easy prey, said among themselves, 'Let us snatch the bear from him.' One of them pushed him away to make him fall while, in doing so, he fell himself. Again, the other tried to do the same; he, too, fell to the ground. While doing so they both followed the Little Dwarf to the shore. Finally, they arrived at the summit of the mountain and there the Little Dwarfs' cavern stretched out before them. Into this cave the Little Dwarf returned with his guests. Then he threw down the bear he had been carrying and also he threw down the visitors.

"Behold, it was a village that the Little Dwarfs had in the mountain. The men from Na'kaztli stayed one year and their fellow villagers believed that they had disappeared forever. The men wanted to go home, but the Little Dwarfs decked them in ex'pai or dentalia shells covering the whole of their bodies with them. And they

(1) A geographical point on Lake Stuart between Fort St. James and Pinche.
indicated to the villagers the way they should take to get home. 'Follow carefully this river,' they said, indicating the small stream of cold water which flows out of the mountain side. They did so and returned to the village going on all fours because the passageway was narrow and low in the rocks. They crept back to Tsetesgeh where the water flows from the rock and then returned on the bare ice one year later in the direction of the outlet of the lake.

"Their fellow villagers at Na'kaztli were at a loss to know what had become of them. They believed that their wandering relatives were dead, and they prepared to make a potlatch celebrating the succession to the rank held by these two people when a year after their disappearance two white beings appeared on the ice. Amazed, they said, 'What is that, it looks like swans.' All the villagers went out to look at them. They recognized them as they walked back near the shore. 'It is indeed the two men who disappeared last year on the bare ice,' they said. On the surface of their knees and their elbows was shattered for having been in contact with the rocks through which they had returned to reach their village." (1)

The same legend is here reproduced in the Carrier tongue with literal, word for word translation:

**Etnaneyaz**  
**THE LITTLE DWARFS**

Etnaneyaz epezni ene tene  
Dwarfs-little we-call-them those-whom people

ntukneyaz rhinli hwe' rintorh. Tha nekhe  
very-short they-are whereby it's-they. Three human-feet

aten derhelyiz, inkez tene anes rhi'thes  
about they-are-as-tall-as, and men more-than they-are-

hwe rhintorh. Nti dze' Nakral i yo  
strong whereby it's they. This mountain Nakral it down

tseh kheyerh rehhwo'x'ai. Hwolerhthe zah tene  
towards a-village they-keep (have). Sometimes only people

epe'ih. Etsentse selli ta', nane tene  
use-to-see-them. Early-spring it-became when, two men

thenzai ket nu' rhethiz'az hwe, Tsetezqeh  
bare-ice on up-lake they-went-off thereby, Tsetezqeh

hwenroh rhi'es hwe n'azte etsire'h rhi-  
near they-are-going when from-away o.-is-packing they-

thi'h'en (2649). Tene ntukenyaz eten. Etnaneyaz  
perceived-him. A-man very-short does (it is). Dwarf-little

nli (2660), ses tetsek hwe  
he is, a-black-bear entire when he-packed-being-bent-

kenainajrel hwe yire'h. Et la nyune tene  
back-on-himself whereby he-is-packing-it. Then those men

nane tarhindenjitsit. "Ses urwahayolthe'h,"  
two they-presumptuously-think-of-him. "The-bear let's-

rhetni. Enkha iceren 'en  
both-take-from-him," they-say. Therefore one away pushed-
predICT set nadultis ha. Et tigern za
him-with-the arm he-tumbled-down that. Then himself only

eyenadiltez. Tutca ikeren tca eyinla, en
tumbled-down. Again one also did (the same)-to-him, he
tca yenadiltez. Nderheyex'en hwe
too tumbled-down. They-do-the-same-to-him when they-both-
rheyeyananistaz. Etekez ntc dzeY tYata
landed-back-following-him. At-last up mountain (at) the-top

rheyeyananistaz. Et Etnaneyaz 'an
they-arrived-following-him. There Dwarfs-little a-cavern
uyo hwehon'a, et pepeY nenanqa'.
in-it stretches-off, there with-them he-arrived-back.

Et la ses yirey nyo hweyano, inkez
Then the-bear he-is-packing down he-threw-it-away, and
nyune marheltorh tca nyo hwepano. Inkez
those (who) are-both also down he-threw-them-away. And

pepananthisqa'.
he-set-off-following-them.

Et azi kheryerh rhehwuY'ai hwe.'
Then lo! a-village they-kept (had) whereby
rhintorh. Ikerh nahwotizet peziyn erhiten,
it's-they. Once time-yearly-revolved near-them they-did
inkez peY kheryerh hwotenne
(stayed), and with (them) village inhabit-(those)-who
iXiz rhehullel eponinzen.
forever they-disappeared they-think-them.

Ene tene au'et marhethites
Those men behold they-are-going-to-return
hokhwa'rheninzen. Et la eYpai pe hweponiYtsi,
they-want-it. Then dantal in with they-adorned-them,
peysste ndeltco eXpai za rheyeXtsi, inkez ntse their-body whole dentalia only they-rendered it, and where

Xenarhethites hwoponiXthan. "Nti hwenli they-are-going-to-pass-back they-showed-them. "This flowing-
i khoh za nauhtneh," eperhetni; enkha off which river only do (go)-back," they-say-to-them; there-
narhethistaz. ZeXten huntat fore they-both-started-back. Here-and-there it-is-narrow
inkez madaXtuk hwe* huntorh tse pet, et horwa and low-down whereby it's-it stones in, that on-account-of

EoX pe tca erheten. Tsetezqeh tse tse on-all-fours by also they-do. (At) Tsetezqeh stones from

hainli et niz hanarhilkret, it-flows-from there from-the-rear they-both-emerged-creeping
inkez nuzte thenket narhethistaz.
and from-up-lake ice-on they-both-went-back.

PepeX kheyerh hwotenne peker-
With-them village inhabit-(those)-who worried-
heninthai, rhehullel et horwa. Au'et about-them, they-disappeared that on-account-of. Behold

tarhezsai rhetni inle*, hoh they-are-dead they-say it-was, while they-are-going-to-have-

peketererhethileX et hweni Yiarhedetqa.
a-succession-potlatch-over-them that for they-are-ready.

Et la horwat thenzai ket nankhe Xyel Then one-year-after the-bare-ice on two (things) are-white

i iltsai. "Ti sepa eten? Tsentco which appeared-afar. "What (expl.) does (is)? A-swan
deltorh i eten," rhetni. Tsiyane thepeniX* en is-like that-which it-is" they-say. All look-out-of-

inle*. Au'et thapa hwenroh narhites doors it-was. Behold the-shore near-it they-are-both
The legend of Pleiades and the morning star was recounted to me by Louie Billy Prince in June, 1943. He said, "A Toeneza (1) had a daughter, or Sak-esta (2), about twenty years of age who had been raised by her parents and given all the necessary protection. One night she dreamed and was afraid of her dream. The next night she had the same dream but could find no reason for it.

(1) A prominent man—generally known as a chief.
"After a while, this Sak-esta found that she was to have a baby which would arrive in the winter time, but instead of having one child she had four and they had the appearance of Ziyaz. (1)

"The parents of the girl were frightened by the appearance of the four children and their animal countenances. All of the tribe began to leave the village. In winter time the Indians camped together behind spruce shelters. They find it hard to light fires and they carry coals from one house to another. The father of the girl said, 'We will put out the fire and leave our daughter to die alone.' However, one man called Tatsan (2) or 'The Raven,' by stealth, secured some coals and left them for her in an old moccasin. When her relatives were gone, she used this to light a fire. She made up her mind to raise the children.

"On the same day as she was left alone, she tried to snare rabbits but got nothing. She kept the fire burning and put the babies together in a basket to keep them warm. The following day she snared four rabbits and cooked some for herself but she made soup for the children and fed them from a birch-bark container, using a wooden spoon.

(1) Ibid, page 112, section 229.
(2) Ibid, page 112, section 229.
"The children grew quickly and before the snow was gone she saw her children's bare footmarks around the fire. She wanted to see how the children acted, but they always saw her first so she put up her cape outside where the children could see it and she walked to the house by another path. She listened to the children's voices and peering through the cracks saw them playing together. At one time they were human and at another they wore the pelts of dogs. When they had removed the dog skins she went in suddenly and grabbed the skins and threw them into the fire. However, one of the children retained the dog skin. The boys were annoyed at her for destroying the skins and they scratched at her, but when they grew up she made bows and arrows for them. They shot grouse and rabbits and on all their trips they took along the little animal who still looked like a little dog and had retained the dog-skin in which she was clothed. She became a fine hunter.

"One morning in the winter the children went out and came running home to tell of a hollow tree having fallen. Inside of it they saw a huge bear which their mother had told them about. She instructed them to go back and kill the bear, which they did. They brought
it to the house. It was very fat. After that the boys hunted for bear and killed many. The mother dried the meat and rendered the bear grease.

"When spring arrived Tatsen, 'The Raven,' returned to see what had happened to the girl. He found smoke coming from her house and when she saw him she sent the boys out to bring him in and give him food. She told Tatsen the whole story. He said that no one wanted to come back because they were afraid. He said that he expected only to find her bones but that he was glad to see her alive.

"He asked for more meat and bear fat (1), and she said, 'You go back to camp and get your family and bring them back here. Do not tell anyone that I am alive.' Now Tatsen had many children so the girl gave him bear's fat for each of them. If she gave him meat the others in the camp would find out where he had got it and would know that she was alive. Therefore, when he returned to camp he reported seeing nothing. When he went to bed he told his wife the story. He gave a small piece of fat to each of his children and they ate it under the blankets so that no one else would see. The youngest child, being very hungry, tried to swallow too large a piece and choked

(1) This was a favourite morsel to give to Indian children.
on it. When it came up it fell out in the fire. The sharp flame attracted attention. The Indians scraped it out of the fire and discovered it was bear fat. They questioned Tatsen who had to admit the whole story of his find of the Sak-esta alive. Next morning, the whole tribe went to the cabin that the girl had built. She gave a large basket of fat to her mother and everyone was happy.

"The girl's grandmother was getting old by this time. She required animals' hearts for nourishment. The young hunters did not get her what she wanted but instead gave her old rotten wood wrapped in skin. When she found out what was done to her she cursed them. She said she hoped they would go out and never return. They went out, the three boys and the dog, and were never seen again but, in the morning, the mother saw seven elk rise up into the sky with the little dog following them and behind her came the three boys. These can still be seen in the eastern sky at that season of the year. The boys are stars led by a small star which is the dog, and the seven elk have become the little cluster of stars which is known as Sem-i'nu which means Star-Island or Pleiades. (1)

(1) Morice, Rev. A.G., "The Carrier Language," volume I, section 177,
"The mother of the boys was very angry at the grandmother for cursing the children and causing them to disappear into the heavens. She grabbed the roasting willow stick and stabbed the old lady through the heart. She took the body out of the house on the stick and threw it with all her strength to the east saying, 'You will be the morning star and never come back here.' The next morning the Indians looked to the east and behold they saw the morning star rise." (1)

The story of Mesdzih or "The Owl" was related to the writer in 1943. The story is in practically all particulars identical with that given to Father Morice and appearing in his great work. (2)

The story is that when the Indians had settled in their camp one evening, they all buried themselves in their blankets but a little child sat up on his litter. His mother told him to go to sleep but he disobeyed her and started to cry. His grandfather told him to go to sleep, but the child did nothing but cry. Again his elder brother said to him, "Go to sleep,"--he did not want to sleep and would not stop crying. In turn, his little sister said to him, "Go to sleep quickly." But the child continued crying. He did not want to sleep.

(1) Ibid, section 141, Rem. 4, page 65.
Finally they all went to sleep without him.

Now, in every corner of the lodge there were strips of black bear fat hanging down. An owl came in and bit part of the strip. Again he bit part of another hanging slice. He did the same to the one hanging on the other side. Just as he was biting off the fourth slice of bear fat he clawed the child and tucked him into his ear and carried him off to his own nest.

The next morning the Indians worried about the child who had disappeared. His father set out in search of him. Whenever he saw a bird he would ask him, "Have you not seen my son?" and they replied, "Who knows?" Then he would shoot them with a blunt arrow and walk on. He met a willow grouse and asked him, "Have you not seen my son?" The grouse answered, "If you will know, redden with rouge the edges of my eyes." (1) Whereupon the man took up some rotten detritus and therewith rouged his eye edges. The grouse was displeased. He said, "You are too clumsy." The man brought his satchel of vermilion with which he rouged the edges of his eyes again. The grouse said, "Look only along the skirt of the spruce thickets."

The man then searched just on the skirt of the trees. He reached a little pool of water. Looking into the water he saw in the bottom his little son who was smoothing an arrow shaft. The man immediately started to scratch off the soft bottom which he did for awhile when, tiring out, he stood erect and looked up. Above on the edge of an owl's nest in the tree the father could see his child who was smoothing an arrow shaft. He took back his little son, set up in his stead a stump of about the same size. He took his son home in the absence of the owl which was then hunting rabbits for the little one. When the owl returned he uncovered the child, but there was no child, nothing but the stump. Then the owl started crying, "Is it then for you that we reared him?" he said as he wept.

The owl armed all the birds and left on the warpath to recover the little son. They arrived at a river across which they set a cow-parsnip (1) (*Heracleum lanatum* Mich).

The birds first crossed over it, then a muskrat gnawed underneath the cow-parsnip as the owl came ashore. The bird said to him, "Grandfather, when you reach the middle of the stream, stamp violently on the bridge with

both feet." Therefore, having arrived mid-stream, he stamped on it with both feet. There the bridge broke when he was on it and the owl floated down with the current.

He then came in sight of a man who lived there. The man said to an elderly woman, "Something is floating from up-stream which you will use as an apron." Then, having come near on the surface, "Behold, it is an owl." Then they brought him ashore and started drying him off after which they asked him, "Which is the spot where you are still wet?" He answered, "Only both my armpits are wet." So they poked a firebrand in his armpits. "Henceforth, don't meddle with men, hunt only rabbits for your nourishment," they said and, having let him go, the owl flew off. Thenceforth, owls hunt only rabbits for their substance.

This myth is somewhat reminiscent of Aesop's Fables as it is one of the few which appears to have a moral being, "Mind your own business."

There was some reason for these legends. The geographical features around Stuart Lake give fair substantiation for the stories. Many of the place names hereabouts are taken from Nakal (1) which towers 4,625 feet above sea level and over 2,600 feet above the level

of the lake which in olden times was referred to as Nakal-
ren. (1) The Indians also called the widest part of the
lake Nakaltrerh (2) which literally means "within Nakal."
In addition to the river which flows out of the lake and
is called Nakalkhoh (3) there is another stream flowing
into the lake which lies almost parallel to the former.
It was called Nakaztlentce. (4) It is referred to in
Father Morice's map of 1908 as St. Mary's River but is
now called Necoslie. The "tce" or "che" in the name of
this river refers to the mouth of the stream which empties
there. There is a difference between the river which flows
out of the lake known as the "khoh" and the river which
empties into the lake which the Carriers call "tce." Fort
St. James itself was called Nakaztli (5) and all of these
places derive their names from the fact that there are
one or more caves or holes in Mt. Pope or Nakal.

(1) Ibid.
(2) Ibid.
(3) Ibid.
(4) Ibid.
(5) Ibid.
Chapter Eight

LAKES AND LANDMARKS

Some years ago, about 1935, one of the Indians of Fort St. James, the same Chief Louie Billy Prince who related the foregoing legends, went out on a hunting trip which took him over Nakal or Mt. Pope. Already he had lost, in part, the use of one hand in a shooting accident (l), but he was still a mighty hunter. Here he came across a bear track freshly made and he followed it. The track led to the mouth of a cave in the side of the Mountain. Crouching on his hands and knees, the Indian peered within and not being able to see in the darkness he crawled in in search of the bear. Pushing his gun before him as a protection, he continued to gaze forward and by and by he detected the light gleaming from an animal’s eyes not more than twenty feet away. Raising his rifle he took careful aim and fired. He was nearly deafened by the percussion, and he lost no time in backing out through the tunnel. He made his way rapidly back to Fort St. James and secured the help of several Indians who brought with them a rope.

The Indian chief, Louie Billy Prince, returned into the cave, felt around and found the warm body of a dead bear. He fixed the rope around its neck and with (1) Vide, page 65.
the assistance of the other Indians they drew to the light a fine big female bear. They were in the act of skinning it when they heard slight murmurings or whinings coming from the cave. Louie Billy Prince went in boldly and secured two bear cubs which had been nursing when the mother bear was shot. Louie Billy has told me that had he known this was a mother bear with young cubs at her side, he would not have ventured near the mouth of the cave let alone enter into it. His bravery and his steady arm were caused through ignorance of the situation. An Indian, although comparatively bold and brave, has a well-grounded fear and a profound respect for bears of any species. (1) Naturally, Louie Billy was not afraid of the Dwarfs because he had, in company with Father Morice, explored the caves of Nakal many, many years ago, and he was firmly convinced that there was nothing to fear. However, he recalls the stories that used to be commonly told by the old men of the tribe to their children and he likes them.

Already we have referred to Nakaztlentce, which was later called Nakaztli and is now Fort St. James. For many years after the first trading post in New Caledonia

(1) Morice, Rev. A.G., "Fifty Years in Western Canada," page 72.
was established here in 1806 by representatives of the Northwest Fur Company, the village was known by natives and whites alike by its name Nakaztli. Later on the name Fort St. James was used for the trading post and the Indian village continued to be Nakaztli. (1) That village stands at the mouth of a river that enters the lake near the present trading post. The lake which was called Nakalren by the aborigines and later known as Stuart Lake was called Sturgeon Lake for several years after it was first explored. (2) Directly west about five miles was the more ancient Indian village of Tsaotce already referred to. At the north end of the same lake was Thatche, now called Tache which means "water mouth." It is a very large river which flows into the lake, and there a large number of Indians resided in aboriginal times. Not far away was another powerful clan which had their homes on the same stream at a place called Yekutce or Grand Rapids, perhaps eighteen miles above. (3) Then there was still another Indian village called Yekutce, which stands on a minor tributary entering the lake at the north end. White fish abounded at Yekutce. (4)

(2) Ibid, page 63.
(4) Ibid.
Perhaps the most important place on Stuart Lake in recent years has been the village of Pinchi. (1) It has become important through the immense deposits of cinnabar found immediately north of Pinchi Lake, formerly called Rey Lake, and known to the aborigines as Qeg Ren. The name Pinchi has been taken over for the whole area surrounding the river and lake and the new village that has grown up around the recently developed mercury mine is known as Pinchi Lake.

Although the mercury mining is an endeavour of the white men, and has been made for profit, the Indians of the locality regard it as a really big undertaking. They feel that from the rocks of their hunting preserve has come something of great value to Canada's war-effort. For this reason an account of the operations is included.

The discovery of cinnabar here was made in the summer of 1937 by J.G. Gray of the Geological Survey of Canada. (2) However, the original claims were not staked until May, 1938, by A.J. Ostrem, George Neilson, and A.R. Brown. These were optioned by the Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company of Canada in 1938. The showings are along the top of a prominent limestone ridge seven hundred feet above and adjacent to the north shore of Pinchi Lake, approximately six miles from the north-western end of the lake. The property is reached now from Fort St. James.

(2) Stevenson, J.S., Bulletin No. 5, B.C. Department of Mines, page 18.
by several routes, but the preferred way in 1939 was via Stuart Lake for thirteen miles to Pinchi Lake Indian Reserve, thence by a fair wagon road on an easy grade for four or five miles to the southern shore of Pinchi Lake. From here the distance by water is about two miles to the camp on the northern shore of the lake close to the cinnabar showings. The other road was by wagon trail from the main Fort St. James-Manson Creek road at a point about seventeen miles north of Fort St. James. This connecting trail was eight miles in length. (1)

By 1945 it has been vastly improved and much of the forest through which the trail passes has been cut down and made into cordwood for the heating of the furnaces in which the mercury is separated from the ore. (2)

The cinnabar deposit consists of a cinnabar bearing fracture zone that cuts a series of dynamically metamorphose sediments. The rocks include limestone, cherty, and quartzite, quartz-mica, schist, and a little glaucophone-schist. Cinnabar occurs most abundantly in highly brecciated fault or fracture centre material.

(2) Report, Department of Mines, 1943.
Many of the aborigines who have been engaged in the cutting of wood have sat around their campfires at night and marvelled over the ability of white men to build furnaces, kilns, retorts, and condensers for the recovery of this liquid silver to which they have given the name suniya-thu. (1) They and their ancestors hunted over this cinnabar ore for untold ages never realizing the possibilities that were contained in the pink-limestone of the place. All these workmen understand is that the wood goes into the fire and mercury ore falls into the kilns, which are supplied by gravity from the hillside. Then they see the trucks driving away to Vancouver carrying immense loads of pressed steel flasks containing seventy-six pounds each of mercury. Indians are not permitted to enter the workings where the mercurial soot is collected in the condenser systems. This soot consists of small aggregates of mercurial droplets or mercury compounds which are collected once a month. The mercury droplets are cleaned by raking or trowelling on a smooth surface. These mercury globules then coalesce and are collected into a body. The recovery of the metal appears to be very simple, but it is work that involves hazards.

During the second world war the Pinchi Lake mercury deposit has been of inestimable value to the British Empire. Prior to the operation of this mine, the mines of Italy and Spain were operating at capacity. Italy expanded its output to two and a half times its average annual production in 1938 and 1939, and Spain was turning out a monthly production of 22,000 flasks of mercury by December, 1939. It was in 1938 that Canada showed her first output (1) which was ten flasks of mercury. By 1943 her production had exceeded 22,240 flasks and twenty per cent of Britain's mercury is coming from Canadian mines. (2) This was practically all from the Pinchi Lake mine.

It is interesting to note that Takla Lake, also in the Carrier Indian country, has some useful mercury prospects and already a treatment plant consisting of a fifty-ton rotary kiln has been installed. The mine worked every day during 1943 principally on development and construction work, but even that small mill handled 566 tons of cinnabar ore. Fort St. James is the distributing centre from which the Takla Lake mine is also supplied, and it is little wonder that the Indians in this part of British Columbia believe that their country has contributed largely to the war effort, particularly in the output of mercury.

(2) Victoria Daily Times, March 26, 1945.
The mercury bearing quartz has been prospected in these and other areas in the great Omineca region. The name Omineca was given to the mining district between the headwaters of the Peace and Skeena Rivers. (1) Between 1860 and 1870 the rivers were carefully prospected for placer gold and some good showings were found in Omineca, (2) but no one thought of searching for mercury.

Some of the Indians employed by the whites have proved themselves very dependable. This is true of Indians who have been detained in jail—usually in the local jails—for minor offences. Frequently strong drink is the cause of such difficulties as the Indians experience. Sometimes the natives are rather quaint in their attitude to their jailers, as the following will disclose:

A Carrier Indian who was a handy man at most any kind of hard work, including packing, as long as there was work and he was out of town and beyond temptation he was entirely dependable. Survey parties, in particular, were glad to have him for he was a good packer and better than this he was a good horse hunter. It is well known that pack-trained men spend a great deal of their time hunting stray pack animals. On one occasion a survey outfit came into

(1) Cariboo Sentinel, October 23, 1869.
(2) MacKenzie, Kenneth, Victoria Colonist, January 8, 1870.
Quesnel and found Boscar, the Indian, incarcerated in the local lock-up. It so happened that the one and only policeman was out of town and Boscar was not only an inmate but he was acting jailer, as well as with the key of the locker he let himself into his cell at night and in the morning let himself out again to do the various chores before the policeman left town for other duties. As Boscar's sentence would not have expired for a couple of weeks, an arrangement was made with the Government Agent whereby Boscar was paroled so that he might accompany the surveyors.

Sometime later Boscar asked for a few days off so that he might go home for a visit as word had reached him that his wife was sick. On his return, the surveyors of course enquired about his wife's condition. Boscar replied, "I have bad luck, my wife she is dead and buried, but I have worse luck than that, someone stole my blankets."
Chapter Nine

NAUTLEY VILLAGE AND LEGEND OF ESTAS

Over at Fraser Lake, some forty miles to the south of Fort St. James, is the village of Nautley. Along this short river that drains Fraser Lake into the Nechako River have resided aborigines for many hundreds of years. There are still to be seen on the north bank of the confluence of the Nautley and Nechako Rivers the Keekwilly Holes showing where the habitations of the Indians once stood. According to Louie Billy Prince, these holes were quite numerous within the memory of living man. He remembers when the habitations were occupied. Now, however, large trees grow from the Keekwilly Holes. No other signs of houses exist—just the cellars are there to identify the village site. Nature has covered the place with young trees in little more than a generation.

Just a quarter of a mile west of Nautley village on the north shore of Fraser Lake and protruding in the water is an outcrop of rock in which can be seen a depression. This depression in the rock is about the size and shape of a man, and according to the Indians it was made by an Indian named Estas (1) so long ago that they believe that the rock was then soft and had not assumed its solid texture. This Estas is

an Indian verb and means "to become heavy" or "to have weight."

(1) It may refer to the cutting or slashing and the word "Estas" means, in such case, "to clip, shear, or cut." The Indians say that Estas must have fallen very heavily in order to strike even the soft rock with enough force that his imprint would still be there after so many centuries. The Indians, in pointing out where Estas fell, say that he also revived. Although badly crippled on one side, he arose and limped along the lake to Nautley village. Indeed, his footprints are still to be seen in the rock. One of them is strong, showing that he put his full weight on it, while the other foot was dragging, indicating lameness. Native imagination reconstructs the whole incident with great attention to minute details, some of which must be omitted here.

It happened that Estas lived at Stella, which was on the cape at the west end of Natley Penket (2) or Fraser Lake. The Stella Indians were related to many of the families at Nautley, and Estas was a cousin of some Indians who were then snaring swans near the outlet of the Lake.

These cousins had heard of the prowess of Estas, who had snared many swans at the further end of the lake. They asked him to show them how he did it. He therefore

produced about a dozen strong strings which were tied to his left wrist, put on a headpiece that was in the form of a swan and in which he could hide his head and breathe while swimming. (1) With this equipment he then swam out to where a number of large swans were feeding at the east end of the lake. He swam among them for his particular headgear served as camouflage and deceived the birds. He attached his strings to successive birds so rapidly and skillfully that the swans were not disturbed. Finally, when he had seven swans attached to as many strings and was just going to put another string on the eighth swan, his headgear blew off and the swans saw an Indian swimming among them. They were immediately frightened and took off from the lake. These seven swans which were tied to his wrist swam and fluttered with such force that Estas was dragged along the lake for quite a distance, then gaining altitude they took off in the air and carried him aloft. This was no doubt the first experience of an Indian flying through space carried by a heavier-than-air device.

The swans flew to the south-west and then circled around rising higher and higher. For several hours they were going along with Estas carried among them. He was unable to unfasten the strings because they had pulled so tight. However, his struggling finally accomplished what he could

(1) Ibid, page 33.
not do with his right hand, and the strings all broke leaving
the swans to fly away and Estas to descend ungracefully into
the soft rock which still bears the imprint of his body clearly
shown.

The Indians firmly believe this story and they
gather in little groups around the rock and point to the
various markings which go to lend some colour to this bit
of Indian mythology. (1)

This story, although told by the Indians in their
mother tongue, is written out in English because at the
present time a man capable of taking down dictation in the
Carrier language does not appear to exist. This is regrettable
for the native language expresses the actions of swans and
hunter more adequately than English. Regarding this language,
Father Morice in 1929 wrote regarding the publication of his
work, "The Carrier Language" stating that, "The most marvellous
language in question is possessed by only one white man, your
humble servant. I am now seventy and if it is not published
before my death, the work that describes it will never be
published. The language itself will die to science as condi-
tions are now such that nobody will even try to acquire such
a beautiful but difficult and rich language." (2)

(1) "Estas and the Swans," Transactions of the Canadian
Institute, Toronto, 1892-93, page 104.
(2) Manuscript letter by Morice, Rev. A.G., to the author
written on March 9, 1929.
Although an effort has been made to learn this language sufficiently to permit of writing down items that the author has heard expressed by the Indians, he has not succeeded in mastering its many complicated parts. Unfortunately, too, there have been reasons for the Indians themselves not writing down these legends. Louie Billy Prince, for example, in the late summer of 1933 met with an accident which caused him the partial loss of his hand. He was out hunting one evening by the Stuart River about seven miles from Fort St. James. It being dark and late at night he did not try to return to his cabin by Necoslie River but instead fixed for himself a bed of fir bows under an evergreen tree and went to sleep, first placing his loaded gun, muzzle up, against a nearby poplar. During the night it rained heavily and in the early morning when the Indian awoke he saw a flock of wild geese approaching, flying low. He immediately reached for his gun, took aim and fired. The gun exploded due to the barrel being filled with water and his hand was badly mutilated.

He lost much blood but managed to bandage his arm. He started to pole the canoe up the river toward Fort St. James but the current was so strong that after a whole day's work he had not made more than three miles. The Indians at home, becoming fearful over the long absence of the chief,
began to search the river for him. They met him down below
the rapids, faint from loss of blood, but still trying to
work his way back to his cabin. He was brought home and his
condition being serious he was taken to the nearest hospital,
which at that time was at Burns Lake. There he received
medical attention and was nursed back to health. However, he
has not been able to do any writing himself since that time.

Wild geese and ducks have been an occasional cause
of worry to this old chief. It is only a few years since
the white man's law was brought to bear upon him. This law,
strangely enough, brought together the grandson of 'Kwah and
the great-grandson of James Douglas who in 1826 were foemen.
It happened in this way. The Indian chief had recently lost
his son, whose body was later found in Stuart River, half a
mile below the bridge at Fort St. James. The place is now
marked by a white wooden cross placed there by Louie Billy
Prince in memory of his boy. The son's three children and
their widowed mother were at that time residing with the chief
in his cabin at Fort St. James. The children were hungry and
the chief, who had noticed large flocks of wild geese and
ducks returning from the south, decided to secure a bird and
prepare a good dinner for them. He took half a dozen shells
and his gun and started out to stalk the waterfowl. Before
he had gone far he was apprehended by the Game Warden who
was just then paying a visit to the village. The Game Warden
asked for and received an explanation but, upon being told of the intentions of the Indian, he immediately dealt with him as a criminal and told him to appear in police court. The Indian put in an appearance, told the same story of having gone out to look for a bird to supply the wants of his starving grandchildren. The white man's law does not differentiate between crime and necessity, and consequently the magistrate imposed upon him the minimum penalty, which was a fine of ten dollars or ten days in gaol.

Ten dollars was a large sum of money to an Indian chief. He said he would have to take the gaol sentence, but the magistrate, who knew him well, would not consent to him being locked up. He thought it would be a mark against the Indian's character as his behaviour for seventy years had been such that there had been no need of imprisoning him. Consequently, the magistrate offered to put up the ten dollars out of his own pocket on the understanding that the Indian in time would make good this debt. He tried to secure the money to repay the debt, but the trapping season was over and the white man's laws forbade the making of money from the selling of other game. The law puts the Indian in a difficult position. He cannot take the game and birds on which his people subsisted in aboriginal times. He has no voice in the making of the laws by which he is governed, yet all the natural wealth of Canada belonged to him before the
whites took possession. It seems far from right, and it cannot be explained to him that it is right. The minion of the law who administers the Game Act cannot even make himself understood except through an interpreter. Then his one word is final, "Nahista" he says, and means "it is the law."

The Indian told of his plight when a friend of his from Victoria paid him a visit. This friend passed this information on to Mr. Bruce McKelvie, editor of the Victoria Daily Colonist. Mr. McKelvie spoke of it before a meeting of the Victoria Historical Association and told of the plight of the old Indian chief, the grandson of 'Kwah, the great chief of the early fur-trading days of Fort St. James. One of the men present in the audience was Mr. Michael Jamieson, a great-grandson of Sir James Douglas, at one time in charge of the fishery Yokogah (1) on Stuart Lake. After the Historical meeting Mr. Jamieson approached Mr. McKelvie and tendered ten dollars to be sent to Chief Louie Billy Prince. It was accordingly forwarded and the chief was able to repay his debt to the magistrate who had sentenced him.

The story of this generous act on the part of Mr. Jamieson appeared in the Coast newspapers as follows:-(2)

"Chief Louie Billy Prince, a fine type of native noble, a councillor in his tribe, and highly regarded by Indian and white man alike in that romantic old trading post community, is a grandson of the great Chief Quaw, the hero of the Indians of Central British Columbia. It was in 1826 that the warriors, under Chief Quaw's command, surprised and captured Fort St. James and took young James Douglas, a Hudson's Bay Company clerk, prisoner. A brave poised a knife ready to plunge it into the body of the white captive, when Chief Quaw interfered and saved the life of the future great governor of British Columbia.

"Several months ago Chief Louie Billy Prince ran foul of the white man's game regulations. The old chief, who has seen seventy-five winters blanket the ice on Stuart Lake with snow, has had much misfortune of late years. He is not as active today as he was that time he crawled into the cave and slew a mother bear and two cubs with a knife, or before the time when his hand was mangled by the explosion of his old hunting gun. The old chief cannot go far afield now, not that he is not still in fair physical condition, but family griefs have burdened him with the care of two families of small grandchildren, who look to him to provide food. Upon a grey day earlier in the year he took down his gun and went looking for ducks for his little charges to eat. On the way to the
reed-grown marsh of the lake, where it empties into the Stuart River, he encountered a game warden. In answer to questions he admitted that it was his intention to shoot ducks, even if the white man who hunted for sport, not food, had decreed that it was not the season for slaughter.

"The game warden did his duty, according to the strict letter of the law. He arrested Chief Louie Billy Prince for his intention to ignore the regulations. The magistrate was sympathetic, but he also had his duty to do, and so imposed a minimum fine of $10 on the old chief. This was a terrific blow. Chief Louie Billy Prince did not have $10. Money is a scarce commodity in the Fort St. James village, where trading has been done in furs since 1806. The kindly magistrate, not wanting to see the old chief go to jail, himself advanced the fine.

"Chief Louie Billy Prince has been much worried. He regards the loan as a debt of honour. He recently took council with his great tillicum, who undertook to place the whole circumstances before the proper authorities in the hope that the fine might be remitted. But the Great White Father's laws are inflexible and the Government of His Majesty in British Columbia could not find it in its corporate and constitutional heart to overlook the intentions of Chief Louie Billy Prince to shoot ducks out of season."
"It was at this point that Mr. Jamieson learned from a friend of the plight of Chief Louie Billy Prince, grandson of the great Chief Quaw. 'Chief Quaw spared the life of my great-great-grandsire, a life that was so useful to this country,' remarked Mr. Jamieson. 'It is only fitting that a descendant of Sir James should aid a descendant of Chief Quaw in remembrance of that act.' Through the combined efforts of Mr. Jamieson and Mr. McKelvie the fine was paid, but both gentlemen are so modest that they disclaim the credit for this kindly deed.
Chapter Ten

ANCIENT BABINE EPITAPH

The various waterways that connect with the Fraser River at Prince George drain the valley that extends westward for two hundred and fifty miles. Thus we have first the Nechako and Nautley Rivers, then Fraser Lake and the Stellaco River draining Francois Lake. Stellaco means "Stella" (1) - "a cape" and "khoh" - "a river." It is named on account of the small cape lying at the west end of Fraser Lake where it empties into it. A short distance west of Stella it is joined by the Endako. "Enda" means "flowing east." Francois Lake was formerly known as "Neta Penket," (2) meaning "Lip Lake," and is approximately seventy-five miles in length. About half way along its southern shore is the Uncha Valley named for the lake that extends in an east-west direction a few miles to the south of the landing at Southbank.

This lake was known to the Indians as "Huncha" (3) or the "Big One." There used to be a very large Indian village near its shores as the Indian trails leading out from this village can still be seen (4) where they have been deeply marked in the soft earth. They are now overgrown with vetches which do well in this region. The earth, being so trampled

(4) Morice, Rev. A.G., "Fifty Years in Western Canada."
down by ancient moccasined feet, has become a veritable landmark. The Indians call it "pe-yen-ehudal-en" meaning "where the ground is marked for the eyes." (1) That is fully as expressive as our word "landmark." Almost directly north from this place is the little village of Francois Lake where the ferry steamer connects for the lake crossing. Just to the north of the ferry landing, perhaps one mile away, is a big hill. In this hill in the old days there were small caves. They have been within recent times occupied by the occasional bear which dens up for the winter in such places. In the top of this hill there is an outcropping of bituminous substance like tar and the rocks associated with this material contain pisolites, which are in the nature of crystalline pebbles that have evidently come up from the centre of the earth in a molten condition and crystallized upon reaching the surface.

At the west end of Francois Lake there enters the Nadina River from Nadina Lake and other lakes in the vicinity. Father Morice called this river the "Mazenod" thus honouring the founder of the Oblate Order, and as Mazenod Lake and Mazenod River, they were known for many years. Now, however, on our maps of this section of the Province the name has been altered to Nadina, which means "perpendicular" but also may mean a "foot-bridge." (2) It is very likely that this

name was first applied to the trunk of a tree which the natives had placed across the stream and used as a foot-bridge in following their path through the woods to the North Morice River and thence across to the Telkwa River and the Zymoetz (1) trail.

It was on this trail that a strange blaze was found in a balsam tree by Merle Fowler Bancroft of the Department of Geology of Acadia University of Wolfville, N.S., when engaged on geological survey work for the Department of Mines and Research, Ottawa, in the summer of 1936. In speaking of this blaze in a letter, dated at Ahousat, B.C., August 11, 1939, Dr. M.F. Bancroft states: - "The enclosed snapshot may be of interest to you. It shows the big balsam tree as it stood off the Zymoetz River trail on September 17, 1936, before the operation of having its blaze removed ..... The snapshot was taken by Wilfred O. Williams whose address is 4466 West 5th Avenue, Vancouver, B.C."

Information regarding this blaze was first received by the writer from W.J. Moffatt of the Topographical Survey, Provincial Department of Mines, Victoria, B.C. He asked for an interpretation of the Indian characters and stated that it was his opinion that the blaze marked the last resting place of an Indian. In trying to get at the translation, this piece of balsam wood cut from the trunk of a fairly large tree had

(1) The Zymoetz River flows through Kitkson territory and enters the Skeena River below Kleanza Creek.
been transported from the Pacific Coast to Ottawa and Nova Scotia and then had been returned to Victoria and taken by car to Fort St. James where it was studied by Chief Louie Billy Prince.

The chief gave it as his opinion that the Indian blaze was bona fide and that it had been made by a Babine Indian of the Moricetown band, because he said the characters in some particulars showed the tribal dialect. The Carriers, for example, write "thepe" for the word "very" while the Babines write "tepe" for the same word. He suggested that it be taken to Moricetown and that some Indian there might be able to give information concerning it. At the same time the chief stated that he believed the sign told of two men having been overtaken by a snow storm and being in danger of death through the effects of the storm. A peculiarity of both the Carrier and the Babine language is the pronoun which indicates "two people." This was briefly alluded to in chapter one of the present work.

At Moricetown several Indians were met and were asked for the whereabouts of Jimmy Mishel whose name was written on the blaze. His cabin was pointed out and he was located hoeing potatoes with his squaw in a little garden behind his dwelling. Upon showing the blaze to him, Jimmy expressed profound surprise. He stood looking at it and exclaiming,
"Ah!" On being asked if he knew what the sign meant, he said, "Yes, I wrote it. It is many years ago since Bill Cook, another Indian, and I took shelter under that tree on the Telkwa River trail." Then Jimmy told the story in its entirety. He said, "In the late summer of 1895, about the middle of September, old Bill Cook, who was the father of Jonas Cook who is standing there now, was with me and we were on the old Indian trail many miles away from here, toward Telkwa. We walked a long way. It was very hot and after we had gone about twenty-five miles the weather turned cold and snow fell on that afternoon to many feet in depth. It was a heavy snow with a terribly high wind. Trees broke down all around us and we could not walk any farther and we could not go back home. We were stranded so we took shelter under a big fir-tree. We made a little fire to keep warm and hacked wood from trees to keep the fire burning. The wind was so strong that we could not sleep at all. We just hid and let the snow pile up around us." (1)

Perhaps Jimmy had heard of the Royal North-West Mounted Police and particularly of that heroic member of the Force who lost his life in a snowstorm on the western Canadian Prairies. The story is told that after a terrible blizzard had

(1) Morice, Rev. A.G., "Fifty Years in Western Canada," page 158, footnote.
swept the region his body was found and in his pocket was the following note which he had scribbled, "Lost; horse dead; am trying to push on; have done my best." (1) But whether or not he knew of this story, the Indian tried to leave for his tribe a message which they would find along with his body and that of his companion. He did not wish his death to be avenged by his relatives, any other Indian or white because he knew that only the elements over which he had no control were responsible for his plight.

Jimmy Mishel says that he believed that the members of his tribe, becoming alarmed over his failure to return, would set out in search of him and Bill Cook. He says, "I thought we might not get back to our families and feared that we might die in the snow and storm so I blazed the balsam tree. Then I wrote in my own language, with a piece of charcoal, in the characters that Father Morice had taught me about eight or ten years before. I knew that if any Indian found the message he would know that Bill Cook and I had been caught in the big storm and he could tell my people." So Jimmy printed on the tree the figures "1835" although he knew that the year was 1895. He was not sure of the proper way to make the figure "9." He was not even sure of the "5" so he made it almost like a "3." However, he knew his Indian

(1) Howay, F.W., "Builders of the West," page 85.
language and after putting the date as nearly as he could in English, he wrote in the syllabics that Father Morice had taught to the tribe, "Here we two have travelled—a very long way—in a very severe storm. This is my word. (Signed) J. Mishel." This translation fails to give the full meaning of the message. It should indicate that fear, hunger, and cold as well as weariness had overtaken them. These things are all indicated in the "blaze" that now occupies a prominent place in the Indian Department of the Provincial Museum at Victoria. The storm had been raging for a considerable time when the two travellers concluded that their end was near and they should notify their kin in some way.

This old sign proves the ability of the aborigine to express himself and shows the wit of the native when faced with an emergency. After three days under the balsam tree Jimmy says that the storm abated and that the sun came out strong, and a quick thaw set in, completely melting the deep snow within a very few days, and he and Bill Cook got home safely although they were quite hungry. They had used up what food they carried. No worse storm than this has been recorded in the memory of the oldest native.

This was the same Bill Cook who served as Indian guide. He had already led Mr. Cambie, the surveyor, through the Indian trail along by the Hwotsen-khoh, long before the
Canadian National Railway line was surveyed. He died about 1918, a victim of the influenza which took a heavy toll of the tribe. He was an excellent guide on the old Indian trails.

Jimmy Mishel was delighted to learn that his message carved into the blazed side of the old balsam tree had attracted the white men's attention in Ottawa, Nova Scotia, and Victoria. He said that in 1937 he had gone over the old Telkwa trail again and he looked for his blaze. He was surprised to find that the tree had been recently cut. He knew that it was not long since it had been cut because the needles were still on the branches. The top was lying there but the "blaze" was gone, he knew not where. Seeing the blaze and learning of Dr. Bancroft's interest cleared up a mystery that had worried him for two years.

The foregoing explanation of the blaze was furnished to Dr. Bancroft. In acknowledging it he says, "I am glad to have your pen reproduction of the message on the blaze and the translation into English. I know how the snow can pile up in a few hours in that north country and give cause for concern when the grub supply gets low." Then in answer to an enquiry as to the disposal of the "blaze" he wrote, "I shall be delighted if Mr. Francis Kermode sees fit to give it a place in the Provincial Museum in Victoria. My early recommendation to the Geological Survey was that it be turned
over to you to do whatever you wished concerning it ....
Again thanking you for your researches in which we are not
left in the dark on any particular—a most interesting bit
of work." (1)

There are among the older generations of Indians a
number of real philosophers among whom Jimmy Mishel may be
numbered. These men were greatly influenced by the teachings
of Father Morice who instructed them in the way they should
act toward their fellow men. They have a sound appreciation
of the benefits of education and they know what is of use
to members of their tribe. They do not see eye to eye with
the white men in all matters, as might be expected. Jimmy
and his companion knew that according to the Indian custom it
would be reasonable for the tribe to take their revenge for
his death upon some innocent victim. The priest had taught
him that this was wrong. When he wrote his "notice" he believed
it was a farewell message. He did not want anyone to take
revenge on his behalf.

This Babine country, lying to the west of the Carrier
domain, extends along the western half of Francois Lake or
Neta Penket and all along both shores of the Babine Lake which
in aboriginal times was "Nato Penket." Babines also inhabited
the shores of Eta-au-yootsoo, or Hutsuk Lake, at the western
end.

(1) Manuscript letter from M.F. Bancroft, dated "Herbert Arm
Such rivers as the Telkwa (1), Suskwa, Nilkitkwa, and Nichyeskwa all indicate Babine river names. In the Babine dialect, "Gekwah" (2) means "river" just as "Ekhoh" (3) signifies "river" in the Carrier dialect and the ending "ka," "ca," or "ga" appears in the terminology of most Sekanaies rivers. It is apparent that Suskwa means "Bear River." Similarly, Telkwa would appear to have some kinship to the word for "toad, oyster, or gooseberry" but such is not the case. An Indian who knows the Babine dialect explains the meaning of the river's name as coming possibly from the fact that it frequently is open and unfrozen in winter. (4) He thinks Telkwa comes from the words "telle;" meaning "liquid," that is, "not frozen" and "gekwah" meaning "river." (5) This theory has merit.

In the Chilcotin area to the south of the Babine and Carrier land it will be noted that such rivers as the Talchako, Atnarko, Hotnarko, Tsulko, Tsedakuko, Tahyesko, Kohasganko, Iltasyouko, all originate inside the Chilcotin territory and reach the Pacific by way of the Bella Coola and Dean Rivers flowing into Dean Channel through Bella Coola territory. The other rivers of the Chilcotin area

(1) Morice, Rev. A.G., "The Carrier Language," page 34, section 82, volume I.
(2) Ibid, page 507, section 2832, volume II.
(3) Ibid, page 507, section 2832, volume II.
(4) Ibid, page 121, section 253, volume I.
(5) Ibid.
are principally the Homathko, Tatleyako, Chilanko, Chilko, Taseko, Clusko, and Chilcotin. This last name, while being applied to the main tributary of the Fraser River which enters below Riske Creek, was the aboriginal name for the Indian tribe which occupied this valley,—the Tsi'khoh'tenne or the "Young Men's River people."

To the west of the Carrier country in the Babine region fifty years ago the whole territory was unexplored except for a part of the Skeena River valley and the Babine Lake drainage basin. This Babine Lake was the habitat of the Babine Indians or "Lippy" people. The people were so called because their women folk disfigured their faces with labrets which they wore. The higher in the social whirl, the larger the labret and the more hideous their appearance.
Chapter Eleven

GUN-A-NOOT--A BABINE SAGA

The following Indian story may be considered by some as having no place in a story of the Carrier and Babine tribes. To an extent this objection is well founded. The hero of it belonged to the Tsimshian race and was an outstanding member of the Kitkson tribe. He was perhaps the best known Indian of the twentieth century, and his achievement in eluding both police and detectives for almost two decades was a matter of astonishment to both natives and whites. The fact that Gun-a-noot wandered at will through Babine and Carrier country and in all his wanderings he was never once betrayed by members of the neighbouring tribes, speaks volumes for the regard in which he was held. It was natural that his story should be widely known to all Indians of the region. To the Babines and Carriers it has already become an epic and Gun-a-noot is now almost a legendary figure. For this reason the story is related here.

The generation who knew Gun-a-noot, as he was commonly called, is rapidly passing away. However, the late Dr. H. C. Wrinch was then in charge of the little hospital near Hazelton. He was for many years the friend and intimate
confidant of the Babine and Kitxson tribes. The following story was told by him in 1935 just one year after the famous outlaw Indian's death. It seems that Gun-a-noot was a son of Nazgh-ghan, a Kispiox Indian of the Kitxson tribe who live at Kitamex in the vicinity of Hazelton. Gun-a-noot's proper Indian name was Zghun-min-hoot. It means in the Tsimshian "the young bears that run up trees." Gun-a-noot was a member of the Wolf clan. (1)

In the month of June, 1906, after Gun-a-noot had returned to Hazelton from Victoria, where he had sold a particularly remunerative catch of furs, he got into a fight with two half-breeds, one named Alex McIntosh. This fight was started in the Two-Mile House. In those days when the Canadian National Railway was pressing its line through the north country there were many objectionable characters in the district and some of them congregated around Hazelton. It was that way on the night of June 19. No one knew how the fight commenced or when it ended, but on the following morning some Babines en route to Hagwilgate (2) found the body of Alex McIntosh lying dead on the trail. A little later an Indian named Gus Sampson, riding down toward Hazelton, found Max LeClair dead on the Kispiox trail. Constable Kirby was notified and Dr. H. C. Wrinch was

(1) Vancouver Sun.
(2) Ibid.
called. The autopsy that was later held revealed very clever marksmanship on the part of the murderer. Both men were shot through the heart and both died instantly. The coroner's inquest brought in a verdict of murder and indicated that Simon Peter Gun-a-noot and his brother-in-law Peter Hi-madam were guilty of the crime. (1) Immediately the police set out to arrest these men, but on arrival at Gun-a-noot's home they found marks which indicated the recent escape of the criminals and in addition they found four horses belonging to Gun-a-noot had that morning been shot. They at once conjectured that the horses had been killed to prevent the capture of the wanted men.

Gun-a-noot and Hi-madam had escaped into the wilderness being sometimes on the Skeena River near Hazelton, then on the Babine Lake and later they were at Takla Lake and Bear Lake. (2) They were also said to have spent some time in the Nass and Stikine Valleys. The search for these men involved the Pinkerton Detective Agency of New York, who received $11,000 for accomplishing nothing. Altogether the British Columbia Government paid over $100,000 in this fruitless search for two wanted men. (3)

The first posse is said to have found Gun-a-noot's trail on the Kiskigas River where the outlaw had been in hiding. However, the trail could not be produced in court

(1) Vancouver Sun, August 9, 1941, Magazine Section, page 6.
(2) Ibid.
(3) Ibid, August 16, 1941, Magazine Section, page 6.
and the Indian could not be found. Evidently, old Nazgh-guhn had counselled his son to keep in hiding and the son carried out the instructions of the father. (1) This search went on for thirteen years and, in the meantime, Gun-a-noot's family had been visited with death on four occasions. Most tragic of all to him was the death of his father who contracted influenza in 1918. The old man knew where his son could be found and he went to him weak and suffering. He told the son that he wished to be buried beneath the cottonwoods on Bowser Lake. (2) Then he expired after receiving Gun-a-noot's promise that he would attend to the funeral in person.

Now Bowser Lake was forty miles distant and Nazgh-guhn was a fairly large man. However, Gun-a-noot too was no dwarf. He weighed two hundred pounds and stood over six feet tall in his moccasins. Wrapping his father's remains carefully and shouldering his burden, he started out for Bowser Lake, which he reached and accomplished the burial in two days. Gun-a-noot had been converted to Christianity by the Roman Catholic priest in his early life. (3) Therefore, he gave his father the nearest imitation of a Christian burial that his experience permitted. He carved and assembled a cross which he placed over the old man's grave. This may still be seen in the quiet cottonwood grove by Bowser Lake.

(1) Ibid.
(2) Ibid, August 23, 1941, Magazine Section, page 10.
(3) Vancouver Sun, August 30, 1941, Magazine Section, page 6.
After Nazgh-guhn's death and the death of Gun-a-noot's mother and his son, the wandering Indian spent the following year in the vicinity of the headwaters of the Bell-Irving River. He was getting tired of his roaming life so, having formed an attachment for George Biernes, a packer on the old Telegraph Trail, he arranged with him to seek legal counsel. (1) He was ready to surrender to the representatives of the law.

In order that the story of Gun-a-noot, Hi-madam, and Nazgh-Guhn, as told by Dr. H. C. Wrinch, might be confirmed, I communicated with Mr. T.P.L. Mulvany (2), who was an eye-witness to many developments of the affair at "Two-Mile Creek" and was a member of one of the posses that went in search of Gun-a-noot. He has been a resident of the Bulkley and Nechako Valleys in British Columbia during the past fifty-five years. Mr. Mulvany has contributed the following information regarding the Gun-a-noot incident. It coincides very closely with the story told by Dr. Wrinch. Mr. Mulvany spells the name of Simon Gun-a-noot's father "Na-Goon." This is phonetic spelling and properly conveys the Indian pronunciation. The story follows:-

"I first met Simon Gun-a-noot at Glenvowell in the spring of 1902 while hunting horses with Charlie Barrett. He was in camp with his father, Na-Goon, his wife Sarah, and

(1) Ibid.
(2) Victoria Times, February 27, 1945, page 4.
his life-long friend and partner, Peter Hi-madam. That night in camp Charlie Barrett told me the story of how Simon had been hired as a guide by the location party who were attempting to rush construction of a telegraph line through from Ashcroft to Dawson City, and how he had purposely led the party away from the easy valleys of the Kispiox and Nass Rivers to follow the roundabout and mountainous course of the Skeena. (1)

"The acquaintance deepened in years to follow and I acquired a great respect for old Na-Goon, Simon, and Peter Hi-ma-dam. They were Indians of the old school, masters of woodcraft, jealous of their beaver country and with a hatred of white men which is today almost non-existant. The bond between Simon and his father and their faith in each other passes belief. Coming back from a trip to Echo Lake after an inspection trip with Ned Charleson, who was killed in World War I, we met Simon Gun-a-noot and Peter Hi-ma-dam and made camp together. We had a dog team and were plentifully supplied with grub. Simon told us, 'Long time no grub, just lots of meat all the time and we get sick for tea and sugar.' Peter enlightened us. 'Indian no callem meat 'grub,' just flour, sugar, and tea we call 'grub.' Pretty soon we catchum lots.' While I

made the bannocks and cooked a big potfull of beans, Peter plucked the quills from a fat porcupine and roasted it, for the preliminary lunch had exhausted our supply of cooked victuals and pots full of boiling tea had reduced our sugar supply considerably. The thermometer was somewhere around thirty-five below, but Simon comforted us with the assurance that it would be the last cold snap, and he was right.

"They stretched themselves to the limit and made a masterly camp. All hands got busy on the woodpile until a plentiful supply of logs were made ready for the coming night. I still remember Simon packing a twelve-foot butt log into camp which was too heavy for any of the rest of us.

"Settled down for the night with the inimitable Peter turning watchfully the spit which held a huge rib roast of moose meat, they thawed out considerably, both of them talking more than I had ever heard them do before or since. Casually Simon told us, 'Beaver belong to the Indian, s'pose white man kill beaver, then I kill white man. Indian law,' which Peter corroborated.

"The surrounding timber was popping as the temperature lowered. Occasionally Peter would make a pot of tea and hack a huge slice from the roast. Simon asked, 'How much sugar and tea you got? Please you give us some. We pay you back at Tam-um-swit,' (Blackwater Lake). Ned replied,
'Sure you can have some. You don't have to pay back. How you get tea and sugar at Blackwater Lake?' 'Huh,' Simon replied, 'I talk my father last night. Big Sunday (Easter) he come to Blackwater from Hazelton.'

"This gave me food for thought. 'When you see Na-Goon last?' I asked him. 'Last October,' he replied. 'He tell you he come Blackwater for Easter?' I asked. 'No,' replied Simon, 'just last night he tell me.' (1) Be that as it may, we broke camp in the morning, the inspector and I following the tortuous trail of the telegraph line from one refuge cabin to another, camping with the operators and line-men and checking up supplies and equipment.

"Simon had remained behind to take a trail of his own but when we reached Blackwater Lake he was already there. With him was a big encampment of Kispix and Nass River Indians and Na-Goon, his father, who was the recognized leader. There were over one hundred dogs in camp and twenty-five toboggans and a few sleighs. They were well supplied with 'grub' and tendered a potlatch to the Blackwater chief, Wai-min-ossic and the Witch Doctor, Mabel.

"In the following year I encountered Simon frequently. At Kis-ga-gas, Babine, Bear Lake, Manson Creek, the Stikine, the Finlay and, finally, to my surprise, at

(1) Some Indians have uncanny means of knowing things, not unlike "second sight" of the Scotch.
the foot of the Bitter Creek glacier out of Stewart. In all this vast area he was known to hunt or kill wherever night overtook him, respecting no rights of white or Indian. In the spring of 1906 he returned after a whole year's absence and took his furs to Victoria, returning by the first stern-wheel steamboat to ascend the Skeena to Hazelton that season.

"Spring was well advanced and pack trains were arriving daily from the winter quarters in the Chilcotin. At Two-Mile Creek was the favourite camp of the packers and cow-punchers and there a well-known bootlegger had taken possession of the only big log building on the creek and was running an open house as long as he lasted, dispensing his wares with no discrimination between race or colour for as he put it, 'I'm breakin' one law, might as well bust 'em all.'

"Early land seekers from northern Alberta appeared to know him and called him Jim Cameron. An ex-Mountie also knew him well and referred to him as 'The Geezer.' However, his stay was short and he disappeared into oblivion, following his last night's appearance when he made a trail stake and sold out all his stock. At that time rum was five dollars a gallon and rye whiskey four dollars and fifty cents at the Hudson's Bay Company store."
"On the night of the 19th of June the bar-room was filled with packers, trappers, prospectors, and a few Indians. When anyone bought a drink, they bought for 'the house.' Things were going merrily when Simon Gun-a-noot stepped in. Not many knew him except the mule packers from the north. Dressed in a new gray suit and with a camera slung across his shoulder he was a fine looking man in any company. A half-breed packer named Alex McIntosh was just buying a drink. He knew Simon, apparently, and barred him from the invitation saying, 'Give everybody a drink except that no-good Siwash.' Simon turned away, walked to the end of the bar and put a twenty-dollar bill in front of 'the Geezer."

"'Give everybody drinks for that,' he said. 'Give Alex McIntosh drink too. Maybe he never drink pretty soon.' McIntosh was drunk and had quite a reputation as a rough-and-tumble fighter. He crowded against Simon and picked up a nearly empty bottle from the bar. 'You see this, you Siwash, lots of times I sleep with your wife for that much whiskey.' 'You lie,' shouted Simon, for the unaccustomed whiskey had him down. 'You nothing. You not Indian. You not white man,' and McIntosh swung the bottle, but the blow was intercepted by a packer who had just stepped in to try and salvage his crew in order that they would be
in shape to load up next day. Simon and McIntosh were on the floor fighting as 'the Geezer' showed them out through the doorway. 'No fightin' in here. It's bad for trade.' He banged the door and put the bar across it. 'Keep the live ones in and the dead ones out,' he said. The sound of fighting continued and then was still. Two packers went out and found Simon out on the ground and McIntosh in a dazed condition. They picked up Simon who had been beaten terribly as his jaw was broken and his head severely cut. McIntosh had a finger broken but was not greatly hurt. 'Pretty soon I go,' said Simon, 'Just I don't care, I hurt. I'm shame, that's all.'

"McIntosh went inside followed by Simon. Simon put a roll on the bar. 'Give me bottle and everybody drink. You too, Alex McIntosh. You drink. Den you say good-bye everybody. Tomorrow your face be cold.' He drank, pocketed the bottle and staggered out. The orgie continued till the last drop of liquor was sold.

"'The Geezer' rolled his blankets and departed for parts unknown. McIntosh stayed till the last man. The bone was splintered and sticking out through his finger. He mounted his saddle-horse to ride the mile to the hospital to have it attended to. He did not get far. His body was found beside the trail with a 30.40 bullet hole in the exact
centre of his back. Immediately the Provincial constable
at Hazelton was notified. A strong posse was speedily sworn
in, one party to go to Simon's 'ranch' near Glenvowell and
one to pick up Simon's tracks from Two-Mile Creek.

"Just as the posse was being gathered together,
Gus Sampare and Alex Corner arrived on foot over the Kispiox
trail. They reported seeing the body of Max LeClair at a
point where a short cut from Two-Mile connected with the
Kispiox trail.

"At this point it might be well to clear Max
LeClair who was acting as guide and packer for a game
hunting expedition which intended spending some time in
the Groundhog Basin. The party consisted of a young English-
man, if I remember rightly, the Hon. Chas. Wellesley, a
courier named Cowan with a wide experience in handling
parties of that nature, a cook, and Max LeClair as guide.

"Max LeClair hailed from Kamloops where the family
were well and favourably known. He had not been near Two-
Mile Creek, keeping away from it intentionally. He had
taken a mosquito tent and a pair of blankets out to the
good range near Kispiox so as to pick up his horses early
the following morning. He tailed his horses, riding in the
lead. He was apparently just in the act of rolling a
cigarette as a paper and a pinch of tobacco were still
between his thumb and finger. He had been shot from the Two-Mile cut-off, the bullet, of the same calibre as the one which killed McIntosh, entering his back just in dead centre within half-an-inch of the same vertebral joint as was the case with McIntosh. This was apparently a wanton killing and greatly stimulated the action of the police.

"One posse covered the cut-off from Two-Mile where two sets of tracks were clearly imprinted on the dusty trail. One set going towards Glenvowell were made by a pair of light shoes. The tracks returning were moccasin tracks which ended at the confluence of the Glenvowell trail near Two-Mile with the Hazelton trail at the point where the shot which killed McIntosh had been fired. A third set of tracks took off straight through the timber towards Glenvowell carefully avoiding the trail. Both posses met at Simon's 'ranch.' The Hon. Charles and Cowan the courier were already there. Sarah, Simon's wife, was hiding close by in the timber with her little baby. 'Don't stand so close,' she told us. 'Maybe Simon not far. He crazy. Maybe he shoot everybody. Look his horse, he kill 'em all. His best dogs he kill too. Go way, go way quick, me scared.'
"His horses were scattered around all dead or dying. One big sorrell lay on its side with the dusty prints of a pair of moccasins showing clearly, and a pickaxe driven to the hilt behind its shoulder.

"The Hon. Charles was searching every house armed with a big Wembley revolver. Presently we picked up two sets of tracks going towards the Skeena River. Following the trail we came to two canoes and signs showed that one had been recently launched. We took a canoe and crossed. On the opposite side there were the same two sets of moccasin tracks leading to the house of old Na-Goon. As we approached it warily, old Na-Goon stepped out carrying a gunnysack. He took to the trail following the same route as the moccasin tracks. About fifty yards before we overtook him, he threw the sack in the woods.

"Ned Charleson retrieved it. It contained ammunition. We overtook Na-Goon and placed him under arrest. Two men followed the tracks till they disappeared into the brush where the rocky nature of the ground made tracking difficult. Returning to Hazelton, Na-Goon was placed in the local lock-up with a special constable on guard duty. Early next morning he prevailed on the guard to allow him to go to the toilet, situated in the corner of the gaol yard adjoining a field of oats nearly shoulder-high. The guard paced back and forth across the yard, gun on shoulder."
Some time elapsed and he went to investigate. He found the back of the toilet forced out and the tracks of old Na-Goon where he had wormed his way through the oat field. Reports from Indians later showed that he had joined Simon and Peter Hi-ma-dam three days later at Kis-ga-gas.

"Parties were sent in pursuit. One under Harry Berryman of Port Essington went to the deserted Indian village of Wills-skis-kool, on an old 'grease trail' from the Nass River to Kuldo. The village was found in the last stages of decay and the trail almost undiscernible. Kuldo Indians stated that it had been abandoned ever since the Nass River Indians came over and massacred all the men of Kuldo and took all the women as slaves. The foot-bridge, over which Simon, Peter Hi-ma-dam and, lastly, Na-Goon, had crossed the Skeena was placed under guard. Later a party under Otway Wilkie of New Westminster and Jack Munro of Vancouver covered all the country from Hazelton to Babine, thence to Tatla Lake, thence up the Driftwood where they upset a canoe and lost most of their outfit.

"In spite of this, Wilkie pushed on to Bear Lake and up the Skeena, living on the country as he went. Reaching the Groundhog Basin without supplies, he was forced by approaching winter to return, the party subsisting on mountain-goat meat, porcupine, and grouse."
"Later Wilkie made another trip also with no result, but as I was not in the second party, I know but little about it. Again, I was sent in to the Nass crossing of the Telegraph Line where an ex-Mountie had made a cache of grub in a strategical spot. Before I finished the 150-mile trip to join the party, the ex-Mountie had quit and the leadership devolved on a man who made little effort. Two of the party, who were trappers, suggested running a trap line from the Nass to the Stikine summit, feeling sure that they would in that way run across some members of Simon's party, make arrangements to meet him and discuss the advisability of his giving himself up. This idea was frowned down and the trip was just another fizzle.

"In later years Simon and his party suffered little hardship. They were well supplied with 'grub' by unscrupulous fur-buyers.

"Again, as Simon himself often stated, 'Nobody, not Indian nor white man can catch me. My meat is all time ahead. Me never hungry. Lots of time I see policeman not very far away. He got big pack. He travel too slow. Me, I throw away everything, just take my gun, my axe. Next day maybe fifty mile away.'
"The story of how Stuart Henderson (1) arranged for his surrender and defence and of his acquittal are too well known for comment, but one thing is sure—it was not fear of death that made Simon an outlaw; it was his love of liberty.

"Some years later I camped with Old Peter Hi-madam at the headwaters of the Finlay River and crossed over to the Stikine. Peter was getting old and feeble but still had one little pack mare which used to winter out on the Spatsezi range. Over the campfire, he finally told this story which, in effect, was as follows: 'Just at daylight Sarah came and woke me up. It was about three o'clock. She told me, 'Simon go crazy. Pretty near he kill me and my baby so I run away. He take his gun and say he go to Two-Mile to kill Alex McIntosh.' I go to Simon's house. His good clothes, shoes, and hat lie all around his cabin. I ask Sarah, 'What kind clothes he got now?' 'Just old ones and moccasins,' she said.

"'I go up the old trail on his track and come to Kispiox Road. Pretty soon, I hear him sing. He drunk or crazy and I get scared. He come out on road and run back

(1) A well-known criminal lawyer of Victoria who made a reputation for his successful defense of Simon Gun-a-noot and a number of other accused persons. He died at Victoria on February 17, 1945, aged 81 years. Victoria Daily Times, February 17, 1945, page 2.
quick. Just then I hear horsebell coming. One man ride and lead some pack horse. I wait and pretty soon I hear shot. Then Simon come down the trail. I'm scared pretty bad. He go home and I hear lots of shot. He kill his horse and some dogs. Then he lay down and cry. I go down and Sarah sees me. 'Go quick, Peter, get his gun and you try and take him long way. I find you pretty quick. You make him hide some place.' I go back and take his gun. 'Come on, Simon, come quick, we go hide some place.'

"After, he tell me he thought that man was policeman with horses looking for him. Simon pretty sick. We hide three days near Kispiox then we cross the river at Kuldo and stay near Kis-ga-gas long time. Pretty soon old Na-Goon come find us and we get lots of grub from Babine. Then we go every place till he get too tired and give up.'

"Simon and Na-Goon are dead. Peter passed away as he would wish to beside a campfire, and there is no one living who can be hurt by this story."

This is the account as told by one of the few survivors of the pre-railway construction days in Central British Columbia. It is evident that stories of this kind become the basis for tribal legends later on. The story changes with different people but the theme remains fairly
constant. Perhaps when several score years have passed and the facts have been forgotten, a legend of the great man-hunt may be heard. This is the only reason for its being included in this account, which is otherwise devoted to the Carrier and the Babine Indians.

The Gun-a-noot case was heard more than a quarter of a century ago and the jury which heard it brought in a verdict which resulted in the Indian's acquittal. This was scarcely expected by this Indian trapper and hunter. It is said that he broke down and had to have hospital attention (1) before returning to his friends at Kispiox. Although the local feeling was sympathetic towards Simon, many of his friends believed him guilty of the killing,—the wanton killing of Max LeClair—and the provoked attack on Alex McIntosh. He was regarded as a high-spirited Indian who thought lightly of the life of any white man who crossed him. In spite of this streak of aboriginal psychology he was generally liked.

For about fifteen years Gun-a-noot continued to roam a free man and enjoyed the society of his many friends the Indians of the north. Then, in the spring of 1934, when visiting his father's grave at Babine Lake, he took suddenly ill and died. (2) Gun-a-noot is gone but this

(1) Vancouver Sun, August 30, 1941, Magazine Section, page 6. (2) Ibid.
whole region of the Babines and Upper Tsimshians and even including the Thaltans and Nehanais will for many years yet resound to the telling by the Indians of the search for Gun-a-noot and of the many times he evaded the arm of the law.
Chapter Twelve

CHANGED PLACE-NAMES

The western half of Francois Lake which was called Neta-penket or Lip Lake was also settled by these same lippy people in the early days. They had their villages not only on Neta-penket, Babine Lake and River, but, as already indicated, on the western half of Francois, Cambie, or Ootsa, and Eutsuk Lakes as well. At the mouth of the Parrott and also at the mouth of Nadina River families of these Babines used to gather, and they lived principally on fish and game. In fact, the land about the mouth of almost any river was generally the site of an Indian village. There were fairly distinct footpaths leading from Nadina over to Morice River within the memory of living man. This region has remained almost unexplored by white man owing to its remoteness from transportation.

Far to the west still in Babine territory was Hwotsen pen from which the Hwotsen khoh flowed to join the Shian in the vicinity of Tsechah. Now Tsechah was a great rock, known to Indians far and near. The place is also known as Akwilgate (1). The "Rocher Deboule" of the early fur traders was perhaps as good a name as any. In the Carrier language we have "tse tcah kheyerh hwozai" meaning "there is a village down by the rock."

(1) Akwilgate is said to mean "well dressed."
The story is current that many years ago the Babines and Tsimshians lived as neighbours at Fallen Rock, now called Rocher Deboule. The Tsimshians, especially the Kitksons, intermarried freely with the Babines. (1) Their marriage customs were both primitive and simple. It seems that the village was disturbed by the appearance of a double-headed squirrel that crossed the weir the Indians had set in the river for salmon. Such an occurrence was enough to cause panic among the natives. The Tsimshians fled to their old villages on the Skeena while the Babines took to the woods and stayed around the several lakes and rivers mentioned above, thus distributing the tribe.

Now, according to our present-day maps, this lake (Hwotsen-pen), river, and confluence is shown as Morice Lake and River, the Bulkley River, and Skeena River. Father Morice discovered and explored this body of water in 1895 and he named it Loring Lake in honour of Mr. R. E. Loring, Indian Agent at Hazelton (2), and Loring Lake it remained on Father Morice's map published by the Department of Lands in 1907. However, according to the 1940 Government map, this has been altered and it is now called Morice Lake, with Morice River flowing out with it strong current

(2) Ibid.
and great volume of water to join the puny Bulkley River a little west of Houston. This present-day nomenclature is about as ridiculous as calling the mighty St. Lawrence River by the name of the St. Charles which enters it near Quebec City. Why change the name Morice to Bulkley after it has received a tributary that scarcely influences the stream. There are numerous examples of the crazy method of naming bodies and streams of water as well as prominent geographical features in Central British Columbia. (1)

Apparently, the cartographers have paid but little attention to the work that has been done by the explorers. (2)

Father Morice had many an acrimonious dispute over the tendency of officials of the British Columbia Lands Department to override the work of the pioneer explorers. (3)

There is a river in this vicinity that deserves particular notice. This river is called the Kitnayakwa, a tributary of the Zymoetz, and it has the same suffix as the several river names of Telkwa, Suskwa and other streams. This river Kitnayakwa shows by the final syllable that the river originates within the Babine domain. At the same time the prefix "kit" shows the influence of the

(1) Morice, Rev. A.G., "Fifty Years in Western Canada," pages 170-173
(2) Ibid.
(3) Ibid.
Tsimshian tongue. There are numerous "kit" rivers in this land of the Kitksons, such as the Kitseguecla, Kitwanga, Kitwancool, Kitselas, and Kitsumgallum. These names also refer to different tribes of the Tsimshians living within the Skeena Valley. However, there are but few rivers which show the Kitkson and the Babine terminology in the same word. Another river that is similarly made up is the "Nilkitkwa." It would seem as though this river name has also been affected by the presence along the Skeena of the Kitkson Indians. However, this remark may be considered as being foreign to our main discussion of the Carrier and Babine languages and locations.

Speaking of lakes, it is noted that the Hwotsenpen, Nato-penket, and Nita-penket have a similar syllable common to the end of each. The word for "lake" in the Carrier language is "pen ren" but in all compounds or derivatives the final syllable "ren" disappears, leaving the first syllable "pen" which is immutable and contains the essence, the root, and the meaning of the word. (1) Thus we have such words as Pencho meaning "Big Lake," Penyaz meaning "Little Lake," and Penpa meaning "lakeshore." Also there are Gapen meaning "pond" and "apenket" meaning "lagoon." The syllable "ket" is in the nature of a post-position and

the word "penket" may be translated as "lake place" just as the word for cemetery is "tsenket," literally "bones place," and fountain is "thuket," while a cellar is "tsaket" or "obscurity place." Many compounds in the Carrier language use this suffix "ket." The word for "room" is "eket," that for "orchard" is "maiket," while "garden" is "haneyih-ket." A "gardener" is known as "haintyih'en," or "he that causes to grow." (1)

It is interesting to note that according to the Memoirs of Father Morice he and three Indian companions, Thomas Thautilh, John Stene and William Khetloh were exploring the body of water that they called Cambie Lake and which is now called Ootsa Lake. About the middle of September, 1895, they went in a dugout canoe from that lake through to little Sinclair Lake which was named in honour of the head man of the Hudson's Bay Company's post at Fraser Lake, and Father Morice records in his Journal: "As if to get a fair taste of what is awaiting us, we have not gone far on Cambie Lake when we are assailed by a terrible tempest which puts us on the brink of perdition. In a very short time our tiny craft is full of water and our things wet." (2)

The chronicler reports that this storm was felt all over the country. A big canoe which the priest had used on Francois Lake and which was being taken back to

(2) Morice, Rev. A.G., "Fifty Years in Western Canada," page 158.
Fraser Lake capsized and its occupants were nearly drowned, although they ultimately saved themselves. Even over on Stuart Lake the Hudson's Bay Company's schooner was tossed about by the furious waves as she was bringing Mr. Loring and his family back to the trading post. (1) Her two anchors were broken so that they had to let her drift aground on the sand of the beach. All of this happened perhaps one-hundred miles from Telkwa where Jimmy Mishel and Bill Cook were at that time hiding from the raging elements under the scant protection of the branches of their balsam tree. This record is very enlightening as it shows that the storm was more than a passing summer squall to which Jimmy Mishel makes reference in his "balsam blaze" shown in photographic plate Number IX in the Appendix to this work.

Passing through the next lake which is now called White-sail, which Father Morice called Dawson Lake in honour of a friend of his who was then living in England (2), the party pushed on over the portage and reached the water of perhaps the greatest expanse in the interior of the Province. This lake the priest had at first called St. Thomas in honour of the Indian, Thomas Thautilh. However, as they paddled along its surface and began to realize how great was the sheet of water and how beautiful were its surroundings, Thomas Thautilh suggested that this lake was too

(1) Ibid.
(2) Okanagan Historical Society, Tenth Report, pages 34-35.
great to carry his humble name and recommended that it be
given the name of the explorer. The Indian graciously
accepted St. Thomas as the name of a small body of water
lying some distance to the north and east of the portage,
and his name is till perpetuated in Lake St. Thomas. This
large body of water was called by the Indians Ete'auh-yutsu
and pronounced Ete'auh-yootsoo, which meant that it was
much farther away than Yutsu (pronounced "Yootsoo"). (1)
It literally means "lake that is away down toward the
water." (2)

However, Ete'auh-yutsu and Morice Lake have both
been superseded by the name Eutsuk Lake and even the islands,
which are prominent geographical features of the widest
part of the lake, have undergone a change. The name of
the big island used to indicate "an island on which a bear
escapes from people." (3)

It was known to the Indians as Suscho-nu meaning
"Big Bear Island" and the smaller island to the south of
it was called Susyaz-nu. These names either in their
original tongue or in their English equivalent were retained
until 1940. The map issued that year by F. C. Green,
Surveyor-General for the British Columbia Department of

(1) Okanagan Historical Society, "Tenth Annual Report,"
page 35.
Lands, shows the influence of a great Canadian Governor-General. On a recent visit to British Columbia he had inspected the Tweedsmuir Park which was named in his honour, and these two islands, Suscho and Susyaz, nestled in the lake in the heart of the Park area were called "John Buchan Island" and "Lady Susan Island" in their honour. This is a beautiful region with high mountains and clear sparkling glaciers. This Eutsuk Lake is cut off from the ordinary travel routes and will long remain a decided attraction for tourists.

According to the "Interior News" for August 16, 1944, there is likely to be mining operations carried on in Tweedsmuir Park. Already four mining companies have men in the country exploring and prospecting on their behalf. It seems quite likely that this fine and hitherto almost unknown area may be opened up to others than tourists. Already good showings of gold quartz have been reported. But the discovery of quartz and ore-bearing rock only mean that the local Indians will have more difficulty in surviving. Gold often means poverty for the aborigine.

Eutsuk Lake is one of the main sources of the Nechako River. Father Morice and three companions first explored it in the summer of 1895. (1) These headwaters of

the Nechako, Morice, Lejac, and Simonin Lakes have all undergone the same change as has overtaken Dawson, Emerald, and Cambie Lakes. Now these bodies of water are known as Eutsuk, Tetachuck, and Euchu. They are the three to the south in Tweedsmuir Park. They all pour their waters into Loon Lake before entering the Nechako River. The three to the north are White-sail, Tahtsa and Ootsa Lakes. Instead of emptying into Loon Lake this latter now bears the name of Natakuz Lake. The small lake which lies a little to the south is now called Entiako. A few miles away from these headwaters the Nechako makes its first loop in horseshoe fashion and takes the water from Cheslatta, Holy Cross, and Murray Lakes. Originally the Cheslatta was called "TsistXatha" which means "Otter-posterior-water." (1) Father Morice named it St. Mary's Lake. Cambie Lake, which was known to the Indians as Yootsoo, is now called Ootsa is still at the extreme end of automobile transportation, and there are but few settlers yet living in this region.

In this area is the native village of BeY'kachek, which frequently appears in the pages of TestXes Nahwelnek. This place is now almost unknown, but of it Father Hettrich writes, "When I was at LeJac a few weeks ago I met some

Indians knowing well the Cheslatta District and I was asking them about Be'kachek. In the west end of Cheslatta Lake, and to the south, is a small body of water called Enz Lake and in Indian Be'ka. Where the creek runs from this lake into Cheslatta Lake the mouth is called Be'kachek."

(1) In this area the Indians say "chek" for the river-mouth, while at Fort St. James they use the suffix "che" with the same meaning. The Indians living about Be'kachek are a quiet, peaceful band of hunters and fishermen, not much affected by their white neighbours. Lack of roads keeps them from frequent association with other settlers.

Referring to the dialectical peculiarities of the Lower Carriers, (those living about Nautley, Tsist'Katha, Saikuz, etc.), Father Morice says they frequently add "k" to words ending in -a, -a, -ai, -e, and at times -o, which is then changed to "e." (2) He cites examples such as "hwosesni," meaning "I am foolish," which becomes "hwosesnek," and "tsai" meaning "dish" which in Lower Carrier is "tsak."

The Upper Carriers around Fort St. James speak of "fish" as "Yo" while their neighbours to the south speak of them as "Yek." It is further explained by the same authority that always within the same Carrier tribe some final vowels

are replaced by others followed by a consonant betraying the portion of the tribe to which the speaker belongs. (1) In the language of the Babines this change in the final "k" becomes "kh"; for example, "tsai" becomes not "tsak" but "tsakh." (2)

Back at the east half of Nita Penket or Francois Lake we have the Stellako River and its tributary the Endako entering Natleh penket or Fraser Lake. On the eastern half of this lake, Nita Penket, the aborigines according to local lore had their first experience with a "Slicker" from a far-away village. The story goes to show the gullibility of the native social climbers and is somewhat reminiscent of the more recent stories regarding the "travelling salesmen" who have at times visited white settlements. This story was recounted to the writer by Chief Louie Billy Prince after he had spent a day or so reminiscing with Long Charlie, a Chief of the Stella Indian village in the summer of 1943.

(2) Ibid, volume II, page 506, section 2830.
Chapter Thirteen

STORY WITH A MORAL

In the olden days one of the Toenezas, or chief head men of the tribe, had an aspiring squaw who was the mother of two comely daughters then reaching womanhood. The young braves of the tribe had not made much progress in wooing these dusky belles—indeed, they were given no encouragement either by the haughty squaw or by the daughters, who were well aware of their lofty situation. One day there drifted into the vicinity of the Nithi River mouth, by canoe, an Atnah Indian from the west. The Stella Indians were then encamped by the lakeshore at the eastern end of Nita penket. This travelling Indian had sojourned with the Tsimshians and Babines at Tsechah or Rocher Deboulle and had spent some time at the Indian villages at Moricetown, Nadina River, Huncha Lake, and other intervening settlements. From the size of the pack that he carried, the aspiring squaw could see that the caller had a fair share of worldly goods. He also had a ready flow of language in several dialects. He seemed to be the right kind of man for this woman to encourage as a suitor for her daughters. The daughters concurred in this opinion and welcomed the wooing.
When the dark-skinned visitor had been around the camp for a couple of days, he showed some evidence of reciprocating the Indians' interest in him. He invited the two girls to go for a stroll along a well-trodden foot-path by the lakeshore. It was a beautiful day in mid-summer so the girls arrayed themselves in all of their finest furs and their shell ornaments. As they walked along chatting they were soon perspiring from the noon-day heat. The wily visitor noting their discomfort told them of certain women of the west, and of the light kind of clothes they wore in summer-time. He said that in other tribes the leading ladies wore only dresses of leaves stitched together, for comfort in the summer. He further remarked that the colour and the light clothing enhanced their beauty to a marked degree. He was a convincing liar and the girls swallowed his words. The Indian maidens were intrigued as well as uncomfortable, so the visitor set about to assemble the materials for two light garments made of leaves.

He was quite adept at stitching the leaves together with spruce roots. Soon he had his two proteges swanking about the hillside near the foot of the lake, where the Stellako drains away, in garments of green. He suggested that the two girls leave their heavy fur clothing (particularly
the ornaments made from dentalia shells) under an evergreen tree and return to the camp to show their mother the transformation that had been wrought in their attire. He even offered to remain and guard the fur clothing and native finery they had discarded. He said that he felt sleepy and he called out to them that they need not hurry but that they could take their time about coming back.

It is said by the old Indian, who thoroughly enjoyed telling the story, that the dresses made from the green leaves of the cottonwoods, held together with the roots of trees, did not stand the strain of travel among the timbers. So the girls were ready to obey their mother and seek the return of their fur garments and costume jewelry because the day was now well spent and the cool of evening was beginning to be felt. The leaves offered but scant protection from the elements, so back to the tree they went. But no clothes were there and no man was waiting! After searching in the woods for him they returned to the camp in tears and tatters, and they called to their aid in the search what neighbours were at hand. All joined in looking for the missing visitor.

Later on, when the search party returned fruitless to camp, it was discovered that in the absence of the tribe the pack belonging to the visitor had disappeared and his canoe was also gone. The night was dark and Nita Penket's
surface left no trace to show whether the traveller had gone west or had floated down the Stellako with the current. By the next morning, the old men of the tribe began to think that he was not likely to return.

The Indians enjoy telling this story among themselves. They say that there was but little sympathy felt for the irate squaw or her verdure-clad daughters. It is believed that the two girls looked with considerably more favour on the eligible braves of the tribe after their experience with the travelling man. As far as it is known, they both settled down to bear children and the tribal burdens,—their descendants are still in the nearby villages about Fraser Lake. However, the very suggestion that leaves are suitable material from which summer dresses might be made brings to some inhabitants a reminiscent smile,—furs are still regarded as superior clothing material even for summer weather.

There are friendly aborigines in practically all centres, and they visit around a lot. It is not difficult to reach the various villages now. Stoney Creek is only seventy miles from Prince George and Quesnel is only eighty miles south of that metropolis, hence aborigines who are seen in one place one day may be encountered in another on the next day.
Some years ago when Lukie was the Chief of the Quesnel band of Indians, a self-styled faith-healing Indian doctor came along. He claimed that by anointing his patients with a little Holy water, and they had sufficient faith and prayed fervently, they could be cured of almost anything, including, as Lukie called it, "contamination." However, before Lukie would permit this faith healer to work on the members of his band, he decided to go along with him as far as the Stoney Creek Reserve at Vanderhoof.

At Stoney Creek the "faith healer" anointed an old woman who was somewhere near a hundred years of age and who was bed-ridden with consumption. Lukie said, "He would see first if this old lady got well" remarking that if "dat old lady she don't get well then no use to pray like hell." Needless to say the old lady died shortly afterwards and Lukie too followed not long after her death, for he too was afflicted with lung trouble. The "faith healer" did not do this anointing without remuneration and evidently the law caught up with him. He spent some time in jail.

When Lukie was relating his experiences with the "faith healer" he observed that while he had little faith himself in the permanent cures of the healer, he felt that
some good was accomplished after all. As an illustration, he pointed out that in several "rancheres" there were Indian men like Dominic (he did not need to elaborate because local residents knew to what he referred). It was about this time that Dominic had "pulled a fast one" on the town by circulating a subscription list among the white residents for the purpose of painting the church on the Reservation, which is just about three miles out of Quesnel. He collected a fair amount of money and later he came back with the second list. In explanation of this further demand on the charitably inclined he claimed that the money collected so far had only been sufficient to paint one side of the church. It turned out, however, that Dominic had collected the money, not for the purpose of painting the church, instead he painted the town "red" on a number of occasions and this led to his downfall.

It was on Natleh Penket that Simon Fraser visited the aborigines living at Stella in 1806 when he witnessed an early tribal funeral. He joined with the natives of the place and did honour to the remains of the dead chief. (1) The Indians were honoured in having the illustrious explorer

take an interest in the ceremony of cremation. To while away the weary hours Fraser is said to have set about exploring the surrounding country and at Fond du Lac (1), which is now Stella, he found "some spoons and a metal pot," which showed that the Indians had already had intercourse with whites through the coastal tribes.

It should be noted that many families of Carrier Indians speak French with greater fluency than they speak English. This has been true for more than a century. Many words now used in their language are derived from the French. (2) In the learning of languages they seem even more proficient than their white neighbours.

The little incident just mentioned as having occurred at Stella shows that Fraser knew how to win the sympathy of the aborigines by conforming to their whims even in small matters. According to the Carrier custom, the chief having died, his remains must be cremated. A memorial post was therefore erected and was fashioned to contain the few charred bones to be gathered from the funeral pyre. After a most solemn ceremony, Fraser engraved his name on the post to the immense satisfaction of the braves of the tribe. (3)

It is possible that this action of the explorer encouraged natives of a later generation to carve their names and brief messages in trees and on similar objects.

(1) Ibid.
The Nautley band have for many years left their marks and signs on the trees of the neighbourhood. In Nautley village live some of the most unspoiled natives. Their thinking may seem a bit strange to us, but their thoughts are sound. In the summer of 1943, I presented to the chief of this village an old woollen suit, which for more than twenty years had lain unused in a trunk. The following day, at Vanderhoof, thirty miles away, I was accosted by another man from the same village who gave me a large, old dollar bill of the kind in use some years ago. He passed on the message that the dollar was being returned as it was evidently left in the pocket by mistake. The honest old Indian would not think of retaining it. He even refused to accept it when offered to him, but he gladly kept the clothes.

Due to the construction of a telegraph line through British Columbia in 1865 and the following years, there were changes made in the every-day life of the aborigines along the route followed by the trail-cutting party. For example, in the vicinity of Lakes Tachik, Nulki, and Sinkut there were, in aboriginal times, at least three thriving Indian villages. These were Nulkreh, Tachek, and Saikuz. (1)

(1) Morice, Rev. A.G., "Fifty Years in Western Canada."
That the villages were very important and populous may be gathered from the number of trails that led out to other Indian villages. One trail led to Na'Kaztli or Fort St. James and to other nearby tribal settlements; another continued westward to the village of Nautley and Stella; another trail led eastward toward the Nazkhoh-'tenne country. Most important of all, a trail led through by Finger and Tatuk Lakes to the Euchiniko Creek and thence joined with the Nazkhoh west of the Blackwater village.

Father Morice named these lakes (Nulkreh, Tachek, and Saikuz) Don'tenwell, Gordon, and Head Lakes respectively. They all drain into the Nechako River somewhat west of the confluence of the Stuart River. These small creeks at certain seasons of the year were raging torrents and they were bridged over by the telegraph construction party. It happened that a very few years after the party had given up their work, and had gone away, and the Indians of the three native villages had brought together their people at Stoney Creek. One of the enterprising natives, Old Jack, by name, set about to repair a bridge on the telegraph trail, which he planned to maintain as a toll-bridge. It is believed that the idea of charging for the use of this bridge occurred to the Indian as he pondered over ways of raising funds. He was an avaricious old man and was always ready to make money. His acquaintance with whites had not reduced his ability to use his wits.
In those days there were but few people going into Central British Columbia by the overland route. Consequently, neither the bridge nor the trail were very much used. However, Old Jack retain his position as unofficial toll-keeper for the bridge, and everyone who passed over it had to pay the prescribed fee. This was light in most cases for money was scarce, but there came a time when two individuals from the capital city of Victoria entered the country. Peter Warren Dunlevy was the one who preceded on horseback and, coming to the bridge, he went to cross over. He was stopped by Old Jack who demanded his tribute and announced that the charge being made for the use of the bridge on that day was fifty cents. Dunlevy paid his fifty cents reluctantly and felt that this was in the nature of a hold-up, seeing that he represented the British Columbia Government and was the forerunner of a very important gentleman, Edgar Dewdney, later Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia. Dunlevy informed the Indian that the man following him was a Hyas Tyee of the whites and that he came next to Queen Victoria in importance. (1) The Indian appeared to understand the Chinook and the white man rode on. Shortly thereafter, Mr. Dewdney approached the bridge and was stopped and asked

for one dollar. He objected to having to pay so high a fee for the privilege of riding over the bridge. He was curtly told that he could ride through the river for nothing. But the river being deep and in flood, Edgar Dewdney decided to pay the one dollar.

Dunlevy, who had crossed the toll-bridge in advance of Dewdney, returned to the bridge to find out how his master was faring. Hearing the argument he enquired how much Dewdney was paying. On learning that it was a one dollar fee being charged, while he paid only fifty cents, Dunlevy wanted to know of Old Jack why there was such a wide difference in charges. The native informed him that it was one dollar for an important or hyas man and only fifty cents for the tenas tene or common people.

This bridge was looked after for many years by Old Jack and even when the white people were using the road frequently and the Public Works Department of the British Columbia Government had undertaken the repair and upkeep of the trail, Old Jack in his log-house near the bridge used to look with hungry eyes on the passing tourists and wayfarers. He regretted the fact that he was no longer able to levy a fee. It is likely that had this man the opportunity that was afforded certain financiers in the present century, he might have been a wealthy man. However, the average native is not of this sort. He is contented with enough
for the present and does not wish to be bothered with a
surplus of unnecessary food, clothing or other encumbrance.
Old Jack died in 1929 being close to ninety years of age
and still full of money-making schemes.
Chapter Fourteen

COMMUNICATIONS IN ABORIGINAL SURROUNDINGS

The building of this telegraph line was one of the great enterprises of the past century in Central British Columbia. It represented a stupendous undertaking even in the eyes of the few white residents of the Coastal districts and the fur traders. To the natives the construction of this line was little short of a miracle. It was built mainly in 1865 and 1866. The Indians were unaware of the quantities of supplies that had been assembled at coastal points. They had not heard of the seven seagoing vessels, besides the smaller craft, which were engaged in seagoing operations. All they actually saw or heard of, through other natives, was one large and two small river steamers which plied on the Skeena River and brought supplies into Fort Stager. However, they were to realize that this attempt at crossing the continent and Bering Strait with a telegraph line was to be of practical value to several tribes who lived near to it. The line was a total loss to the promoters but the salvage proved to be a source of enrichment to the natives.
By the end of August, 1865, the telegraph line had reached the Carrier territory at Soda Creek and from there it went on to Quesnel; there it crossed the Fraser River and was cut through past the Nazko, Chilako, Sinkut, Stoney Creek, and over the Nechako in the vicinity of the Nautley village. From Fort Fraser it went along the northern shore of the lake to Stella (across the lake from where the Canadian National now runs), thence along the Endako, Burns Lake, and Bulkley River to the confluence with the Skeena near Hazelton. The following year it was continued north along what is now called the Telegraph Trail to Telegraph Creek.

One hundred and fifty pack animals were employed in bringing into the region between Quesnel and the Skeena River the miles of wire and tons of material and provisions required. (1) These supplies were taken by boat from Quesnel up the Fraser, the Blackwater, and the Nechako to convenient places, but even with this assistance the materials could not be supplied as fast as required. (2) The natives watched the hordes of workmen and helped with the packing of supplies.

(2) "The British Columbian," June 23, 1866.
By the end of June, Fort Fraser was reached. From Quesnel, four hundred miles of wire were stretched and four hundred and fifty miles of trail were cut through a densely wooded country where the trees were felled for twenty or thirty feet on each side of the line. When the season of 1866 closed, the telegraph existed from the southern boundary of British Columbia to a point twenty-five miles beyond Fort Stager at the Kispiox and Skeena Rivers in Kitkson territory.

Unfortunately, the dream the construction men had of the success of their telegraph line died away. No further work was ever done in British Columbia, and in 1868 Fort Stager was abandoned. There were many tons of wire and piles of other materials left on the ground which were the source of supply for the domestic requirements of the Indians. They used the wire for the manufacture of nails, fish spears, traps, and toboggans. They even built bridges using some of the wire in the rude construction. One of the bridges so built was the suspension bridge at Hagwilgate. It is said that the company sank three million dollars in this undertaking. (1)

Unfortunately, within a very few years there was nothing to show for this part of the line except that there were still the remains of an old telegraph trail

with rotting telegraph poles at intervals along the forest opening; rusted wire could occasionally be seen hanging in loose festoons and tangled amid the brushwood. Here civilization had once advanced her footsteps and "had apparently shrunk back again frightened at her boldness."

(1) So the great enterprise was abandoned and for a long time from the shores of Lake Babine to the banks of the Fraser at Quesnel the wire hung in ruined tangled strands.

To the Carrier Indians this marvellous line was known as **TXuXpeyathek**, (2) or "the string wherewith one speaks," it was made with wire of "ZezthihtXuX." (3) The copper wire was known as "Telkenteh." (4) As far as is known the only Indian to make a financial profit from the building of this line was Old Jack, who could make a gain from the misfortune of others. For many years he continued to be a recipient of the bridge toll fees.

The writer had the privilege of personal acquaintance with Old Jack (referred to in an earlier chapter) whom he met at Stoney Creek in the summer of 1926. Jack was very old then, about eighty-eight years. Maybe he was much older, it was difficult to estimate his age. He had a keen and

(4) Ibid, page 141, section 293.
alert mind. Wishing to have a picture of him, I asked him
to pose for his portrait. He said his charge was one
dollar for each picture. It seemed like a one-sided
arrangement but we finally came to terms and a picture
was snapped. Two years later Old Jack was laid away in
the native cemetery near his village.

Already the Western Union Telegraph Company's
efforts at opening the long telegraph line that led from
the coast by way of Quesnel and the Nechako River to the
Bulkley and on towards Telegraph Creek have been referred
to. The resulting effect on native customs and life from
the use of wire and other materials left by the construc­
tion camps have also been alluded to, but mention has not
been made of the fact that the Bulkley River--Hwotsenkoh--
received its name from Colonel Bulkley, a retired American
Army officer. At that time he was one of the directors
in charge of the company's work. As a result of the tele­
graph line construction and the prospecting that was going
on throughout the Carrier region, roads and trails were
extended through the district. Mr. Edgar Dewdney, who
had experienced difficulty with Old Jack, the keeper of
the bridge at Stoney Creek, opened up the trail that led
through Fort St. James and on up to the silver and gold
prospects in the Sekanais country to the north and east.
It was these Indians at Stoney Creek who were as recently as 1935 still using the bows and arrows for the hunting of birds and of small game. The bows were made from the wood of the yew (*taxus brevifolia*, nutt.).

(1) This wood was tough and resilient and had good weight. The arrows were made of the Serviceberry wood (*amelanchier alnifolia*). (2) Each arrow was approximately two feet long and was tipped with a sharp stone arrowhead. Fletchings on the other end of the arrow were from the eagle's wings. It seemed almost unbelievable that one hundred and twenty-five years after the introduction of firearms among these tribes they would still be using the primitive method of securing game. However, one of the Indians volunteered the information that in the hands of a good bowman the bow and arrow was just as quick and dependable as the shotgun or rifle and it did not scare the animals with its noise.

The Indians experienced the great depression that made itself felt in the rest of Canada from 1932 and for several years after. During those years there was a plentiful supply of wild rabbits to be had by the natives who cared to catch them. Many were snared with wire

snares. Some of the older Indians, however, preferred to trap the "korh" (1) in pitfalls. These were holes dug about five feet deep with perpendicular sides. They were about six feet long and three feet across and were sparsely covered with freshly cut boughs of jack-pine or "tce-n-tu," (2) (Pinus contorta, Douglas) (3) which grows generally throughout the interior of British Columbia. Its sap is used as an article of food by the natives who strip off the coarse bark in springtime and eat the tender orange-flavoured, sweet layer near the cambium. Rabbits are very fond of the growing parts of the tree so when one is felled by the rabbit pit or "tsaket-hwoyaz" (4) they scamper about and soon they fall into the hole. Being narrow and usually partly covered with boughs they are unable to hop out. They are easily despatched by a few blows with a stick or club. Frequently an Indian will return from such a pit bringing five to seven rabbits as a result of an hour's work. The pit, once dug, is good for the season.

In 1919, when Father Morice, after an absence of fourteen years, returned to Central British Columbia to visit his old friends the Carrier Indians, he stepped

off the train at Vanderhoof. This was a new settlement populated by people from outside of the Province in the years after the priest had left the district. As soon as he was off the train in the middle of the night he was greeted by old friends from the Stoney Creek village, located about nine miles away to the southwest. These Indians still tell with delight that Father Morice was still able to talk to them in their own language. He did not need an interpreter to translate their expressions of endearment and love into English for his benefit. Although they are not an emotional people, the Indians were almost overcome by the fact that their priest still remembered and loved them after an absence of fifteen years. (1) Now, forty years after his sojourn among them, the old natives speak lovingly and reverently of him.

Some of the people were able to make known their wishes in the Dene Syllabics. The absence of their beloved priest had not erased from their memories the excellent training given them by Father Morice nearly four decades before. Today there are a few old Indians in each village who were students in the primitive classrooms sixty years ago. These occasionally write to me, and in the appendix

(1) Morice, Rev. A.G., "Fifty Years in Western Canada," page 258.
is reproduced a characteristic note received from Wassa Leon, a Carrier Indian, in 1939 during the visit to British Columbia of their Majesties, King George VI and Queen Elizabeth.

Just about opposite the present station of Finmore on the Canadian National Railway stood the ancient village of Chinlac. Here, at the confluence of the Nakaztlenkhoh (now known as Stuart River) and the Nechako Rivers, the Indians lived in peace and quietness until, on the fateful morning about the year 1745, almost the whole population was massacred. The trouble seems to have arisen over a desire to avenge the death of a Chilcotin chief. The Chilcotins were led up into this country by Khalhpan, possibly over one of the Indian paths that prospectors frequently found on their initial travels through the wilderness. At any rate, Khalhpan and his blood-thirsty warriors descended upon defenseless Chinlac. At that time, most of the braves were away from the village and there were only women and children around the dwellings. These the Chilcotins killed and spitted on poles. (1) Fortunately, the Chilcotins did not go away from the river or they might have massacred the inhabitants of

(1) Morice, Rev. A.G., "Fifty Years in Western Canada," page 258.
Saikuz, Nulkreh, or Tachik who were of the same clan or sect as the Indians of Chinlac. Father Morice is the authority for the present-day story of the Chinlac massacre. He tells us that Khadintel was the principal chief of this place. He had two wives and a large number of children all of whom were killed by the Chilcotins. He himself was absent on a hunting or trapping expedition down the river and on returning in the direction of his village he encountered the Chilcotins. There were several Indians in the boat with him. These he told to flee up the bank and save themselves while he waited in his canoe to parley with Khalhpan. He was a very agile man and was able to dodge the arrows shot at him by the Chilcotins until their supply was nearly exhausted. Then, in obedience to the war party's commands, he commenced the dance of the Toeneza on the shore of the river just to show that his heart was above fear and emotion. When he finished his dancing he warned his departing enemy that in a very few years he and his men would return their visit.

Khadintel then returned to Chinlac where the spectacle which greeted him was heart rending. On the ground lying in pools of blood he saw the bodies of his own two wives and nearly all of his countrymen, while hanging on transversal poles resting on stout-forked sticks.
planted in the ground were the bodies of the children that had been ripped open and spitted through the outturned ribs in the same fashion as salmon drying in the sun. Two such poles were loaded from end to end with that gruesome burden. Grieving for his wives and children and aided by the few Indians who had escaped, Khadintel cremated all of the bodies and then gathered up the bones which partially escaped destruction by fire. (1) These he placed in leather satchels which were suitably decorated. He entrusted them to the care of the surviving relatives of the victims.

Khadintel then prepared the vengeance due this unprovoked crime. It required several years to make the necessary preparations but before the year 1750 he placed himself at the head of a large band of braves gathered from among the survivors of the Chinluc population and from the allied villages of Nautley, Nulkreh, and Tacheck. (2) He led these braves overland likely by the same Indian path as had been used by Khalhpan and his warriors. Reaching the Chilcotin Valley at a place near the modern village of Anahim this avenging party hid among the trees at the top of the third terrace on the plateau. In the morning, they beheld the long row of lodges which indicated a great

population of Chilcotins, and on this village the whole war party of Carrier Indians descended. They attacked the dwelling of 'Kun'qus, the younger brother of Khalhpan. He had built for himself a pallisade around his house and in it he lived with two wives (1), the one a Chilcotin woman and the other a Carrier woman who had been carried away from Chinlac with her younger brother on the former marauding expedition.

'Kun'qus was busy with his salmon traps when he heard the Indian war cry from the hills, and rushing home he gave the alarm to the sleeping Indians. He rushed into his hut and donned his defensive jacket and seized his war club. Taking a plentiful supply of arrows and keeping his little son, of whom he was very fond, between his legs, he fought bravely but finally fell pierced by a Carrier arrow. Even in death he struggled to beat off his assailants, but the large stone dagger which he used as a spear was not enough to keep at bay a whole band of warriors, who finally dealt him a death blow. The Carriers were just as blood-thirsty as the Chilcotins and in order to prove that their vengeance was just as great as that of their neighbours they filled three poles with the bodies of the children.

whom they slew. Then, having destroyed the village, they started on their homeward path, but had just forded the river at a point where a sandbank midstream cut it in two parts when they saw Khalhpan on the opposite side. Khadintel advanced to meet him and with cutting words he greeted him, "People say that you are a man, and you would feign pass yourself off as a terrible warrior. If you be such, come on, Khalhpan, come on and retreat not." (1) Khalhpan, being powerless against such a strong force and knowing of the great damage wrought against his own tribe by the Carriers, wept and hung his head.

Again, Khadintel attacked the Chilcotin warrior with these words, "Khalhpan, it is upon men that we came down to avenge a great wrong. I see that you are a woman; therefore, I will allow you to live. Go in peace and weep to your heart's content." (2) Even today, no more contemptuous remarks than these can be hurled by one Indian to a member of another tribe.

Thus in blood was the destruction of Chinlac washed out and to this day there remains a coolness between the warlike Chilcotins and the Carriers. The few persons

of the "Tano'tenne" subtribe who escaped the massacre of 1745 settled among their friends at Tachek and Zeitli, or Prince George. All that remains of their own village is a bare spot on the right bank of the Stuart River near the confluence with the Nechako, and the several trails leading out from it may be seen even in these times. Several years ago, a very fine piece of flint was picked up on the site of the village, and it is now in the museum at Victoria. This stone was evidently being chipped for the making of stone arrowpoints when the Chilcotins came upon the Carriers two hundred years ago.

Stone spear-heads, arrow-heads and axes are found, by many seekers, around the sites of the ancient villages. Every summer, for the past twenty years, my collection has been augmented by the younger generation of Indians. Their specimens have in the past been of flint, obsidian, pinkish quartz, and ordinary dark, hard rock, but in the spring of 1945 Maxime George, of the Nautley band, contributed a new type of Indian spear-head. This latest find was taken from one and a half feet below the surface of the ground. It is of bone and is barbed to hold whatever animal was speared. It was used for spearing beaver but has not been known to the Indians
during the past century or longer. This carved bone spear has been protected by deep burial in the ground. Now it will be preserved with a coat of shellac.

Some of my most prized specimens of native handicraft have been discovered under several inches of ground. In some cases the relics were doubtless buried with corpses, but the bone spear-head does not appear to have been placed in the ground by man. It may be that the animal (likely a beaver) after being speared, and mortally wounded, got into its lodge before expiring. The topography in many former beaver-ponds has changed as a result of draining and farming of the properties, so the fact of the spear being buried may be explained.
ABORIGINAL CONQUESTS OF 'KWÁH

A few miles up the Stuart River, just where it used to continue its course toward Reid Lake (according to C.C. Kelley (1), the soil surveyor of the British Columbia Department of Agriculture, who has covered most of that country) there was in aboriginal times another village peopled by Carrier Indians. This village was practically wiped out in 1780 or thereabouts by the Nazkhu-'tenne subtribe. The story is told that a member of that band of Indians living in the vicinity of the Blackwater River near the Æthako (2), a very important chief, had recently died and the shaman who was consulted by his relatives declared that Tsalekulhye, an Indian belonging to the northern tribe, was responsible for this death. In those days, anyone singled out by the shaman and accused of an offence of this kind was liable for punishment by the aggrieved natives. Therefore, the Blackwater warriors set out on the warpath for this northern village, the site of which, like Chinlac, has long been overgrown by trees. The Indians were at that time camped just above Hay Island

(1) Kelley, C.C., "Soils Report of the Prince George District."
(2) In this word as well as Ælitli the initial syllable "Æ" is sounded as though spelled "th."
when the alarming news was brought to them by a canoe-man who had been out trapping on the river. Tsalekulhye was away visiting his snares at the time, and when he returned he found that his fellow villagers had been attacked and killed by war clubs, flying spears, and whizzing arrows. Among Tsalekulhye's relatives were present four brothers. One of these, a lad named Nathadalhthoelh, was successful in crossing the river and carrying with him his sister. The sister was told to rush up the river for help. She ran bare-footed on the ice along the edge of the river and brought news of the massacre to the next band of Indians farther up. This Nathadalhthoelh was known to the early fur-traders as "Mal de Gorge" and is spoken of frequently in the old Hudson's Bay Company trade journals. (1)

The Carrier Indians respectfully burned the dead who were found on this field of carnage, and several years later this act was avenged by a young Indian and his companion braves. This leader of the party was called 'Kwah. He was a son of Tsalekulhye. 'Kwah was then but a young man without title, having done nothing as yet which would earn him the respect of his fellowmen, but he and his relatives had the responsibility of avenging the victims

of the Blackwater Indians. Some of the tribesmen wanted to take immediate action but others, who were more moderate in their views and older, knew that the Nazkhu-'tenne would expect reprisals and would be on their guard. Therefore, they resolved to wait until a couple of years had elapsed without hostilities. In the meantime, 'Kwah went across through the country of the Sekanais and obtained a large supply of tanned moose hides to make moccasins for his prospective followers.

Upon his return to Stuart Lake he assembled a little army of warriors which was somewhat augmented by members of the Stoney Creek band. He started out across country to the Nazkhoh region, but he had not got far along the path, probably to Sinkut Lake seven miles south of Stoney Creek, when dissensions arose and it was openly hinted that some of the Stoney Creek Indians who were related to the Nazkhu-'tenne intended to betray his approach. Accordingly, 'Kwah sensibly decided to turn back and with regret proclaimed his intention to abandon for the present his designs against the neighbours of the Nazko. 'Kwah was an astute warrior and he knew how to throw the enemy off the scent. He only came back as far as the Nechako River. There he embarked in a few days with his fellow
tribesmen in canoes and floated down the river passing the village of Leitli and through the canyon he came upon the Indians unaware.

They had just feasted on a fat bear and were sleeping soundly when they were attacked in the early morning. Great havoc was wrought mainly among the children and the innocent squaws of the tribe. Here the chief or head-man was known by the name of "Tsohtaih" who tried to put up a fight. However, he was overcome by 'Kwah and was slain with a dagger that had been brought into the Carrier country from the Skeena. This dagger has been known to the Indians as a symbol of authority and chieftainship ever since 1780. For many years it served as a knife and was occasionally fitted into a long pole and used as a spear. In later years it has had an artistically carved whalebone handle.

'Kwah, the great Indian chief who first possessed this dagger, was an unusual Indian and a great traveller. He frequently made trips of one hundred and two hundred miles across country. On one occasion we find him up the Thache and a short time after he is at Stoney Creek. Next he is one hundred and fifty miles away from there
massacring the Nazkhu-'tenne at the mouth of the Black-water. He travelled both by land and by water and was equally quick at each. Another time, in fact, twice, he made trips into the Sekanais country at least 150 miles distant from Fort St. James. Like other members of his tribe, he cared nothing for cold, wet, hunger, or fatigue when on the war-path, and there has been no record of his hardships or privations having injured his health. He is said to have gone over the dangerous Peace River canyon in a canoe and he lived to return to his country later. It was among the Sekanais that he spent a full year with his wife some time after the massacre of the Carriers near Hay Island.

The story of this massacre was told by Louie Billy Prince to Mr. W.P. Johnston who has recorded it. It is given here and shows remarkable similarity to the above narrative. (1)

"Early one spring morning about 1780 'Kwah returned from a hunting trip, and as he came out on the shores of Stuart Lake he saw by a glance at the camp of his people that something was wrong. There was no smoke rising from the houses and many dark specks could be seen lying around

on the ice of the lake. 'Kwah hurried forward and saw that the figures on the ice were the mutilated remains of some of the members of his own tribe. He quickly made his way to the house of his father, who was the chief, and found that his parent had been cruelly murdered. With his great knowledge of woodcraft and ability to read signs, 'Kwah knew that his father could only have been murdered by the chief of the Blackwater Indians, whose people were responsible for the outrage.

"It is said of 'Kwah that when he became enraged the veins would stand out on his forehead, and that he would practically become insane and strike anyone within reach. On this occasion he demonstrated to what heights his rage could go, and terrified his companions who had accompanied him on his hunting trip.

"Although he was not in line for the chieftainship according to the local tribal laws, he automatically assumed command of the tribe and swore to be revenged on the Blackwater Indians. It was decided to wait for some time before making reprisals on the enemy, so as to lull them into a sense of security. In the meantime 'Kwah made a trip over the mountains to the Beaver Indians in the vicinity of Hudson's Hope to procure tanned mooseskins
and sinews to make moccasins and other clothing for the army of warriors he intended to lead against the Blackwater Indians. They claim, although it is hard to believe in the present day, that 'Kwah and his few followers made the passage through the treacherous mountain canyon near Hudson's Hope in a bark canoe. There they came upon the lodges of the Beaver Indians, and the travellers were welcomed by the chief, Milyaze, who listened very attentively to 'Kwah's graphic story of the murderous assault on the Stuart Lake people. The Beaver Indians were always short of arrow and spear heads, so 'Kwah brought a large sack full of these articles as a present to the chief.

"The following ceremony then took place: A large white sheepskin was procured and laid on the ground, while both chiefs sat on either side of the skin and held a council which was attended by all the Beaver Indians and the visitors from Stuart Lake. The Beaver chief then took a green willow and broke it in two pieces, then placed a piece of willow on either side of the council fire with their ends leaning over the flames. As the willow twigs were affected by the heat they bent over and touched. The Beaver chief then told the assembled people that the fire represented the enemies of the visitors, and that the pieces of willow represented Beaver Indians and 'Kwah's
people who would always be joined together against their enemies. He commanded his people to pay great heed to this demonstration of friendship and to assist the visitors as much as possible. Mooseskins and sinews were then presented to 'Kwah, and he was assisted to make the portage around the dangerous canyon and cheered on his way back to Stuart Lake.

"On the travellers' return all preparations were made for the attack on the Blackwater tribe. The women were set to work making moccasins, while the men prepared arrows and spears and put their canoes in shape for the journey. 'Kwah set off with his warriors, and four strong young women to act as seamstresses and cooks, for the nearby village now known as Stoney Creek, from where he intended sending spies into the Blackwater country. Unfortunately for 'Kwah's well laid plans, some of the Blackwater men were married to women of the Stoney Creek village, and they set off to warn their countrymen of their impending danger. 'Kwah, on hearing of this treachery, called off the entire expedition and returned home in a towering rage, taking good care that the news of the retreat reached their enemies' ears.
"This, however, was only a clever move on the part of 'Kwah, as he only waited a month or so and then set out with three of his relatives on a secret trip to the Blackwater country. They took care not to encounter any other Indians who might carry the news to the enemy that a punitive expedition was on its way. They abandoned their canoe and made their way on foot along the left bank of the river until they saw a fishing camp on the opposite side. After hiding in the woods for a few days, 'Kwah, who was also a great medicine man, went down to the river and, taking the skunk-skin amulet which he wore around his neck, dipped it into the river. Next day there was a dense fog, which enabled them to light a fire without detection so that they could make pitch to build a canoe with which they could cross the stream.

"For the next few days 'Kwah kept watch on the enemy's camp. One evening a fat bear was killed, and the entire Blackwater camp spent the remainder of the night feasting in the large smoke-house. Usually they left the camp circle each night and slept singly in the bush in readiness for any attack; but on this occasion they were all so gorged that they remained in the smoke-house. Only one watchman remained on duty—a young lad who slept in a
canoe on the beach and each morning at dawn would swim up and down each bank looking for signs of any invaders.

"'Kwah outlined his plan of attack to his followers, and after dark they crossed the river about a mile up from the camp and made their way stealthily towards their unsuspecting victims, who were all sound asleep. The smoke-house had two entrances. 'Kwah stationed himself at one with his dagger ready for action, while at the other were his men with bows and arrows ready. At a given signal, according to their pre-arranged plan, they attacked the smoke-house. There was a terrific slaughter in the confined space of the house; but two men managed to escape 'Kwah's dagger and, although one was severely wounded in the abdomen, they plunged into the river in an attempt to escape, followed by the swimming watchman. 'Kwah and the others jumped into a canoe and made after the swimmers. 'Kwah, crouched in the bow of the canoe, which was drawing close to one of the swimmers, called out and asked him his name. The swimming watchman, who was some distance away, called back that the man was his father, the Blackwater chief. 'Kwah, with a shout of glee, told his followers that this was the murderer of his father, and lustily attacked him and hacked him to pieces.
"They then followed the watchman, but had difficulty in catching up with him, as he swam like an otter and kept diving below the surface. Eventually 'Kwah stabbed him through the leg and he was forthwith despatched. The man with the abdominal wounds was found sitting in the shallow water singing loudly. He was shown no mercy and was also killed and the body pushed into the stream.

"Their mission accomplished, 'Kwah and his men departed overland, making all haste as they were afraid of pursuit. On crossing over a small stream, 'Kwah saw his reflection in the water and noticed that he was all covered with blood. He proceeded to wash himself and then took some of the blood mixed with water between his cupped hands and took three mouthfuls of this. After drinking of the blood of his father's murderers, 'Kwah felt greatly refreshed, and a speedy trip was made back to Stuart Lake."

On this massacre which has already been reported, Tsalekulhye, the father of 'Kwah, was done to death and both 'Kwah and Nathadilhthoel (1) headed the band of warriors who sought vengeance on their southern neighbours. On their return from this trip they received a great ovation

(1) This name indicates ability as a swimmer,—the two syllables are seen as meaning "across water."
and a kindly reception from members of their own tribe who were then encamped at Thache on the upper end of Stuart Lake. However, it was only a short while thereafter that 'Kwah became restless again and went on a pleasure trip down to the villages near Stoney Creek.

As was usual among the Indians, 'Kwah and his partner, who was a son of old Arrowheart or Utzillae'ka got into a gambling game of "la hal" shortly after their arrival at Nulkreh. They had borrowed and brought with them the first iron axe possessed by the Carrier Indians. Old Arrowheart was the owner. In the course of their gambling both 'Kwah and his companion lost almost everything they possessed and finally 'Kwah wagered half the value of the axe and immediately lost it. His companion, thinking he might be more fortunate, wagered the remaining half of the axe and he too lost. The Nulkreh Indians were rather smart gamblers and were just as desirous of procuring the valuable axe as 'Kwah and his companion were of retaining it. (1) However, it went over to the opposition and the two Indians who were bereft of all of their belongings except scanty clothing returned to Stuart Lake and confessed the wrong they had done to Arrowheart. (2)

(2) Ibid.
The old man was very badly upset over losing his valuable possession. 'Kwah did his best to make amends and offered to the old man such game and fish as he got from time to time. He even presented to Arrowheart a fine marmot robe and a valuable necklace made from beautiful dentallium shells. However, the old Indian spitefully refused to accept these gifts and 'Kwah could not do more than regret the part he had in losing the valuable axe.

On previous occasions this axe had been lost for short spaces of time and had even been recovered by the shamen who had pronounced the proper incantations, but in this instance it had been lost from the tribe and was perhaps one hundred miles away with another band of Indians. This was a difficult situation and one that Arrowheart could not accept.

One day when 'Kwah was passing down the river following his squaw, who had set out on a fishing trip, old Arrowheart called out to him, "You good for nothing orphan who lives on the bones of the villages, why have you lost my axe?"

These words were somewhat harsh in the ears of 'Kwah so he drew his bow and let fly an arrow that pierced Arrowheart's heart and the old Indian expired. Quickly a group of Indians were on the bank calling to 'Kwah who
recognized among them many relatives of Arrowheart, so he did not stop to make enquiries. He knew that his blood would be required so he made all possible speed down the river. Overtaking his squaw he crossed the river with her and together they set out overland for the Sekanais country a hundred miles distant. It was on that occasion they remained for a year during which time the death of Arrowheart became less poignant to his relatives and 'Kwah returned bearing a large consignment of dressed mooseskins which he generously distributed among the members of his tribe. He realized that the present was no time for putting up a verbal defense.

'Kwah was now the Toeneza-cho (1) and was the leading Indian at the time that Fort St. James was established. He it was who transferred the tribe from Tsaoche to Na'kaztli and established his sizeable family there. However, the North-west Fur Traders who built Fort St. James failed to recognize that he was the power behind the wisdom of the Indian councils. It is doubtful if they really got to know 'Kwah before their business was taken over by the Hudson's Bay Company about fifteen years later in 1821. In their Journal in subsequent years

(1) "Toeneza-cho" means "great chief" and appears on his epitaph - See photo on page 22, "The Beaver," Outfit, 274, No. 3.
it is readily seen that when 'Kwah decided that he would not go on a hunting or trapping expedition, the other members of the tribe decided to remain at home and do likewise. On frequent occasions the Hudson's Bay Company men learned of 'Kwah's power over the Indians and they also learned of his willingness to fight a battle. (1) Even Daniel Williams Harmon learned to respect this Indian to whom he gave a severe beating on one occasion. James Douglas also learned that 'Kwah was a good man to have for a friend. (2)

Father Morice says that "James Douglas owed his life and, indirectly, his subsequent promotion to all the honours in the gift of the Company as well as his nomination to the post of representative of Queen Victoria on the Pacific Coast. This is shown in the epitaph pictured in plate VII in the appendix. A word from old 'Kwah, that lowly native to whom he used to show the cold shoulder when his hunt had not been up to expectations, would have cut short his incipient career and sent his ghost to the present abode of his ancestors." (3) The story is worth retelling, so is given here:

An Indian who had recently murdered one of the Hudson Bay Company's servants had been allowed to go at large and the murderer thought himself safe from molestation. So, after an absence of some considerable time, he made his appearance at Fort St. James. Learning of his presence in the village and having only a weak garrison in the Fort, James Douglas seized the criminal and, in revenge, killed him. The Indians, however, decided that they would not have one of their number so treated by Douglas or any other Hudson's Bay Company official. They gained admittance to the Fort before the officials could take up arms in their own defence. Douglas had not even enough time to discharge the wallpiece that was mounted in the hall before he was seized by Chief 'Kwah who held him. It was on this occasion that the chief spared the life of the great official who became British Columbia's first resident Governor. For an instant, Douglas' life was in peril when he was surrounded by the thirty or forty Indians with their daggers drawn brandishing them over his head with frantic gestures. 'Kwah's own son held the now-famous iron dagger over the prostrate and powerless Douglas and all were calling out to the chief, "Shall we strike? Shall we strike?" The chief showed calm and cool judgment...
and today, one hundred years after the event, we can be proud of the fact that the iron dagger then hovering above Douglas' breast was not used as a murder weapon. (1)

Some writers have given Douglas' wife some of the credit for the saving of the life of James Douglas because she took from the father of the slain Indian a dagger which, however, she had to return to its owner shortly afterwards. On the other hand, chief 'Kwah's nephew, the "Prince," his presumptive heir, was pointing to Douglas' breast the Chief's own poignard, the same one as 'Kwah used to fight the Nazhu-'tenne.

At Fort St. James an Indian named Old Betsy (said to be 107 years old) died in 1928, and before her death she recounted the story of 'Kwah's sparing the life of the white chief. She claimed that she was a little girl in the village of Nakaztli at the time of the death of Tzoelhnolle. She had so frequently heard her elders speaking of the event that she remembered the details fairly well. She also gave 'Kwah credit for having been wise and merciful on that occasion.

In many instances the records of the Hudson's Bay Company say that 'Kwah was a haughty, fiery individual who would hunt when he felt like it and when he did not

feel inclined to go out in search of furs, the white man could not drive him to do it. His third son was just like him, overbearing and autocratic. The Company men called him "the Prince" and he acted accordingly, lording it over members of his own tribe. Representatives of the Company who sought his assistance on numerous occasions were haughtily answered. He even went so far as to trade with the distant post at Quesnel. Chief Factor Peter Ogden (1) did not relish the idea of seeing his Indians go and trade at that southern post. He was especially annoyed with some of the more influential men of the tribe of the villages in the vicinity of Stuart Lake who showed their independence by taking their furs to Quesnel. The records of the Company show that "Prince made an appearance seeming no better for his trip to the promised paradise, Quesnelle." (2)

'Kwah's successor as Toeneza of the Stuart Lake Indians was his third son, "The Prince," as he was dubbed by the Hudson's Bay Company, who state in their journals "that man was independent and rather haughty in his ways and perhaps slightly aggressive in his dealings with white traders. Tall and powerfully built, his strong will

commanded the respect and obedience of all his subordinates. In a word, for a Carrier Indian, he was an ideal chief." (1)

Prince had two wives, the younger one was his inseparable companion, the other was not such a close associate. It happened one day that Prince and a half-breed, who served as an occasional interpreter, got into an argument in which Donald Manson (2), the Hudson's Bay Company's superintendent in New Caledonia, figured. Upon being ordered out of the Company's premises, Prince, instead of meekly submitting, attacked the manager. Manson retaliated and this so enraged the Indian that he seized a large yardstick and was on the point of using it against the manager when it was suddenly snatched from him by John D. Manson, son of the superintendent. Young Manson belayed the Indian and injured him severely stunning him and leaving him senseless on the floor. As soon as Prince regained consciousness he sent Carriers to the neighbouring Indian villages asking the men to come and help him annihilate the whites. For several days Indians kept pouring into Fort St. James. Manson and his men were frightened of the situation and sent to Fort MacLeod for the assistance

of Peter Ogden. It was fortunate for the white traders
that other influences were at work among the Indians.
Even Prince's own elder brother, who was dissatisfied
with the secondary rank he occupied in the tribe, together
with another influential Indian who had been baptized in
infancy by one of the missionaries, were indefatigable in
their endeavours to remind the people of the instructions
the priest had given them on a former occasion. Conse­
quently, after repeated gifts of tobacco had been presented
through J. Marie Boucher, the Prince's stubbornness was
finally vanquished and being flattered by Manson's suppli­
cating attitude, he consented to go at the head of a long
file of his followers and receive the presents which were
publicly to be bestowed upon him as compensation for
injuries he had received. (1)

From that day forward there was little friendship
between himself and representatives of the Hudson's Bay
Company. The chief treasured his sense of wounded dignity
to such an extent that in subsequent years he made himself
thoroughly disagreeable. Once he went so far as to construct
a rude fort on the banks of the Stuart River with the inten­
tion of shooting Manson as he left with his brigade. This

(1) Morice, Rev. A.G., "History of the Northern Interior
of British Columbia," page 281.
the Prince never carried out, but many items appearing in the Hudson's Bay Journal indicated that he continued to make things difficult for the traders. It also appears that Manson was never given further promotion in the Company after this episode but remained a Chief Trader. (1) The traders were not always fair in their dealings with the Indians, and it gives students of those far-off times some satisfaction to think that the Company held back their servants who were too high-handed in their dealings.

In looking back over the known history of British Columbia, it is doubtful if there has been any period of development that can equal the ten years between 1860 and 1870. During this decade the whole of New Caledonia was thoroughly explored by the gold miners who in many instances were led to their new discoveries by members of the aboriginal race. It was an Indian who showed the wealth of the Cariboo to Peter Warren Dunlevy (1), the prankster already mentioned in connection with the collection of bridge tolls. He had been toiling on a bar near the mouth of the Chilcotin River when a young Indian noticing that he valued the yellow dust left in the pan remarked that he could show him a place where the same metal was abundant. Within two weeks this Indian, who was the son of the Kamloops chief, introduced Dunlevy to what became the famous Horsefly Mines. (2)

But there were other things besides the miners who flocked into this country following Dunlevy's prosperous expedition which opened up the remote parts of the Interior. It was about this time that Alfred Waddington was trying

to find a railroad route through by Bute Inlet and the Chilcotin country. He is best remembered for the fact that a party of his men who had come into the Chilcotin country were massacred by the savages. The story is that these natives, who had rings in their noses, wore blankets and very little else, some of them had on a sort of shirt without breeches and some wore breeches without a shirt. Two of the more picturesque natives wore wolf-skin robes with hair turned inwards, and the other side adorned with the fringes of tails taken from the martin or squirrel. (1)

Two of these Chilcotin savages, who were hungry and tired out after a long journey through the mountains, tried to get something to eat from a Jim Smith who had been left in charge of some provisions and was looking after the ferry on the Homathko. Their request having met with a haughty refusal and insulting epithets, instead of food, so enraged the Indian that he shot his insulter. Hurrying on to the camp of the natives, these men told of the words and of the fate that had befallen the ferryman, and the whole band moved on that night to the quarters of the roadmakers. (2) Then early in the morning they fell on the sleeping workmen whom they killed by shooting,

stabbing or crushing with axes. Fourteen were killed altogether but one of the survivors, hearing the shots, jumped out of his blankets, dodged an Indian axe and darted off into the woods. He managed to reach the river bank and was soon joined by two other roadmakers. These men struggled on until they came to the coast and eventually reached Nanaimo on Vancouver Island where they told the news of the fate of their companions.

Three weeks after the Homathko massacre some men with a pack-train of forty-two loaded animals going inland from Bentinck Arm met with a similar fate, only one of them escaped unhurt. Some of them died fighting, as for instance the leader whose horse was shot under him. However, he mounted another one which was also shot down. Then he took to the woods and, standing behind a tree, kept the Indians at bay with his revolver until he fell bathed in his blood. The total number of the Chilcotins' victims was eighteen, including the squaw of one of the party who had advised the victims of their probable fate.

(1) These massacres took place about the end of April, 1864, and in June of the same year. The Chilcotins were still a vicious band of natives.

According to the reports that have been left by the white men and in recent years have been recounted by the Indians, it seems that the whites brought the smallpox into the country. It spread to the principal settlements of the Chilcotins killing one-third of the whole tribe in the village of Nakuntlun. It is claimed that two white men gathered the blankets of the dead, which had been thrown away because they were infested with smallpox. These blankets they again sold out to the uninformed Indians without having in any way fumigated them. Thus they caused a second outbreak of smallpox among the Indians who had not been prepared for the coming of the disease. The Chilcotins who escaped the plague did not take kindly to this diabolical deed of the whites. However, the trouble spread farther afield and there were outbreaks of smallpox in almost all Indian villages of the Chilcotin, Blackwater, Lower Carrier, and Babine tribes. It is recorded that "Smallpox brought up from the Coast played havoc among the Chilcotins, decimating them until almost those parties only who were away in the mountains were left to represent the tribe."

Members of the "Overland Party" in 1862 speak of conditions they encountered when approaching Bella Coola. They came across victims of the plague and in
one instance found an individual suffering from the disease. (1) Smallpox was everywhere among the poor Indians. People died in their flimsy dwellings or their bodies were thrown out of the lodges, but the stench was horrible. One rubbish heap examined by the Overlanders contained a six months' old Indian papoose who was not yet dead, but who had been discarded to die. (2)

Coming north, the plague attacked, in November, 1862, the Southern Carriers stationed in the valley of the Blackwater, who, flying through the woods crazed with fever and fright, communicated the contagion to the inhabitants of Peters Lake (the lake called Huncha by the natives), where only eight persons survived. Then it extended its ravages from Hehn Lake, at the source of Mud River, to St. Mary's and Morice Lakes, where the immense majority of the natives succumbed. (3) The condition of the survivors was awful and their future was gloomy.

To the Carrier Indian this disease, although scarcely known, was a terrible thing. It had a difficult name which was "netsehanekhat-hwotco." (4) This name implies that several things "khat" which are round on the

(1) Wade, Dr. M.S., "The Overlander of '62," Memoir IX, B.C. Archives, pages 149-150.
(2) Ibid.
surface "ne" comes from "tseha" people "ne." The suffix "too" hints at the dreadfulness of the malady and the syllable "hwo" which is the element called for by the verbal nature of the whole compound. (1) The "khat" refers to the skin eruptions which are so noticeable and so dreadful in this terrible disease.

These lakes; Peter's, Hehn, St. Mary's, and Morice; were the same ones as have been referred to on the 1940 map of the Lands Department of British Columbia, as Uncha, Tatuk, Cheslata, and Futsuk Lakes. Only two or three small villages still remain on St. Mary's or Cheslata Lake. Many once populous villages have become "Kheyerh-hwotget," or uninhabited villages, as a result of smallpox. (2) The scourge wiped away those of which once existed on the other sheets of water.

At first, the corpses were hurriedly buried near to the fireplaces where the ground was free of snow and frost. Then, the survivors simply threw trees over them, and soon the dead had to be left where they fell while the remaining natives wandered around in the woods. Father Morice, however, says that the violence of the disease added to the inclemency of the weather prevented its

spreading farther north. Very soon any camp attacked became powerless and incapable of exertion. Fraser Lake, he says, remained untouched by the plague and fortunately Stuart Lake only heard of the plague which was mentioned thus in the Fort's Journal, "Late this evening Mr. Moberley arrived from Fraser's Lake. He reports all well in that direction but apprehends that natives there will suffer privations and that many of them are dying of the smallpox, thus putting those here in an alarming state and applying for a second vaccination." (1)

Smallpox evidently decimated the Chilcotin population about 1862. What was left of the tribe then settled down to ranching. (2) Some of them moved to the vicinity of Alexandria on the Fraser River where they merged with Indians of the Carrier and Shuswap tribes. However, the majority still occupy their ancient territory. The westernmost band still crosses the mountains each summer to visit the Bella Coola Indians. Their total number does not now exceed four hundred and fifty souls. When it is considered that the population was estimated at two thousand and five hundred (3) by Mooney for pre-European times, it is understood how thoroughly smallpox wiped out the people.

(1) Hudson's Bay Journal, December 10, 1862.
The Indians of the prairies became acquainted with smallpox at an early date. David Thompson says that smallpox was brought among the Chippaway or Forest Indians and among those of the Sieux or Indians of the Plains about 1781. Some aborigines who had attacked a few white families that were suffering from the disease were unintentionally killed by their victims' disease. They contracted smallpox and thus they spread the contagion. (1) From the Chippaways it spread among all the Indians of the forest to the northward and from the Sieux it spread over the Indians of the plains and crossed the Rocky Mountains. The Indians had no idea up to that time of the dreadful nature of the disease and they died by hundreds.

Some believe that more than half the population died from smallpox. Those who perished were eaten by wolves and dogs (2) that fed upon the bodies. These animals were affected so that they lost their hair from the sides and bellies. (3) Most of the dogs died from the disease or from its effects, and six years later Thompson records that many wolves were still found with patches of the hair missing and their pelts were useless.

(1) "Thompson's Narrative," edited by J.D. Tyrell, pages 322-323.
(2) Ibid. Canis occidentalis Richardson, page 323.
(3) Ibid.
In the days of the smallpox plague the Hudson's Bay Company employees were doing their best to assist in combatting the disease. They vaccinated many of the Indians. An interesting story of the medical work done by John Tod (1) is given as follows:

He was in charge of fur trading for the Hudson's Bay Company at Kamloops. He was known to the local Indians, of Fort St. James, having been for a time in charge of Fort McLeod only ninety miles away. (2) The smallpox had made its appearance in the Kamloops district. It was brought from Walla Walla, Washington, by an Okanagan Indian and the aborigines feared the scourge worse than they feared death.

At that very time Tod learned that three hundred Shuswap Indians were ready to attack him and the fur-trading post. He had only ten men, including Indians and Canadians, and they were unable to cope with so large a foe. Brute force was out of the question and brute courage was powerless. John Tod decided to use intellect to circumvent the Indian. (3) So, riding his magnificent horse, a beautiful mare with clean limb, flowing mane and tail, a proud stepper, he rode over a knoll where he could be seen by

(1) John Tod later removed to Fort Victoria and his house, built in 1848, is standing in 1945,—the oldest dwelling in the community.
the Indians. Turning full front upon the glowering savages, Tod spurred his horse and rushed towards them as they raised their guns. He did not slacken his speed in the least but, drawing his sword and pistol and holding them aloft in one hand, he raised his gun with the other. Then Tod did what astonished the natives. He threw his gun, his sword, and his pistol into the sagebrush. Seizing the rein of the horse's bridle, he turned his attention to feats of horsemanship, and after describing several half-circles he charged into their midst.

The Indians were interested, they wished to see what the white man would do next. They had killed hundreds of men before and could achieve a butchery any day, but they could not have an honourable chief trader on his best mettle before them for their personal amusement. Tod knew this and he had the coolness and the courage to play it. He sat his horse like a warrior and smiled at the Indians who began to be afraid, though they knew not why for their intention was shortly to kill him.

John Tod opened the parley. He informed them of his regret that the smallpox was coming upon them from Walla Walla brought to Kamloops by an aborigine. "The disease is here," he informed them, "that is why I am come. I came to tell you; I came to save you. You are my friends,"--
my brothers. You bring me furs. I give you blankets and food for your families and I love you." However, he ended his speech by warning them not to come to Kamloops until he would give the word and he announced, "I have brought you medicine for I would not see you scattered on the bank like yonder salmon, rotting." At once, the Indians began to plead with Mr. Tod to save them. Not more than ten minutes later he was agreeing to perform the vaccination that would render them fairly safe against the smallpox. He then said, "Let fifty of the bravest and best of you strip each his right arm. Go down to the river and wash that arm," was his next command. Only the leading chiefs were included in the group of fifty for whom he claimed he had sufficient vaccine. Tod used his pocket knife for performing the operation. His main use for it on previous occasions was for the cutting of a plug of tobacco. In a short time he had the fifty braves vaccinated and all in the right arm. In his shrewd manner he then discovered that he had a little of the vaccine left so he vaccinated another score and instructed the Indians that they were to sit with their right hand held over the head for twenty-four hours. The Indians, whom he had vaccinated, all did his bidding and the following
day it is said that not one of them was in condition to use his right hand, nor could he use it for at least a week thereafter. They all believed that it would be fatal to use the right arm until after the sore had healed. He had instructed them in the way that they should vaccinate other Indians, using the material from their own vaccination sores. Naturally, this ended the Shuswap conspiracy and preserved the life of John Tod, who for many years was known well to the Indians and whites.

This John Tod, as already noted, had been at Fort McLeod in 1823 and was in charge of that trading establishment for a period of nine years. It was during his encumbency at Fort McLeod that James Douglas (1), then a young man, recently arrived from Lanark, Scotland, was in charge of the fishery at Stuart Lake. When Douglas had his trouble with 'Kwah which nearly terminated in his death, John Tod was peacefully negotiating with the Indians for the exchange of furs.

We have wandered rather far in dealing with the smallpox scare which did not closely affect the residents of Stuart Lake except by causing them worry and alarm. They were fortunately farther north than the smallpox spread. However, there was another calamity that overtook

them about the same time. This calamity arose through the fur trading efforts of the "free booters" who tried to take the lucrative fur trade away from the Hudson's Bay Company. It is said that three white traders established a fort at Pinchi village thirteen miles from Fort St. James. These traders were retired miners named Peter Toy, Ezra Evans, and W. Cust. They built a small store and went into the fur-trading business. Worse than all they engaged in the liquor traffic. It was necessary for Gavin Hamilton on behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company to attempt to drive out of the territory these three intruders. (1) Hamilton and two labourers left in October to erect an outpost or guardhouse on Pinchi River a little above Pinchi village so as to counter the action of the opposition traders. The site of the new post was well chosen, the hunting grounds of all the Pinchi Indians lay to the east of Stuart Lake where they had to pass the Company's guardhouse situated just where the Pinchi River flows out from Pinchi Lake, formerly called Rey Lake. The Hudson's Bay Company was thus able to meet the Indians before they traded with the other people and they did well. However, both the Company and the "free booters" now began to ply the liquor

traffic as a special attraction to the Indian with his pack of furs. In the Fort St. James Journal on December 16, 1865, it is stated that "Jim Boucher with Desnarais off to Pinchi with liquor for Mr. Hamilton and Peter Toy." These were opposing traders getting their liquor supply evidently from the same person. A few days later it is remarked that "one of 'Kwah's sons is at the Fort in a good state of mind." (1) It is amusing to hear the natives speak of the effect of alcoholic liquors on members of their tribe. Their expression is that "the Indian gets crazy like a white man." The usual thing for a white man to say of a drunk person is that "he acts crazy as an Indian." It is rather interesting to find the native reaction to this state, and they hold the intoxicated white man in low regard. They have a very poor opinion of an inebriated person, either white or native.

There were many others beside 'Kwah's, Grosse-Tete, who were badly intoxicated as a result of the efforts of the opposing forces seeking the trade of the Indians, and we read, "All the furs available being now in Hamilton's possession, he returned to the Fort with J. Boucher and Bird followed by all the Indians who were endeavouring to proceed to a feast to which they had been invited by their

tribesmen near the outlet of the lake, but such was their state of intoxication that they could make but six miles during the whole day." (1)

Chapter Seventeen

PLACES AND PATHFINDERS

In the spring of 1793, Alexander Mackenzie, the first European to visit the Interior Indian country, came through the Rocky Mountains by the Peace or Unjiga River, accompanied (1) by Alexander McKay and six French-Canadian voyageurs. At the confluence of the Finlay and Parsnip Rivers, Mackenzie and his associates turned south, paddling and poling their canoes up the Parsnip which the explorer referred to later as the Unjiga River. (2) They followed this waterway on the advice of an old Indian warrior whom they had met in the country of the Tsattenne or Beaver Indians. It was in the month of May and the water was beginning to be high as a result of the melting of the winter snows in the mountains.

Along the Parsnip River, which likely got its name from the abundance of wild parsnips (Heracleum lanatum) or "Chou Creux" as they were called by the voyageurs (3), Mackenzie travelled slowly because the

current against them was strong. He made the following entry in his Journal, "The wild parsnip, which luxuriates on the borders of the lakes and rivers, is a favourite food of the Indians. They roast the tops of this plant in their tender state over the fire and, taking off the outer rind, they have a palatable food." (1) In his Journal it appears that this native plant was found in many places.

From the Parsnip River, in the heart of the "Tsekhe-ne" (or People of the Rocks) country, the party portaged through small lakes and connecting waterways until they reached what has later become known as the Fraser River. Their route was by way of James Creek, Herrick Creek, and MacGregor River. Through this hitherto remote region the British Columbia Government is now surveying the route for a Peace River Highway. This part of the Fraser River drainage basin is within Takuli or Carrier territory, as is evidenced by the spelling of the names of creeks which are tributaries of Herrick Creek, such as Fontoniko and Spakwaniko. Of course, these names are not the original Indian names for it is commonly known that the Indians have no appreciation for the letter "f" or "v"

but substitute these sounds with the letters "b" or "p."
Cartographers have taken considerable liberties in reproducing what they believe to be proper Indian nomenclature.

All that part of the Fraser River lying eastward from the present settlement of Dome Creek was occupied by the Shuswap tribe of the Salish race. A great deal has been made known regarding these Indians through the journal of David Thompson, the great explorer for the Northwest Company. He, at first, served the Hudson's Bay Company, but they objected to his making surveys at the same time as he was trading with the Indians, so he joined the Northwest Company in 1797 and made good use of his special qualifications as an explorer. (1)

In 1807 David Thompson, who was then in charge of the Upper Saskatchewan post, achieved the crossing of the Rocky Mountain barrier through what is now Howse Pass, and he explored the Columbia and Kootenay districts. During the next two or three years, he made several crossings by this same route, but in 1809 the Hudson's Bay Company, learning of his activities, sent Joseph Howse by the same route into the Columbia Valley. The Indians in this region were rather hostile and the Piegan tribe

determined to close Howse Pass to white traders. Thompson was not discouraged, but learning of a pass near the source of the Athabaska, he volunteered to make a search for a new route to the Columbia Valley.

Travelling northward from the Saskatchewan River to the Athabaska and thence following its bank to somewhere near the mouth of the Miette River, Thompson records on January 5, 1811, the following: (1) "Thermometer -26° below, very cold. Having secured the goods and provisions we could take with us, by 11 a.m. set out with eight sleds, to each two dogs, with goods and provisions to cross the mountains and three horses to assist us as far as the dogs and the snow will permit. We are entering the defiles of the Rocky Mountains by the Athabaska River, the woods of pine are stunted, full of branches to the ground, and the Aspin, Willow, not much better; strange to say, there is a strong belief that the haunt of the Mammoth is about this defile, I questioned several, none could positively say they had seen him, but their belief I found firm and not to be shaken."

By January 18, David Thompson's party reached the Big Bend of the Columbia River in spite of the fact that four of his men had deserted a few miles up the

(1) Tyrell, J.B., "Thompson's Journal."
river. He spent the balance of the winter at Boat Encampment which was so named from his having constructed a canoe with which he intended the following spring to ascend the Columbia River to its source. (1)

In all of these travels, David Thompson met only with Salish and Interior Indians in that part of the region which lies within the eastern valleys of British Columbia. He did not encounter Indians of the Athapascan or Dene race but later traders coming through by way of the Athabaska and Yellow Head Pass met with the Tano'-tenne sub-tribe of the Carrier Indians near the confluence of the Bowron and Fraser Rivers.

These upper waters of the Fraser River were a remarkably rich area for the beaver trade. Twice a year brigades travelled back and forth along the Athabaska trail. Even today this region yields its annual quota of beaver pelts. It is small wonder then that Tete Jaune Cache has become famous in fur-trading annals as a storehouse for the traders' goods and the trappers' pelts. This Cache derives its name of Tete Jaune from the famous and almost legendary figure whose identity is difficult to determine. He was known to the early traders as "Yellow Head," and legend declares that the spot now occupied by the trading

post was formerly operated as the site of a fur cache maintained by a trapper who bore the soubriquet of "Tete Jaune" or "Yellow Head." Evidently, his thick shock of yellow hair set him aside from the other dark-haired trappers of the early days. Just who he was we have only tradition to give us the answer. Some associate his name with that of Jasper Hawse, the Scots of Scandinavian trapper who was at Jasper House about 1813. As he was a free hunter, he may possibly have used the Pass which gave access to the inter-mountain haunts of the beaver. However, others ascribe it to Francois Descoignes of the Northwest Company. Still others connect this Tete Jaune with the unidentified Iroquois half-breed whose fair hair is said to have been so unusual among the Indians as to have provoked the descriptive name. (1)

Irrespective of the legends or history of the Tete Jaune region, we do know that shortly after the middle of the last century, different prospecting parties were searching the Rocky Mountains for a suitable pass. Gold-seekers were searching for a route to reach the golden Cariboo and the Overlanders of 1862 actually came through by this route and reached their destination. Close on their heels came two young Englishmen who were drawn to

explore this new country by love of adventure. (1) They were Dr. W.B. Cheadle and Viscount Milton. The tale of their adventurous journeying through the pass and down to Kamloops by way of the North Thompson or Cita'tko forms one of the most delightful records of early British Columbian travel.

Mackenzie made his memorable trip to the Pacific Ocean by way of the river which he called Tacouche Desse (which has already been explained as being partly a Carrier name and partly a prairie Indian word.) Following this river to the vicinity of the present Alexandria, he almost entered again into the land of the Salish Indians whom he shows on his map as the "Atnah Nation." The word "Atna" means "foreigner" in the Dene language. (2) However, he retraced the route back to the confluence of the Nazkhoh or Blackwater River which he followed to the West. (3) It was on this river that Mackenzie came upon Indian houses built on islands for greater security against their enemies. These belonged to the "Nutsa-'tenne" or "Island Beaver People," and from his remarks about the abundance of these fur-bearing animals along the route followed, it seems the

(1) Milton & Cheadle, "The Northwest Passage by Land."
(3) Ibid, page 38.
name was suitable. He called this river the West Road River and, after following it for several days, he crossed overland to the Bella Coola Valley and thence to the Pacific Ocean.

On this route he became well acquainted with a number of the southern tribes of the Dene race. The Nazkhu-'tenne lived along the Nazko Valley and in the vicinity of the present settlement around Quesnel. (The Indian name for this Quesnel River cannot be ascertained as the original name has not been used for perhaps a hundred and forty years.) These natives assisted him as guides and packers. Toward the western end of his overland journey, Mackenzie encountered a number of the Babine tribe of the same race, but he speaks of seeing only one woman wearing the labret in her lower lip. Labrets were commonly worn by the Babine women in the pre-European times.

Mackenzie refers to the fact that some of the natives were particularly dirty. He was evidently not aware that there is no word for "clean" in the Carrier vocabulary. (1) These Indians have a word signifying "dirty." It is "tetsen." If a person happened to be

clean, the Carriers had no way of saying so; therefore, they expressed this concept by "tsen Xillerh" which meant "he is not dirty." Yet in spite of all their primitive means of preparing food, of tanning hides and furs and of washing themselves, it is doubtful if whites similarly situated would be as clean.

Some of the ancient Bella Coola totems seen by Mackenzie have their counterparts today in totems that the modern tourist encounters when he travels to the Tweedsmuir Park. An eagle totem, which was the deity of the tribe, once surmounted all of these carvings made by the Bella Coola Indians. These symbols and legendary exploits of family heritage were at one time common throughout the coast districts, but the custom of raising them has almost died out. Many old ones still exist but the native art is not what it used to be. (1)

It was more than eighty years after Alexander Mackenzie before a white man again entered what has now become Tweedsmuir Park. The place has remained almost unexplored. Charles Horetsky in the summer of 1874 examined the Dean Channel from the sea in his search for a route for a transcontinental railway. (2)

(1) The Lady Tweedsmuir of Elsfield, "Tweedsmuir Park - The Diary of a Pilgrimage," and the National Geographic Magazine, volume 73, No. 4, April, 1938, page 460.
Mackenzie tells of meeting the Nanscud Denes at the mouth of the Blackwater River. These are the same sub-tribe as Father Morice refers to when he speaks of the Naskhu-'tenne. It is probable that Mackenzie's term of "Slou-cuss-denees" signifies the "Nutsa-'tenne" of Morice. It is difficult to understand the meaning of the terminology used by Mackenzie in this connection. The fact that he was the first European to come among those Indians whom he refers to as the Nagailer Indians makes it imperative that we observe closely any suggestion that he has left us with reference to them.

He interprets the word "Sloua-cuss-dinais" as "red fish men." These people, he says, "were much more cleanly, healthy, and agreeable in their appearance than any of the natives whom we had passed." (1) He believed that these Indians were of the same race as those he had met previously. They spoke the Chippewayan language, but his interpreters found difficulty in understanding them. Regarding all of these Dene tribes, Mackenzie wrote in his Journal on August 5, 1793: "The same language is spoken, with very little exception from the extent of my travels down this river, and in a direct line from the northeast head of it in the latitude fifty-three or fifty-four to Hudson's Bay; so that a Chippewayan from which

tribe they have all sprung, might leave Churchill River, and proceeding in every direction to the northwest of this line without knowing any language except his own, would understand them all; I except the natives of the sea-coast, who are altogether a different people. As to the people of the eastward of this river, I am not qualified to speak." (1)

At the time of Mackenzie's voyage, May to August, 1793, these aborigines and their neighbours had not as yet been visited by the smallpox and other communicable diseases of the white man. It was almost seventy years later that smallpox made its terrible inroad into these tribes and decimated one-half or two-thirds of the population.

It is interesting to note that between meridians one hundred and twenty-four and one hundred and twenty-five, west longitude, there were several lakes having the same suffix which was "kuz" or "kus." These bodies of water included Natalkuz, Chedakuz, Tatelkuz, Kuyakuz, and Kluskus Lakes. Father Morice gives the meaning of Kluskuz as "Fish Lake." This name may come from the Carrier word "ekus" which referred to the scales of a fish. The verbal ending expresses the act of tearing minute parts of a whole, but the verb also has the meaning, "to cause to crumble

(1) Mackenzie's Journal, on the Parsnip River, Monday, the 5th of August, 1793, page 323.
These several lakes have been named by Father Morice as Loon Lake for Natalkuz and Mason Lake for Kuyakuz and Fish Lake for Kluskuz. Of course, in connection with the latter name, it should be remembered that the word "kus" is the Carrier designation for the wild "cow parsnip" (Heracleum lanatum), and this particular lake is spelled on some maps as Kluskus and on others as Kluskuz or Cluskuz. Mackenzie was passing through this area when he noted in his Journal the abundance of wild parsnip which he saw on the borders of the lakes and which the Indians used as food. It may be said that this parsnip, and not the scales of a fish, are included in the suffix of these names. Of course one is likely to be bewildered by the spelling of some of the lakes and streams in these parts. The body of water that Father Morice called Fork Lake (2) is now called Cluculz Lake (3).

One thought that may be new on this subject and yet one which may have a bearing on the meaning of these several words comes from the fact that in this whole Interior region wild perennial flax (Linum lewisii) grows luxuriantly.

(2) Morice, Rev. A.G., Map 1907.
(3) B.C. Department of Lands, Map 1940.
It may be that the fibres of this plant were stripped after being retted and were used by the women for the fabrication of their garments. There is nothing to back up this theory except that the verb "kuz" has this meaning as well as those given above, "eskus," meaning "to shell or to strip hemp, etc.," from the woody plant material around which the fibres are found. A different meaning appears in the name Saikuz, which is interpreted "Stoney Creek" and lies about 1° directly north of Kluskuz and between the same meridians.

In connection with the "sloua-cuss-dinais" mentioned above, it should be noted that in addition to "kus" being "cow parsnip" and "kuz" referring to the shale structure of the sandy soils, and "ekus" alluding to the scales of a fish, we have such Carrier words as Tlaytouz meaning a humming-bird and Tseeskaz meaning a wren. Even a house-fly is given a similar sounding suffix and is called "estsez." All of these words would seem to indicate the rapid motion of the wings of the insect or small bird.

Very little is known even today of this Westroad River region. Just after leaving the Fraser River a small stream from the north flows into the Euchiniko or Blackwater or Westroad River. The stream is the "Tako" which means simply "Water River." The branch of the Euchiniko which flows from the south and drains the valley of the Olisbako
and Bazezeko and the Coglistiko is called the Nazko. It is rather strange to see on the present day maps (issued by the Department of Lands in 1937) that in this area, two separate streams and rivers have the same name—Euchiniko. The one stream takes its rise at about 50° 30′ north latitude between the 124th and 125th meridians. The other stream rises west of the 125th and south of the 53rd parallel, north latitude. No doubt this confusion will be cleared up when the area in question is surveyed.

Along the route of the Westroad River, Alexander Mackenzie passed many smaller lakes. Some of them, such as Suscha Lake and Tsacha Lake, were named by the aborigines on account of the abundance of game that inhabited the woods or the shore. The former lake means "Big Bear" and the latter means "Big Beaver." The beaver pelts still obtainable in this area are considerable. In 1943, royalties were paid through the Government Agent's office at Prince George on 1,341 beaver pelts and through the office at Pouce Coupe there were 4,248 pelts declared. (1)

There has, of recent years, been some complaint because of the number of lakes, rivers, and mountains bearing such names as "Beaver," "Salmon," and "Bear." There are something like ninety "Beaver" names (or compounds of the word) used in geographical nomenclature in British

Columbia and at least seventy "Bear" names. (1) Thirty-six names begin with the prefix "Salmon." (2) The repetition of these names in English shows somewhat less imagination than the Indians used in the days when the beavers, bears, and salmon were plentiful.

Another name which is tiresomely common is the word "Mud." It forms the prefix for thirty-six lakes, rivers, creeks, and glaciers. One of the most absurd names is that of Mud River flowing into the Nechako, immediately north of the Westroad River. This river was once the haunt of myriads of beaver and was formerly known as Tsallako or "Beaver Hands River,"--now called Chilako or Mud River. At its estuary there lived in aboriginal times a fairly large band of the Tano-'tenne Indians of the Carrier tribe.

One thing to which Alexander Mackenzie made reference in his Westroad Journal was the beautiful singing of the Indians of the Nascud Dene sub-tribe. (3) He says under date of Friday, July 5, 1793: "We had no sooner laid ourselves down to rest last night than the Indians

(1) Geographical Gazetteer of B.C., Department of Lands, Victoria, 1930, pages 16, 17, and 18.
(2) Geographical Gazetteer of B.C., Department of Lands, Victoria, 1930, page 221.
began to sing, in a manner very different from what I had been accustomed to hearing among savages. It was not accompanied either with dancing, drum, or rattle; but consisted of soft plaintive tones of the modulation that was rather agreeable; it has somewhat the air of church music." (1) This musical nature of the Indians has been frequently referred to by Father Morice, who found the natives of Fort St. James belonging to the Na'kraztli-tenne sub-tribe to have clear melodious voices. Father Morice translated many of the hymns of his church into the idiom of the Carriers. These are beautifully rendered by many native voices throughout the Central Interior of the Province. (2)

Before leaving these centralmost sub-tribes of the Carriers, among whom Mackenzie mentions a group he called the Neguia Dinas (3) who were coming in an opposite direction but were going on the same way to the Anah-yoe-tesse, it should be mentioned that this territory is a sort of borderland between the Carriers, Babines, Chilcotins, and Bella Coolas. Of the Bella Coola, they are described by Mackenzie as follows: "The hair of

(1) Ibid.
the women was tied in large loose knots over the ears and plaited with great neatness from the division of the head so as to be included in the knots. Some of them had adorned their tresses with beads, with a very pretty effect. The men were clothed in leather, their hair was nicely combed and their complexion was fair, or perhaps it may be said with more propriety, that they were more cleanly than any of the Indians whom we had yet seen. Their eyes, though keen and sharp, are not of that dark colour so generally observed in the various tribes of Indians; they were, on the contrary, of a grey hue with a tinge of red. There was one man among them of at least six feet, four inches in height; his manners were affable and he had a more prepossessing appearance than any Indian I had met on my journey. He was about twenty-eight years of age and was treated with particular respect by his party."

This band made a very satisfactory impression on the Canadian explorer who passed on to the Coast and was treated kindly by the inhabitants of the "Friendly Village." These aborigines were profoundly different from those whom Mackenzie met at Salt Water and whose settlement he named "Rascals' Village" on account of the many annoying experiences he and his men suffered while there.
Chapter Eighteen

PECULIARITY OF CARRIER DIALECT

In all cases the things that affected the lives of the Carrier Indians most intimately came by way of the water routes. As previously stated, the fur trade entered New Caledonia by the Unjiga or Peace River after Alexander Mackenzie and Simon Fraser made their exploratory journeys. From the Pacific by way of the Skeena, Nass, and Stikine Rivers came the iron and copper implements and utensils which were found in the possession of the Carriers by the above-named explorers. By water also many troubles came among these people. The gold-seekers who flocked into the country by way of the Fraser River beginning about 1860, finally covered the banks of almost every stream within the Dene region most thoroughly. Here they washed the gravels in their pans or rudely built sluices. It was after the gold-seekers that others came by way of the Bella Coola River and disseminated smallpox among the many Interior tribes. Following the smallpox; measles, influenza, and many other communicable diseases were brought in and transmitted to the natives, but always it reached them by a water route.
It was up the waterways that the men came to locate the route for the telegraph trail—that great undertaking of the middle '60's—which brought some temporary implements to the natives and left them much richer in the real wealth of copper wire, nails, and opened roads. The surveyors came from both east and west running survey lines which the National Transcontinental railway follows now. This has had a great influence on the lives of many tribal peoples living on either side of the railway line between what was Zeitli and Hagwilgate.

By way of the Ethako and its tributaries the annual run of salmon returning each year and have been returning as long as the oldest inhabitant of the country could recall. This fact was essential to the old men of the tribe, and it is just as important to the young Indians as well. They now are taking up the responsibilities that aging members of the tribe are laying down and the return of the fish to the spawning waters will continue as long as the grave of 'Kwah is kept in good repair as it is today—it must be kept up if the annual harvest of salmon is to come from the water.

The Interior Carrier Indians have learned through many generations to depend on fish as an important part of their diet. During parts of the year they subsist on
this food which comes so easily. Their language is replete with words that signify fish. The ancient "the-saten" on which fish were hooked has given place to the modern trolling spoon and hook. The old "ella-tsai," a spruce bark dish in which fish was boiled and served has been replaced by kettles of copper or iron. These fish implements and utensils have undergone change but the fishermen retain the same instincts and habits of their fathers. The "Yo-haeten-en" is still fishing for his living and he enjoys success in his vocation, which is more than a job or a pasttime—it is his living.

In the Carrier language "Yo" means "fish" (1) and we have such derivatives as "Yo-ket" meaning "fishery" (2) and "Yo-pa-kheh" meaning "fish-pond." (3) This peculiar word "Yo" has, perhaps, some of the features common to many other words which are prefixed by the letter "Y". Take, for instance, "YerompiX" which means "fish-net." (4) The initial "Y" indicates the interweaving of the strands from which the net is made in this case, while in the word "Yo" it seems to indicate the vast number of fish that swim beside each other. When these hordes of fish came up the stream there was work, food, and pleasure for the Indians, both young and old.

This peculiarity of the Carrier Indian tongue is explained thus by the greatest authority on the Carrier language we have ever had: Father Morice states that, "'z' is a lingualosibilant which is obtained by the emission of a hissing sound while the tongue is turned up and made to press against the right side of the palate." (1) There is reciprocity indicated in "z" when it is used as an initial syllable of many Indian words. These are too numerous to cite at this time but from the standpoint of the student of the Carrier language, the importance of this initial letter cannot be overlooked. Also the initial "z" indicates negation as well as reciprocity. The verb "eten" means "he works," while "xe-esten" means "he does not work." The negative verb was alluded to in chapter I. It bears a great deal of study to gather its full significance. The mastery of the pronunciation of the "z" and the peculiar vocalic explosions connected with the letter "k" is essential if the language is to be spoken. It is a pleasant sounding and musical language but has proved too difficult for the average adult person attempting it. The fact that many natives learn French, English, and "Chinook" in addition to their own language (and other native dialects) leads one to believe the aborigine has superior linguistic ability.

It was Daniel Williams Harmon of the old North-west Fur Company who brought to the west of the Rocky Mountains one of the really great and valuable contributions which was to do much for the natives as well as for the few whites in that area. He introduced agriculture at Fort St. James and to the district around the lake. In his efforts to surmount the climatic and other difficulties, he worked constantly from 1810-18 carrying on his experiments. His record shows that for several years he took an alert interest in the growing of many kinds of crops at different places.

The seed was sown of various garden crops and the potatoes were planted first in the spring of 1811. On the 22nd of May in that year he wrote: "As the frost is now out of the ground, we have planted our potatoes, and sowed barley, turnips, etc., which are the first that we have ever sowed on this west side of the mountains." (1) He left no record of his success with his first attempt, but his frequent statements of the scarcity of food indicates that some of the hazards of pioneer farming overtook his plans.

However, Daniel Williams Harmon did not give up, but he tried again and again. By October, 1812, he had tried a variety of crops. In the new ground that he had

protected from the inroads of rabbits and other pests
doubtless he was forced also to guard against frost injury
for he states that "there is not a month in the whole year
in which water does not congeal; though the area in the
daytime in the summer is warm and we even have a few days
of sultry weather." On October 3, 1816, Harmon wrote, "we
have taken our vegetables out of the ground. We have
forty-one bushels of potatoes, the produce of one bushel
planted last spring. Our turnips, barley, etc., have
produced well."

Further along on September 3, 1818, he states,
"A few days since we cut down and threshed our barley.
The five quarts which I sowed on the 1st of May have
yielded as many bushels. One acre of grain, producing in
the same proportion that this has done, would yield eighty-
four bushels. This is sufficient proof that the soil,
in many places in this quarter, is favourable to agricul-
ture."

In the years that have passed since Harmon's
time many pioneer settlers throughout the whole of the
Central Interior region of British Columbia have been able
to give personal evidence of their experiences in growing
good yields of most staple farm crops. Even the Indians
have in many instances grown really commendable yields of
hay, grain, and potatoes, and in the Fort Fraser area some excellent crops of domestic strawberries have been harvested. For many years the natives of this region have been outstanding competitors at ploughing matches and have exhibited their products at fall fairs.

At the foot of Fraser Lake not far from the Nautley Indian Village another garden was successfully made. In that vicinity one of the finest farms in the whole Interior region was later developed by the Hudson's Bay Company. It was on the shore of this farm property that Estas made his hurried and undignified landing following the flight of the seven swans that he had captured. Any Indian of the village will recount the story for the eager visitor and many of them can point out the original site of Fort Fraser and tell the enquirer where the great Hudson's Bay Farm once stood. On the season of low water they will point to the stones in the Nautley River on which Simon Fraser is said to have crossed when selecting the site for the Trading Post.

For more than a century the Indians have aided in the production of potato crops, and potatoes have often proved a valuable part of their diet. The diet has changed greatly since aboriginal times. Potatoes are called "lematak," which is an adaptation of the French
word "la patate." In their language they also speak of
the Indian-potato which is the "inkaX." The potato-patch
they call "haneXyih-ket," and the person who cultivates
it is "hanelyih-en," which means "he that causes to grow."
The spade, hoe, fork, and rake, which were introduced among
the Indians at the time that agriculture was brought to
them, have also their peculiar compounds, although similar
stone implements were known to the aborigines.

About 1830 the chief factor of the Hudson's Bay
Company in New Caledonia, Peter Warren Dease, is credited
with introducing domesticated cattle from Fort Vancouver
on the Columbia River. Farming was assisted by this and
succeeding Hudson's Bay Company officials who later on
made agricultural attempts at Fort George and Alexandria.
Then a new term was compounded. This was "yen-rana-en"
and literally meant "farmer." Down the river, at Fort
Alexandria, was a miller called by the Indians "Xes-
deneret-en" meaning "he that grinds flour." The plough-
man they called "yen-hwoXgeX-en," meaning "he that tears
the surface of the ground."

These words, together with the place names "
"ZeitXy," meaning "confluence," and "XthakhoX," farther
along the stream indicating many sizeable tributaries,
were very commonly used in the bygone days, but now it is
seldom that one hears even the terms for sower, swineherd, and shepherd. These are, "anedyih-en, kekus-renli-en, and espai-renli-en," the latter term which means "he that guards sheep."

The cows which are "mestus-tsekhe" with their calves, which are "mestus-yaz" or "little cattle" made but slow increase. However, hogs multiplied quickly and reached maturity within one season. These were referred to as "kekus," or "kekus-tsekhe" referring to sow. The Indians even became fairly conversant with the use of oxen for ploughing, and it is said that ox teams were used in packing freight between some of the old trading establishments. The oxen did not find favour with the Indians, some of whom felt that they were doing the work which properly belonged to the squaws. Previously squaws had been regarded as beasts of burden.

Agriculture has brought a great change to the life of many an Indian family. Some of them grow gardens that would be a credit to their white neighbours. Strawberries or "indzi-tan" (1) are grown and also currants, both red and black, "nilket-mai-tcen" (2) and "telkwah-mai-tcen" are produced. Out at the original site of the Northwest Fur-Trading post there are still gooseberry

(2) Ibid, page 53.
bushes, "tannai-tcen," marking the old garden that has been abandoned many years.

No longer is the "grease trail," by which Indians came overland from coastal rivers, used. These trails, the one along the Nass, another by the Stikine, a third from Tsacha on the Skeena, and the fourth by the Bella Coola Valley route, were at one time a great series of trade routes, which linked the Coast with the abundant resources of the Interior (1). By the "grease trail" the metal implements and weapons had come into the interior country.

Now that the native races have adopted to a large extent the white men's manner of life and his food materials, there is no longer the necessity of harvesting great catches of the fat Oolachans on coastal waters as was done in primitive times. Only the older people are interested in these candle fish and their use as flares, fuel, or food. The old grease trail is rapidly becoming obliterated. In sitting around the campfire, which serves to make a smudge whose smoke drives away the irritating mosquitoes, the older Indians love to talk of those bygone days when their parents bartered with the Tsimshians or Tlinkits of the Coast. They think longingly of the days

that are gone yet they would not return to them. In this they are just like their white neighbours.
Chapter Nineteen

LAKES AND RIVERS

As the capital of New Caledonia was established at Na'kaztli in the summer of 1806 (1) by Simon Fraser, accompanied by John Stuart, it seems logical to deal with Stuart Lake as the first of a number of important bodies of water throughout the Carrier region.

This lake, which has been known as Stuart Lake for nearly a century and a half, was at first called Na'kal-ren (2) by the aborigines on account of their firm belief in the "Little Dwarfs," or Etnane-yaz, who were supposed to inhabit a cave in the nearby mountain. However, the early fur-traders for a time called it Sturgeon Lake. It is forty-eight miles long and its greatest width is five and a half miles. Its surface is 2,228 feet above sea-level. The great fur-trading post of Fort St. James is situated on its eastern shore near the outlet.

The Pinchi Lake of our present day map was called Rey Lake by Father Morice on his map issued by the British Columbia Commissioner of Lands and Works in 1907. It has gained prominence as a result of the mining and

prospecting around its shores. It was formerly called Qez-ren but its meaning is obscure. (1) The word Pin-che denotes in its first syllable a "pigeon," possibly the wild pigeons may have been numerous about the mouth of the river which flows into Stuart Lake. The last syllable refers to the mouth of the river and is a common terminal syllable in many of the Indian villages of the sub-tribe, the Na'kaztli-tenne.

The Trembleur Lake of the 1940 map was shown as Temblay by Father Morice in 1907. The Carrier Indians about Fort St. James used to call it Dzin-re-pen, which meant "day-after-lake" thus alluding to the unloading of their canoes one day after leaving the village of Na'kaztli (2) at the southern end of Stuart Lake.

Takla of the modern maps was known to Father Morice as Tatla. He says that it should be spelled Tha-tYa, meaning "a place at the farthest end of that sheet of water." It was known to the Carrier Indians as Rhel-re-pen or "load-after-lake," having reference to the portaging of olden times. (3) It also had the name "Burden" Lake (4) for a short time.

(3) Ibid.
There are many terms in the Carrier language for water. This in its independent state may be *thu* and it becomes *tha* in composition; however, with a slightly altered meaning it becomes *therh* (1). These terms are used in many compounds which are explained by Father Morice in his great work (2).

Babine Lake was the home of the majority of the Babine Indians. They inhabited its shores and called it *Nato-penket* (3). The fur-traders built several establishments on Babine Lake, including Fort Babine at the west end and Fort Kilmars a few miles east of the former. The "Old Fort" was immediately to the southeast of Mount Babine on the site of the native village. These were active trading centres more than a century ago. The people who lived around the Babine Lake were called *Nato-az*. This lake is nearly 100 miles in length and from two to seven and a half miles in width. Its elevation is 2,330 feet. From it the Babine River flows westward to join the Skeena.

Fraser Lake was named in honour of Simon Fraser who visited it in 1806. It was formerly known as *Na-tleh-penket* which referred to the annual return of the salmon (4).

(2) Ibid, pages 47, 48, and 49.
(3) Ibid.
(4) Ibid.
The thriving native villages, Nautley on the east end and Stella, which signifies the cape or promontory is situated at the west end, where the Stella-khoh enters the lake and deposits alluvion or "sai-ya'-yen."

Francois Lake on our modern maps was known by Father Morice as French Lake. This was called Neta-penket by the aborigines and meant "Lip Lake" (1). This lake is sixty-five miles in length and the average width is one and a half miles. The elevation is 2,350 feet. The Nadina River enters it at the west end while at the east end it flows into the Stella-khoh. This Stella-ko (the present name) indicates simply, the river flowing from Francois Lake into Fraser Lake at a "cape" on the latter formed by the rivers outlet.

Uncha Lake was known to Father Morice and by him was called Peters Lake, however, the natives had already named it Huncha, meaning "the Big One." The sites of several native villages were on the shores of this lake and there are still indications of the many foot-paths that led to other neighbouring settlements. The lake is only eight miles long and from a quarter to one and a quarter miles in width. However, its importance in aboriginal life compensated for the diminutiveness of its size.

(1) Ibid.
Nadina Lake, far to the west, was named Mazenod by Father Morice who thus honoured Reverend Mazenod who founded the Oblate Order. It is doubtful if Father Morice actually saw this body of water, but he passed fairly close to it on his great exploratory journey in 1895, after which he finally returned safely to the Nechako River with his faithful Indian companions.

The Nadina River is the present name for the stream called by Father Morice in 1895 the Mazenod River. The present river name has a variety of meanings, including both "foot bridge" and "perpendicular" (1). The word Hwe-dina means to stand erect as a tree or column, while the prefix "Na" suggests a log thrown across a stream. The word Hokhwe-nina signifies to traverse or cross over (2), and that would indicate that the present river name is of Carrier or Babine origin, and it was evidently named from the practice of the Indians crossing over it on a log.

Moric Lake, of our 1940 map issued by the Department of Lands in the British Columbia Government, is shown as Loring Lake on the 1907 map of Father Morice. This lake, named in 1895 in honour of Mr. R.E. Loring, Indian Agent at Hazelton, was formerly called Hwotsen-pen by the

(2) Ibid.
aborigines of the Babine tribe. Out of Hwotsen-pen drained the Hwotsen-khoh (1). This river joined the Skeena at a village called Tsecha, about where the village of "Fallen Rock" or Rocher-Deboulle now stands. This is in the vicinity of Hagwilgate. Within the present century both the river and the lake have been officially named for the great missionary explorer,--Morice. Unfortunately, the government has seen fit to name the stream into which the Morice empties, the Bulkley. This present nomenclature was strongly condemned by the priest. (2)

Whitesail Lake was formerly called "Dawson Lake" and was named after a friend of Father Morice's, on September 17, 1895. This friend then resided in England. (3) Its Indian name is not known.

Sinclair Lake was also named by Father Morice on the same date in 1895. He has recorded, "At night we camped on a little lake formed by an expansion of the stream. This will henceforth be Sinclair Lake." (4) Sinclair was the name of the manager of the Hudson Bay post at Fort St. James.

(2) Morice, Rev. A.G., "Fifty Years in Western Canada," page 172.
(4) Ibid, page 158.
Ootsa Lake, named by Father Morice "Cambie" Lake, is forty-one miles long and only one half to two miles wide. It has an elevation of 2,668 feet and drains through the Ootsa River and Intahtah and Natelkuz Lakes into the Nechako River. This lake has had several names, among them Ootsabunket (1) which is a corruption of the Indian name Yootsoo-penket. Father Morice states that the natives called this body of water Yutsu, meaning, "away down toward the water." (2) The spelling of Yutsu, it should be noted, is pronounced as though spelled Yootsoo. The name Cambie was given to this lake by Father Morice in honour of Cambie the surveyor who travelled through many of these central British Columbia regions. The Indians inhabiting its shores belonged to the Babine Tribe on the west, while the Carrier Indians lived in villages toward the east end.

Eutsuk Lake is shown on the map of 1940 while Morice Lake is shown for the same body of water on the 1907 map. It was also called Big Ootsa, Te-ootsa-bungut, and Tal-chelkin. (3) It is forty-seven miles in length and from one to three and a half miles in breadth. In

(1) Map of British Columbia Coastline, 1909, compiled under the direction of Jas. White, Chief Geographer, Department of Interior, Ottawa.
(2) Ibid, page 157.
(3) Geographical Gazetteer of B.C., 1930, page 82.
exploring this lake Father Morice wrote on September 18, 1895, "My line finds a depth of 385 feet of the purest water one can imagine, we stand in admiration of the grandest and most beautiful lake we have ever seen." (1) He at first named it "St. Thomas" in honour of Thomas Thautilh, but that Indian generously declined the honour, stating that it was too great to be bestowed upon an Indian and suggested that so beautiful and big a body of water bear the name of the priest. Accordingly, it was named Morice and was so known until the aboriginal name was restored. The natives used to call it "Ete-auh-Yutsu", which meant "away off yonder, down toward the water" (2). Several islands in that lake, such as Suscho-nu and Susyaz-nu, which alluded to the number of bear in the vicinity, were renamed John Buchan and Lady Susan Islands following the visit of the vice-regal party to that region in 1936 as already has been mentioned. Other places were at the same time named in honour of Lt. Louis Lebourdais, M.L.A., and Mr. Mark M. Connelly, M.L.A., members of the touring party. Both Babine and Carrier Indians inhabited various localities on its shores, as they did on Francois and Ootsa Lakes.

(1) Ibid, page 160.
Murray Lake was named by Father Morice for Alexander Campbell Murray who was for many years superintendent of the Hudson's Bay Company in New Caledonia. He was born in what is now Alaskan Territory in 1859, and from 1876 he was a leading figure at Fort St. James (1), where he was of great assistance to Father Morice in securing information for the publication of one of his best known books.

Cheslatta Lake named "St. Mary's," by Father Morice. It appears first on his map in 1907 issued by the British Columbia Commissioner of Lands and Works. To the Indians this lake was Tsis-t'xa-tha, which meant, "in the otter-posterior water." About the shores of this lake were several native villages including Belkachek, frequently referred to in Test'les Nahwelnek, and other villages on the north shore. These villages had well beaten trails leading away to other settlements and indicated a very large Indian population.

Sinkut Lake was called Head Lake by Father Morice. This small body of water, sometimes called Tsinkut Lake (2), is the source of Sinkut Creek and lies on the 124° west longitude immediately south of 54° north latitude.

(2) Map compiled in 1909 by Jas. White, Department of the Interior, Ottawa.
There are several lakes in this vicinity, including Tachick and Nulki, which, as already stated, Father Morice named Dontenwill and Gordon respectively. This Tachick Lake on the 1940 map should be spelled Thacheck to conform to the Indian language. The aborigines of this region were the Nautilo-tenne and in their dialect they spoke of the mouth of the river as chek, while the Na-kaztli-tenne called it che so it may be that tha-chek was the mouth of a creek or river.

Bednesti Lake, which Father Morice called "Fat Trout Lake" is very small, only four miles long and half a mile wide. It flows into Ta-chintela-chick Creek and in aboriginal times was called Pit-enistai, meaning, "the lake where the bull-trout was glutted." Evidently, this lake was well known for the excellent condition of its lake trout in olden times. Father Morice has reported that since the Canadian National Railway was built, the name has been so altered that the Indians themselves do not recognize their own word in the railway station called Bednesti.

Tsacho Lake is a term frequently encountered in Central British Columbia. It means Beaver-Big and is often referred to as "Great Beaver," "Beaver," etc. Around this particular lake, which is in the heart of the muskeg
country, beavers abounded and are still quite plentiful. The Indians spoke of Tsa-cho but similar names were applied to a score of lakes; in fact, any body of water in Central British Columbia was likely at some time or other to have been referred to as Tsa-cho.

Carrier Lake indicates the eastern boundary of the Carrier Indians. It was in this vicinity that the Carriers and the Sekani met on their hunting expeditions.

Nearby is Carp Lake. In aboriginal times this would have been known as Tekus-penket and simply alludes to the abundance of Carp in this body of water in aboriginal days. The Carriers were fish eaters and, as such, they gave the names of fish to many important bodies of water.

McLeod Lake was discovered by Alexander Mackenzie in 1793 and is frequently referred to in TestXes Nahwelnek as Lak-la-twit, Fort McLeod. The first fur-trading establishment west of the Rocky Mountains (Tse-thi) was built on its shores in 1805. It is twelve miles in length and is drained by the Parsnip River, the modern name for the river that was formerly called Unjigah.

The really important rivers from the viewpoint of the Carrier Indians were not numerous and the larger ones have retained their original names, or those given to them by the early fur-trader explorers. Ever since
Simon Fraser made his famous exploratory journey to the mouth of the great river in 1808 it has been known as the Fraser. Before that time the lower portion of it was called Rio Blanca by the Spaniards, who learned of it through the Indian tribe that inhabited its shores, but who were not personally familiar with its great rush of waters. This name was given to it by Eliza in 1791.

To the Indians of the Interior districts, the river was known as Tacou, meaning "Water River." It has already been shown that it was Tacouche down toward the estuary. Where such tributaries as the Quesnel, Blackwater, and Nechaco joined it, the river-name took on the prefix "X". It became X-tha-khoh. This prefix, as pointed out, signifies a coming together, and it contains the idea of reciprocity, which we find at every river confluence. This is most noted in the word Xeitli, which was used not only in the name of the confluence for the Nechako and Fraser but as the name of the old Indian village where the Tano-'tenne lived on the level land at what is now the site of South Fort George.

Farther down the river the natives inhabiting the banks of the Great River were known as X-thau-'tenne until the land of other tribes required other names.
The X-thau-"tenne lived at the mouth of such rivers as the Nazko and the Quesnel. Other natives occupying islands in the river were known as the Nu-tsa-"tenne. Usually the natives lived on the deltas formed at the confluence of these streams. These were called Tha-che-nu (1) and meant simply "water-mouth-islands."

When Alexander Mackenzie in 1793 turned back at what was later Fort Alexandria and turned toward the Pacific, following the Nazko River in the land of the Nazku-tenne, he followed the west branch of that river which he named the Westroad River. The word Na-zkhoh literally means "across river." (2) The prefix "na" has usually the meaning of "across, or through."

The Nechako River has several spellings but according to Father Morice it should be Ni-tcah-khoh, which means, "rear-down against-river." (3) A glance at any modern map of Central British Columbia gives a clue to the meaning of this river name for after the river receives the waters of the Natalkuz Lake it makes several loops or horse-shoe curves on itself. One of the best known of these is where it loops about and practically surrounds the village of Fort Fraser before receiving the waters of the Stellako.

(2) Ibid, page 59.
(3) Ibid.
Stuart River, which Simon Fraser named in honour of John Stuart in 1806, drains from the lake of the same name and joins the Nechako at Chinlac. Chinlac was one of the best known of the ancient Carrier Indian villages. According to the Carrier Indians, the Stuart River bore the aboriginal name of Na-kal-khoh, which signified, "the river across which the arrows of the Little Dwarfs floated away." (1)

Tachie is the name which the Geographic Division of the British Columbia Department of Lands has attached to Tha-che River. This name signifies "water-mouth" and indicates the stream flowing into Stuart Lake at the north end. Such names as Yeku-che, Pin-che and Tsa-cou-che, all indicate rivers emptying into the Stuart Lake, and it is usual for an Indian village to be found at the mouth of such rivers.

It is strange to note by the 1940 map of British Columbia that the river immediately opposite the village of Na-kaztli is spelled Sowchea. This was known to many generations of Carrier Indians as Tsaoche. It will be readily recognized that this meant "Beaver River Mouth" yet the Geographic Board has countenanced a new and incorrect spelling that means nothing to either whiteman

or native. It is small wonder that Father Morice took issue with this body on frequent occasions!

**Endako** is the small stream which flows in an eastward direction from Burns and Tchesinkut Lakes. It enters the Stellako near Fraser Lake and is named on account of its direction of flow. **Enda** signifies "to the eastward." It was called Burns River by Father Morice and is so shown on his map of 1907.

Outside the Carrier territory but of interest to us are several rivers mainly belonging to the Babine, Tsimshian, and other Indian tribes.

To the somewhat insignificant stream that rises in Summit Lake on the 126° meridian at 54°, 30' north latitude, Father Morice gave his own name, but this has since been changed to Bulkley River in honour of the late Colonel Bulkley (U.S. Army retired). Now the Morice River is the chief tributary of the Bulkley, and as already mentioned it drains the present Morice Lake.

The Skeena River is the English corruption of the Tsimshian word **"Ilkshean"** which was the name originally given to this river by the Indians of the "Kit" tribes (1). The name Skeena is stated to be an adaptation of **"K'shian"**

(1) Collison, W.H., "In the Wake of the War Canoe," page 288.
which Bishop Ridley claimed signified a "Divide" (1), but K'\textshian does not mean a "divide," it means a "flowing out." "Ilkah" as a prefix always implies "out of." There are many examples of the use of this prefix in the Tsimshian language. (2)

The name of this coast tribe, as has been pointed out, comes from the River name, ("Tsim" means "in" and "shian" means the "Skeena"). Therefore, the Tsimshians are the people of the Skeena. This river was known to the early traders as Aytona River (3), where the sloop Princess Royal anchored.

The Nass River gets its name not from the Indian tribe on the river itself (4), it is not a Nassgah or Nisgah term but was given by the Tlinkit tribe of Alaska who fished at its mouth. Here Oolachans were caught in great quantities and were bartered with Interior tribes. They were used as flares, as kindling and for their edible oils or grease. The greatest grease trail into the Interior region extended from the mouth of the River Nass and was used by Indians of different tribes who wished to secure grease to use for their various purposes.

(2) Collison, W.H., "In the Wake of the War Canoe," pages 288-89.
Thousands and thousands of bushels of the little fish were landed and put into wooden kettles which were filled with water and brought to the boiling point by red-hot stones dropped into the receptacles. The grease of the boiling fish flowed to the top and was skimmed off. The remainder of the fish, piping hot, was scooped into the pine-tree-root baskets and there the boiling hot mass was pressed until every drop of the grease was squeezed out. (1)

The Oolachan or "candle fish" (thaleichthys pacificus) (2) is a wonderfully sweet fish to eat when freshly caught and in appearance is like a smelt. Most of them are from twelve to fourteen inches in length. It is said to contain more oil than any other known fish. (3) In the frying-pan it will melt away like a lump of butter, and when dried with a wick inserted it will burn like a candle,—hence its name. (4)

The word Nass means literally in the Tlinkit tongue "the stomach" and it was applied to the river because the food supplies of the tribe,—the salmon and Oolachan—came from there. To the local Indians living on the banks of the river, it is known as Le-shimsh. (5)

(2) Ibid, 68.
(3) Ibid.
(4) Ibid.
Several villages were recognized as important bartering places, but these were usually in "Atna" or foreign territory. Tsecha is one spelling for the village which is already mentioned as probably being the one located about the border between the Babine and the Kitskon tribes. The village has been called "Fallen Rock" and Rocher Deboulle by the traders. Its modern name is Hagwilgate and Father Morice interprets Tsecha as "down by the rock." All of these names apparently allude to the great mountain slide which is termed "fallen rock" in English.

Hagwilgate, or as Father Morice spells it Ackwilgate, was the place where the coast Indians used to trade with their brethren of the Interior. These Tsimshian Indians would come up the Skeena River to the confluence of the Bulkley and there they would barter their European goods for furs. (1) Every year a regular fair in which thousands of Indians participated made lively the forests at the foot of the beautiful mountain which gave its name to the locality.

This was perhaps the greatest trading point for the central Interior tribes prior to the establishment of Fort St. James. The number of European implements, weapons, and utensils found among the natives as far away

as Stuart and Fraser Lakes and on the Nechako, Fraser, and Westroad Rivers, indicates the plentiful nature of this aboriginal trade.

Far to the north of Tsecha was the important Nahani village of Taltan. Father Morice tells of the peculiarity of the dialect of this tribe of Athapaskans. According to his writing, the meaning of the village comes from a peculiar topographical feature. Apparently there was a lake in that interior region and the village lay in a bog. The name of the village should be correctly spelled Tha-\( \chi \)than. It can be analyzed as "Tha" meaning "water" and "\( \chi \)than" meaning "within a receptacle," thus Tha-\( \chi \)than is a lake that lies within a hollow. (1)

The word for bog is "tha\( \chi \)than-ket" while "tha-\( \chi \)tsen" is a verbal root meaning stinking or stagnant water. This village of Tha-\( \chi \)than is up in the far Northwest not a great distance from the present settlement of Telegraph Creek. It is best remembered by the aborigines of the Interior as the place where they used to gather when travelling to and from the fisheries on the Nass or Stikine Rivers by the ancient grease trail.

Chapter Twenty

CONVERSING IN CARRIER

In carrying on a conversation, it is usual to hear the speaker narrate almost without interruption. Occasionally his companions will interject a word or will make an exclamation of encouragement or interrogation. This adds to the interest of the conversation and shows that his companions are taking a lively interest in what is being said.

The exclamations or interjections commonly used by the Indians are not far different from our own. They are as follows:

anna! = oh! or ah!
ayakhe! = well, well!
azi! = lo!
eyewe! = oh! look at that.
eya! = alas!
atco! = all right! also, let it be!
ah! = yes!
hanih! = say!
nyuz! = beware!
yet! = look out!
anih! = come here! (to humans)
- 282 -

'en! = away!
tce! = come here! (to dogs)
tekweh! = come now!
tatga? = what?
we? = Yes, I hear, what then?
we! = Yes! I hear.
tida? = what?

Another group of words is used as conjunctions and these require particular treatment. In some cases they are like our own conjunctions and in other cases they differ. The most usual conjunctions found in the Carrier language are:

as, because = horwa, ethorwa
either ... or = kes ... kes
whether ... or = the ... tca
neither ... nor = kes ... kes (followed by negative verb)
before = et hwotsa
behold = au ·et
if = te
nevertheless = et huntsi
whenever = thotsek

The conjunctions are used sparsely in the language, but they occupy an important place in many sentences. The conjunction "and" or "to" is the word
"tea." It is used over and over again and appears after practically every part of an enumeration; as for example, the sentence, "Black bears, marmots, porcupines, and bats sleep during the whole winter." This in Carrier becomes, "Ses tca, tetni tca, tetguk tca, etaz tca rhet, nde huX yiz, sthez." In this sentence it will be noted that the word "tca" recurs many times.

The word "and" is expressed in different ways. For example, it is rendered by "ipeX" after each substantive; thus "dzenis ipeX, eXdzis ipeX" which means "day and night." It indicates by that word ipeX that there is a lapse of time. Another word for "and" is shown as "inkez"; "while and then" is rendered as "et inkez."

The adverbs are an important group and can be dealt with only in part. They show how, when, where, and why certain events transpired, and briefly they are as follows:

after = hokwiX'az, hokez
afterwards = hokwiX'az
again = tutca
already = hwotsel, auita
always = ahwriXyiz
annually = Xorwat
accidentally = antsì hoX
aslope = krez
angrily = rheskhe pe
abundantly = Xai hwe
affectonately = ne-dzi pe
about = hohaten
absolutely = ilyiz
almost = ankwes
by no means = su k rak
before = hwotsa
beforehand = nkete ta
beginning = etetcu
bye and bye = onkah te
backwards = taz
boldly = hwelessazne koh tse
bravely = milgetne koh tse
contrarywise = tlennerh
crookedly = than kes
crosswise = yandzez
daily = dzim thotsek
day after day = kompen dzin
differently = etsen-en'a
dirtily = hwotetsen hwe
dreadfully = hwehwe netget hwe
encore = tutcaza
erroneously = etsen-ena
effeminately = tsek hune koh tse
easily = hwoli hwe
finally = etekez
frequently = Ḹren
free = antsai
forward = nes-en’a
foolishly = hwosnine kohtse
falsely = hwotsit pe
forcibly = netsi pe
feebly = thehwotsen hwe
fervently = su ne-dzi pe
generally = kes Ḹat
gradually = naɬtsa hoh
grievously = thepe-toó
hardly = hwolna’ hwe
highly = thepe-tsel
here = ngen
immediately = ahoh
instantly = ahoh, su hoh
inversely = Ḹteɬ’ yerh
just now = antitsiya
jointly = Ḹoɬ’ eɬra
jealously = unihpe
joyfully = horwenini hwe
knowingly = tetsoninzen hwe
lately = yita', yita'-kez
long ago = eta'
late = sa' inle
lengthwise = nes-en'a
laughingly = tlo pel
little = dzerh
monthly = sanen thosek
morning = pendata
morrow = ompen
manfully = tene kohtse
mournfully = tso ti, peX
now = antit
not at all = iXiz au
noon = dzetniz
otherwise = etoh-en'a
obliquely = yandzez-en'a
openly = tset
publicly = tene naX
perpendicularly = tsihyo-en'a
poorly = thel'enne-kohtse
partly = hwanran hwe
quickly = atco
quietly = manihtsel
reciprocally = Xpa, Xra, XeX
reluctantly = hokhwaXi' nizennekohtse
really = aXa-ipe
soon = ipeX
successively = XkeX'az
shortly = dzerh sa·inkez
slowly = naXtsa
suddenly = rhentsel
secretly = nenelipe
together = aXkoh
then = et la
truly = tsih·en-en'a
tiptoe = ne-khe-lla hoh
upright = tsih·en
unawares = ne·mantho
very = thepe
when = te
wrongly = etsen-en'a
willingly = tsehunti hwe
well = su-yaz
zealously = horwenatli hwe

The most difficult feature of the Carrier language is in connection with the use of the verbs. The fact that the verbs fall into different conjugations
and they express the tense, person, and number within the one word makes necessary many alterations in the verb. The negative almost always includes a syllable showing negative intention. This syllable is "X" and one has to listen carefully to see whether the "X" sound is one of negation or belongs to a noun of reciprocal value or one which means "together."

There are so many words by means of which an assertion is made that an attempt is made only to list some of these. A complete list of the verbal stems is given in "The Carrier Language," volume II, pages 167 to 174. Father Morice has given in this summary all those verbal endings that are individually dealt with throughout more than 580 pages of his monumental work.

Dealing first with the verbs, we find that all Carrier verbs are made up of two parts; the first part denotes the tense and person while the second part contains the main signification of the word. Take for example the stem "·aX" which suggests munching, eating, gnawing, chewing or erosion. We find then the word "es aX" means "I eat." The first vowel "e" shows that it is in the present tense and the "s" indicates that it is in the first person singular, while the suffix "aX" signifies
mastication. Similarly other verbs are formed from verbal stems plus pronoun and initial vowel as will be seen in the following list:

I am = estli
thou art = inli
he is = nli
we are = tsinli
you are = ehli
they are = rhinli
both of us are = itli
I have = esti
to make = estleh
to feel = esneh
to drink = esnai
to cut = estas
to warm up = esdzi\'a
to catch or trap = eskuh
to hook (angling) = esges
to spear or stab = eskwet
to sing = esgen
to be (situation) = es\'ai
to be = estorh
to see = es\'en
to work = eaten

to smoke = estet

to say = desni

to bring forth = essi

to gnaw = esres

The verb may be further explained as follows:

Take the word mentioned above "es·aX" which is a first conjugation verb. In the affirmative present this verb is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affirmative Present</th>
<th>Negative Present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>es·aX, I eat</td>
<td>χezes·al, I do not eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in·aX, thou eatest</td>
<td>χezin·al</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e·aX, he eats</td>
<td>χes·al (χiyes·al)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tse·aX, we eat</td>
<td>χtses·al</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eh·aX, you eat</td>
<td>χezeh·al</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rhe·aX (rhiye·aX), they eat</td>
<td>χerhes·al (χerhiyes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itaX, both of us eat</td>
<td>χezital</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affirmative Past</th>
<th>Negative Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>is·al, I ate</td>
<td>χes·eχ, I did not eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an·al</td>
<td>χin·eχ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an·al</td>
<td>χi·eχ (χeyi·eχ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsan·al</td>
<td>χtsi·eχ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eh·al</td>
<td>χeh·eχ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rhan·al (rheyan)</td>
<td>χerhi·eχ (χoyi·eχ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ital, we both ate</td>
<td>χiteχ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Affirmative Future | Negative Future
---|---
us'aX, I shall eat | ḡezus'al, I shall not eat
on'aX | ḡezon'al
u'aX | ḡus'al (ḡiyus'al)
tsu'aX | ḡtsus'al
uh'aX | ḡezuh'al
rhu'aX (rheyu'aX) | ḡerhus'al (ḡerhiyus)
otaX | ḡezotal

These are only a few remarks based upon the "Carrier Language." It will be well to study both volumes and secure detailed information with reference to this wonderful and complicated mode of expression.

In the appendix which follows a large number of opinions and many of the essential verbs are given.

In Chapter One an indication was given of the different forms which the verb takes for the singular and plural. This is again given for three very common verbs in the first, second, and third conjugations. They are the verb to eat, to gnaw, and to devour berries. One would expect similar verbal endings but this is the way they are expressed in Carrier for the present indicative, past, and future tenses. These three tenses are given also in the negative showing the peculiar method of expressing it.
Other parts of speech could be shown at length, but in the appendix there appears a large number of nouns, adjectives, adverbs, conjunctions, exclamations, etc., which may assist in expressing in Carrier ones thoughts.

The idioms of Carrier are many and several sentences are given herewith showing how words are assembled to convey specific meanings. Possibly no better suggestion can be made here than to recommend to any student of the language Father Morice's large, two-volume set of books dealing with the Carrier language. He put a lifetime of experience and understanding into those two volumes and they are worthy of the most careful perusal. Father Morice was himself a great linguist and he understood the Carrier language better even than the Indians themselves. For he knew many European languages well; the average Indian knows his language only. A few understand Chinook, French, and English as well as their own dialect and possibly one or two others. Thus Father Morice was able to bring the knowledge of grammar acquired in the study of other languages to bear in preparing his monumental work.
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### ENGLISH--CARRIER VOCABULARY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Carrier</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ablaze (to set )</td>
<td>Ytha-deskaih</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Able (at work)</td>
<td>Na-isnih</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aborigine</td>
<td>Yenkha-tene - Literally &quot;Earth-surface man&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>About</td>
<td>Ren- -re-, -re-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above</td>
<td>Thes, (Rhenni Yai yethes rhethizya = He passed over many words.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absent</td>
<td>Hwostlerh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abundant</td>
<td>Zai anlai, thillai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abundantly</td>
<td>Zai hwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abusive</td>
<td>E-zestla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accidentally</td>
<td>Antsi hoh, Antsi hwotherh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Account (on, of)</td>
<td>Ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acquire (to)</td>
<td>Sra-ltsit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Across</td>
<td>Kres-en'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Across (to lay)</td>
<td>Ytejra-nessih</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Act (to)</td>
<td>Bdedez'e, Tlo hwos'i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active</td>
<td>Hwodeznih</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acute</td>
<td>Testes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Add (to)</td>
<td>Uthana-nes'aih</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Admirable</td>
<td>Eten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Admire (to)</td>
<td>Urwa-is'en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adopt (to)</td>
<td>Ge'ezsi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adorn (to)</td>
<td>No-dessi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult</td>
<td>Ne-nisye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adze</td>
<td>Metsetse'X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Affectionate        | Sdzi-ntca--literally "my heart is big."
| Afraid (to be)      | Nezget |
| After               | Hokwi'X'az |
| Afternoon           | Dzetniz-hokwi'X'az |
| Afterwards          | Et hokwi'X'az |
| Again               | Tutca |
| Aged                | Sta' |
| Agile               | Ne-rwet |
| Aid (to)            | Ulla-esten |
| Ail (to)            | Dzerh-estorh |
| Ailing              | Ndezta |
| Akwilgate           | Tse-tcah (Down by the rock). |
| Alarm (to)          | Pe-unesgut |
| Alder               | Khwon-khes |
| Alert               | Spa ne-hwol'e' (Quick in deciding). |
Alien ................. Etna
Alike (to be) ........ De-ztorh, nde-storh
Alive .................. Rhetna
Almanac ............... RheX-ke-ekrez (Days drawn together).
Almost ................ Ankwes, ankwes-yaz
Alone .................. Serh
Already ................ Hwotsel, au'eta, kede
Also ................... Tca
All .................... Tsiyauh
Always ................ AhwuXyiz
Amaze (to) ............ Eskre
Ambuscade ............. Ekhatsta en (where one is looking for something)
American ............. Boston
Amidst ................ Therh, -thez
Among ................. Thez (the "z" denotes direction)
Amusing .............. Nisni
Anchor ............... Tse-thes'-ai
Ancient ............... Eta', nisgan (au'et nisgan means "behold he is so old his usefulness is gone")
And .................... Inkez
Anger .................. Rheskhe
Animal ................ Tsanti, Rhenna
Annually .............. Xorwat
Another ............... Eyu, eyune, Xauh
Ant .................... Atih
Anxious ............... Ni nli (cares he does)
Any ................... Antsi; antsi iX°; antsi iXeren
Apart .................. Tisserh
Apparently ............ Leintorh
Apprentice ............ Eten-udel'eh en (He that learns work).
Appearance .......... Nel'en-i, (that which is seen).
Apprehensive ........ Hwe-ntsaz-thezai (Thezai implies permanency).
Approach (to) ........ Urwe-nezkrai
April ................. Cin-aza
Ardent ................ Hwodesnih
Argue (to) ............ Eke'-desni', (Rhenni utse pe-essek means
Arm-hole .............. Ekran-ket
Arms .................. -kran
Around ................ -nat
Arrow ................. Kra, -thes
Arrow-head ........... Nuntai
Ashes ................ GeXtsih, Tse-lliz (Fire dust)
Ask (to) .............. Uteskhet, Yanepu-teskhet
Asleep ................. Sthi (Sesthi)
Aspen .................. Teres
Assassin ............... Neniz'i-en, (He that killed a man on the sly).
Assemble (to) ......... IXenaostil-ne (Those who are gathered together).
Assembly ............... IXenaostil-ne
Assist .................. Ulla-esten
Astrar .................. Thi-n-gerh
Audible .................. Titsa, titsar
August .................. Thallo-za
Aunt ..................... Ne-akei, ne-pizyan
Autumn .................. Take-ta*, take-tee (last and next fall).
Avenge (to) ............ Tepa* keXana-hwozsi
Away! ..................... En! Es! (The former is said to persons while the latter is said to dogs).
Awe ...................... Ungai-tco (Reverence-big).
Awful ................... Pe-hwenetget
Awl ...................... Ekwet-tseX
Axe ...................... TsetsiX
Babe ...................... Tsuten (tsemahka is a childish term of endearment).
Babiche ................. TXuX-tat (string narrow) also, asrel
Babine .................. Nato-penket
Backwards ............... Taz, koh
Bad ...................... Ess*i'-tsi*, (rhenni tse-ssi* means literally "words-too-am-bad").
Badly .................... Etsenena
Badness .................. Etsi*
Bait ...................... Enni
Bank (sand) ............. Sai-thel (sand wide)
Balance .................. pe-neeltas (wherewith one weighs in a continuous manner).
Balsam ................... ena-thu*
Banquet ................. horwe-neta
Bare ...................... then-zai (bare ice) also yazai meaning clear sky.
Bark ...................... ekrei (birch) ella* (spruce)
Barter (to) .............. ukweXa-des'saih
Bashful .................. yuya eti (he possesses shame).
Basin ...................... Tse-tsai-tco (stone dish-big).
Basket ................... tcaXyal
Bathe, to (the eyes). Unaket hwostXe (The lake bathes the foot of the mountains = pen dzeX pe-thaskwe).
Battle .................... TXe-na-selli
Be (to) ................. estli, hunli, hwozestli
Be ....................... na-stli'
Beach .................... thepa-saiket (shore, sand, place)
Bead ..................... kwesel
Bear ..................... ses, cas and ses-pai
Beat (to) ................ pan' en, ha'-desnih
Beaver ................... tsa, tsa-yiz (the suffix yiz means male).
Beggar ................... tatso-en (he that enters crying)
Behind ................... koh
Behold .................... au*et
Benefactor ............... nenatcal'en-en (he that helps people
Be off ................... eten! through pity)
Berry .................... mai
Between ................... ekrez
Beware ................... nyuz! also n'azte!
Beyond ................... an'az, also pan'en-pan'at
Big ....................... nintca, dintca, huntca
Birch .................... krei
Bit ....................... yezihXi-ze-nanin'a (put across a horse's mouth).
Black .................... teX^res and tenX^res
Blackwater River ......... na-zkoh (across river)
Blackfeet .................. ukhwe teX^resne (those whose feet are black).
Blanket .................. (marmot) nizget
Bleak .................... Xo-X-kai
Blizzard .................. tsil
Blood ..................... ezkhai and eskhai
Blue ....................... teldzan and teneldzan
Blueberry .................. yaXtsel
Blunt ..................... niyelmek
Boastful .................. tepe-nahwodilthi' thezai
Bog ....................... thaxthan-ket (name of nahanais village)
Boil ....................... tsez
Boiling ................... tliz
Bold ....................... tsa-hudesgerh
Bone ...................... tsen
Book ...................... testyes XenilteY (papers bound together)
Born ...................... hwozestli, na-stli
Both ...................... nankheltoh also narheltorh (persons)
Bottom .................... tXa, tha-tXah
Bough .................... terh-dzaih, 'el
Bow ....................... tetoe'nYthi' (wood gun) kra-zza
Blackberry ............... tseneYtses
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Y̓il̓k̓etne, kohtse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Breast</td>
<td>yet also dzi-ket (heart place)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breath</td>
<td>yiz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bridge</td>
<td>na-dilthel, na-din'a (log foot bridge)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brigand</td>
<td>ere'thelle-en (he that takes away something from someone)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brilliant</td>
<td>pesa-uskhaX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broad</td>
<td>nṭhel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother</td>
<td>ne-X̱etsin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brutal</td>
<td>a-X̱usn̓ih</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bug</td>
<td>ts̱ir̓-l̓ṯiX</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bulkley River</td>
<td>hwotsen-khoh (down by the water river)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bush</td>
<td>imbaž</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butcher-bird</td>
<td>Tetaiyaz-ultas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By</td>
<td>ra (by me, thee, etc.) se, nye, pe, ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buttercup</td>
<td>waltak</td>
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<tr>
<td>Butterfly</td>
<td>tsan-rwo̱Oxtaih</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biscuit</td>
<td>X̱es-ṯetsen (flour hard)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cache</td>
<td>tsatcen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cake (berry)</td>
<td>m̱ai-ṯxes (pemimican-etsis-ṯxes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Call (to)</td>
<td>sḵha-edini (contracted to sḵha'-dini)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calm</td>
<td>tizrel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambie lake</td>
<td>yutsu (a way down towards the water--pronounced yootsoo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camp</td>
<td>khwen-ket (fire-place)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candid</td>
<td>tset rhenni eX̱ya (he puts words forward)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canoe</td>
<td>ts̱i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canon</td>
<td>ṯeyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape</td>
<td>ste-lla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capacity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captive</td>
<td>eX̱na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Careful</td>
<td>urwa-ustli, era-ustli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Careless</td>
<td>utso-des'erh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carp</td>
<td>tekus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carry (to)</td>
<td>ne-s'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carrying (to be)</td>
<td>is'aX̱</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catkin</td>
<td>Xi-yaz</td>
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<tr>
<td>Caterpillar</td>
<td>ses-ya'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cave</td>
<td>'an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cedar</td>
<td>toen-zul (stick hollow)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cellar</td>
<td>tsakèt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cemetery</td>
<td>tsenket, howoztlə en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Certainly</td>
<td>su tsaih'en; ahwez</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charcoal</td>
<td>tes (tse-tizken is coal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheerful</td>
<td>urwe-ni ni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Cherry tree ............ tce-na-tgeX (abbreviation for stick around tears)
Cherry ................... nelkus
Chief .................... mutih
Child .................... ezkheh
Chisel ................... ethankwet
Circle ................... na-nizpas, *auh-naseti (a luminous circle is na-deniXrwet)
Circumscribe (to) ....... *auh na-hwossih
Cistern .................. tcan-thu-tsa-ket (rainwater cellar)
Clan ...................... titerh
Clay ...................... Ya-dzeh (hands, glue)
Clean ..................... pe-hwozu', eszu'
Clear ..................... Ydzem
Clever .................... hwenih
Cloud ..................... kxes
Clue ...................... era-hahwoltsek (on account of which something is discovered)
Clumsy ................... eltsi'
Coast ..................... ya-thu-pa
Cobweb .................. hwotsotsen-piX
Coffin ................... peneziseXthi (modern word denoting burial unknown in aboriginal times)
Cold ...................... stli (sthen means frozen), sekez
Colour ................... oten
Comb ...................... tse-ldzu
Come (to) ................ nesya'; urwe suha-nesyaih
come here ................ anih! (said to persons) tce! (said to dogs)
Common .................. antsi nli
Complex .................. Ya-t thenne-este'
Complete .................. tetsek
Comet ..................... sem-utce-huni (star with tail)
Concave .................. hwoXko
Concern .................. eten-koh
Cone ...................... ankwel
Confluence ................ Xe-itli (plural is Xe-ne-stli)
Coniferous ................ u'el huni
Constellation ............ sem Xge etli (stars belong to one another)
Contempt .................. etse'-nedzen
Contrary .................. hwotga entorh
Convex .................... ha-nilthal
Convulsion ................. na-kas
Co-operation ............. Ya-eten
Copper .................... telken-teh
Corn ................. cis (corn on toe)
Corpse ............... zi
Cornice ............... epa-di'ke
Correct ............... tsinh'en entorh
Corrupt ............... hwozesn (same as crazy)
Costly ............... tizthi'
Cottonwood .......... teres
Cousin ............... zit, ne-zit
Cove ................. t'eh-hwoyaz
Coyote ............... tceen-the-yi (forest dog)
Crabapple ............ tcentherh kenmai-tco
Crag ................. tse-hwedankhat (stones standing up)
Cramp ............... ltoh
Crazy ................. hwoesn
Cremation ............ nezi ezte'khe (peoples corpse they burned)

Dagger ............... yezthih
Daily ................. dzin, thatsek-Xompendzin
Dam .................. yat-nantel (na = across)
Damp ................. se'ydzoi
Dance ................. netaih
dangerous ............ uthatli
dark ................. tsa-hwoXres
Darkness ............ the'ya, mek
Daughter ............. stoe
Day .................. dzin
Dear .................. tizthi, yane-tizthi
Decay (to) ........... hwe-nesget
Decoration .......... pe-modeltsi
Decrepit .............. nisgan
Deep .................. tharhe'ya (water), ada'ydz (in ground)
Deep water .......... tharhe'ya
Deer .................. yestse
Delicious ............ pa-ten
Delta .................. thar-tce-nu, (thu-ke-tce-nu
Deluge ............... ne-thuyanran (water killed people)
Den .................. 'an
Dentalium ............ ypai
Descendants .......... netseha-inte-ne
Design ............... eke-ikrez
Desert ............... sai yenket
Desire ................ ekha'-nedzen (wish)
Devil .............. netsedelle
Devil's club ........ hwu'y-rex
Dew .............. terh-thu (hoar frost) terh-zo
Die (to) ............. tassah, ya-rhatlah
Differently .......... te'yu' urwe eyu
Difficult ........... horwa hwol'e
Dinner ............ dzetniz etse'aX (noon one eats)
Dirt ............... tsen
Dirty .............. tessen, tsen, essi
Discussion .......... hokhwe-rheti
Disdain ........... etse'-nedzen
Disease ........... tata
dish ............... tsai
Dishonest .......... nisti
Dismissed .......... 'enthisno
Dispute ............ edetaih
Dissipation .......... nzuti'i
Distance ........... n'at
Division ........... ya-itsin
dizzy .............. senren, hwonere
Do it ................ a'ah
Don't ................ gennih, ilerh (don't go out is, 'az-thonya'
gennih)

Dot ................. skwet-yaz
Doubly ............. naten hwe
Doubtful ........... urwe nauh ehwonedzen
Down .............. tsez
Dreadful ........... pehwonetget
Dream .............. peX
Drink ............... tsetnai-i, etnai
Driver ............. neneXkwez-en
drooping .......... sake-honterh
dry ................. tissez, seskre
drug ............... yu-elya
duck ............... nizkwelw
Dull ............... rhentiskwet
dune ............... X-ke-ther-id
dust ............... Xiz
dwarf ............... tene-yaz, etna-ne-yaz)
                               tene auXtco)
dwelling ........ khwen-ket (camp)
dye .................. titil
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Khmer</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Each</td>
<td>tathek, tene-tsek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eagle</td>
<td>syel (egg, rhez)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ears</td>
<td>dzo, dzeh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earth</td>
<td>yen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Easily</td>
<td>hwole hwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eat</td>
<td>dzu! pa·!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eddy</td>
<td>·o, ·o-ket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edge</td>
<td>pa, pan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Night</td>
<td>yketenge, yketine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Either</td>
<td>kes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elbow</td>
<td>xra-ninli (of a river)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elbows</td>
<td>tail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elk</td>
<td>yezih</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Embryo</td>
<td>netha-ni$h$hat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>End</td>
<td>hwole-therh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enemy</td>
<td>yatan (also means guest)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equal</td>
<td>xra-estorh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eternal</td>
<td>a-untorh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eve</td>
<td>hwotsenkes-dzin</td>
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<td>Ever</td>
<td>i$x$izhweni</td>
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<td>Evil</td>
<td>huntsi·</td>
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<tr>
<td>Extremity</td>
<td>hwole-therh</td>
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<td>Eye</td>
<td>(needle) inrow$h$-ket</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eyes</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Face</td>
<td>nenim-pa, nin</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fall</td>
<td>(autumn) taket</td>
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<tr>
<td>Falls</td>
<td>(water) na-inli, na-ne-selli</td>
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<tr>
<td>Famous</td>
<td>ukwe-na-ihwodetnek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Far</td>
<td>ni$x$dzaz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fat</td>
<td>ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>epa, ne-pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faun</td>
<td>x$t$ukt-i-yaz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fear</td>
<td>netget</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feet</td>
<td>khe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fern</td>
<td>'ah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fever</td>
<td>tli-tata (cold sickness)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fifty</td>
<td>kwollai· hwonizai</td>
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<td>Fifteen</td>
<td>hwonizai on·at kwollai·</td>
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<tr>
<td>Filthy</td>
<td>tessen</td>
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<td>Finlay River</td>
<td>thu-thi· (water great)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fir</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Fire</td>
<td>khwen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Firmament</td>
<td>ya</td>
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<td>English</td>
<td>Tsimshian</td>
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<td>---------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fish</td>
<td>χe, the-χmek, na-χtsel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fisher</td>
<td>tce'nih, tce'nih-tco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish hook</td>
<td>ges</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fishing</td>
<td>χo-ha-hwoten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish pond</td>
<td>χo-pa-kheh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fist</td>
<td>thetces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flesh</td>
<td>tse'n, yat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fletching</td>
<td>kra-ta (arrow feather)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Float</td>
<td>ta-lieχ</td>
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<tr>
<td>Floe</td>
<td>χem</td>
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<td>Fly</td>
<td>hwoltsi-yaz</td>
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<td>Foam</td>
<td>rwes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fog</td>
<td>'a</td>
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<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td>pet, tse'αχ-i</td>
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<tr>
<td>Foolish</td>
<td>hwozeani</td>
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<tr>
<td>Foot</td>
<td>tatcen</td>
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<td>Foot (measure)</td>
<td>nekhe-delyiz</td>
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<tr>
<td>(On) foot</td>
<td>nekhetcen-pe, yαχ pe</td>
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<td>Forenoon</td>
<td>dzetniz, hwotsa</td>
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<td>Forest</td>
<td>tce'n-therh, tce'n-therh-hwothel</td>
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<tr>
<td>Forty</td>
<td>tit hwonizyai</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fountain</td>
<td>thu-ket</td>
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<tr>
<td>Four</td>
<td>tenge, tene, tit</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fox</td>
<td>nankrez</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fraser (Lake and River)</td>
<td>Na-teh penket, χtha-khoh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freezing</td>
<td>thih</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friend</td>
<td>yatan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fright</td>
<td>netget-tco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frog</td>
<td>taastli</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fruit</td>
<td>mai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full</td>
<td>timpen, tizpen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fun</td>
<td>nini</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fur</td>
<td>etestχes</td>
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<td>Gaity</td>
<td>nzuti'i</td>
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<td>Gale</td>
<td>tseχ tenelreχ</td>
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<td>Gall</td>
<td>tχez</td>
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<td>Games</td>
<td>alte, teko</td>
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<td>Gangrene</td>
<td>tseχdenek</td>
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<td>Gardener</td>
<td>haneχyihih-en</td>
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<td>Gash</td>
<td>ha-hwotsel, ha-hukraz</td>
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<td>Gay</td>
<td>tsa-ilorh</td>
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<td>Gem</td>
<td>tse-tizthi</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Generous .......................... la-ke-huntca
Gentleman ........................ mutih
Genuine ........................... aXa-entorh
Germ ............................... ha-tsulla-elya
Ghost .............................. natniX
Giant ............................... tene-tco
Gift ................................. etse-thiXtXiz-i
Girdle ............................... se
Girl ................................. tet
Gizzard ............................. etsez
Glad ................................. hunti
Glacier .............................. Xu
Glance ............................... thetih
Globe ................................. nanizwus
Gloomy ..............................
Gloves ............................... la-pat
Glue ................................. pe-etsel
Gnat ................................. nizres
Go (to) .............................. thesyaih, esyaX
Goat ................................. tepe
God ................................. Yuttere, Ya-ke-sta
Good! ............................... dzu!
Good ................................. enzu, nzu'
Goodness .......................... eszu', nzu'
Goose ............................... rherh
Gooseberry ........................ ....
Gouge ............................... pe-ekhana-hwotsi
Grand ............................... hwuzesthi'
Grandchild ........................ tcai
Grandmother ........................ tsu
Grandfather ........................ tsiyan
Grandson .......................... netcai, etcai
Granite ........................... tse-tesen-denilpi
Grass ............................... tYo
Grasshopper ........................ thelkes
Grave ............................... tsen-ket
Great ............................... ntcia
Green ............................... teltXez
Grey ................................. telpa
Grizzly .............................. tsa-rana
Groove ............................. pet-nezut-i
Ground .............................. yen
Groundhog ........................... tetni
Gum ................................. dzeh
hag ................. tsekhe-thigel
hail ................ enlutsan
halo ................ na-ndenisXelke
hammer ............... pe-eltXcz
handful .............. nella-ke-hwotizpen
hands ................ lla, ne-lla
happy ................ hunti
hare ................... korh
harvest .............. iXenaudaldze-i
hash ................... etsis-tXes
haste ................ ahodenih
hat .................... tserh
hatchet .............. tsetsiX-yaz
have ................... esti
hay ................... tXo
haze ................. hokos
he ...................... en
heap ................... iXena-uXya
heart ................... dzi
heat .................... sel
hell ................... khwen-tco
help ................... ulla-esten
hemlock .............. onrantco
hemp ................... hwoneX'a
hen ................... neto-etset'i(white man's grouse)
here ................... ngan
high ................... nyiz
hill ................... ha-hwoditai
hollow ............... yen-rwas
honey ................. tsihna-re'
hook ................... serh
hop .................... eke-nandenitgiX
horrible .............. tenisgut
horsefly ............. etXes
hostage .............. peX narhetih-en
hound ................... Xi-za
house ................... yerh
huckleberry ........... tetge
hundred ............... hwonizat hwonizyai
hunger ................ toa-hwozun
hunter ................ ekhaeten-en
husband .............. khei
hut .................... kre-pa-yerh, ella-pe-yerh
hunt ................... ekha-esten
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ice</td>
<td>then, tsel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>icicle</td>
<td>kwez-ru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>idea</td>
<td>ni</td>
</tr>
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<td>immense</td>
<td>ntca-i-tco</td>
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<tr>
<td>in</td>
<td>pet, yet, hwet</td>
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<td>increase (to)</td>
<td>inlai</td>
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<td>incredulity</td>
<td>etsu-ditlai</td>
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<td>pe-ezthelras</td>
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<td>into</td>
<td>thuz</td>
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<td>au uten raitorh</td>
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<td>ne-sgel</td>
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<td>tet</td>
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<td>(as) kochtseh</td>
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</table>
linament .......... pe-tse\text{X}t\text{X}e
lippy .............. uta-tco
lips ............... ta, eta
little .............. ntsul
load ............... rhe\text{X}
loam ............... yet
lodge (beaver) ...... khen
log ................ \text{Y}tha-ditsel
long ............... nyiz
loon ................ tadzi, tselp\text{e}
house .............. ya
lungs .............. tes
lousy .............. ya eltsi

mad ................. hwosni
made ................ estla
make ................ estleh
magic ............... cen
magician ............ teyen
male ................ hwostenne, t\text{X}ezi
malice .............. etsi'
man ................... tene
manhood ............ tene-etli
many ................ \text{Y}ai, \text{Y}ane, \text{Y}aten, \text{Y}auh
map .................. yen-keekrez
March (month) ...... Tcez-tco
marl ............... \text{Y}iz-kre
marsh ............... eya
mask ................ ha-netaih
mat ................... hwotel
matter .............. pe-estarh-i
May ................... Tekus-uza
meat ................ tsen, yat
meat (dried) ........ etsen-kre
memory ............. hwona-tnih
mercy ............... the'-'ninzen
mesh ................ yaz
meteor .............. tse tes haltset
mica ................ tse-tuz
midday .............. dzet-niz
midnight ........... thezniz
milk ............ mestus-tsu
mind ................ ni
mink ............... thetces
mint ............... etan eltsen
mirth ................. nzuti'i
misery ................ kha
mist .................. a·a
mittens ................. pat
moccasins .............. khe-s-kwet
moist .................. seIdzo
moisten ................ na-nesdzo
moment .................. atsel
Monday .................. Landi-dzin
month ................... sa-nen
moon ..................... sa, edzis-uza
moose ................... teni
moss ..................... theh-yin
mother ................... llu
mountain ................. dzeχ, ces
mouth ................... ze
much .................... thepe
mud ...................... hwotχes
murder .................. nenisti en
murderer ................. nesiχrei-en
myself ................... si-gerh
myth .................... etata
mutton ................... neto-espa-tsən
naked .................... estetnli
name ..................... uzi
name (to) ............... uszi, yanu-szi
native (a) ................ hwosten
naught ................... messai
navigate ................ ne-skhe, eskheχ
navigator ............... nekhe-en
near ..................... ret, roh, hwenroh
nearer .................. onroh
nearly ................... ankweś
need ..................... endenidzit
neighbour ............... nepeχ tene-en
neither .................. tca
nephew .................. tsu
nest ..................... eto (swallow’s nest = etcas-to)
nettle ................... huχtsi
new ...................... antit-nli (now it is)
next ..................... on·at
niece .................... tsu
night ................... edzis
nine ..................... iχo hulerh
no ....................... awontuh
noble ................... za
nobody .................. en hulerh
noise ................... tha-ditni
noon ................... dzetniz
noose ................... inrwoX-ket
north ................... hokwez-kez (the place of the cold)
nose ................... nin-tsis
not ................... au, dzerh
nothing ................... ilerh
nourish ................... es·i
November .................. Panraz-netse-kheh
now ................... antit
nuts (hazel) ............. takhe

obey (to) .................. ukwenne-esten
obstacle .................. hwotga-i
ocean ................... ya-thu-tco
odour ................... sil
off ................... 'en
offspring ................ netseha-inte-ne
often ................... ¥at
oil ................... tle
old ................... unyan
on ................... kez
once ................... iXerh
one ................... iXo, iXeren, iXoh
only ................... zai
oppose ................... penerh edesni
or ................... kes
ornament ................ pe-eXtsi
orphan ................... tsennerh
otter ................... tsis
our ................... norh
outlet ................... thiztli
over ................... thes
owe ................... hwol'ai
owl ................... mesdzh, nage'al, nadipis, en-detni

paddle ................... tces
paddle (to) ............. esto
pain ................... sun, kha
paint ................... pe·-tetXes, tcen-tsa·
pan ................... tse-tsaai
pappa ................... epa, nepa
paper ................... etestXes
parent ................... ne tes
part ................... anran
partly .......................... hwanran hwe ullerh hwe
pasture ............................. hwota'y en
path ............................. thi
pay (to) ............................. ike'y a-hwossi
pemmican ............................. etsis-t'Yes
penetrate (to) ...................... utha-nest'y es
peninsula ................................ unathase'a en
pick (to) ................................ unesyin (berries)
pidgeon ............................. impin
pitch ............................. dzeh-te'y kres
place ................................ ket
plant ................................ yen-hwotan
plover ............................. tsedi-tco
plume ............................. tserh-pe-ltsi
poison ............................. e'y
pond ................................ kheh
pool ............................. ga-pen
poplar ............................. tsihthel
portage ............................. Ya-the's-thi
pot ............................. the'y, tcenel
potlatch (to) ...................... horwene-sya
poverty ............................. the-l'en
prairie ............................. t'^oket
pretty ............................. suunasten
promentary ........................ ste-l'la
proud ............................. ededezthi'
pull (to) ............................. eskres
purple ............................. teldzan-yaz
put (to) ............................. ne-nes'aih
pink ............................. telken-yaz
quake ............................. ne-rhesnah, ne-rheustnah
quarrel ............................. edetaih
quick ............................. hwodeznih, a-hwodeznih
quietly ............................. manihtsel
quill ............................. goh
quit (to) ............................. sre-theltsit
quiver ............................. kras
rabbit ............................. korh
rain ............................. tcan
rainbow ............................. kohwez-pi'y (coldsnare)
rasp ............................. tetcen-tseka
rattle ............................. ni'r wes
real ............................. a'la entorh
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<td>utsinzes ukwe-thesguX (I tear off his head skin)</td>
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shield
shoot (to)
shore
shower
sickness
sing (to)
sister
six
sixteen
sixty
skunk
sky
sleep
smile
snake
snare
snow
snow-shoes
snow-storm
son
soup
speak (to)
spear
spider
spring (season)
spruce
squirrel
stalk
start (to)
steam
stone
strawberry
swallow
sweet
take (to)
talk
tan (to)
tanner
ten
terror
thief
think (to)
thirst
thirty
thought
three

krei'-lla-then
esgh
pes
hwothe*ythih
tata
esgen
ne*Ythes
Yketha
Yketha
hwonizyai on'at Yketha
Yketha
hunliz
ya'
pes
tleres
piX
yes
cas-khe (grizzled feet)
tsil
uye
tha-zel
ya-sthek
sorh-thez
hwotsotsen
olleX
tsu, tserh
tsa-lek (beaver dog)
etcen
thesyaih
yen-tsekX
tse
indzi-tan
etcas
Ykheii
estcut
ya-sthek
esdzeh
es'dzeh-en
hwonizai
netget-too
endenetic-en, nisti-en
neszen
tha-usta
that hwonizai
ni
tha
thread .................... ka-l-thai (willow fibre)
thunder ................. titni
tidy ....................... su-ne-lya
toad ....................... telkwah
today ..................... antit dzin
toil ........................ eten-thi (work great)
tomorrow ................. pente
trap ........................ yiX, kuh
tree ......................... krei, tsu, tserh
tributary ................... eke-inli, hokwe-inli
tROUT ........................ pit
twelve ........................ kwonizai on'at nankhe
twenty ........................ nat hwonizai
two ........................... nankhe, naten
Tuesday ........................ HwoX-nat-dzin
Thursday ........................ HwoX-tit-dzin
ugly ........................ ntsi', enetsi'
uncle ........................ thai
universe ....................... yen-kha
untidy ......................... tessen
upstream ........................ nu'
utensil ........................ pe-pet-hahwoten
utter (to) ..................... desni
vapor ........................ yen-tseX
vast ........................ estca
venison ........................ tcenthe-rennai-tsen
very ........................... su
vetch ........................ tcenaXtez
village ........................ kheyerh
vulgar ........................ Xiza`
wager ........................ e-ilyih
wake (to) ..................... tse-rhenteh
want .......................... ekha'-nedzen
want (to) ........................ ukhwa'-'neszen
war .............................. perh
warm ..............................
wasP .......................... tsihna
water ........................ thu
waterway ...................... tha-thi
wear (to) ...................... pe-sesta
weasel ........................ nerh-pai
week .......................... dimac-ketho
weir ........................... ses
west ................. na-e·aih en
white ................ χyel
who .................. mpe
why .................... ti-ha
widow ................. tsantiχ
wife .................... 'at
wild .................. hwosnih
willow ................ kreitlih-therh
wind ................... niltsi
winter ................. rhet
woman .................. tsekhe
woodpecker ............ tse-lken (red head)
work ................... nella-koh, eten-koh
work (to) ............ esten
Wednesday ........... Hwol-that-dzin

yarn ................. el·ul
year .................. na-hwotezet
yes ..................... a
yet ..................... ahwez

zeal ................. horwenatli
zephyr ............... niχkaz
zig-zag (to) ....... ukwene-estse
The following words in the vocabulary in the appendix to the thesis on the "Language, Legends, and Lore of the Carrier Indians" require to be filled in:

Page 302, "brown" is Xyel-yaz; "capacity" is epe-hultco. Page 306, "east" is ha-e’ah en (where it rises); "west" is na-e’aah en (where it sets). "Fir" is tcentsi. Page 308, "gloomy" is udzi-etso (his heart weeps); "gooseberry" is tanrai. Page 318, "warm" is sezel or ne-lrues. The words "north" and "south" are "hokwez-kez" (the place of the cold), and "hwote-kez" (where it is fried).

The expressions "to the north," "to the south," "to the east," and "to the west" appear as being hokwez-tse, dzetniz-tse (toward the noonday), ha-e’ah-tse, and na-e’ah-tse. These words seem to me to mean northerly, southerly, easterly, and westerly. In ordinary composition "from the north" is written "nes," while "north" is usually written "no." The adverbial ending "tse" indicates location at a distance from, and the ending "en" seems to allude to a place beyond, or yonder. The word "n’en" means away off or yonder, and this meaning is contained in the words for west and east.
Plate 10

Chief 'Kwah's iron dagger mounted in ordinary handle of Douglas fir to which it was laced with animal sinews. This knife, which is now in the possession of the Provincial Government at Victoria, has a fine handle of carved whalebone. When 'Kwah used it, it was affixed to the end of a strong pole about six feet in length and was used then as a spear. This knife has been in the possession of the Carrier Indians in the vicinity of Fort St. James for upwards of two hundred years.
Plate 9.

Blaze cut from a balsam tree on which Jimmy Mishel and Bill Cook had written their epitaph on September 15th, 1895. This log of wood, about sixteen inches in diameter and three feet long, is now in the Provincial Museum at Victoria, B.C. These characters have been exposed to wind and weather for fifty years and are still legible in spite of the fact that they were made with charcoal on the fresh balsam wood.
Plate 2.

Photograph of a stone weighing 3,750 pounds that formerly stood on the plateau about seven miles south-west of the confluence of the North and South Thompson Rivers. Until 1933 it was on the north side of the trail that led from Kamloops to Lac Le Jeune and was almost in sight of the Iron Mask Mine. This stone is now in Thunderbird Park, on the corner of Belleville and Douglas Streets, Victoria, B.C. It seems somewhat out of place among totem poles and other relics of the Kwakiutl tribe.
Plate 1.

Two pine trees growing side by side near the 49th parallel were tied together about six feet above the ground and they formed a natural graft. The tree resulting from this graft is now about eighty years old and is tall, straight, and forms an excellent boundary mark. It is said to have been grafted by the Okanagan Indians who since the middle of the last century regarded it as the boundary between the American and Canadian divisions of this tribe.
Plate 3.

Photographs of the Keekwilly Holes, which mark the underground dwellings of the aborigines in the vicinity of Shuswap Lake. The tribes of Shuswap and Thompson Indians who occupied these villages must have, at one time, been very numerous judging from the number of Keekwilly Holes that are still in evidence.
Plate 2.  (Part 1)

Two photographs of a stone weighing 3,750 pounds that formerly stood on the plateau about seven miles south-west of the Francois and North and South Thompson Rivers. Until 1933 it was on the north side of the trail that led from Kamloops to Lac Le Jeune and was almost in sight of the Iron Mask Mine.
Déné Syllabary.

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Explanatory Notes.

* These letters are not differentiated in Déné.
† - is the nasal n.
‡ - z is the equivalent of the French j.
§ - s is phonetically intermediate between s and c.
Dene syllabary invented by Rev. A.G. Morice, O.M.I., and used by many Carrier Indians for more than fifty years. Father Morice printed the Indian language newspaper in these characters and also issued his prayer book by the use of these syllabics in 1901. His first prayer-book, printed ten years earlier, is now out of print and unobtainable. A copy is believed to be in the University of Ottawa library.
NOTICE.

NO HUNTING OR SETTING OF TRAPS ON THIS CREEK ALLOWED. PRIVATE PROPERTY. BY ORDER P.F. STAEL VON HOLSTE.
Plate 5.

A trapline notice put out by a new Canadian settler in 1925 with an Indian translation in the syllabic characters. This sign was intended to warn Indians against setting traps or hunting on the private property in question. It is to be hoped that the Indian who wrote the lower sign was more skilled in the use of Father Morice's syllabary than was the European settler in his use of the English language as shown above.
Plate 6.

"Testles Nahwelnek" printed at Fort St. James and circulated among the Indians from 1891 to 1895. It contained much local information which was avidly read by the educated natives.
1840 A9

1755 A h DΩ A z γ

1840 DΩ A h C z ε δ

D A τ B ϊ C, v < h D D M θ υ ι <;

D T v J c θ ρ ρ ι γ e θ e ρ
This epitaph, which was printed in the Dene characters by Rev. A.G. Morice at the request of the author in 1930, reads as follows:

Toeneza Cho ‘Kwah
U’tsen’ket
1755 hoh a’ten hwoztli
1840 oleʔ hoh tazsai
Su etetcho biktoliya u’khwen tewo’ten inle enɛtsiy nli ta, ’Kwah yiʔtchut yezuʔrheʔ ha;
et hun’toči tayeyilel hwe yelatitni

Translation of this epitaph is shown on the accompanying page.
Plate 8.

The Lord's Prayer in Carrier syllabics taken from page nineteen of the Carrier Prayer Book, 1933 Edition, readings as follows:-

Cezikli urwenni pe thenazdutli.

Nepa, yakez sinte en, sutco nyuzi tolthi, nkennehwoten holle*, yakez hokwohtse yenket tcə nyeni kennehswi*en. Dzin thotsek nellessete antit dzin neranin*aib, inkez ntsorh the la utsetsehwo*aine pepa *entsotheh*ti*, hwezen*a nyen tcə netsozi*ai nepa *enhwothih*ti*, inkez nehun*dhizh hwoth*se ne^ezanlel, entsi hunzsi* tse nehanainle. Mdehoneh.