
SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
Bureau of American Ethnology
Bulletin 123

Anthropological Papers, No. 8

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Dialects

By TRUMAN MICHELSON

LINGUISTIC CLASSIFICATION OF CREE AND MONTAGNAIS-NASKAPI DIALECTS

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In 1912 I had an opportunity to study the Cree of Fort Totten (North Dakota), and in 1920 had a chance to study the Cree of Files Hill, Saskatchewan, Canada. In 1923 I observed the Montagnais of Lake St. John and Lake Mistassini at Pointe Bleu, Quebec. In 1924 at the Northwest River I studied the dialect of Davis Inlet from an Indian there, and gained a little knowledge of the dialect of the Northwest River. The American Council of Learned Societies made it possible for me in the summer and early fall of 1935 to do field-work among some of the Algonquian Indians in the vicinity of James and Hudson's Bay. I visited Moose Factory, Rupert's House, Fort George, and the Great Whale River. However, I was able to do a little work on the Albany Cree and Ojibwa owing to their presence at Moose Factory; and I did a few minutes work with an East Main Indian whom I stumbled across at Rupert's House; similarly I worked for a few minutes on the Weenusk dialect as an Indian from there chanced to come to Moosonee at the foot of James Bay. Owing to a grant-in-aid made by the American Council of Learned Societies it was possible for me to again visit the James and Hudson's Bays region in the spring, summer, and early fall of 1936. The results of the previous expedition were checked up as much as possible and additional data gathered. I visited Moose Factory, Fort George, Attawapiskat, and Weenusk; but it was possible to get data at first hand as well as by correspondence on Rupert's House, and first-hand information on the Albany Cree, owing to the presence at Moose Factory of some Indians who came from the Albany River during my stay at Moose Factory; data on Lac la Ronge was obtained at Moose Factory from an Indian who had just come from there; data on the Ghost River (Chepy River) were obtained from the Hudson's Bay Co.'s post manager whom I met at Moose Factory; data on Trout Lake were obtained from a missionary at Weenusk. By correspondence with Hudson's Bay Co. post managers and some missionaries data on the Cree dia-

lects of Cumberland House, Norway House, Oxford House, God's Lake, Island Lake, Montreal Lake, Stanley, and Pelecan Narrows were gathered. Prof. John M. Cooper of the Catholic University of America has generously supplied some fresh data on Tête de Boule from his field work in 1937, as has Prof. James Geary of the same institution on Algonquin proper from his trip among them in 1937. The American Council of Learned Societies again made a generous grant-in-aid and thus enabled me to do field-work in the summer of 1937 among the Montagnais-Naskapi Indians of the northern shore of the St. Lawrence River. I was at Natashquan, Seven Islands, Moisie, and Bersimis, but was able by personal contact to get data also on St. Marguerite, Godbout, Shelterbay, and Sheldrake. By good luck I met an Indian at Seven Islands who had just come from the northeastern corner of Lake Kaniapiskau in the heart of the Labrador peninsula; and also met an Indian from Davis Inlet on the northern Labrador shore. From a study of this material as well as some contained in documentary sources, it follows that the statements made by me previously in reporting my first expedition to the James and Hudson's Bay region are sustained.^{1†} It can not be too strongly emphasized that east of Hannah Bay Cree leaves off and Montagnais-Naskapi begins. Mistassini, Waswanipi, Rupert's House, East Main, Nichigun, Fort George and the Great Whale River bands are *y*-dialects (i. e., dialects in which original *l* is replaced by *y*) of Montagnais-Naskapi to which the dialect spoken at the northeast corner of Lake Kaniapiskau may now be added. That the Fort George and Great Whale River bands distinctly form a subgroup within this larger one is confirmed.² Similarly, notwithstanding statements to the contrary, Tête de Boule is a Cree dialect in which original *l* is replaced by *r*. According to Prof. John M. Cooper there is also an *l*-dialect spoken there; this is confirmed by Mr. Frankland, post manager of the Hudson's Bay Co. at Seven Islands, but formerly at Obidjuan, as well as by a statement of Joseph Kurtness, a Mistassini Indian whom I met at Lake St. John in 1923.³ However, within historic times there has been a migration from the neighborhood of the Albany River; so that the present location of this *l* Cree dialect may be recent. The accompanying map (fig. 12) shows my latest information regarding the *l* and *n* dialects in the neighborhood of the Albany River. As explained previously, Romanists use the *n*-dialect and Anglicans the *l*-dialect. However, it may be noted that the Roman Catholic "Catechisme" of 1854 is essentially in the *l*-dialect. I do not know if Mrs. Corcoran, the wife of an officer of the Hudson's Bay Co. at the Albany post, assisted in this particular work or not, nor do I know her exact linguistic affiliations. Some

† See Appendix, p. 86, for footnotes.

other Roman Catholic works of the early period and even a little later are also in this *l*-dialect. The "English" river of my previous reports for a long time (I do not know the precise date) has been called the "Churchill River" and is not the present "English River."⁴ At Lac La Ronge a *th*-dialect (one in which *th* replaces original *l*) occurs. The new data show that the Cree dialects at Cumberland House, Norway House, Oxford House, Trout Lake, and God's Lake are also *n*-dialects.⁵ It may be mentioned that the *n*-dialects of the Albany River, Attawapiskat and Weenusk, are all closely related; there are, however, some differences in idiom and vocabulary. I have not sufficient data to know how closely the "new" dialects resemble them. At Montreal Lake, Stanley, and Pelican Narrows the Cree dialects are *y*-dialects, i. e., dialects in which original *l* is replaced by *y*. The dialect at Island Lake is apparently mixed Cree and Ojibwa and the proportion of mixture is said to be high. However Ojibwa (-Algonkin) can also be shown in varying degrees in a number of Cree dialects (e. g., at Weenusk Ojibwa *cāñk* 9 is in current use for *cāhk*; so too in the Moose Factory dialect there are some such influences both lexically and grammatically). According to information furnished by Prof. John M. Cooper, the Tête de Boule Cree dialect shows a few lexical and grammatical borrowings from Algonkin proper. Conversely, Algonkin proper shows some distinct lexical borrowings from Cree, as proved by Prof. James Geary's notes which he has kindly shown me. Also, some Plains Ojibwa material published by the late Alanson Skinner shows undeniable lexical borrowings from Cree.⁶ Despite some published contradictions,⁷ the area designated on the map is the *n*-dialect area of Montagnais-Naskapi. In all these dialects of which I have any independent knowledge terminally *-tc* (*-ts*) appears as *-t*. Whereas the extreme southeastern dialects are sharply set off, going west of Natashkwan the intervening dialects beginning with Mingan and continuing perhaps as far as Godbout (Bersimis certainly is a new area) are mixed, *l* and *n* forms both occurring, as well as *-t* from *-tc* (*-ts*); but the treatment of medial *-ski-* agrees with that of the Bersimis dialect (and Lake St. John) which is a clear-cut *l*-dialect with certain features of its own; as do some other features. Natives feel that Mingan to Bersimis is a linguistic unit; and all things considered I agree.

Examples of such mixtures are *nīl* "I," *namīlwelten* "I like it," but *ntcenim* "my father-in-law"—all at Moisie and from the same informant (percontra *ntcelim* at Godbout, which is historically justified); or *lēgu* "sand," *nī'n*, *nī'l* "I," *tcī'n* *tcī'l* "thou," *nā'pewut* "men," *kā'tepeltak* "he who controls it" (the designation of the all-high

† See Appendix, p. 86, for footnotes.

god)—all from a single informant of Shelter Bay (*kā'tipeldahk*, Godbout). Observe a moderately consistent *n*-speaker at Seven Islands gave *la'lamisut* "thunder" with false *l* in both cases (false because not historically justified; nor does it occur in the Lake St. John *l*-dialect). In this connection it should be noted that all the Montagnais-Naskapi *l*-dialects as well as the mixed *n*-group of which I have any knowledge, have variants of *kassinu* "all" which obviously is a transformation of an early loan from the *n*-dialects (Plains Cree *kahkiyaw*: which shows that **kassilu* should be expected). All this goes on to show, if taken in conjunction with what has been said above, that a strictly genealogical classification of Algonquian languages breaks down. Nevertheless the accompanying map shows the essential distribution and interrelations of the Cree and Montagnais-Naskapi dialects. In this connection it should be added that although it is commonly supposed that Cree is always more archaic than Montagnais-Naskapi, actually this is not so; it is true that Cree in many cases is more archaic, but Cree is not universally so; it follows, therefore, that neither is derived from the other, but both have so much in common that they both must come essentially from a single source within the Algonquian stock. True transition-dialects between Cree and Montagnais-Naskapi are unknown to me, if they actually exist. The boundaries seem very sharp outside of a possible few and altogether insignificant cases where either direct or indirect speech mixture is plausible. Characteristic of all Montagnais-Naskapi dialects is the palatization of *k*, some vocalic harmony, the weakening of some vowels and diphthongs, etc. The Montagnais of LeJeune (in the Jesuit Relations) shows mixture; and some words, and even one whole sentence, instead of being Montagnais is Algonkin proper. It should be borne in mind that *khi* (and some variants) actually designate a sound usually transcribed by *tc* (which in Montagnais-Naskapi may be primary or secondary): without this knowledge we should be obliged to assume some words were really Cree (Tête de Boule?) which would mean a large shift of population had taken place. This hypothesis is probably unnecessary.⁸

This paper throughout presupposes knowledge of Bloomfield's remarkable paper on the sound system of Central Algonquin (Language, I, pp. 130-156, 1925) and the literature therein cited. Attention may also be called to my "Preliminary Classification, etc." (Twenty-eighth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn.) and to other scattered papers, mostly in the American Anthropologist and International Journal of American Linguistics.

† See Appendix, p. 86, for footnotes.

Most of the phonetic shifts of Cree (and hence largely Montagnais-Naskapi) are known, and in their final promulgation are due to Bloomfield. It should be mentioned that a few are not and that these affect Montagnais-Naskapi as well as Cree. Thus the laws of shortening long vowels are unknown, e. g., Cree *pipun* "winter" has *u* where *ō* is to be expected, and so in all Montagnais-Naskapi dialects of which I have any knowledge. So also the *u* for *i* in Cree *nimusum* [**nimisōm* expected] "my grandfather" (vocalic assimilation and shortening; cf. Fox *neme'cōme'sA*) and its correspondents in Montagnais-Naskapi. Also there have been extensive analogical levelings common to Cree and Montagnais-Naskapi. Thus, the original verbs in *-ä -ā* (kept in Fox) in the paradigms have been leveled to *-ā*; and the *-ä* (Cree *-ē*) verbs leveled to *-ā* in the first persons and second persons of the indicative. Again, verbal stems containing original *ā* and *ō* in the first syllable show "change" in participles, etc., as do also at least Ojibwa and Algonkin (Sauk, Fox, and Kickapoo do not; the "change" of **a* to **ä*, and **u* to **wä* is proto-Algonquian in any event). It is likely that the difference of the vocalism in the "change" of Cree (M-N also) **ā* and Ojibwa-Algonkin is due to a phonetic shift (see my discussion of Cree *kīyāsk* "gull" above), but the "change" of *ō* in Cree (and M-N) analogical. There are also some lexical traits peculiar to Cree and Montagnais-Naskapi. Thus, correspondents to Plains Cree *pēyak* "one" exist all over the area; so too correspondents to Plains Cree *mahkēsīw* "fox" evidently did at one time, yet at present Ojibwa-Algonkin *wāguc* has replaced the word in one Tête de Boule dialect. Noteworthy is Plains Cree *nōhkumis* which means "my paternal uncle"; corresponds to this with this meaning (extended in some Montagnais dialects to mean "my maternal uncle") exist in all Cree and Montagnais-Naskapi dialects of which I have any knowledge. [Historically the word should mean "grandmother."] I do not think that correspondents to Plain Cree *nistim* with the value of "my cross-niece" are universal in the Cree area but they surely must be nearly so. Historically it should mean "my daughter-in-law" and it is used with this value over a wide area. In a few Cree and Montagnais-Naskapi dialects it is replaced by a variant for "my daughter-in-law." Similarly the term (Plains Cree) *nītihkwitīm* "my cross-nephew" structurally is peculiar to Cree and Montagnais-Naskapi; the distribution favors the assumption that it once was universal; but it is not now; I do not know whether wherever correspondents to this occur they can also be used with the sense "my son-in-law" but they certainly can in some dialects of Cree and Naskapi. I have been asked to give at least a word that in phonemic (not phonetic) transcription is characteristic of the

whole area, and occurs in no other Algonquian language or dialect. This is not an easy thing to do (per contra it is easy to cite characteristic words of Menomini which occur nowhere else, e. g., *wēhnew* "he, she names him, her," *kō'new* "he, she fears him, her" [the last is preferable because an almost identic word for the first occurs in a Cree dialect], Sauk, Fox, Kickapoo, e. g., *kīnwāwa* [phonemic orthography] and Peoria-Miami, e. g., *kīlswa* "sun" but I think in phonemic transcription *nītāhkusin* "I am sick" is universal. On the other hand it is extremely easy to cite quantities of words which must be Cree and nothing else and which occur in every single Cree dialect as far as known. Such words in phonemic transcription are *nīkīwān* "I return," *pīhtukēw* "he enters," *ituhtēwak* "they go thither," *pēyak* "one," *nistu* "three," *nīpīhk* "in the water," *uskinīkiwak* "young men," *pipun* "winter," *nīwiwīhkistēn* "I like the taste of it," *mōškīstawēwak* "they rush on them," *nīwāpamāwak* "I see them an.," *itwēwak* "they said," *ēkitimākisiyan* "when you were in misery"; etc. If we extend this list to include also words which occur in identic form also in some though not all Montagnais-Naskapi dialects of course it will be much increased. It is easy to increase the list of words of identic form which occur in several Cree dialects but not all are included (e. g., *māhkēsiw* "wolf"). At this point it should be pointed out that with the present material it is not possible to duplicate or approach the work that has been done on some European languages and more recently on American English either as regards phonetic, morphological, or syntactical differences; or distribution of words. A single person can not even accumulate the necessary materials, to say nothing of interpreting it. It goes without saying the published missionary dictionaries of Plains Cree and grammars, as well as Bloomfield's Plains Cree texts, and the Dictionnaire Francais-Montagnais . . . et Grammaire Montagnaise by Geo. Lemoine and Montagnais sans Maitre by Luc Sirois (both essentially concerned with the *l*-dialects; the latter deals specifically with the Bersimis dialect) have materially lightened my task. The simplist classification of the Cree dialects is based upon the transformations of original **l* shown on the map. The transformations of the original **l* in Cree and Montgnais-Naskapi are wholly independent; and similar independent changes have occurred elsewhere (e. g., the transformation of **l* to *n*; as long as this change occurs in Sauk, Fox, Kickapoo, Menomini, Ojibwa, Ottawa, Potawatomi, and modern Algonkin which are all geographically contiguous it is not likely that in this group the change is independent but has spread). Owing to lack of data it is quite impossible to tell with certainty as to whether the change to *r* in Isle à la Cross, Kesagami (which is virtually extinct), and

Tête de Boule Cree is independent or not. A good "key" word for the *l*-dialects in the neighborhood of Moose Factory is *kīlawāw* "ye." For Moose Factory *niyālal* "five" is good because *niyānal* occurs near the Albany River. For "key" words in the other Cree dialects correspondents to Moose Cree *kīlawāw* are better than to Moose Cree *kīla* "thou" (which is not a good key word as in phonemic transcription it occurs in Shawnee and Miami-Peoria [unless Voegelin is correct in writing Shawnee *ii* for *i*]) because *kīna* in phonemic transcription also occurs in Sauk, Fox, and Kickapoo. [Similarly *nīla*, *nīna*, are best avoided; of course *nīya* is not good; *nīθa* is good enough, but *kīθawāw* will conform to the other "key" words.] A classification based on only a single feature is insufficient, but it really works reasonably well in the present case because exhaustive dictionaries and grammars of every single dialect do not exist. To make up the deficiency partially a few notes are appended. The Cree dialect at Turtle Mountain (North Dakota) is a *y*-dialect; in my vocabulary of over 25 years ago I recorded *θt* in place of *ht* (*wāpaθtam* for *wāpahtam* "he sees it"). A single speaker gave a sentence *wāpamēw utānisan* "he, she sees his, her own daughter" which is obviously mixed Cree and Ojibwa. According to some published and unpublished sources in the *th*-dialect *mīθku* "blood" occurs in place of *mīhku* (Fox *mē'ckwi* phonetically). The numeral 6 for *nikutwāsik* occurs in both Plains Cree (*y*-dialect) and *th*-dialect which in Fox is *negutwācika* (phonemic transcription). The word is wanting in the *n*-dialects of Attawapiskat and Weenusk as well as the *l*-dialect of Moose Factory, *Swāsik* "eight" has a correspondent in Fox *cwācika*; *swāsik* is said to be the old word at Weenusk but is replaced today by *niyānānēw*, and variations of this occur in Plains Cree, Attawapiskat, and Moose Factory. (Plains Cree *ayēnānēw*, Moose Factory *yānānēw*.) The *n*-dialects of Albany, Attawapiskat, and Weenusk are very close to each other. Lexical differences (mostly names for articles of European origin) between the Albany and Weenusk dialects occur, such as (in phonetic, not phonemic transcription). A *kwá'pahigan* "cup, basin," W. *minihkwá'gan*; A. *kapá'htciwān* "lid of a kettle," W. *kīpa'higan*; A. *cīgahum* "comb," W. *pī'nāhkwan*; A. *tāpiel-wā'sun* "spool of thread," W. *sē'stag*; A. *pōhtēnēgan* "tumble," W. *ka'skigwā'sunāpisk*; A. *mōci'twawin* "scissors," W. *mā'tcigan*; A. *cāl* "shawl," W. *agu'niwin*; A. *ndagap* "dress," W. *niskutāgai* (obscene and obsolescent; the Albany word is now in common use; A. *pa'latci's* "trousers," W. *mitā's* (the old word for "leggin," the Albany word is a corruption of English breeches; *payatci's* in at least some Plains Cree dialects), A. *pa'guyān* "shirt," W. *pa'guyānisāgai*; A. *sīpustē-wīgān* "sweater," W. *sīpēgiskāwiyān*. Though the old word for "nine" *cāhk* (Fox *cāga* in Jones' transcription) is known at Weenusk

it is ordinarily replaced by Ojibwa *cāng* (incidentally Baraga's *jangasswi* is made after the analogy of *midāsswi* "ten"): The Plains Cree dialects (*y*-dialects) evidently have mostly *kēkāt mitātaht*. According to Horden, this last is also known at Moose Factory. An extension of *cāhk* also occurs according to the same authority (*shaketat*) who also gives a form which can be restored in phonemic transcription as *pēyakustēw* which has exact equivalents in at least the following Montagnais-Naskapi dialects: Lake St. John, Bersimis, Seven Islands, Mingan, Natashquan, Davis Inlet, northeast corner of Lake Kaniapiskau, Mistassini, Rupert's House, Fort George, and the Great Whale River. Clearly the word is primarily Montagnais-Naskapi and has made its way into Moose Cree. The numerals for "six" and "seven" at Weenusk (phonetically *ngutwāc*, *nīcwāc* respectively) differ completely from the corresponding numerals in Plains Cree, and agree structurally in Moose Cree, Attawapiskat, and the following Montagnais-Naskapi dialects: Rupert's House, Fort George, Great Whale River, Mistassini, Lake St. John, Bersimis, Seven Islands, Mingan, northeast corner of Lake Kaniapiskau, Natashquan, Davis Inlet, Fort George, Great Whale River (allowing for phonetic differences). [According to Horden Moose Cree also possesses for the Plains Cree numeral for "seven," *tēpakuhp*; to judge from J. Howse, *A Grammar of the Cree Language*, etc., besides the equivalent of this, the *th*-dialect also uses (approximately) *nīswāsik*.] Clearly the Ojibwa and Algonkin correspondents are based on close if not precise equivalents. So from the general distribution with the means at our disposal, it can be inferred that a spread westward has occurred. Note, too, the numeral for "eight" has a similar structure at Lake St. John, Bersimis, Seven Islands, Mingan, Natashquan, and Davis Inlet. [Again, Ojibwa and Algonkin have close but not exact equivalents; in my opinion the termination *-wi* has spread from the numeral for "ten".] Here is an "isogloss" between major divisions of the Montagnais-Naskapi dialects.

In view of these distributions it is certainly peculiar that at Weenusk *mitāta'ciwag* "they an. are ten" occurs, which in phonemic transcription is *mitātasiwak* which occurs in Plains Cree (*y*-dialect) [cf Menomini *mitātahsiwak*, Fox *metā'ciwagi*]. For the forms of Moose Cree given by Horden, *A Grammar of the Cree Language*, etc., London, 1881, on pp. 79, 80, *Nekotwache-wuk* "They are six," *Neswache-wuk* "They are seven," *Metache-wuk* "They are ten," are distinctly reminiscent of Ojibwa and Algonkin rather than Cree (this type spread in Moose Cree). Moose Cree has some Ojibwa (Algonkin) loan-words, e. g., *mihkināhk* "turtle," Plains Cree *mis-kindhk*. And it has at least one loan word from an *n*-Cree dialect, *kahkinaw* "all", if Horden is correct (Plains Cree *kahkiyaw*). Char-

acteristic of Moose Cree is *mitcu'n* "completely" (normal Cree *mituni*), and *Wisahkwētēcāhk* (name of the culture hero; Weenusk, etc. *Wisahkētēcāhk*). It should be mentioned that Weenusk Cree (an *n*-dialect) agrees with Moose Cree (*l*-dialect) in having *s* in such forms as *nipāspan* [phonemic transcription] "he slept" (past subjunctive) where Plains Cree has *h* (*nipāhpan*); the latter seems reminiscent of Ojibwa. On the other hand Moose and Weenusk Cree have the vocative plural in *-tuk*, Plains Cree *-tik* (the first agrees in vocalism with Ojibwa, and Penobscot; Fox agrees with Plains Cree); Lemoine gives vocative pl. for *l*-Montagnais as in *-tuk*. It may be noted that what Horden designates as dubitative mood (Fox interrogative) in Moose Cree is living; in Plains Cree, to judge from Bloomfield's texts this is not so. The common supposition that *c* (*sh*) for *s* is diagnostic especially of Moose Cree is erroneous. The variation *ä* for *ā* occurs, but also elsewhere in the region of James and Hudson's Bays; the exact distribution is unknown. It should be added that not only the kinship system but actual kinship terms at Moose so coincides with those of other Cree and Montagnais-Naskapi dialects on both sides of the bays (excluding East Main and Rupert's House on both of which I have too little data to utilize their evidence) that dissemination or at any rate influencing is clear. A special Moose feature is that in comparatively recent times *nīstāw* "my brother-in-law" with male speaker (and this is old as proved by comparative linguistics) has begun to be used (though not exclusively) with the same meaning by female speakers. I repeat again that I am indebted to Prof. John M. Cooper for kind permission to use his Tête de Boule linguistic material. This Cree dialect is an *r*-dialect; there is also an *l*-dialect but it is uncertain whether this is the result of a comparatively recent immigration from the neighborhood of the Albany River. The treatment of final **-wa* in positions in which as far as known it is lost in other Cree dialects is most peculiar. Sometimes it appears as *-u* (suggesting Montagnais influence or a parallelism), sometimes kept as *-wa*, sometimes *-wa* is lost. I do not know the rationale of this. Of course *Amikwa*, the name of an Algonquian tribe found on the north shore of Lake Huron, opposite Manitoulin island, associated with the Nipissing, is a parallel for the second alternative, for in ordinary Ojibwa, Ottawa, and Algonkin dialects **-wa* would be lost in this position (Fox *amehkwa*, Cree *amisk*, Ojibwa and Algonkin *amihk* in Bloomfield's transcription). Algonkin influence in morphology is shown by *-te* being used in verbal-forms where *-t* should be expected (e. g., *mīreritam ē wābamā'te* "he is glad to see him"), though apparently in some localities by some speakers *-t* forms are used. Characteristic of Tête de Boule is *kā'skina* "all" (I have a suspicion that this is a fusion of

two words for which Indo-European parallels abound). A peculiar umlaut is to be seen in *nĭk'ŭ'k* "otter" which comes from Proto-Algonquian **nekekwa* (rigid proof of this can be given but is rather long and is so omitted; a careful study of cognates in other Algonquian languages and knowledge of the principles of Algonquian phonology will convince any one that this is correct) and similarly in *kĭ'juk* "sky" (Fox *kĭ'cegwa* in Michelson's transcription) which to a certain extent is paralleled in Montagnais-Naskapi. As long as *kātcitōwashk* (a supernatural monster) is known as well as *kāgĭtōwashk*, Montagnais-Naskapi influence can not be denied; and in view of this it may be questioned whether or not such forms as *atĭk'ū* "caribou" (ordinarily Cree *atĭhk*; [**atehkwa*] *h* is sometimes omitted by Dr. Cooper where it should be expected but never inserted where it does not belong historically; whether this is governed by phonetic shifts or is otherwise to be explained is uncertain) may not be due to Montagnais-Naskapi influence). A single informant stated that in northern Tête de Boule *icpimĭki* "above" occurred. This was contradicted by others. However, *-ki* would be archaic (ordinary Cree *ispimĭhk*, Ojibwa *icpimĭng*, Fox *ā'pemegi*, Proto-Algonquian **icpe-meñki*). Other similar forms with *-i* do not apparently exist in Dr. Cooper's manuscripts; on the contrary similar forms lack the *-i*. The fact that the same informant cites *mĭ'gĭs* (a clamshell) in Waswanipi only further muddles the situation, for linguistically the word violates Montagnais-Naskapi phonology.

Characteristic of all Montagnais-Naskapi dialects is the change of *k* to *tc* before original palatal vowels whether these have been subsequently lost or not; the apparent exception *kĭe* "and" of Lemoine (*l*-dialect) and its correspondents in various dialects is due to the fact that the *i* of this word is unoriginal as shown by Cree *kayē* (similarly Ojibwa and Algonkin); the change of *a* to *i* in this word is clearly subsequent to the shift of *k* to *tc* before palatal vowels. [The combination **-sk-* before palatal vowels appears in the *l*- and mixed *n*-dialects as *-ss-* but primarily as *-stc-* (*-ctc*) in the *y*- and *n*-dialects with some subsequent changes.] The change of **-iŭ* (earlier *-iwa*) to *u* after consonants is so universal (e. g., Rupert's House *nĭmu* "he dances," Cree *nĭmiŭ*, Fox *nĭmĭwa*) that the very few cases where it does not occur but a different change does, must be due to special limiting conditions as yet unknown. The change of **-wa* to *-u* (voiceless *u*), or to *-w* (labialization) after consonants (except after *m* when it is lost) is characteristic of the area (an example is Great Whale River *atĭ'hk'ū* "caribou," most Cree dialects *atĭhk*; this obviously is more archaic than Cree; similarly the plural *ā'tĭhkwatc* is more archaic than *atĭhkwak* because though final *i* is lost in both, yet in Montagnais-Naskapi obviously it was kept until after it had

altered *k* to *tc* [the animate plural termination in Proto-Algonquian was **-aki* as shown by the evidence of Sauk, Fox, Kickapoo, Shawnee, Miami, Peoria; similarly the Proto-Algonquian locative ending **-eñki* appears in certainly most Cree dialects as *-ihk*, but *-ihtc* or its transformation in Montagnais-Naskapi]. Such changes as seen in the final syllable of Bersimis *tsimun* "it rains" as compared with Cree *kimīwan* are so universal (but Davis Inlet is archaic) that any deviations must be considered secondary. Vocalic assimilation caused by a *u* in following syllable in certain cases is so widely and uniformly distributed that presumably they must go back to very early times (even Proto-Montagnais-Naskapi). Such cases are to be seen in Fort George *āhtcuk* "seal" (Cree *āhkik* for older **āhkikwa*), *ntcu'k* "otter" (Cree *nikik*, plural *nikiwak*), Davis Inlet *nawāpamuk* "he sees me" (Cree *nīwāpamik*, Fox *nēwāpamegwa*), Fort George *nuk* "stukuna'n" "he fears us excl." (Cree *nikustikunān*) [barring the labialization of the first syllable, for I do not know the distribution in this case], etc. The assimilation seen in *pupun* "winter" (Cree *pipun*) is also widely spread; yet in the Fort George dialect I have heard both the assimilated and unassimilated forms. Reduction of vowels, total loss, changing full-sounding vowels to voiceless ones, also are widely spread but seem to be rather different in different dialects. The change of final **-āw* to *-au* and **-aw* to *-u* evidently is old; there are apparently some secondary changes. I have pointed out in the 28th Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethnology that the Montagnais of Lemoine possesses some verbal-forms which have no counterpart in Cree but rather recall Fox. Owing to lack of data it is impossible to say whether these are universal or not. Lexically it may be pointed out that correspondents to Cree *tcimān* "canoe" are lacking. As pointed out above, derivatives of **pēyakustēw* "nine" apparently is basic to Montagnais-Naskapi dialects and has spread to Moose Cree.

If we now turn to the major divisions of Montagnais-Naskapi dialects we may first take up the *y*-dialects. Besides *y* for original **l*, correspondents to the Proto-Algonquian numerals for "five" and "ten" are diagnostic (**nyālanwi* and **metātahwi*) [see my papers, The Proto-Algonquian Archetype of 'five,' The archetype of Fox *metā'swi* 'ten,' etc., Language IX, pp. 270-272, XI, p. 148], for they occur in no other Montagnais-Naskapi dialects as far as known. Also the numeral for "eight" in this group has no correspondents in the other major groups of Montagnais-Naskapi languages (Rupert's House *nyā'naneu*, northeast corner of Lake Kaniapiskau *nyānanē'u*, Fort George *yen'nau'*, Great Whale River *niyāna'nau*, Moose Cree *yānānēw*, Plains Cree *ayēnānēw*, Weenusk Cree *nīyānānēw*; it should be noted that in the Fort George and Great Whale River dialects original **ē* of the Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi group (Proto-Algon-

quian *ä) becomes *ā*; *-ēw* becomes *-au*; *α* and *i* is a favorite interchange in many Montagnais-Naskapi dialects; but the Fort George word is otherwise unclear though clearly at least partially of the same structure as the others; the second edition of Horden's grammar gives Plains Cree *ayīnānēw* [in Bloomfield's transcription]; the only explanation I can give is that Lacombe's transcription was partially used, for in this *e=ē* whereas in Horden's, etc., transcription *e=i*). It should be pointed out that in this group the words for "five" and "man, Indian," are based upon forms which show the same assimilation as in Moose Cree *nyālal* "five", *ililiv* "person" (Proto-Algonquian **nyālanwī*, *ilen wa*); these forms then suffer phonetic transformations (Rupert's House *nyai'* "five," *i'yu'* "Indian"). The words *nī'*, *tci'*, *wī'* "I, thou, he [she]" respectively (with the terminally glottal stop with which words ending in a vowel are usually cited) for Proto-Algonquian **nēla*, **kēla*, **wēla* are characteristic of the *y*-group, not occurring elsewhere. Also the word for "river" in this group characteristically is terminally like Cree *sīpī*; according to Lemoine a form like this occurs at Lake St. John, elsewhere *shīpu* (as if we had Cree **sīpōw*, Fox *sīpōwi*); I have recorded *cīpo'* at Seven Islands and the equivalent at Davis Inlet. Also characteristic of the group is the retention of the diphthong in the word for "sand" (northeast corner of Lake Kaniapiskau *yē'gau*, Fort George *yā'kau'*; Mingan *ne'gu*; Davis Inlet *nēku'*; Lemoine gives *lēkau* and *lēku* without naming the dialects (I suspect that the first is "coined" after a *y*-dialect), Moisie-Shelter Bay *lēgu*, Mingan *lē'gō* (rhetorically lengthened). As I have reported in Language and the American Anthropologist, the dialects of Fort George and the Great Whale River form a distinct subgroup in which *ē* is replaced by *ā* (e. g., GWR. *nau* "four"). I think *Kātcītarusk* the name of the monster who slew the parents of Tcahkāpēs (exact form in GWR. dialect ?) is unique in phonology. Such a vocalism as in *pē'sum'* "sum" (*pī'sum'* at Fort George and Rupert's House) is characteristic of the Great Whale River dialect. So is the phonology to be seen in the final syllable of *tci'pē'* "ghost" (Rupert's House *tci'pai*, Lemoine *tshipi*, Cree *tīpay*). Observe also *wa'tck* "muskrat," Fort George *utsk*, Rupert's House *utca'ck*, Lemoine *utshishkū*. The reduction in *wī'na^{sku}* "woodchuck" is, I think, peculiar to this dialect. A few characters of the Fort George dialect are the phonology to be seen in *pai'k* "one" (Great Whale River *pai'*, Rupert's House *pē'k*, Lake St. John *pē'yik*, Bersimis *peⁱuk^w*, Seven Islands *pē'k^w*, Moisie *pē'k^w*, Mingan *pēyuk^w*, Natashquan *pē'yak^w*, Davis Inlet *pēyuk'*, northeast corner of Lake Kaniapiskau *pē'yak* [presumably I missed the labialization in the last two], the nonassimilation in *pipun* "winter" (beside *pupun*; it is possible

the informant may have picked up *pipun* from the Moose Cree sailors), also in *tcī'wauk^u* "go ye back" (I lack a Great Whale River correspondent; note the vocalic assimilation in *au* caused by *u*), the contraction and vocalism in *tcimioimī'tn* "I like thee" [Moose Cree *kimīlwēlimitin*]; etc. Much of my Fort George material lacks correspondents elsewhere: therefore I can not tell what is peculiar to the dialect. The vocalic assimilation in *atuhk^u* "caribou" is presumably entirely of independent origin though paralleled at Seven Islands, for the other dialects do not show it (Rupert's House *ati'hk^u*; the same at the Great Whale River, Sheldrake-Moisie *ati'hk^w*, etc.). The name of the mythic monster *Kātītōsk^u* occurs in the same form at Rupert's House and Moisie. As characteristic of Rupert's House I have already given *pē'k^u* "one." Characteristic is also *ntcihtcī* "my hand", for in all other Montagnais-Naskapi dialects of which I have any knowledge the first *tc* of this word is dissimilated to *t*. As a matter of fact *ntihtcī* also occurs in the Rupert's House dialect. We therefore have every reason to suspect that the first form comes from Moose Cree (where the first *tc* remains; it is old, as shown by comparative Algonquian linguistics) and that the dissimilated second form represents the archetype which has historic equivalents in the other Montagnais-Naskapi dialects, that is, such dissimilation goes back to an ancient time. In conclusion I wish to say that in all the *y*-dialects *h* before a consonant where historically expected is very clear, with only a very few cases where I have probably faultily not recorded it.

We turn now to the *l*-major group of Montagnais-Naskapi dialects. First we note the maintenance of *l* (which occurs sporadically in the "mixed *n*" group); then *-sk-* becomes *-ss-* before palatal vowels (also in the "mixed *n*" group) as does *-hk-*. Examples are Lake St. John *nīl'* "I" (Bodbout *nīl*; etc. *nī'* in the *y*-dialects; Moose Cree *nīla*), *assī* "land" (Moisie, etc., Fort George *astcī*, Plains Cree *askiy* [in Bloomfield's transcription], *kassinu'* "all" (widely spread, Plains Cree *kahkiyaw*, Moose Cree *kahkinaw*). The whole *l* group has a special term for the numeral for "ten" which has the appropriate changes in the different dialects (Lemoine *nīkutulīnu*; Lake St. John *nkutolnu*, Bersimis *kutelnu* [Sirois, *kotelno*]; Seven Islands *ku'tuno'*, Moisie *kut(u)no'*, St. Marguerite River *kutuno'* in the mixed *n*-dialects save Mingan which has a correspondent to the *n*-group term). There is a characteristic term for "five" which has, however, cognates in the "mixed *n*" group and (more removed) in the "unmixed *n*" group (Lemoine *nīpetētets*; Sirois, *petetets*; Lake St. John *petetetc'*; Moisie *patē'tate* [from a speaker who regularly retains *-ts, -tc*]; Bersimis *patē'tats*, Seven Islands and Mingan *patē'tat* [the "mixed *n*" group changes final **-tc* to *-t* as in the true *n*-

group; terminally aspiration is not phonemic]; observe also Natashquan *patē'ta*, Davis Inlet *patē'ta* in the "unmixed *n*" group; the exact explanation for these last forms is not at hand; since final *-te* normally appears as *-t* it is possible that a final *-t* has been lost by dissimilation). [I have recorded *patē'tat* once at Davis Inlet.] The *l*-group agrees with the *y*-group in *-tc* (*-ts*) as an affricative in contrast to both the "mixed" and "unmixed *n*-groups" which convert the affricative to a stop, *-t*. The question as to the retention of *h* before *k*, etc., in this group where historically expected is now taken up. My Lake St. John data is from an informant who really was a Mistassini; so that although this indicates the *h* was kept, it is possible that his own Mistassini speech (a *y*-dialect) may have "colored" his Lake St. John data. At Bersimis a single informant consistently omitted it, but *k* from *-hk-* between vowels does not become phonetically *-g-* whereas *-k-* from *-k-* in this position at times acoustically has the effect of *-g-*. A speaker of the "mixed *n*" group at Seven Islands consistently did the same. Likewise an informant of Moisie who resides at Sheldrake. However, an informant from Godbout gave not only *ntcelim* "my father-in-law" but also *kā'tepeldahk* "he who bosses it" (the high god). One informant who has resided at Moisie for 51 years though originally from Bersimis gave forms with *hk* and *k*. Another informant born at Sheldrake though residing at Seven Islands gave forms with *htc*, *ht*, and *hk*, but also forms *k* (*nitihtci'* "my hand," *kuca'pahtcigan* "the shamanistic shaking lodge," *nivā'pahten* "I see it," *kākuca'pahtahk* "the shaman of the shaking lodge," *katependahk* "he who is the master," *ci'hhkucic* "ermine," *ati'hk^w* "caribou," *ma'htcecu* "fox" in all of which *h* is expected etymologically; but I recorded *ali'k* "toad", *nō'kum* "my grandmother," *akucu'* "he is sick" in all three of which *hk* should be expected). One informant at Seven Islands gave such forms as *kū'tapendahk* "he who bosses it," *kuca'pahtcigan* "the shamanistic shaking lodge," *u'hpan* "lung" but *nota* "my father," and *nō'kum* "my grandmother." At Mingan *-hk-* and *-k-* are variaphones. I mention this particularly in view of my criticism of Speck in the *American Anthropologist*, n. s. 39, p. 371.

As far as I know, all of the *l*-group and "mixed *n*-group" lack any correspondent to Natashquan *nti'hhkwatim* (also at Romaine and St. Augustine; I gather from Strong's paper in the *American Anthropologist*, n.s. 31, p. 277, that there are equivalents in the Davis Inlet and Barren Grounds dialects) with the meaning "son-in-law" etc. [historically the word means "my cross-nephew" and is certainly used with this value in some Cree dialects, not in the vicinity of James and Hudson's Bays, and also sometimes with the value also of "my son-in-law"]; they have a term which corresponds to the

y-dialects [Cree *nahāhkisīm*]. However, the linguistic evidence postulates a Proto-Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi *nitihkwatim* which form is confined to these languages; Proto-Algonquian had **nebeñkwabehsa* "my cross-nephew," possible also a form without the diminutive suffix. I have pointed out that both the *l* and *n* groups (save Lake St. John) have a word for "river" which postulates an earlier *sīpō(w)* [cf. Fox *sīpōwi*] whereas the *y*-group has a word corresponding to Cree *sīpī*. Owing to the lack of comparable data I can not give hardly anything to characterize the individual *l*-dialects. I will mention, however, that *essi* "land" with initial *e-* occurs only at Bersimis. In the Bersimis dialect also *tc* appears as *ts*. I again call attention to the "mixed *n*-group"; though they show occasional *l* (where original), and though the treatment of medial *-sk-* before palatal vowels is like that of the *l*-dialects, terminally *-tc* becomes *-t* as is the case in the unmixed *n*-group.

The major *n* group will not detain us long. There is no data to amount to anything in much of this area. So the following is merely tentative. Besides the change of *l* to *n*, final *-tc* became *-t*; probably *-t'* in phonetic transcription but *-t* in phonemic transcription (which also occurs in the "mixed *n*-group," *ilnut*, *inut* "Indians"); the treatment of original *-sk-* before palatal vowels was the same as in the *y*-dialects with changes in some individual dialects. The numeral for "ten" seems to be characteristic of the whole group, even though it also occurs at Mingan which seems to be of the "mixed *n*-group." Observe Mingan *pē'yak^{wun}w*, Natashquan *pē'yagwano* and *pē'yagunu*, Davis Inlet *peyugunu*.

In the Natashquan dialect a sibilant normally becomes *h* (I have heard from Indians that the same thing happened at Romaine and St. Augustine); compare also Speck, American Anthropologist, n. s. 33, p. 586 (his *j* is used with the value of French, not English *j*). I have given some examples above, but I give some here as it is appropriate: *nih^{tē}h* "my elder brother," *nīhtau* "my brother-in-law (male speaker), *wītcī'htentam* "he wishes to know it," *ami'hk^w* "beaver," *ihpahtau* "he runs thither," *mihkwami* "ice," *tcī'htēmar'* "tobacco," *kuhāpahtēigan* "the shamanistic shaking lodge," *mahtcēhu* "fox," *kutwaht* "six," *nī'h* "two." For interest I add *win' kā'tōtahk* *tcīhigunu* "he who has made the day." But variants occur; *acini'* and *ahini'* "stone" both occur, and I recorded *nist^u* "three." It is possible or even probable that these variants were due to unconscious imitation by my informants of the speech of my interpreter (who was of Mingan). At Davis Inlet this shift is lacking, e. g., *nīctic* "my older brother," *ucpwāgan* "pipe," *nītcistcēnamuk^w* "he knows me" [Moose Cree *nīkiskēlimik*; Fox *neke'kānemegwa*; see also above], *astici'* "land." The vocalism seen in Davis Inlet *tcimwan* "it rains"

differs from that of all other Montagnais-Naskapi dialects which we have so far considered (Natashquan *tcimun'*; Cree *kimiwan*. The vocalism of *me'sk^u* "bear" and *se'tcimeu* "mosquito" seems not to occur in the dialects for which there is data (Cree *maskwa*, *sākimēw*). Also the plural *i'nwat'* "Indians" apparently is characteristic. It may be noted that terminal *-hp'* sounds nearly like *-f*. The word for "kettle" I recorded more than once *astci^u* (Cree *askihk*, Fox *A'ku'k*

With the materials at my disposal I have now done as much as possible; and it is hoped that this will at least serve as a stepping stone to an exhaustive classification of Cree and Montagnais-Naskapi dialects. Some slight inconsistency in orthography and the double use of phonetic and phonemic transcription is a matter of convenience.

Rept. 1905, App. Rept. Min. Ed. Ont., Toronto, 1906, p. 123, faultily classified Tête de Boule as Montagnais; beside the correct classification by Cooper mentioned in my previous reports, his correct classification is in the same volume of the Atti, etc. (noted above), as Davidson's rather unclear one; on Speck's map, p. 565 of AA, n. s. 33 [1931] it is apparently correctly classified. A complete and accurate classification of all Ojibwa-Algonquin dialects is a great desideratum. Some of the published material does not even positively tell us whether a given dialect is Ojibwa or Algonquin. The orthography of Algonquin in the Jesuit Relations at times reflects the orthography of Montagnais. The *r*-dialect (e. g., *chabcrindamabin* "avez pitié de nous", JR, ed. Thwaites, vol. 16, p. 44) early disappeared or was modified. When Alexander Henry, Travels and adventures in Canada, etc., New York, 1809, p. 214, says of the language of the Têtes de Boule "mixture of those of its neighbours, the Chipeways and Cristinaux" this partially anticipates Professor Cooper's information, but of course is an error if taken in the sense that the dialect is a thoroughgoing amalgam of the two. Possibly nonspecialists would be glad to know Cristinaux is a synonym of Cree. The older maps are quite unreliable on linguistic matters; very obviously "native" names are not "native." How and why Cree was extended to cover much of the territory east of James and Hudson's Bays is unknown to me. Even at Seven Islands a native called the Fort George Indians "Creeps" which linguistically is not so. So, too, when at Lake St. John I heard whites refer to the Mistassini as Creeps. Similarly, John McLean, Notes of a twenty-five year's service in the Hudson's Bay Territories, in vol. XIX of the Pub. Champlain Soc., Toronto, 1932, p. 258, "The Indians . . . of Ungava are a tribe of the Cree nation designated Nascopies . . . Their language, a dialect of the Cree or Cristeneau, exhibits a considerable mixture of Saukteaux words . . ." [See ch. IX, vol. II of the original edition, London, 1849.] (Of course the mixture of Saukteaux is untenable, to judge from Turner's unpublished vocabulary; W. B. Cabot *apud* Labrador, etc. W. R. Grenfell and others, New York, 1913, of course repeats it, substituting Ojibway for Saukteaux; this means nothing, cf. my criticism, below, of his "In Northern Labrador"). See also H. Y. Hind, Exploration in the Interior of The Labrador Peninsula, London, 1863, vol. I, pp. 33, 322, vol. II, p. 97, and Turner in the Eleventh Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethn., p. 267. According to Prof. J. M. Cooper (the Northern Algonquin Supreme Being, C U A, Anthrop. Ser. 2, p. 73) in Gorst's day, 1670-75, to judge from the short vocabulary, at Rupert's House the Indians used a Cree *r*-dialect, though today they speak a Montagnais one. [This is in Oldmixon, now easily accessible in Tyrrell, Documents relating to the early history of Hudson Bay, vol. XVIII of the Publications of the Champlain Soc., p. 396.] A study of this vocabulary tends to show that this is an oversimplification. Much is not diagnostic in a linguistic sense; some words might be Cree, Montagnais, Algonkin (-Ojibwa), such as *mokeman*, knives (really singular), *metus*, stockings (really singular), *eskon*, a chisel; *Tinesonec.iso*, what do you call this ("what is it called") *Manitowghigin*, a Red-Coat, might be Cree, Algonkin or Ojibwa (I lack a Montagnais cognate); *mekish*, beads (really singular) might be Cree, Algonkin, or Ojibwa: the phonology definitely excludes it from being Montagnais; some words might be Cree or Montagnais, e. g., *assinne*, shot (phonology decisive), *astam*, come hither (shown by phonetics; also a lexical trait), *apit*, a fire-steel (lexical trait), *a notch*, presently (lexical trait), *pishshish*, a little thing (lexical trait), *petta a shum.e* give me a piece ("hand and give me to eat;" phonology and morphology decisive), *Pe quish a con Gau Mowon*, I eat some pudding ("I shall eat bread;" possibly Algonkin and Ojibwa also), *Spog.m* a pipe (corruption of Cree

uspwāgan or the Montagnais equivalent; the phonology bars it from being Algonkin or Ojibwa), *Taney*, where (corrupt; pretty clearly only Cree or Montagnais), *Tapoy*, that true (the phonology bars Algonkin-Ojibwa); definitely Cree are *chickahigon*, a hatchet (lexical trait), *pickow*, powder (the phonology is decisive), *No mun-niss e to ta*, I do not understand you (corrupt; the meaning is rather, I do not understand it; the phonology strongly favors Cree and nothing else), *owma*, this (lexical trait), *pihickeman*, a jack-knife (read *Pikickeman*; it can not be Montagnais; Ojibwa and Algonkin have a compound which ends in an equivalent), *Shekahoon*, a comb (Cree rather than Montagnais because of the phonology). Clearly Montagnais (and not Cree) as shown by the phonology are *pastosigon*, a gun, and *stenna*, tobacco (read *stema*). *Tequan*, What do you say? is either Cree, in which case *Kequan* should be read, or a mishearing for *Tchequan*, in which case the word is Montagnais. *Moustodawbish*, a flint, seems corrupt; the terminal portion doubtless should be *-awbisk*. Algonkin (-Ojibwa) are *arakuna*, bread (read *arakona*; it will be recalled there was an *r*-dialect Algonkin; the phonology favors Algonkin as opposed to Cree), *Arremitigosy*, to speak (lexical trait), *mickedy*, powder (the phonology is decisive). [*Soth.im.m.* red lead, is unclear to me.] It will be recalled that the Abitibi came down to the Bay at the time. I interpret the whole to mean that owing to the establishment of the post at Rupert's House different Indians came there to trade, just as at the present time besides the Moose Indians at Moose Factory, the Rupert's House Montagnais-speaking Indians, or rather a group of them, Ojibwa from the Albany River, etc., come there also; and that the data do not necessarily warrant us in holding that the geographical boundary between the Cree and Montagnais has shifted within historic times, though this is possible.

Compare Henry, loc. cit., p. 319 "*Churchill River . . . it was named English River;*" Daniel W. Harmon, A journal of voyages and travels, etc., Andover, 1820, pp. 167, 168: "The River last mentioned, is called by the Hudson Bay People, Churchill River, and by the people from Canada, English River;" notice that on the map facing p. 223 of Henry Youle Hind's, Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1855, vol. II, London, 1860, we find "Churchill or English River"; English River in the sense of Churchill River is still used in E. A. Watkins, A Dictionary of the Cree Language, etc., London, 1865 (p. x). See also Sir John Richardson, An Arctic Searching Expedition, vol. I, (map facing) p. 16; vol. II, pp. 36, 37, London, 1851. Lacombe on the map in his Dictionnaire de la Langue des Cris, Montreal, 1874, has only R. Churchill. Hunter, A Lecture on . . . the Cree Language, London, 1875, p. 2, has English River. See too Joseph Howse, A Grammar of the Cree Language, etc., London, 1844, p. 141 et passim, especially p. 318. The same author, loc. cit., p. 316, observed very acutely, "On the East-main side of Hudson's Bay, (*t*)*ch* is in general use . . . instead of the *k* (or *c* hard) used on the West-side of the Bay." Of course, the (*t*)*ch* dialects are really Montagnais-Naskapi. When Cree words are cited as being at Cumberland House, as has happened, with *th* and not *n* as at present, I do not think that this means that a shift of population has taken place; but rather, that the interpreter or informant really was not native to Cumberland House. According to Mgr. Taché, Esquisse sur le Nord-Ouest de l'Amérique, Montreal, 1869, p. 82, some Crees at Isle à la Crosse speak an *l*-, not *r*-dialect. No subsequent writers, as far as I know, have repeated or substantiated this. When Lacombe says, loc. cit., p. xv, "Cris du Labrador . . . nila-kila-wila", this really means the Cree of Moose Factory or less probably the special Tête de Boule dialect with *l*.

⁵ For Cumberland and Norway House Indians, see also Hunter, loc. cit.

⁶ See JAF^L 41, pp. 164, 165. For Cree influence note *mistatimōn* horses, *nicwastu* seven. Incidentally, though Skinner applies the term Bungees [Bungis] to the Plains Ojibwa (see also JAF^L 29, p. 330), previously it was applied to the Indians of the general region between Norway House and York Factory: see Sims, JAF^L 19, pp. 330, 334 ("Bungees or Swampy Indians of Lake Winnepeg"); see too Hind, Narr. of the Canadian Red River Expl. Exp. 1857, etc., vol. I, p. 333; and J. Stewart in Am. Arch. Rept. Ontario, 1904, Toronto, 1905, p. 89. The linguistic mixture is in part supported by the new data from Island Lake; but a thoroughgoing mixture of Cree and Ojibwa for the whole area is out of the question.

⁷ The paper "Montagnais-Naskapi Bands, etc." by Speck in AA, n. s. 33 [1931], pp. 557-600, with the accompanying map, is valuable as showing the distributions of the bands. Part of this area was investigated by Speck himself, but partially he relied upon information furnished by Alexandre Bellefleur and Sylvestre Mackenzie: see p. 574 and also his Naskapi [1935], p. 84 et passim. On p. 580 of "Montagnais-Naskapi Bands etc." we are told that the native names of twenty-six bands are given. On p. 584 it is stated that the St. Marguerite Band is the farthest east on the coast to speak an *l*-dialect. Evidently there were misunderstandings of some sort, for contradictions occur as shown by the "native names" on pp. 584, 585, 586. Very fortunately many of the statements can be checked by data contained in "Naskapi"; and since this appeared two years later than the article in AA, we may legitimately infer that where the data is contradictory the data in AA is to be superseded, and where data in "Naskapi" confirms the statements in AA these are to be regarded as Speck's final opinions. Thus, the statements on Escoumains and Shelter Bay, AA, n. s. 33, pp. 581, 583, 584 are confirmed by data in "Naskapi," pp. 64, 100, 175. The contradictory data on Natashquan ("Naskapi," p. 99) is confirmed by my own data (*n*-dialect; terminal *-tc* [-*ts*] converted into *-t* (per contra *Notackwānwilnut'*, AA, n. s. 33, p. 586). That Michigamau is an *n*-dialect, A. A., loc. cit., p. 589, is confirmed by the data on p. 177 of "Naskapi," but I am unconvinced that *-ts'* remains. That Mingan is an *n*-dialect (essentially, if not wholly) is shown by my own data which confirms the statement on p. 584 of AA., loc. cit.; my data makes it a dialect in which *-tc* (*-ts*) becomes *-t*; against both these points note on p. 585, "*Mingan Band (Akwandi'wilnuts, where something is washed ashore people.)*" The data on Musquaro, pp. 586, 587 is somewhat contradictory, but it is given in any event as an *l*-dialect; personally I think it much more likely to be an *n*- and *-t* dialect. The data on Kaniapiskau, p. 590 (*-t'* dialect) is against the data I have presented above. That Ungava, p. 594 of AA, loc. cit., is an *l*-dialect is against the data from Turner and statements made to me by a Davis Inlet Indian whom I met at the Northwest River. I wonder if most of the contradictions may not be explained the following way: besides the Sylvestre Mackenzie, chief of the Michigamau band according to Speck, there is another Sylvestre Mackenzie at Moisie who often goes with the mail to Fort Mackenzie; he uses the *l*-dialect and retains final *-ts* (so too Bastian Mackenzie at Seven Islands who has been at Fort Mackenzie); if he, and not the Sylvestre Mackenzie of Michigamau, furnished some of the "native" names in his own dialect (or "colored" the native names with his own dialect), much would be explained. Sylvestre Mackenzie of Moisie came from Bersimis (Bastian also, I think) but has been at Moisie for 50 years. Similarly if Alexandre Bellefleur really is of the Seven Islands group and not the Ungava one, his designation of the Ungava band might easily be

in the Seven Islands dialect; or if John Pierre of the Ungava band but married and living at Seven Islands gave the information it is possible the designation given is really in the Seven Islands group's dialect. The data in Cabot's In Northern Labrador means nothing unless the exact provenience of his interpreters and informants is known: the data on p. 286 makes both Cree and Montagnais-Naskapi exist east of the George or Barren Ground River: Compare Speck, Naskapi, p. 56. Mrs. Hubbard's designation of the Barren Ground band (A Woman's Way through Unknown Labrador, New York, 1908, p. 158), Mush-a-waue-u-its, is not in the native dialect, but in the dialect of Rupert's House; compare pp. 20, 150. [Nor is the designation by Cabot, loc. cit., p. 198, the native one.] Similarly the Indian song recorded by D. Wallace, The Long Labrador Trail, New York, 1907, p. 73, is not in the native dialect: see pp. 16, 119 ("Pete" came from the neighborhood of Lake Superior). The statements of Indians as to the linguistic affiliations of other bands than their own, even when they have met them, must be taken with a grain of salt. Thus, Bastian Mackenzie, who has met Great Whale River Indians, Chimo Indians, those of Mingan, etc., says the Great Whale River Indians are Crees and say *teila'* "thou" (neither of which is true), Chimo Indians *teina'* (which I think is true from other data, disregarding vowel-quantities, as also further on), Lake St. John *teila'* (my own material lacks the final *a'*), Bersimis *teil* (true), Seven Islands *teil* (partially true), Mingan *tein* (true), Mingan *nāpeut'* "men" (true), Moisie, Seven Islands, St. Marguerite *nā'peuts*. Bastian and Sylvestre Mackenzie are the only ones of the area that I met who consistently retained *-ts* (*-tc*) and did not change it to *-t*; *-ts* is retained at Bersimis.

⁸ Cooper, CUA, Anthrop. Ser. 2, p. 60, says, "From the linguistic data given by Le Jeune, we have good grounds for concluding that some at least of these "Montagnais" were Cree-speaking, using an *r* dialect, etc." I regret to say that a do not think the evidence warrants us in making this supposition. It should be pointed out that Le Jeune gives *one whole sentence* which though supposedly in Montagnais, actually is in Algonkin (*kaie, nir, khigatoutaouim*, which furthermore is mistranslated, for the second person plural is the subject). It can be proved that Montagnais orthography at times has influenced that of Algonkin. Presumably the reverse has also happened. Note too, in the Jesuit Relations one personal name given as Algonkin actually is Montagnais (*Michtaemikoüan* "Great Spoon"). For the value of *khi*, see the Jesuit Relations, ed. Thwaites, 10, p. 117. To account for both Algonkin (which has only primary *tc*) and Montagnais (which has not only primary but also secondary *tc*) *khi* must have the value of *tc*. Note *θmamibetch* (name of a people) Jesuit Relations, ed. Thwaites, 59, p. 56 but also *θmamibekhi* at 21, p. 116; *θmamibek* at 35, p. 274, either has *k* for *kh(i)* [see below] or the word is really the Algonkin designation of the same people. [The etymology given by Gerard, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., under Oumamiwek is on the right track, but Montagnais or Algonkin should be substituted for Cree.] In some other tribal names we have a similar situation. Especially noteworthy is Montagnais *Khichtemau* "petun" ("tobacco"), Jesuit Relations, ed. Thwaites, vol. 7, pp. 24, 26 (1634) [ed. Quebec, 1858, vol. I, 1634, p. 49] recorded as *tshistemau* by Lemoine; Naskapi *tc'stemāu*, *tc'stemāu* is given by Speck, Naskapi, pp. 218, 241; Mingan *tc'i'stemau'* and Fort George *tcistāmau'*, Rupert's House *tc'istēmau'* are recorded by Michelson. This has primary, not secondary, *tc* as shown by Cree *tcistēmāw* (Michelson; *tsistāmāw* in Bloomfield's transcription; Lacombe gives *tchistemaw*), Menomini *ne'nemāw*, Fox *ne'sāmāwa*, the Proto-Algonquian archetype of which is **θce'θāmāwa* as shown by Bloomfield in his remarkable paper on Central Algonquian phonology, Language, vol. I.

[Watkins, *A Dictionary of the Cree Language*, London, 1865, gives *chistāmow*, i. e., *tsistēmāw*, but says "See *Kistāmow*." I know no Cree dialect in which this last occurs; and Bloomfield writes me under the date of May 17, 1937, that his Cree notes contain no variants of *tsistāmāw*; nor do I know any Montagnais-Naskapi dialect with *kistēmāw*; I wonder if *kistāmow* is not pseudo-correct Cree (cf. pp. xi, 201 of Watkins' Dictionary).] Beside *kh(i)* with the value of *tc*, *tch(i)* is used with the same value, also *ts*, *tz*, *ch* (rarely), *th*, *k(i)*, *dk*, *t* (with certainty at least twice; perhaps more often). I have cited *θmamibetch* "qui sont une nation des eskimeaux" (which is false; this is not in Bull. 30, Pt. 2 in the synonymy under *Oumamiwek*, nor in the synonymy at the end of the volume; the etymology given by Gerard is correct [Cree *māmihk*, Algonkin *māmiŋ*, Montagnais (Lemoine) *mamits* "downstream"] but the Montagnais word should probably be restored as **māmiwate*; note the variants *θmamibekhi* and *θmaniwek* of the Quebec edition for 1641, p. 57, 1650, p. 41 respectively. Other examples are *espimimitch* upward (Jesuit Relations, ed. Thwaites, 49, p. 66; ed. Quebec, III, 1664, ch. IV, p. 19), Montagnais *ishpimits* (Lemoine), Rupert's House *icpimihtc*, Cree *ispimiĥk*, Ojibwa *icpimiŋ*, Fox *ɔ'pemeġi*, Proto-Algonquian **icpemeŋki*; *Mitchitōu* eagle (part of a personal name; JR. T. 59, p. 63; the *ti* here tenses *s* or *c* as proved by *pepakōnagōtiēθ*, JR. T. 59, p. 62, "celuy qui paroît tousours malade"; Lemoine *-nākushu*, Cree *-nākusiw*), Montagnais *metshishu* (Lemoine), Fort George *mi'ticu'* Michelson; dissimilation for *mitcicu*), Cree *mikisiw*; *tchise* "big" in *takθatchisenapθ* "the little big man" (JR. T. 59, p. 62), Montagnais *tshishe* "big, great" (Lemoine; *nāpeu* "man," *takuau* "it is short"), Cree *kisē-*; *Noutakataninieouetch* "my father they will pray" (see JR. T. 49, p. 62 JR. Q. III, 1664, ch. IV, p. 18) should be divided *Nouta ka-*; Fox *wagi*, Plains Cree *kata ayamihāwak*, Lemoine's Montagnais *imients*, *aiamiants* (see his Dict. under Prier); without doubt *Tchigigoutchéou* the god of fine and of bad weather (JR. T. 68, p. 43) is a corrupt plural and stands for *Tchichigouéitch*, identical with *khichikouekhi* (JR. T. 11, p. 254 JR. Q. I, 1637, p. 46; Khichicouai, *passim* apparently is an obviative plural) which corresponds exactly to Speck's *tcī'cəgwəts* (Naskapi, p. 62); compare also *Ka-Khichigou Khetikhi* ceux qui font le jour (JR. T. 11, p. 254-JR. Q. I, 1637, p. 46); Lemoine *tshījikan* "jour"; Plains Cree *kisikāw*; for the last word see Lemoine under Faire; *aitin*, *aitu* combined with *ka-* according to the paradigm of *ni'ilinishin* je suis sage, *ilinishu* il est sage (Lemoine, Grammaire Montagnaise, pp. 20-22) should be **kaaitits* (uncontracted) in the third person pl. animate of the participle; but this is rather peculiar; *oui miriatchi* si tu nous veux donner [si tu no^o veux dōner] (JR. T. 7, pp. 154, 156; JR. Q. I, 1634, ch. XIII, p. 76, Montagnais *uimiliats* in Lemoine's transcription, is another example. The word *michoutchi* "en contrechāge" on p. 154 of JR. T. 7, in Le Jeune's normal transcription should be **michcouth* or **michcoukhi*, in Lemoine's *mishkuts*, but the word happens to be absent from his Dictionnaire: see, however, *Echange* and *Echanger* which prove the word genuine and moreover Watkins cites Cree *meskooch* and this seems to be supported by the evidence of Ojibwa and Algonkin (Lacombe cites Cree *meskutch* which is difficult, for W's *e* is *i*, L's *e* is *ē*). *Attikīrinouetchs* on Bellin's map of 1755 has a native plural with added French *-s*, and corresponds to *Attikou Iriniouetz* on La Tour's map of 1779, phonetically presumably **atihkwiliniwate* "Caribou men." *Tan tché tchichikamasθiane* [probable misprint for *-yane*] *egθ* "How then can I pay for myself" (JR. T. 68, pp. 62, 63) presumably stands for *tān tē tēiĥkamāsuyān*; see Lemoine Dict. Mont. Tshijikāshun, etc., under Payer, Lemoine, Dict. Algonquin, *kijikan*, *kijikās*, *kijikamawanis* under Payer; see also Baraga, Dict. Otchipwe, II, *Kijikan* etc. I pay my debt, *Kijikas* etc. I clear myself of debts,

Kijikawa, etc. I pay him my debt. Some other cases of *tch* are more conveniently discussed in connection with some other variants. Some examples of *-ts* for the same sound as *-tch* (or presumably; for in the Bersimis dialect *-ts* does occur) are *Manitousiuets* sorciers ou iongleurs, JR. T. 6, p. 124 (1634) but *Manitousiouekhi*, JR. T. 8, p. 273 (1636), the Proto-Algonquian archetype of which is **manctōwesiwaki* but it must not be imagined that in any Cree or Montagnais-Naskapi dialect the original final **i* of the animate plural, etc., actually survived for it did not; *Atticamcoets*, *Attikoetz*, *Attikamegouekhi*, etc. (the name of a Montagnais people; see Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., Pt. 1 under *Attikamegue*, the index to Thwaites' ed. of the Jesuit Relations and that of the Quebec edition; cf. *Attikaméyou*, the personal name of a Montagnais, JR. T. 9, p. 72; the presumable phonetic restoration is **Amēkwatikhatc* "The Caribou-Fish People," i. e., "White Fish People"; *Ouchestigouets* (*Ouchestigouetch* etc.), the designation of a Montagnais people will be discussed below. Examples of where *ch* has the value of *tc* and which are not numerous are *naspich* "entièrement," etc., several times on pp. 154, 156 of JR. T. 7: this has primary *tc* as shown by Cree *nāspite*; in most Montagnais dialects Michelson has recorded *nāspite* (but *nāspit'* at Mingan); Lemoine gives *nāshpits*; the locative *iscouechich* d'vne fille (JR. T. 7, p. 154 is *ishkueshits* in Lemoine's transcription (presumably phonemically *iskwēsihte*): notice the locative *ouascoukhi* which in Lemoine's transcription is *uashkuts* "en ciel", on the same page. The word *outagouchi* hier (JR. T. 7, p. 24-JR. Q. I, 1634, ch. XI, p. 49) is an haplogy or haplography, presumably the latter: Lemoine gives *utākushits*; I have recorded Rupert's House *utā'kucihitc*; Plains Cree *utākusiik* (restored from Horden's *otakosi'k*, Watkins' *ootakoose'k*, Lacombe's *otākusik*). Another example of a locative in *-khi* is *Ouabichtigouekhi* . . . Kebec, JR. T. 7, p. 204 (JR. Q. I, 1634, ch. XIII, p. 86): Lemoine gives Montagnais *nāpishtukeiats*, and in his Dict. Alg. gives the equivalent, *Webitikweiang*. So the locative termination is firmly established. The spelling *dk* with the value *tc* is wholly isolated: *nisadkihau* ie l'ayme (JR. T. 8, p. 36-JR. Q. I, 1635, ch. III, p. 18) which in Lemoine's transcription is *nishatshiau* [Plains Cree *nisākihāw*]; observe Montagnais *khisakhitan* [tu aimes cela], JR. T. 6, p. 238-JR. Q. I, 1634, ch. V, p. 29 [Plains Cree *kisūkihtān*] which is *tshi shatshtan* in Lemoine's transcription; so too on the same page note *sakhita* "aime le" which in Lemoine's transcription is *shatshita*. It is important to here note that the orthography of Algonkin in the Jesuit Relations reflects that of Montagnais at times. So we have the Algonkin sentence *napik nisadkiha missi kakichitdtz* . . . entirement i 'ayme celui qui a tout fait (JR. T. 29, p. 88-JR. Q. II, 1648, ch. V, p. 23) which is an old misreading or misprint for . . . *kakichitōtz* as shown by the variant *missi kakichitōtch* celui qui fait tout (JR. T. 24, p. 40). In Lemoine's transcription the Algonkin sentence is *nāpite nisakiha misi kakijitote*. The word *napik* will be treated below. That *th* was used with the value of *tc* is convincingly shown by the Algonkin variants *ninithanisak* mes enfants, *Ninitchanis* mon enfant (JR. T. 24, 1642-43, p. 40) which in Lemoine's transcription are *ninidjānisak* *ninidjānis* respectively (Fox *nenidtcāne'sagi*, *nenidtcāne'sa*). The variants of Montagnais show the same. Thus we have *attimoueth* [chiens] at JR. T. 7, p. 22-JR. Q. I, 1634, ch. XI, p. 49 but *nama irinisonakhi* [mislection or misprint for **irinisonakhi*]; the singular *iriniou* occurs at JR. T. 6, p. 246-JR. Q. I, 1634, ch. VI, p. 31) *attimouekhi* les chiens n' ont point d'esprit, JR. T. 5, p. 138-JR. Q. I, 1633, p. 13. Again, ie vois des hōmes *niouapamaoueth irinioueth* (JR. T. 7, p. 22-JR. Q. I, 1634, ch. XI, p. 49) which in Lemoine's transcription (In a clearly little different dialect) is *ni uāpamauts ihnūts* (Moose Cree *niwāpamāwak ililwāk* phonemically; Fox *newāpamāwagi* *neniwagi*): note the variant

iriniouakhi at JR. T. 7, p. 156-JR. Q. I, 1634, ch. XIII, p. 76. Observe also *ninoutinaoueth* (I strike them) at JR. T. 7, p. 22-JR. Q. I, 1634, ch. XI, p. 49 which contains the same pronominal elements as above; I do not recall a Montagnais equivalent in my own notes, but Cree guarantees the word.

Another example is *Achitescatoueth* . . . ils passent mutuellement a la place l'un de l'autre (JR. T. 6, p. 163; JR. Q. I, 1634, ch. IV, p. 14). I do not know the modern Montagnais equivalent but terminally it clearly corresponds to Lemoine's *-tuts* (Cree *-tuwak*). Examples where *t* is used for the sound in question (*tc*) with certainty are *eca titou*, *eca titou* (JR. T. 7, p. 62) *tais toy*, *tais toy* (in Lemoine's transcription this is *eka tshitu*, (Cree *ēkā kitu*) and *mitisoukou* mangez, JR. T. 7, p. 176 (with primary *tc*; see *mitshun* in Lemoine's Dict. Mont. under Manger; Cree *mītcisuk*; Fox *mī^tciēat*). Note that in Algonkin *ti* is used with the value *tc* in *cakōsitiik* les malade, JR. T. 24 (1642-43), p. 42 which is again reminiscent of Montagnais orthography. Thus it is that it is very difficult to judge words such as *asti* "Terre" (JR. T. 7, p. 154-JR. Q. I, 1634, p. 75). For in Montagnais-Naskapi dialects there is considerable difference in the treatment of *-sk-* before palatal vowels. In the *l*-dialects, and "mixed" *n*-dialects the combination appears as *-ss-*, in the *y*-dialects as *stc* (*-ctc-*) save where dissimilation is obvious. Thus Cree *askiy* (in Bloomfield's transcription), Lemoine's Montagnais *assi* (*l*-dialect), Bersimis (Michelson) *essi*, Seven Islands (Michelson) *assi'* (mixed *n*-dialect), Rupert's House (Michelson) *astci'*, Fort George (Michelson) *astci'*, Mistassini *asits'i* (in which *s* is intermediate between *s* and *c*). But at Natashquan (unmixed *n*-dialect) I have recorded *asti*, *ahci'*: the latter is certainly in accord with the same type of phonology seen in *tcī'htēmau* "tobacco," *uhka't'* "his leg," *u'hpitun* "the fore arm," *mihta'peu* "giant," *mahtēhu* "fox," *ihkve'u* "woman," *u'hpwāgan* "pipe," *Mi'hti na^hk^w* "master of the fish" (according to a Mingau informant speaking somewhat mixed the correspondent is *Mictināhk^w*, Great Whale River *Mistcināhk^w*, Mistassini *Mietsina^kw*, St. Marguerite *māsēna^kw* [see Speck, Naskapi, pp. 117-119, 239], Plains Cree *miskināhk* "tortoise"; Lemoine *messināk* "Tortue"; Watkins gives Cree *mi'kina^k*, an obvious Ojibwa loan-word; he also gives *mistina^k*: yet I know no Cree dialect in which this occurs; Watkins once was on the east side of James Bay, and I wonder if he may not have picked up the word there). Moreover, the Montagnais personal name *θestchinisi casθ* (JR. T. 59, pp. 60, 61: here *-s-* must indicate *-tc-*; *θ* is used with the value *w*, etc.) "pretends to be young" (more accurately, "he pretends to be a young man") shows definitely that the Jesuits of early times were acquainted with a dialect in which *-sk-* before a palatal vowel became *-stc-*; the form is a participle-like noun showing what is technically called "change:" note Lemoine gives *ussinītshu* under Jeune, Rupert's House (Michelson) *"stcīntcu'* "young man", Plains Cree *uskinīkiu*; Cree *-hkāsōw* "he, she pretends." Therefore in spite of the fact that Le Jeune gives *nama nikhīrassin* ie ne mens pas (JR. T. 7, p. 56; Moose Cree *ēkīlāskītcik* "when they lie", Plains Cree *nama nikiyāskin*; though Watkins gives *kinaskew* "he tells lies" it is not Plains Cree; cognates exist in Algonkin and Ojibwa; Lemoine cites a cognate Montagnais which has not the suffix of Le Jeune's word) it is fair to consider his *khikhīsterīten* "tu sçais" (JR. T. 7, p. 154 JR. Q. I, 1634, p. 76) as being due to dissimilation: compare Rupert's House *tsistē'htam* "he knows it," *nitsi'stēmau* "I know him," Fort George *ntcistcau'mau* "I know him," Natashquan *tcī'htēntam* "he knows it," *ntcī'htēntēn* "I know it," Lemoine *tshissēlītam* "he knows it," Moose Cree *kikiskēlīhtēn* "you (sing.) know it," *nikiskēlīhtēn* "I know it," *kiskēlīhtam* "he knows it," *nikiskēlīmāw* "I know him." We have then clear evidence of at

least two Montagnais dialects being used by Le Jeune. Notice he also says (JR. T. 7, p. 30), "ils n'ont point les letters *F, L, V*, consonante, *X.Z.* ils prononce vn *R* au lieu d'vn *L.* ils diront Monsieur du Pressi pour Monsieur du Plessi, ils prononcent vn *P* au lieu d'vn *V.* consonante, Monsieur Olipier pour Monsieur Oliuier." It may be that the *l* was not quite English *l* and so recorded *r*. We come now to a point which is vital as to whether or not some of the "Montagnais" were really Cree, using an *r*-dialect (Tête de Boule). We have seen that at least two dialects were confused; and we have noted variations in orthography. We have observed that one whole sentence instead of being Montagnais is Algonkin. The reciprocal orthographic influence of Montagnais and Algonkin on each other has been pointed out. The question now at stake is as to whether *k(i)* ever was used graphically for *tc*. That this must be answered affirmatively is shown by Algonkin *napik* "entirement" (JR. T. 29, p. 88) which in Lemoine's transcription is *nāpītc* (see Dict. Alg. under Tout) which has primary final *tc* as shown by Cree *nāspītc*: see above. Now *nama khitirinisīn* tu n' as point d'esprit occurs on p. 62 of JR. T. 7 (JR. Q. I, 1634, ch. XII, p. 57) which in Lemoine's transcription is *nama tshitilīnīshīn* (see his Dict. Mont. under Sage; cf. Plains Cree *iyīnīshīw* "he is wise," *kitiyīnīshīn* "thou art wise." [That Plains Cree replaces original *l* by *y* is a matter of common knowledge.] Contrast this with *Nigousai kesta kitirīnīssīn* (JR. T. 49, p. 66-JR. Q. III, 1664, ch. IV, p. 19), mistranslated "mon fils, tu n'as pas d'esprit." Observe the word *espimitch* ("upward") which is diagnostically nothing but Montagnais-Naskapi immediately follows: note Lemoine *ishpimīts*, Rupert's House *īcpimīhte*, Cree *īspimīhk*, Ojibwa *īcpimīāg*, Fox *A'pemgi*. [I have said mistranslated because as far as I know there is nothing like *kesta* "ne . . . pas" in any Algonquian language. If *k* has the value *tc* it may be taken as the equivalent of Lemoine's *tshista*; see his Dic. Mont. under *Même*; the sense then is, "thou also art wise." En passant, Le Jeune made a bad break in Montagnais grammar by employing the first person pl. inclusive where the exclusive form was in order; see JR. T. 8, pp. 264, 265. On the value of *kh(i)* see above.] Observe also the careless writing of *-k-* for *-kh-* in *khikirassin* "tu as menty" by Le Jeune (JR. T. 7, p. 166-JR. Q. I, 1634, p. 78) but *nama nikhīrassin* "ie ne mens pas" (see a little above) in both of which *-ss-* is diagnostically Montagnais; if *k* or *kh* here meant *k* we would then have a word half Cree and half Montagnais. Knowledge that *k* before palatal vowels regularly becomes *tc* in Montagnais-Naskapi even if such vowels are subsequently lost, is taken for granted. And Le Jeune gives Montagnais *nikhispoun* (ie suis saol), JR. T. 6, p. 250, though he previously gave Montagnais *nikispoun*, JR. T. 5, p. 94 (Lemoine gives [ni] *tshīshpūn*; Watkins gives Cree *kespoo* he is full of food; Fox *kī'pu-*). Again, according to the index to Thwaites ed. of the Jesuit Relations *Kiaskou* (JR. T. 56, p. 190-JR. J. III, 1672, ch. VI, p. 51) is the name of an Algonkin chief, meaning "gull." Linguistically this word can not be Algonkin (a similar error is *Michtaemikōian* "Great Spoon": see above): note Algonkin *gaiack* (Lemoine), Ojibwa *gaiashk* (Baraga), *mīci-kayāck* "Great Gull" (Jones; the pl. *kayāckwag* occurs in J's Ojibwa Texts II. 178.8), Cree *keyask* (Watkins), *kīyāsk* (Lacombe), Wenusk Cree *kīyāsk* (Michelson), Montagnais *tshīashk* (Lemoine), Fort George *tcī'ask^u*. The phonology certainly terminally favors Montagnais as opposed to most Cree dialects. However, the treatment of original **-wa* after consonants in Tête de Boule Cree, as I know from the manuscripts of the Rev. Dr. Cooper who most kindly has allowed me to make use of them, is most complex; sometimes it is lost as in other Cree dialects, sometimes it appears as *-wa*, sometimes as *-u* which recalls Montagnais usage; unfortunately the Tête de Boule correspondent to ordinary Cree *kīyāsk* apparently is not in his manuscripts. Now as I have said previously, from a study of Dr. James Geary's recent manuscript it is clear there are some Cree

(presumably Tête de Boule) loan words in modern Algonkin (I here thank him for his generosity for permission to use it); so conceivably the name might be in one dialect but the person designated a speaker of another. A parallel is the name Winneshiek, a Winnebago: the name patently is Algonquian (Sauk, Fox, Kickapoo in particular; the three are closely related). Hence a decision free from all uncertainty can not be made. Different is the case of *nitichenicassouiniki* "en mon nom" (JR. T. 7, p. 154) for the locative *ouascoukhi* "au ciel" occurs on the preceding line (Le Jeune, JR. T. 8, p. 40, gives the locative *ouakoueki* which must mean *-tc* as shown by *nisadkiahau* on the same page as well as the plural *ouperigoue ouaouokhi*; all said by the convert Anne). And the truly Montagnais character of Le Jeune's prayer in which *nitichenicassouiniki* occurs can not be doubted. The vocalism of the suffix (*-ouin*) differs from that of Lemoine's Montagnais and I have no means of knowing whether any Montagnais-Naskapi did or does agree with Le Jeune's Montagnais in this respect as opposed to Lemoine's *ijinikāshun*. In view of the undoubted orthographic reciprocal influence of Montagnais and Algonkin, it is barely possible that Algonkin influence is to be seen in this. Good examples of Montagnais orthographic influence on Algonkin *khikōsis* vostre fils (JR. T. 24, p. 40) and *Khigatoutaouim* mentioned above, for *k* is normally retained before *i* in the Algonkin of the Jesuit Relations, and it is impossible that *kh* in these two particular cases was pronounced as *tc*. [On the same page as *khikōsis* will be found *nikachtipitagan* mon sac a Petun; this is a misprint or mishearing for *nikachki*-.] In view of the fact that at times in ancient documents alleged "native" names of peoples are not "native" names (I regret to say that even modern ethnologists have at times committed similar errors) it is extremely difficult to judge the orthography of some names of peoples. Thus though *Ouchestigouetch*, *Ouchestigouetch*, *Ouchestigouets* are patently Montagnais in orthography (the singular *ōtchisestigō* [JR. T. 59, p. 60], patently Montagnais, is not in Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn.; the expected plural would be **ōtchisestigōtetch* apparently does not occur) and *Ouchestigouëk* presumably so because of medial *-ch-* and *-k* with the value *tc* as above, *Oukesestigouëk* is not so clear: for this orthography would coincide with Cree (*-st-* bar Algonkin) if both *k*'s have the value of *k*; or have we partial Algonkin orthography? That the people were Montagnais here is not in question; but if *Oukesestigouëk* is the Cree denomination, then active acquaintance with Tête de Boule must be assumed. Again, should both *k*'s be taken as standing for *tc*? [For these names and other synonyms see the synonymy at the end of the article *Oukesestigouëk*, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2; the reference to JR. Q. 1855, 1665, 5 should be corrected to 1665, 15; the etymology proposed by Gerard is on the right track but Montagnais **utcisīstik^u*, **utcisīstigwate* rather than Cree forms must be at the bases of some of the variants. Consult also the indices to Thwaites' ed. of the Jesuit Relations and the Quebec ed. of 1858.] From the variants (plurals) *Attikamegouekhi*, *Attikameoets*, as well as *Attikamégou*, the personal name of a Montagnais, JR. T. 9, p. 72, which in form is Montagnais rather than Cree, the people are definitely Montagnais; it is only a question of how the *k* of *Attikamegouëk* should be interpreted. As long as we have the variation *kh k* with the value of *tc* in other words, as shown above, there is no reason why this may not also be one. Yet this particular form orthographically would coincide with not only Cree but Algonkin. Similarly *Oupapinachiouëk* and *ōpapinachiōekhi*, *Oumamiwëk*, *ōmamiōek* and *ōmamiōekhi*; etc. (See the various indices and various articles in Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., for the exact passages in which these are to be found.) If I understand Dr. Cooper rightly, his position is that though *kh(i)* sometimes has the value *tc*, this is not invariably the case. The fact that Tête de Boule is a Cree *r*-dialect also has influenced him.



SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
Bureau of American Ethnology
Bulletin 123

Anthropological Papers, No. 9
Sedlmayr's Relation of 1746

Translated and edited by
RONALD L. IVES



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EDITOR'S PREFACE

Sedelmayr's *Relación* of 1746 is a valuable summary of explorations in Pimería from about 1690 to 1746. Its value to the historian is obvious, for, although parts of it have been duplicated by other workers, and much of Sedelmayr's exploration was actually reexploration, the impressions and observations recorded by Sedelmayr will help to fill the hiatuses in other accounts.

To the anthropologist, the geologist, and the student of Indian legends this narrative should prove of great value, for it covers much of the period between the work of Kino and his contemporaries and that of the Anza expeditions. The migrations of the Indian groups, the progress of the mining industry, and the changes in the various legends can be more accurately followed by the use of Sedelmayr's observations.

In several cases, alternative translations, having different meanings, are possible. In this translation the meaning most nearly fitting into the context was used. In a few cases it was necessary to make use of maps, other accounts, and modern field data to obtain the probable meaning.

This translation, made for the purpose of securing information, is probably not a contribution to literature. The translator was more concerned with what happened, and who did it, than with securing the smoothest wording.

Obvious references in agreement with generally available translations¹ have been omitted from the footnotes. Complete notes, references, and discussion of this narrative would comprise a history

¹ Obvious references to the following generally available works and translations have been omitted: H. E. Bolton: *Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimería Alta*; *Anza's California Expeditions*. Eusebio Guiteras: *Rudo Ensayo*. C. E. Chapman: *The Founding of Spanish California*. H. H. Bancroft: *North Mexican States and Texas; Arizona and New Mexico*. G. P. Winship: *The Coronado Expedition*. Elliott Coues: *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer*. The maps included in *Anza's California Expeditions* will be found useful in locating the places described and referred to by Sedelmayr.

of Pimería Alta from 1690 to 1746, with some references to more recent occurrences. Only notes that will clarify the narrative are included with it.² Suggestions, assistance, and criticism have been generously given by a number of workers. Responsibility for errors in this work is assumed by the translator. Special mention is due Dr. F. W. Hodge, of the Southwest Museum, who, using references unavailable to the writer, secured translations of several troublesome Nahuatl terms in this narrative.

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² The Spanish version of this relación from which the translation was made is contained in "Documentos para la Historia de Mexico," series 3, vol. 1, part II. Mexico—not dated.

RELACIÓN MADE BY PADRE JACOBO SEDELMAYR, OF THE COMPANY OF JESUS, MISSIONARY AT TUBUTAMA, ON A VISIT TO MEXICO CITY IN THE MONTH OF FEBRUARY, IN THE YEAR 1746, TO SOLICIT WORKERS FOR THE FOUNDING OF MISSIONS ON THE GILA AND COLORADO RIVERS, DISCOVERED ON TWO JOURNEYS WHICH HE MADE TO THE GENTILE TRIBES TO THE NORTH OF HIS MISSION, ETC.

Before beginning the account of the lands, rivers, and nations of gentiles, whose conversion I seek, it will be desirable for me to say a few words about the Pimería Alta which is adjacent to the discoveries, and where were and are the missionary fathers who have visited the discovered lands.

The light of the Holy Faith first dawned upon the Indians of Pimería Alta through the medium of Padre Eusebio Kino, a native of Trent and a son of the Company of Jesus in Bavaria. After spending 18 months in California in the company of the Admiral D. Isidro de Otondo y Antillan as cosmographer for his Majesty Charles II and superior over two or three fathers who went with the fleet, the enterprize of the settlement of the island was deferred. Following the orders of his superiors, he went to the new fields of Pimería, to which work he devoted himself promptly, because of his zeal and his desire to work in a mission for gentiles. He also hoped to ascertain whether there was a land passage to California from Pimería in order to undertake its conversion with the help of the padres of Sonora.

He entered Pimería Alta on the 13th of March, 1687. With the help of the Indian named Coxi, and baptized D. Carlos, in honor of King Charles II of holy memory, a native of the town of Dolores with a following in the neighboring rancherias, he began his travels among the Pimas, carrying to them the light of the Holy Faith, explained by means of dependable interpreters, whom his reverence brought from the mission of Ures in lower Pimería, during the time when he was mastering their language.

The suavity and good grace of the padre, together with various little gifts, together with the divine dispensation which had already opened the gates of heaven to these unfortunates, began to make an impression on their hearts, which were free from idolatry, and not

submerged in the vices of other nations.³ The seed of the Holy Faith found a place in their hearts, and they began to offer their children for the holy baptism, and occasionally the adults begged it. Many of them would willingly gather to form towns, and build houses and churches, as was first done at the town of Dolores, then at Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, San Jose de Imuri, Nuestro Padre San Ignacio, Santiago de Cocospera, San Pedro y San Pablo de Tubutama, and other places.

At other times other padres came, who, although they did not remain long in this Pimería, assisted padre Kino with good success, progressed in the faith, made baptisms, started houses and churches, and appointed governors, justices, *fiscales* and *topiles*.⁴ Together with instruction in the faith, they taught the Pimas political life and rational customs. In 1693 padre Agustin de Campos, being assigned to the mission of Nuestro Padre San Ignacio, started his various entradas from there, sometimes in company with Padre Kino, sometimes alone. One and another worked so gloriously that in a little while they had traversed all of Pimería, making many baptisms, with well-founded hopes of its total conversion and a staff of five padres. In the year 1695 the common enemy of the good of the souls armed his hosts to impede the progress with the deaths of the ministers of the faith.

The Indians of Tubutama, Uquitua, and other evildoers, having risen in rebellion, assembled in Caborca on Holy Thursday, March 13, where on Holy Saturday padre Francisco Javier Saeta was killed by cruel blows from their clubs and 22 arrow wounds.

The rebellion lasted all of one year with various incidents, until general José de Gironza, foreseeing that the conspiracy might spread to the other Christian and gentile tribes, sent a message to the general of the kingdom, D. Gabriel del Castillo, telling what had happened and asking help in the form of more soldiers. Captains D. Juan Fernandez de la Fuente and D. Domingo Teran de los Rios came with those in their charge, and the three companies marched upon the rebellious nation, punishing various accomplices, and surrounding the rest with so many soldiers that they died of hunger, thirst, privation and fear, until they surrendered and peace followed.

Everything being quiet, in November of the year 1696 Padre Eusebio Kino set out for Mexico City and arranged with the father superior for new workers. New padres, who followed their work

³ Recent studies indicate that Kino was surprisingly blind to native religions. The Papagos have a well-organized tribal religion, whose chief deity is *Iitoi*, or Elder Brother. Menje, in *Luz de Tierra Incognita* refers to this deity as *Jitoy*.

⁴ These terms for municipal officers are still in use in the more primitive parts of Mexico. A *fiscal* corresponds to the tax collector in more civilized communities. The *topil* (from the Nahuatl *topiltli*) is the village peace officer, who combines the duties of balliff and policeman.

fervently, came to this new vineyard. Four missions had been founded in Pimería prior to 1730—Dolores, Tubutama, San Ignacio, and Caborca. About that year others were added—Santa Maria Suamca, Guevavi, and San Javier del Bac. If all of these missions had always been supplied with ministers, now today there would be no heathen in Pimería Alta. But since ordinarily on account of various circumstances few workers remained in said Pimería its complete conversion was delayed. But in spite of this, in the pueblos and rancherías situated at the springs and in the meadows of the rivers which the seven missions comprise, in some parts there are few and in others no heathen; and even in these last years many rancherías situated in the interior in dry and sterile country where they could not be ministered to were brought down by the efforts of the Fathers and settled in missions already founded where they have been catechized and baptized. It is certain that in the last six or seven years more than 14 of these rancherías have become congregations of the missionary fathers, and if the royal officers of the provinces would assist in so pious a work the conversion of the last of these rancherías would quickly follow.

The Pimas Altos having in the year 1694 informed Capt. Don Mateo Mange of a large river and large houses toward the north and northeast at the edge of Pimería, Padre Kino was at first incredulous, but there came to see him at Dolores some Indians of San Javier del Bac, who, on being questioned, verified the report, and accompanied him to go and see and discover them. He met many people on the journey, which there and back was more than 200 leagues. The same padre repeated the journey to the Gila River at the special order of his visitor, to inform the Padre Provincial and His Excellency, who ordered that the new conversions should be promoted and that a hand should be lent in the Northwest to Father Juan Maria Salvatierra, who was working in California. His reverence went to the Pima rancherías on the Gila, assembled the neighboring Cocomaricopas, who brought the *fiscal* of their nation, to whom Padre Kino, during his first journey, had given the rod of office. This Indian understood both the Pima and Cocomaricopa languages well. The dress of the men and women, as well as the language here, is different from the Pima, but the padre says the people are friendly and well-featured, closely related to the Pimas, and wish to be Christians like the Pimas. In three or four rancherías, where all know both languages, the padre on this occasion gave to the one who is *fiscal* the rod of office of captain, and to another that of *fiscal mayor*, and sent them with very good messages to their great nation.⁵

⁵ The Spanish version reads *tlatoles* (Nahuatl *tlatolli*—words).

In the year 1697 Padre Kino, Capt. D. Mateo Mange, and 22 soldiers made another journey to the Gila River, which was carrying much water, and the Casas Grandes. Some years later, Padre Kino explored the Gila farther down, near its junction with the Colorado, where the Yuma nation lives.

Padre Agustin de Campos followed Kino's footsteps, but since the two padres then had so much to explore in this same Pimería, and on this side of the Gila, they never crossed it again. There also came Padre Ignacio Javier Keler, who crossed it, and went a little distance to the junction of two other rivers, the Salado and the Verde. The river formed by their union is called the Río de Asunción, which joins the Gila. He passed the junction, went to the first Cocomaricopa rancharia, and returned.

In the year 1744 Padre Jacobo Sedelmayr went by the Papago trail⁶ to the Gila, and also to the middle of the Cocomaricopa nation. In the year 1744, on another journey, he crossed it farther up at Casas Grandes, and farther north he crossed the great Río de Asunción and saw that farther on the Gila joins the Asunción, and he saw that the Gila now having been joined by the Asunción, makes a great bend to the north, which bend he explored, examining everything and noting minutely all the Cocomaricopa nation and their rancherias. He went straight down the banks of the Gila to the Colorado, on which he went 40 leagues from the Gila, discovering on its plain a very beautiful water hole. Tracing the Colorado farther up, he came near where it joined another blue river,⁷ and near to the boundaries of the famous province of Moqui. These are the discoveries made by the Jesuit Fathers, from the accounts which are most certainly correct, especially about the Gila River.

The Gila River then rises to the south of the rock of Acoma, a pueblo in New Mexico, runs some distance this way (south) and, having other arroyos as its tributaries, turns its course to the west, where the Apache nation, perpetual enemy of the Spanish and of the missions of Sonora, lives primitively, and from whence they conduct their raids and thieveries. In 34 degrees of the the north pole (N. Lat.) the river of the Pimas joins the Gila River, which comes in from the south. From this junction it is 22 leagues to Casas Grandes. The distance from Acoma to this junction cannot be verified, for the course lies through enemy country.

One of the Casas Grandes is a large building,⁸ the principal room in the center being four stories high, and its adjacent rooms

⁶ Probably the present Camino del Diablo, which goes from Caborca through Sonoyta and across the Pinacate lava flows to Tinajas Altas and Wellton, Ariz.

⁷ Probably Bill Williams Fork.

⁸ The extreme similarity of this description to Manje's leads to the conclusion that Sedelmayr copied it from Luz de Tierra Incognita.

on the four sides three. Its walls are 2 varas thick (about 5 feet), of fine mortar and clay, and so very smooth on the inside that it seems to have been planed or polished, so that it shines like Puebla pottery. The corners of the windows, which were made with a mold or form, are very straight, and there are no hinges or crossbars of wood. The doors are similar and very narrow. From this we know that the building is the work of Indians. The structure, 37 paces long and 22 wide, is of good architecture.

An arquebus shot away one sees 12 other houses, half-fallen, with thick walls and the roofs fallen in, except in one quarter, where there are some brown beams, rounded, smoothed and not thick, which appear to be of cedar or juniper. On top of these beams are some very uniform canes, and on top of these canes is a layer of mortar and hard clay, making a very curious high roof.⁹ Within a radius of 2 leagues of this place are many other buildings, ruined by earthquakes, and many broken pottery jars and plates of fine clay, painted in various colors and resembling the jars of Guadalajara in this New Spain. From this it is inferred that there was a great settlement or city, of civilized and governed people. This is verified by the presence of an irrigation canal, going from the river across to the plain, in whose center is the city, which is 10 varas wide and about 4 deep, and which carries the greater part of the flow of the Gila River. Not only does this canal serve as a defensive moat, but it provides water to the vicinity and gives irrigation to the lands nearby. About 12 leagues farther down there are two other edifices with smaller buildings nearby and an irrigation ditch, and on the last trip I discovered toward the north the ruins of another building, with smaller buildings nearby, between the Gila and Asunción Rivers, all of which are said to have been built by a people who came from the north.

The chief of this tribe was named *El Ciba*,¹⁰ which in the language of the Pimas means "the cruel and bitter man". They waged bloody wars with the Apaches and the 20 nations confederated with them, many on both sides being killed. The tribe became disgusted and broke up, some of them returning to the north, from whence they came many years before, the others going to the east and south. There is also a reservoir 7 leagues distant from the river toward

⁹ An interesting and accurate description of a typical adobe-house roof, still in use today. The "otates muy parejos" were probably saguaro ribs.

¹⁰ This legend may be an actual description of the wanderings of the ancestral Aztecs. The group that went to the south and east were almost certainly the builders of the Casas Grandes in Chihuabua. Recent work in the Gila Valley indicates that the reservoir herein described may have been an Aztec ball court. The Moctezuma legend of the southwest, long thought to have been introduced by the members of the Coronado expedition, may be, in view of recent archeological discoveries, an actual legend of the Gila tribes, of pre-Columbian origin.

the south, which is hand-made, almost square or rectangular, and 70 varas long by 40 wide. Its banks appear to be walls or breastworks of mortar or stone and mortar, from the hardness and strength of the material. At its four corners are gates which admit rain water. The Indians say that this reservoir was made by the same people who built the Casas Grandes. Considering this information, it is probable that these people were the ancestors of the Mexican nation, especially when we consider the buildings. Those cited in 34 degrees are similar to those near the country of the Janos,¹¹ in 29 degrees, which are also called Casas Grandes, and we know of many others which are as far north as 37 and 40 degrees.

It appears to me that Moctezuma resided in Casa Grande; and, in other buildings on both sides of the Gila, his governors lived: for always, in this type of ruin, one building is outstanding, and dominates the others. We will now leave to the consideration of the individual reader the problem of whether these lands, in which we know Moctezuma kept so many subjects, and even where he wanted to found his empire, were bad. Today there lives on the plain of the Gila, not very far from the Casa Grande, a branch of the Pima nation, divided into three rancherías. The most easterly is called Tuquisan; 4 leagues farther downstream is Tusonimo; and still farther down, where the river is greatest in hot weather, and where it begins to show itself, is the great ranchería of Sudacson. All of these rancherías have much land in cultivation; their Indians raised corn, frijole beans, squash, melons, and cotton when I visited them; those at Sudacson raised wheat by irrigation. From these rancherías there goes a road directly north to the province of Moqui, but very close to it on the east side is a mountain range inhabited by enemy Apaches. In the year 1743 they fell upon Padre Ignacio Keler, of the Company of Jesus, and stole his horses, so that his reverence returned with great difficulty. These Pimas of the Gila are enemies of the Apaches, as has been previously stated, so that it should be possible to establish in these three rancherías a flourishing mission (combining with them also the nearest Papago rancherías, whose principal Indian, and governor at the time, 1697, left the camps and went to Santa Maria Basarac, more than 150 leagues, for the sole purpose of asking baptism. He was baptized with the name Juan de Palacios, in honor of the provincial of the time). The Pima Indians of these rancherías have been there for 50 years, so that they are used to the presence of the padres. For this reason, and in the hope that they have been given some religion, I baptized them, and the padres baptized the children who were

¹¹ Casas Grandes, Chihuahua, R. M. Described by Lumholtz in "Unknown Mexico", vol. 1, pp. 85-93. Also by A. F. Bandelier, J. R. Bartlett, and others.

offered. Leaving the Pima rancherías, and going 5 leagues down river, one comes to a beautiful water hole with some canebrakes in its surrounding meadow. At this place is Santa Teresa; and, going 5 or 6 leagues farther in sight of the river and its trees, one comes to its junction with the Asunción, composed of the Salado and Verde. At this junction is a very pleasant country with estuaries, swamps, canebrakes, and many alder and poplar trees. At this junction starts the great curve of the Gila from northwest to south, the course turning to the west. This curve I discovered and traveled along during the whole of the year 1744.

From the junction to the first ranchería is about 12 leagues; this populous ranchería being Stue Cabitic, inhabited by both Pimas and Cocomaricopas, most of whom understand both languages. Going down the Gila Valley, on both sides of the river, with little separation are: Norchean, Gohate, Noscaric, Guias, Cocoigui, Tuesapit, Comarchdut, Yayahaye, Tuburh, Caborh, Pipiaca, Oxitahibuis, Aicatun, Pitaya, Soenadut, Aopomue, Atiahigui, Cohate, San Felipe de Uparch, Aritutoc, Urchaoytac, Tubutavia, Tahapit, Amoque, Shobotarcham, Aqui, Tuburh, Tucsaes, Cuaburidurch, Oitac, Toa, Caborica, Cudurimuitae, Sudac, Sasabac, Sibrepue, Aycate, Aquimundurech, Toaedut, Tuburch, Dueztumach, near which is a spring of hot water which flows into the Gila, and from which a road turns off to the Colorado, 40 leagues distant. Here ends the Cocomaricopa nation of the Gila, whose lands extend along the river for 37 leagues from Stue Cabitic. From here it is 45 leagues to the junction of the Gila with the Colorado, through the lands of the Yuma nation. From this junction to the mouths of the six rivers in the Gulf of California, in 33 degrees and minutes, it is believed to be 30 leagues. Here lives the Quicamopa nation.

The previously mentioned Colorado River, which is not the Rio del Norte, for the Rio del Norte is known to empty into the Gulf of Mexico, is one of the major rivers which drain North America. It is very deep and without fords, capable of navigation and unvisited in one stretch of 20 leagues, where the banks are very high. Although the land is not very moist, the river carries much water, a sign that its source is far away. I came near the fissure in the mountains into which the river enters from the north and leaves in a southward turn to join the Gila. The river, when I discovered it in November of 1744, was muddy. Some Indians said that in March or April it is reddened, for then there are rains in the red lands, of which there are many, which color the water. This is a good explanation, it seems to me. The Pimas named it *buqui aquimiti*—red river; the Cocomaricopas call it Rio Grande, a name which those far from here, who have never seen the Colorado, apply to the Gila. The inhabitants say that it comes out from the land, carrying pieces of lichen,

corn, etc., so that is not its source, but that it runs underground for a distance before it appears.¹²

The nation which inhabits its banks in one part and another where I went is Cocomaricopa, allied with the Cocomaricopas of the Gila River, with whom they communicate by the road over which I came. Farther down, near the junction with the Colorado, are the Yumas, and farther up to the north are the Nijores, who are found in 37 degrees of the north pole (N. Lat.). These last I did not visit, but the Cocomaricopas have very friendly and affectionate relations with them. They have a large trade in food—watermelons, melons, squash, beans of various colors, corn and other grains which grow at the side of the river and which resemble sand when milled. This is called *ohiaca*. They raise wheat in the moist lowlands. An ever-increasing number came to look me over from head to feet, passing from one side of the river to the other by swimming, at which they were very skillful. They were not afraid on seeing us, although they had never seen a white man before. From the information we had last year, they were on the Gila River with their relatives to see the strange people. The Moquis went into temporary camps to trade with them, as previously stated.

These discovered nations are confined to the Gila and Colorado Rivers. In the south are the Sobaipuri and Papago Pimas; to the east are the enemy Apaches, Moquis, and Nijores; to the north are nations even less known; and to the west is the Gulf of California. There are no cannibal Indians, neither are they as brutal as we were informed, nor are they unamenable to human treatment; but they are affectionate, happy, liberal, obsequious, docile, and respond to human treatment.

On my first entrada to the Gila River, they were not afraid and did not hide in fear of the people whom they had never seen. On my second visit they were not only unafraid, but tried to find opportunities to talk with me and the men of my party, chiefly because rods of office had been given to their principal men in the name of His Majesty, to start and organize law, obedience, and government among them. The clothing of the young is that of innocence, although already in many places where the padres have entered their lands, and by their instruction, they grow no little cotton, with which they weave good blankets, which some of them wear, mostly in my presence. They sell many other blankets to our Pimas for horses, knives, *chomites*,¹³ pack needles, etc.

¹² This legend was current as recently as 1865, and was heard by Maj. J. W. Powell shortly before he made his memorable journey down the Colorado. It is probably a misunderstood description of a *karst outlet*, of which there are a number on the edge of Mogollon Mesa.

¹³ *Chomites* is believed by Dr. F. W. Hodge, of the Southwest Museum, to be derived from the Nahuatl-*tzomtil*—wool, silk, hair cloth, or horsehair.

Their blanket in cold weather is a burning firebrand, which they hold to the pit of the stomach when traveling in the morning, and, when the heat of the sun comes out at about 8, they throw away the firebrand. There are so many discarded firebrands along the trails that they serve as guides to travelers. It is certain that from this custom these rivers were all named *Rios de Tizon*, a name which some maps give to only one. The women all go about modestly covered, most of them covering themselves from the waist to the knees with the inner bark of the willow, which, when beaten and decorated, is made into a kind of skirt. They are a well-fed and strong people, brownish in color, who do not stripe their faces like the Pimas and other nations, but use ocher only to cover the body with various colors, which they remove only when they wash. They cut their hair all around like a tonsure, so that it falls to the tops of the ears like a friar's. They decorate themselves with necklaces of sea shells intermixed with other things, and with round colored shells resembling coral, which they work and pierce. Their arrows and darts are very large and their bows are stiff and so long that they are nearly half a vara higher than a man, and the men are large. With twisted fibers they bind together reeds and small sticks, fastening them at the ends to make a kind of small boat,¹⁴ from which they catch fish from the infinite number which there are in the river, such as trout or salmon, on which they sustain themselves.

They make bouncing balls of spherical shape from a black substance¹⁵ that resembles resin, and inlay in them various sea shells with which they work and with which they play and make wagers. Throwing the ball with the point of the foot, they run 3 or 4 leagues, and the important feature is that he who first makes the circuit and returns to the starting point is the winner of the game. Their camps for their numerous people are reduced to one or two houses, with a roof of clay and grass, supported on many pillars of forked sticks with small beams from one to the next. These houses are so large that each holds more than 100 persons, and each house is divided into three parts, the first being a shelter as large as the house, but lower, for sleeping in the summer, the second being a hall, and the third a bedroom, in which the aged and children are put for protection. The Pimas living among them have a separate hut for each family.

The hatchet with which they cut wood for the building of their houses is the fire. They burn the bottoms of the poplar and alder trees until they fall, then burn the top until the beam is the length

¹⁴ A *balsa*. Illustrated and described in detail in "The Seri Indians" by W. J. McGee, Seventeenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 1-128. Also by A. L. Kroeber and others.

¹⁵ Probably *guayule*.

they want. Although the Company (of Jesus) does not excuse itself from work even in sterile lands to win souls to God, it must not be forgotten that for better reduction, teaching, and quieting of the Indians, it would be better for them to cultivate a land which would maintain them better. Their maintenance reduces itself to fish, some little corn which they plant in the well-watered river meanders, beans, and other seeds which the land produces without cultivation, like weeds, and a sweet-tasting fruit like a screw bean, the size of the little finger. On the Colorado grow squash, melons, corn, some wheat, and the grain which they call *ohiaca*. They impound river water and lead it to their cultivated fields for irrigation. There is a great abundance of supplies in all the Gila Valley, from its plains and fertile fields to the banks of the river and its islands.

They have no religion; no idols, nor temples, nor public cult, although since our missionary journeys, they have knowledge of the true God, and they give the salutation in their language: *Dios manegue quia*, *Dios te ayude*, they use, or *su amigo*. There are no sorcerers among them as there are among all the other nations. The sorcerers are the greatest obstruction of the conversion. One of them described to me, and I saw, in the wall of the Casa Grande, a niche, in which there was an image of a man, who was burned in front of a crowd of Indians at Sudacson for saying that they should not believe in such witchcraft.

The language of all these nations—Cocomaricopa, Yuma, Nijora, Quicamopa—is one soft to hear, and as easy as the Pima is not, for they have the soft *e* which the Pima lack, using the repeated *u* instead. They chant their language. There live among them a number of Pimas who also know another language: these were my interpreters on my entradas, although on my last trip to the Colorado I took for an interpreter a Christian Yuma Indian, whom the Cocomaricopas had raised, sold to the Pimas, who sold him to the Spanish, who gave him to me. The reason that these nations, although of the same language and customs, have differences, is because of the little wars which they have among themselves, which amount to spying on the people of a distant rancheria, killing them, and saving the children, which they covet to sell to the Pimas for things of little value. The Pimas sell them to the Spanish for ten things which they want, which include a knife, a yard of ribbon, etc.

All of these captives here are called *Nijores*, although there is another nation hereabouts called *Hijeras*. There are, on the Colorado, some bones placed in a high tree as a trophy of a Nijora woman whom they killed. At times they do not make peace, although their wars do not last long, and from the distrust which they cause, there is always an unpopulated area separating the two nations. With the

Spanish and Christians they have not made war, neither have they allied themselves with our enemies the Apaches. They give up their wars easily on entering the Faith, as we have seen in this Pimería, where there have been wars, as is shown by the *Trincheras*¹⁶ on many of their mountains, but from the teaching of the padres, they became reconciled and made peace. Their diet is of rabbits, hares, deer, and mountain sheep which go by narrow trails from the Gila to the Colorado. The sheep and deer, of which there are an infinite number on the banks of the river, where they go to drink, have made many wide trails in their wandering. The labyrinth of trails confused us, as we could not tell which was the trail of the people. On the valley floor these trails divide, and in the living rock of some of the mountains and hills the trails of the deer can be seen. The Indians kill some of these deer and tan their hides. They also know of the buffalo, which they do not have in their country, for they have much trade in hides with Indians (from the buffalo country) who sell them.

Passing now to the advantages which will result from the conquest of these rivers, and from the founding of missions on them, which are the first and principal motives in the royal hearts and in the consideration of the sons of San Ignacio, their discoverers. Already this reduction has become only a means to an end, which I will state: namely, the advancement of our Holy Faith. Of the thousands of souls who live on the banks of these rivers and at their mouth, whose number I do not know, and have no concept of, and know that I have no concept of, and which I do not want to guess for fear of deceiving others, I will be safe in saying that there are over 10,000 along the course of the Gila below Casas Grandes, and to the south nearby there live Pimas and Papagos in dry, sterile, and therefore inadministrable country, for which reason they are the most heathen, whom we hope to bring to the flock of the church and to allegiance to his Catholic Majesty, greatly augmenting the number. Some day we will see on all the Gila and Colorado Rivers a flourishing Christianity to the great happiness of His Majesty, and which will open the door for the discovery and conversion of other nations.

The conquest of these rivers will facilitate and conserve the conquests of the country to the north and northeast, where it has never been complete, ceasing in our absence, principally in the province of

¹⁶ Described fully in "Unknown Mexico," by Karl Lumholtz, vol. 1, p. 22; "New Trails in Mexico," by Karl Lumholtz, pp. 140-144, 168. "The Beginnings of Agriculture," by W. J. McGee, Amer. Anthropologist, vol. viii, pp. 372-373. "Prehistoric Settlements of Sonora, etc." Sauer and Grand, Univ. of Calif. Pub. Geog., vol. 5, No. 3. "A Trinchera Near Quitovaguita, Sonora," by R. L. Ives, Amer. Anthropologist, vol. xxxviii, No. 2, pp. 257-259, and others.

Moqui. Since the uprising in the province of New Mexico, when the people shook off the yoke of the faith in God, and of obedience to the king, with the death of some of the ministers of the seraphic religion, and much demoralization of the Spanish, the story has been current that they want padres of the Company (of Jesus) who will reconcile them with both majesties.

In a letter of advice which D. Antonio de Becerra wrote to Señor Virrey Marques de Casa Fuertes one reads these words:

"Listen and hear the Moqui people lament. Neither the Spaniard's arms against their indomitable courage, the roughness of their hills, the dryness of their inferior country, nor the teachings of the religious, have ever lessened their incorrigibility; except the black-robed fathers, or those of four peaks, as they say, naming the padres of the Company of Jesus; and they add that they have many times begged the governors of New Mexico for these padres.

Therefore, out of respect for the seraphic religion, and not desiring to displace anyone, the Company has refrained from soliciting its reduction, but recently, the padre provincial having, in the year (17)44, received an unsolicited order from His Majesty, charging the Company with the reduction of Moqui, Padre Ignacio Keler went past the Casas Grandes and up the Gila, directly toward Moqui, with an escort of nine soldiers. The enemy Apaches fell upon the party, stealing most of their horses and wounding one soldier, so that they were forced to return.

In the year 1744, I discovered the Colorado River and gathered much information about Moqui, which was given me by some Indians who had been to the valley of the river higher up. Lacking guides and a military escort, and because three of the Indians who accompanied me were already sick, it was not possible to penetrate to Moqui, which cannot be farther than two days and a half by trail from here. Padre Kino states that from his information it is 10 leagues. On my trip to San Rafael they told me that it had been the first settlement of Moqui. From the junction of the river of the Sobaipuri Pimas to Moqui is no greater distance than from 34 degrees to 36.

From this I may say that if a mission is founded at Casas Grandes, and some Pima warriors are made subjects of the Royal Dominion, these Pimas can go to Moqui with the padres as a company of soldiers, serving as guides, messengers, and escort, and the same can be done when a mission is founded at San Rafael de Hotaiguca on the Colorado. Further, the same Moquis, who go at times to trade with the Cocomaricopas of the Colorado, have become friends of the padres, and have invited them to their country, as their neighbors. With the settlement and conquest of the Gila and Colorado Rivers, a step is made toward Moqui, and with the conquest of these rivers, the royal

dominion will be greatly increased, for from the junction of the river of the Sobaipuris with the Gila it is about 160 leagues downstream to its mouth and 40 leagues more down the Colorado from its junction with the Gila. Certainly in this manner the Colorado can be made the frontier. This will also prevent conquest by other European nations, whose curiosity about this often-mentioned river has been manifest, particularly the nation whose conquests in the east have already reached Louisiana, which cannot be far from the sources of the said Colorado. Unless we prevent another nation from occupying the Colorado River, the Spanish conquests in North America will pass out of our control as easily as they have collected the maps we know of.

Another advantage, and not the least, which will result from this new conquest is the suppression of the cruel Apache nation, which lives to the east of these rivers, and from whence almost every month they come in growing numbers to rob and kill in the province of Sonora, doing so much damage to its settlements that today, because of their continued invasions, many lands, ranches, haciendas, and mines of great promise are abandoned. It follows that if these rovers were settled, and there were placed on the Gila, down which they come from Apacheria, a fort, for which I have already picked a good site, and if those nations which have already become our subjects were allied together against this common enemy, the gates of the enemy will be held very easily, and they will be corraled between this new presidio to their west, the two presidios of Terrenate and Coro de Guachi to their south, and that of Janos to the east, at the pass of New Mexico, leaving no gap or breathing hole except toward the heathen at the north.

With this conquest will come the long-desired solution of the problem of California—whether it is an island, or chain of islands, or a continent; a matter which up to now has been disputed by the workers in this northern America. The arguments for one side or the other among these missionaries are not convincing, and even though they be stronger on one side, I will not be content with explanations, but will hope for the certainty, which should not be hard to obtain if the Colorado and its mouth were settled. At any rate, whether it is an island or a continent, the abundant harvest which we predict from the fertile lands of these rivers will be of aid to sterile California, and without much trouble or work. The harvest can be loaded on canoes, made on the Gila and Colorado rivers, and floated to the mouth in the Gulf of California, where it will only be necessary to transship the cargo; and thus, the missionaries on one side of the river will be able to help those on the other. The padres of California, from 28 degrees of latitude, in which ends Christianity, will, briefly, be able to extend their discoveries toward the north of the

island, going to 33 degrees and minutes where the mouth of the river is, and even farther, without their steps being shortened by lack of food and supplies, thereby finishing the often-ordered conquest of all California.

I do not understand mines of gold and silver, for that is not my job; nor do the Indians of the Gila and Colorado Rivers understand them, for they are not very greedy; but it does not follow from this that there are not mines in these places, although it can be said that they have not been discovered. But who can discover them? Certainly not the Indians, who have no concept of, desire for, or use for silver; not the Spanish or civilized people, who have not entered, settled or prospected the country; not the few arrieros who accompanied the padres on their entradas. These arrieros may understand mines, and find traces of ore, as happened on my entradas, now this and now that indicating mineral, and of good quality, as they went along (float). After seriously considering, and with no desire to mislead the jealous padres, whom the Indians think come only for their souls, and without being able to give reasons or verification, it seems likely that God, who is the real benefactor, will reimburse the settlers of these lands, for their past expenses, with these attractive mines of gold and silver.

It is clear that the chief occupation in this Pimería Alta 20 years after the padres started its conversion was not the running of mines, but when some Spaniards entered it and discovered a number of silver mines, there followed a general feeling of uncertainty, not about the tenor of the silver veins, but about the means and needs of some poor miners, who today need lead, tomorrow mercury, another day steel and iron, then game, then clothes to dress their peons, then a blacksmith, then everything; and they are always needing something. The almost total lack of these things is due to the great distance of more than 600 leagues from the mines to Mexico City, or, to say it better, the difficulty of transporting these things and carrying them on the backs of mules.

The foregoing was the case in 1736, but a few years later, when his Catholic Majesty, our King (whom God guard), founded three new missions in Pimería, namely Guevavi, Santa Maria, and San Javier del Bac, there were discovered near them various mines, and, distant from Guevavi about 8 leagues was discovered the famous *Cerro de las Bolas*,¹⁷ in which were found nuggets of virgin silver, and many arrobas of metal. The various inhabitants have left there, partly because they had exhausted the wealth, partly because of the invasions and killings by the enemy Apaches, and doubtless because

¹⁷ At Arizonac, Sonora, R. M. This area is still a steady small producer of placer gold and silver.

there was nothing more to collect and work. Believing that there might be more silver in the interior of the hill, His Majesty ordered that it be worked to his benefit. Although there are no known mines on the Gila and Colorado Rivers, there is no lack of hopes and possibilities of their existence. In the year 1697, Capt. D. Mateo Mange, traveling with Padre Francisco Eusebio Kino to the rancheria of San Javier del Bac, 40 leagues from the Gila, was told by some Indians of a metallic rock to the west which seemed to be rich in silver.

In the year 1699, on another trip to the Gila, the same party passed hills of rock and *tequestete*¹⁸ of metal which seemed to be mineralized, and on the same trip, nearer the Gila River, where the heathen Yumas live, they crossed some small hills of green, yellow, and other-colored gravel. About 17 leagues above the junction of the Gila with the Colorado they found a metallic lava which gave silver after panning or roasting. They took out of the river, at a curve, the vessel of red and livid material in which they concentrate it, which in New Spain is called *temesquitate*. Perhaps the ancient inhabitants of New Mexico, when they discovered the rich Sierra Azul, concentrated the metal in it, and the current of the river carried it here. Also, the aforementioned Captain Manje says that the Indians told him that the Verde River, which first joins the Salado and then the Gila, was named so because it passes by a mountain containing many veins of green, blue, and other-colored minerals.¹⁹ We do not know that this was the Sierra Azul, in which it was reported that an infinite number of mines of gold and silver were seen, from which were taken much good ore compared to the small amount of metal taken out and smelted in New Mexico at the beginning of its pacification. The pacifiers were not able to return again, fearing that the pueblos would revolt like the new conversions, so for many years we have had only reports of the Sierra Azul, but those coming to settle the Gila Valley have hopes of discoveries in that direction.

In the last few years, not very far from the new road to the Cocomarcopa nation, which I discovered, there were found some large sheets of virgin copper,²⁰ of which I saw some and took them in my hands. I do not know whether or not this is evidence that there might be more there also. To conclude briefly, those who are settling

¹⁸ *Tequestete* is rendered *tepushete* in the Rudo Ensayo, p. 243. This is probably derived from the Nahuatl *tepushli*, metal, and *atle*, instead of. The material itself, from descriptions and locations given in other accounts, is almost certainly *gossan*, the iron-stained outcrop of a mineral vein.

¹⁹ Probably the site of the present Jerome, Ariz., copper and gold mine region. Sedelmayr's prophecy about the mines in this area was strangely accurate, considering his professed ignorance of mining.

²⁰ These sheets of native copper are rather common in the copper-mining regions of Arizona, being the result of secondary deposition of copper in joints and along bedding planes in the rock. Another such copper plate is mentioned in "The Journey of Coronado" by G. P. Winship, p. 75.

these river valleys have hopes of discovering mines, and also placers of pearls.

With the settlement of these river valleys other information, whose truth I can neither confirm nor deny, can be investigated. It will be desirable to investigate the statements of the Pima inhabitants of the Gila Valley, which are that they are certain that there is, about 100 leagues to the north of Moqui, a small tank of dense material, of the color of silver, which is in continual slow motion, which when picked up runs out of the hands, and which is surrounded by red earth; indications of mercury. Who knows whether this is true or not? ²¹ This same account describes a mine of mercury that they have in New Mexico. I am an ocular witness that the Indians of the Colorado paint themselves with a very red pigment which resembles vermilion or red ocher, and they tell me that up the river there is much of this. Others say that when they break the red material which they bring to paint themselves, drops like thick white water, which collect very slowly, come out. Seven years ago a Nijora girl (of the nation which lives up the Colorado; sold by the Pimas to a miner of Agua Caliente, a mining camp in this Pimería) on seeing mercury being extracted by her owner for the refining of silver, caught some of it, and, letting it go, looked and pointed toward her homeland, with gestures and motions indicating that there was much of it in her country.

It would also be desirable to investigate the report that white men, who wear clothes, live toward the north and the seacoast. Some time ago a fleet came from there to the Colorado and traded goods with the Indians for hides.

It would be well to investigate the mysterious Indian account of a Spanish woman ²² who in past years left a house on the other side of the Colorado and came to their camps, preaching what the padres preached. This agrees with what is read in the life of the venerable Madre Agreda, who many times was seen in parts of unknown America, preaching, catechizing, and giving presents to the young.

It would be desirable to investigate and determine what rich, governed, and valiant nations inhabit this continent beyond the Colorado, an entirely unknown part of America, and to determine the location of these seven cities or caves, from which the Mexican nation issued and where they learned the organization, government, and

²¹ This legend of the lake of quicksilver is common in the accounts of Pimería. The mine of mercury in New Mexico may have been the present mercury mining area of Terlingua, Brewster County, Tex., or one of the numerous small mercury mines in the Gila Valley. As native mercury sometimes occurs with cinnabar, the legend may possibly have a basis of fact.

²² The legend of the white woman of Yuma first appears in Manje's Luz de Tierra Incognita. He obtained an eyewitness description of the woman from some aged Indians. Possibly this legendary Spanish woman was the notorious Catalina D'Erauso, who disappeared from a ship in the harbor of Vera Cruz in 1635. The present Yuma Indians have either forgotten this legend or will not tell it to white men.

culture which caused the Mexicans to found an empire so far from their original homeland. There is no doubt that many stayed behind to maintain this land, and some say that many left the first Moctezuma at the Gila River and returned to their lands. Also it would be desirable to see whether there are or are not kingdoms of Gran Quivira and Gran Tepeguayos, which the French are trying to discover. Many other advantages will result from the conversion of these nations which populate the Gila and Colorado Valleys, which, because I am not certain of them, or cannot expatiate on them, I am not putting on this paper.

The dispositions of these nations toward the reception of our faith are these: they are gentile nations, affable, affectionate and hard working, enemies of our enemies, who are enemies of the Spanish, friendly in their trading and bargaining with the Christians, domestic and very orderly in their lands. For more than 50 years they have peaceably admitted the padres to their lands, respecting them greatly and receiving rods of office from the hands of the padres, and hoping for the coming of a resident priest so that they may become Christians like the Pimas. This is testified to by the writings of Padre Eusebio Kino and Agustin de Campos and Capt. D. Mateo Mangue, mostly of the Pima rancherias of the Gila Valley, whose principal Indian made a round trip of more than 300 leagues to Santa Maria Baseraca, for the sole purpose of asking baptism and a resident priest, to whom the Pimas offer their young for baptism. In the year (17)44, when I discovered the Colorado River and wanted to go to Moqui, these Indians said to me, "Why do you go without first instructing us?"

Before leaving on this trip to Mexico City there came to San Felipe on the Gila River three heathen Cocomaricopas to see me, the town and the church; looking over everything with much curiosity, because in becoming Christians they will be able to build a church. This very clearly explains the common desire of these Indians if they are not afraid of their shamans and of some apostates, who have taken flight from here, and found refuge among them, who, as a nation, have no lack of shamans, who are those who oppose the faith and intimidate the others.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
Bureau of American Ethnology
Bulletin 123

Anthropological Papers, No. 10
Notes on the Creek Indians

By J. N. B. HEWITT
Edited by JOHN R. SWANTON

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NOTES ON THE CREEK INDIANS

By J. N. B. HEWITT

Edited by J. R. SWANTON

INTRODUCTION

By J. R. SWANTON

In the administrative report of Dr. J. Walter Fewkes, Chief of the Bureau of American Ethnology, for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1921, Mr. J. N. B. Hewitt reported that he was "at work on some material relating to the general culture of the Muskogean peoples, especially that relating to the Creeks and the Choctaw." He went on to say that—

In 1881-82 Maj. J. W. Powell began to collect and record this matter at first hand from Mr. L. C. Perryman and Gen. Pleasant Porter, both well versed in the native customs, beliefs, culture, and social organization of their peoples. Mr. Hewitt assisted in this compilation and recording. In this way he became familiar with this material, which was laid aside for lack of careful revision, and a portion of which has been lost; but as there is still much that is valuable and not available in print it was deemed wise to prepare the matter for publication, especially in view of the fact that the objective activities treated in these records no longer form a part of the life of the Muskogean peoples, and so cannot be obtained at first hand. In addition to this material, it is designed to add as supplementary matter some Creek tales and mythic legends collected by Mr. Jeremiah Curtin.

At that time I was preparing my extensive Creek material for the press and suggested to Mr. Hewitt that he print his own notes first so that I could refer to them. But although the administrative report for the year following indicates continued work by Mr. Hewitt on his manuscript and it appears that he took it up again in 1926 for a time, it remained unpublished at the time of his death.

Although Choctaw is mentioned in the administrative report of 1920-21 as well as Creek, the material is practically all Creek. The greater part of this Hewitt had copied, in a somewhat amplified form. I have checked his copies by the originals and have completed the copying. The material is not very extensive and in considerable measure it duplicates what I published in the Forty-second Annual Report of the Bureau, but there is some information which is unique.

The greater part of this material was obtained from Legus F. Perryman of the Okmulgee or Big Springs town and the remainder from Gen. Pleasant Porter, also of Okmulgee. Porter was at one time head chief of the Creek Nation and Perryman probably accompanied him as his "interpreter", though both appear to have been able to speak and write English, and most of these notes were originally written down by them. Mr. Hewitt states that they were obtained at Jersey City in 1881-82, but on one sheet appears the address "Tremont House, Washington, D. C.," and so it is probable that some additions were made in Washington. This would seem to be implied by Hewitt's reference to Powell's part in obtaining them. In 1881-82 Hewitt was working over Iroquois material with Mrs. Erminnie Smith, generally in New York State, but the place of residence of both was Jersey City. Some notes were evidently added in 1883. The editor met Mr. Perryman once in 1912, not many years before his death. In the 30 years that had elapsed between these two dates it is evident that much had dropped from Mr. Perryman's mind. Be that as it may, many of the items in this paper have never been printed before and add some valuable details to our knowledge of the ancient Creeks, and this in spite of the fact that Okmulgee was one of the towns most rapidly affected by European influence. It was formerly one of those affiliated with the Hitchiti, speaking the Hitchiti language which was nearer to Choctaw than to Creek.

The editor has preferred to risk some repetition of material already published in the Forty-second Annual Report of the Bureau and other papers rather than the omission of material that might be of service for a fuller understanding of the ancient Creek organization. Wherever the pronoun I appears it is the editor who is speaking, but it will not be difficult to separate the few comments that he has added.

TOWNS¹

At the time when Porter and Perryman were interviewed (1881-82) they stated that there were 49 towns, each occupying a distinct territory, but that they had increased greatly after white contact and that tradition said there were originally but 18. These were all divided into two classes, one called the Itálwálgi (Itulwulki) and the other the Kipayálgi (Kipayulki, Kipoywulki, Kupahyulki).² This

¹ See Forty-second Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., Washington, 1928; also F. G. Speck, *Ethnology of the Yuchi Indians*, Anthropological Publications of the University of Pennsylvania Museum, vol. 1, No. 1, Philadelphia, 1909; and F. G. Speck, *The Creek Indians of Taskigi Town*, in *Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association*, n. s. vol. II, pt. 2.

² Itálwálgi seems to mean "his own towns" and Kipayálgi or Inkipayálgi, "his opposites," and it is believed that the applications of these would change with the individual. Perryman and Porter belonged to a White town and therefore their Itálwálgi were Whites and their Kipayálgi were Reds. Had they belonged to a Red town the appellations would have shifted accordingly.

last is also given as Tipayulki but this form seems to be erroneous. The towns called Itálwálgi had control of important matters relating to civil government. Their badge was white, the emblem of peace and wisdom. The towns (or tribes) called Kipayálgi had charge of military affairs, and their badge was red, the emblem of war and prowess. In many respects the former had executive functions, while those of the latter were legislative and judicial. The colors mentioned were painted on doorposts and on various articles, and were used in bodily decoration. All of the people of a town, whether of White or Red clans, belonged as a whole to one of these two classes. Although the White towns were entitled to the civil offices, sometimes the Red towns obtained such dominion and power during war that they kept them when peace came. For instance, the White towns had civil control of the Creeks from time immemorial up to the Revolution of 1776, and then the Red towns obtained power and kept it until 1861. Since the Civil War, 1861-65, the White towns have again been in control. The White towns took sides under McGilivray with the British and this may have caused the change of power to the Red towns. The following list of the eighteen original towns with their daughter towns and the division of the nation to which each belonged is given by Perryman, but the more usual spellings of the town names have been substituted.

WHITE TOWNS

- | | | |
|---------------|---|--|
| I. Tulsa----- | } | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Otcia-pofa ("In the hickory grove"). 2. Tulsa Atcina-hatchee ("Cedar Creek Tulsa" or "Little River Tulsa"). 3. Tulsa Kaniti ("Tulsa Canadian"). 4. Lutcapoga ("Turtle Place"). |
|---------------|---|--|

Nos. 2 and 3 represent a division which took place after they migrated west. There is a note to the effect that the Tuskegee came from Tulsa but this is erroneous.

- | | | |
|-------------------|---|--|
| II. Tuskegee----- | } | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Oi-teadi Tuskegee ("Red Water Tuskegee") 2. Kaniti Tuskegee ("Canadian Tuskegee"). |
|-------------------|---|--|

These two towns had divided only a short time before.

- | | | |
|----------|---|--|
| III----- | } | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Tallahassee ("Old Town"). 2. Tukpafka ("Spunk Town"). 2a. Koasati. 3. Wakokai ("Blue Heron Town"—the place where they nested). 4. Wiognfki ("Muddy Water"). |
|----------|---|--|

No. 1 is said to have been "the first." No. 2a was inserted later and the insertion is erroneous. The name of No. 4 is also that of the Mississippi River.

- | | | |
|-------------------|---|--|
| IV. Okfuskee----- | } | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Okfuskee. 2. Tcatoksofka. 3. Abihkutci. 4. Nuyaka. |
|-------------------|---|--|

"These four were all one and this one was called Okfuskee. Before that they were all Tulsa and the Tuskegee were also at first Tulsa; * all the White towns were originally Tulsa. All came out of the ground at the Rocky Mountains." No. 2 is said to have been modern, only 50 years old in 1882.

- V. Hitchiti-----
- | | |
|---|--------------------------------|
| { | 1. Tálwa láko. |
| { | 2. Okmulgee (or "Big Spring"). |
| { | 3. Sawokli (extinct). |
| { | 4. Okitiyakani (extinct). |

The first three were originally one town called Hitchiti. This is somewhat confusing for Hitchiti is also given among the numbered towns.

VI. Kasihta.

VII. Łalogálga ("The fishery—fish pond").

- VIII-----
- | | |
|---|--|
| { | 1. Wiwohka ("A-wo'-ka") ("Roaring Water"). |
| { | 2. Okchal. |

No. 1 separated from No. 2.

IX. Asilanabi ("When the tea stem is green" or "Place of green leaves." The "tea" is said to have been from wintergreen leaves but this is doubtful).

- X. Abihka, The gate
of the nation.
- | | |
|---|---------------|
| { | 1. Abihka. |
| { | 2. Talladega. |
| { | 3. Kan-tcadi. |

There was only one square at first but "of late they have had three squares."

XI. Pakan-tallahassee. From what town lately sprung is not known.

RED TOWNS

- I. Coweta-----
- | | |
|---|---------------|
| { | 1. Coweta. |
| { | 2. Łikatecka. |

These two towns were formerly one.

II. Tukabahchee.

- III-----
- | | |
|---|----------------|
| { | 1. Holiwahali. |
| { | 2. Łapláko. |
- IV-----
- | | |
|---|-------------------|
| { | 1. Kaialedji. |
| { | 2. Hatchee tcába. |

These were one and came from Tukabahchee.

- V-----
- | | |
|---|-----------------|
| { | 1. Atasi. |
| { | 2. Tál-muchási. |

These were one.

- VI-----
- | | |
|---|--|
| { | 1. Eufaula. |
| { | 2. Eufaula hobai ("Eufaula far away"). |

- VII-----
- | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| { | 1. Chiaha. |
| { | 2. Osochi. |
| { | 3. Hotálgihuyana ("Whirlwind Track"). |

These three were one.

Towns confederated with the Creeks but speaking other languages were the following:

1. Yuchi (adopted by the Kasihta).
2. Alabama.
3. Koasati.
4. Hitchiti.

* This is certainly wrong. The Tuskegee were connected with the Alabama and Koasati rather than the true Creeks.

The Yuchi language was very different from the Creek. The others resembled one another and were similar to Choctaw.

The following tribes were conquered by the Creeks or were remnants of peoples incorporated with them:

1. Apalachicola.
2. Yamaságl.
3. Nokfilágl.
4. Natchez.

These four were thought to be extinct but the first continued under the name Tálwa láko, and there are a few Natchez even today. Perryman thought that the Alabama, Hitchiti, and Koasati had sprung from the Apalachicola and he is, indeed, supported by their languages. A note says that Alabama, Hitchiti, Koasati, and Natchez were like Choctaw but that is not true of Natchez, though Natchez is remotely connected with the Muskogean tongues.

The information above given corresponds in almost every detail with that which I obtained 30 years later, but, as already stated, Koasati was in no way connected with the Tukpafka group of towns, and the same may be said of Tuskegee. I did not learn of a town corresponding to Tallahassee from which the Tukpafka group are supposed to have come, and Perryman was clearly wrong, or misunderstood, in separating Łalogalga from Okchai and Asilanabi. The relationship of these three is so well recognized that not a suggestion of any difference in origin reached me. On the other hand, I am not certain that Wiwohka belonged with them, though the connection is probable. It will be noticed that, although the group to which Kaialedji and Hatchee-tcába belongs is made coordinate with Tukabahchee, it is stated specifically that the former came from the latter, but the information I received regarding Tál-muchási would separate it from Atasi and align it with the Okfuskee towns. This I believe to be correct, because the connection is stated by Hawkins. Atasi, as well as Kaialedji, is commonly believed to have sprung from Tukabahchee. Either Perryman did not know that Apalachicola and Tálwa láko were names for the same town or, what is more probable, he was misunderstood. The Yamasee were connected with the Hitchiti in language, and Gatschet was given to understand that Nokfilágl was a name for the Timucua of Florida.

A town was usually designated as a "fire," for a council fire was always kindled in it in a prescribed place, and the houses of the village had to be built within a drumbeat of that. The man who had charge of the fire was an important official and was called Tutka-titca, signifying "fire maker." Each town had a certain amount of land under cultivation and whenever a child was born it was proportionately increased, an extra allotment being made. At the annual festival a census was taken by means of sticks (the "broken days") and

if it showed an increase in population, more land was taken in. This, of course, applies to the time when there was plenty of waste land around the towns. If they found they were decreasing—I suppose this means decreasing seriously—they attributed the calamity to the tythe (tie) snake and removed.

Towns, like clans, were perpetuated matrilineally, each person belonging to the town of his or her mother.

CLANS ⁴

Among the Creeks the clan was a body of kindred, actual or by the legal fiction of adoption, which did not embrace the entire body of persons represented in a community having a kinship system. The persons who belonged to a clan might be regarded as the descendants of a common ancestor, a woman, through women. Only the descendants of the women belonged to the clan. The descendants of the males belonged to the several clans with which they had intermarried. Thus, a group of brothers and sisters belonged to the clan of their mother; but only the children of the sisters remained in the clan; the children of the brothers belonged to the clans of their wives, as has just been said.

The organization of the clan was based on kinship. The unit of the organization of the tribe was the clan, since each tribe was composed of a group of clans. The town was usually constituted of a number of segments of clans, each segment retaining its blood kinship rights and duties. Each household or fireside, of course, consisted of members of two different clans.

The clans were separated into two divisions, one called *Hathagálgi*, "People of the White," and the other *Tcilokogálgi*, "Foreigners," who were enemies, fighters, bloody, red. One authority called the second of these "Olumhulkee", probably intended for *Lámhálgi*, "Eagle People," the Eagle clan, although now nearly extinct, having at one time been important. Each of these is said to have consisted of four principal clans from which the others had, theoretically, become separated, and these, along with some of their subdivisions, were given by Perryman as follows:

HATHAGA (WHITE SOCIETY)

- I. *Hotálgálgi*, Wind Clan.
 - a. *Konálgí*, Skunk Clan.
- II. *Itchaswálgí*, Beaver Clan.
- III. *Nokosálgí*, Bear Clan.
 - a. *Yahálgí*, Wolf Clan.
- IV. *Fuswálgí*, Bird Clan.

⁴Forty-second Ann. Rpt. Bur. Amer. Ethn., Washington, 1928, pp. 114-119; F. G. Speck, *Ethnology of the Yuchi Indians*, Anthropol. Publ. Univ. of Pa. Museum.

TCHLOKOKO (RED(?) MOIETY)

- I. Aktayatcálgi, said to be the old name.
 - a. Tcolálgi, Fox Clan.
- II. Katcálgi, Panther Clan.
 - a. Kowakatecálgi, Wildcat Clan (all cat clans came from it).
- III. Ahalagálgi, Potato Clan.
 - a. Halpatálgi, Alligator Clan.
 - b. Wotkálgi, Raccoon Clan.
 - c. Sopaktálgi, Toad Clan.
- IV. Itcoálgi, Deer Clan.

The arrangement by fours falls in line with a tendency noteworthy in Morgan's treatment of clans among various tribes and might be attributed to him since his influence was all-powerful in the Bureau of Ethnology in its early years. This, however, would be a mistake. The number four is the cardinal ceremonial number among the Creeks and use of it may readily be attributed to that fact. Again, so far as the White clans are concerned, the data I got agrees precisely with that of Perryman. Even in this moiety it was probably a convention, as I learned from two or three good sources that the Katcálgi—of all clans—had formerly been on the White side. The arrangement of clans in the Red moiety is still more doubtful, outside of what has already been said of the Katcálgi. The Aktayatcálgi and Ahalagálgi were sometimes put together. More often the Tcolálgi were associated with the Ahalagálgi. On the other hand, the Wotkálgi were usually made one of the leading clans, or the leading clan of its group, and the Halpatálgi were generally given an independent position though classed with the Itámálgi, given by Perryman as an unclassified clan, and the Pinwálgi or Turkey Clan. The Sopaktálgi, however, I never before heard of associated with this group. They were always placed with the Takosálgi or Mole Clan and the Tcokotálgi, and sometimes these were put in one phratry with the Itcoálgi. Besides those clans already given, Perryman knew of two others, one called the Atciálgi or Corn Clan, of unknown affiliations. The other, the Panosálgi, is probably intended for Pahosálgi, a clan closely connected with the Deer.

THE SQUARE GROUND⁵

The Square or Yard was called Tokfi'tta (or Tokfi'kta), but sometimes Paskofa (Perryman spelled it "Pas-cofar" or "Pars-cofer").

Three plans of Creek Squares are given, two of them evidently intended to represent the same, while the third seems to be distinct. As the descriptions given in the text and the notes accompanying the

⁵ Ibid., pp. 170-241; also cf. Smithsonian Misc. Colls., vol. 85, no. 8. Tokfi'tta contains the word fi'tta, "yard." Paskofa means "the swept area."

sketches disagree in some particulars, it is somewhat uncertain how many Square Grounds are in question. The third plan (fig. 13) bears a rather close resemblance in its arrangements to what we know of *Kasihta* and is probably intended for it.⁶ The four cabins erected toward the four cardinal points are indicated by A, A, A, A, and, in front of each, split logs are shown (B, B, B, B). The Chiefs (*Mikâgi*) who belonged to White clans sat in the west cabin, the

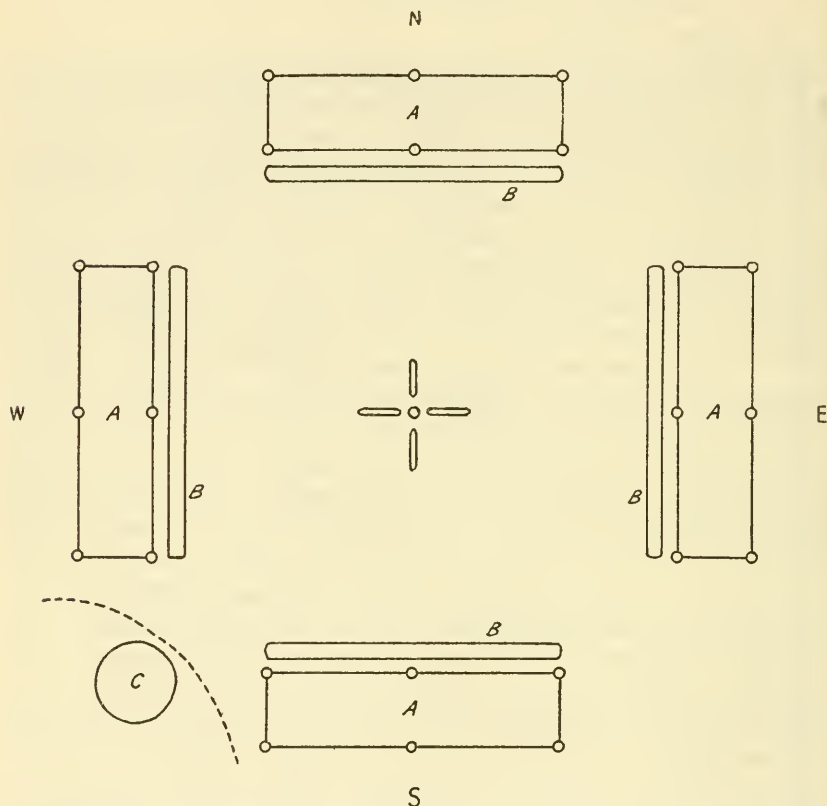


FIGURE 13.—Creek Square Ground or "Big House", probably that of *Kasihta*.

Warriors (*Tâstânâgâlgi*) and Aspergers (*Yaholâgi*), the former at least from Red Clans, in the north cabin, the Chief's Advisers (*Tâski henihâlgi*) and Burden-bearers (*Imalâlgi*) or Warriors' Assistants in the south cabin, and the women and children in that to the east. The four cabins together were called the Big House (*Tcoko lâko*). C is the "Round or Steep House" (*Tcoko fâski*).

The other plans, combined in figure 14, may be intended to represent the Okmulgee Square to which Pleasant Porter and Legus Perryman

⁶ See Forty-second Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 266.

belonged but the only other plan of that Square I have been able to obtain resembles that of Kasihta.⁷ This also has four cabins but there is more detail regarding their construction. Each measured 30 by 10 feet and consisted of two long seats, one behind the other. The roof was raised on nine posts (though only six are shown in figure 13) and the ends were separated into two sections—in the minds of the Indians if not otherwise—by a median line from front to back

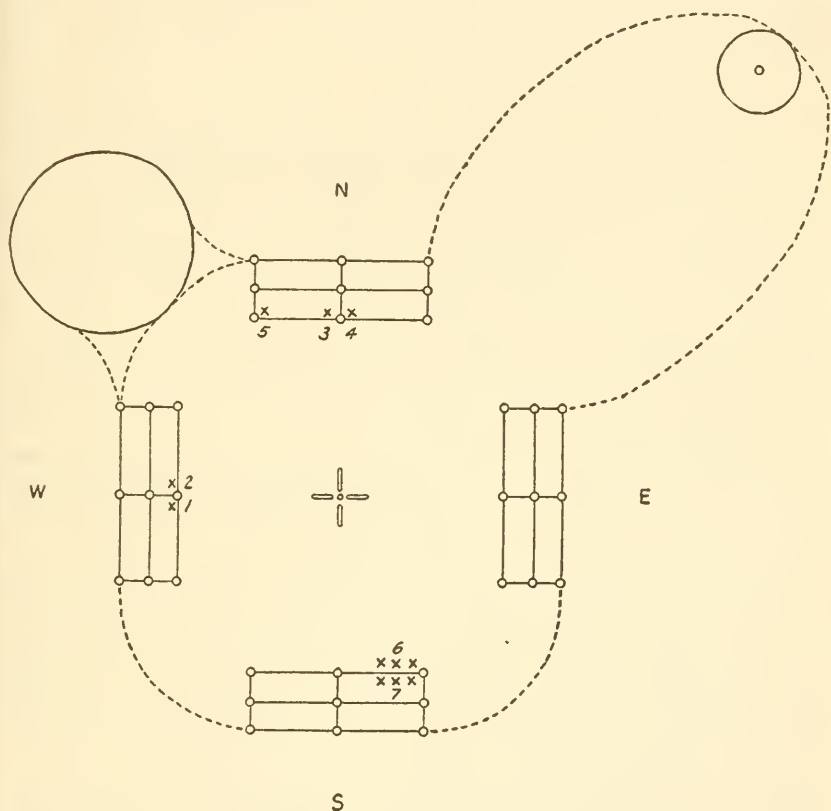


FIGURE 14.—Creek Square Ground or "Big House", perhaps that of Okmulgee.

connecting the three center posts. The cabins were oriented so as to form a perfect square facing inward, and twenty feet apart between the nearest posts. The fire was kindled in the exact center of the enclosed space, and, as indicated in the diagram, at the inner ends of four main logs arranged in the form of a cross and oriented also toward the cardinal points. Close to the front posts of all the cabins except that to the east, which was for the women and children, were four seats for men of rank. The west cabin was that of the Chief (Miko) and in it sat, as numbered, (1) the Town Chief (Tálwa

⁷ Ibid., p. 269.

Miko), and (2) the Speaker (Simiabaya). The Warriors (Tästána-gálgi) sat in the north cabin and their leaders at the places numbered 3-5. The Henihálgi sat in the south cabin and on the fourth day of the annual busk the women (6) began their dance in front of the east end of this cabin facing the singers (7) placed there for them. The circle to the northwest marks the location of the "Round or Sharp House" said to be 100 feet in diameter and 50 feet high. The sweepings from the ceremonial ground made ridges of earth called *tådjo* which are indicated by the broken lines. The circle to the northeast represents a mound of earth heaped about a tree and derived from the dirt and rubbish in the Square which was scraped up annually and thrown there. The space intervening between this tree and the Square is evidently the Chunk Yard, though it is not so designated. The location of this was different in the different towns.

According to the notes in the text the Sharp House was made around a tall tree or, if no suitable tree was available, a pole erected for the purpose. Other poles were leaned against this and we are here told that it might be carried up to 60 feet. This was to furnish a shelter in case of rain. A fire was maintained there and there is where they danced in bad weather. By an evident error the text locates this at the "southeast" corner.

In the construction of all of these buildings, certain persons were assigned to the duty of procuring each of the timbers, and every clan had to provide a special number of poles for the Sharp House. This assignment was never varied.

Every person knew his place in the Square. The west and south cabins were generally occupied by men of the White clans, but in one town we are informed that they used only part of the south cabin and had some seats in the east cabin instead. This exception may have been due to the fact that the *Imalálgi*, assistants of the Warriors, were seated in the south cabin in the first plan given.

All of these Squares were arranged in accordance with certain measurements and the Indians were as precise about these as if their lives depended upon it.

GOVERNMENT ⁸

Perryman said that each town consisted of a number of clans or rather a number of segments of clans, and the Town Chief (*Tälwá Miko*) was chosen from the principal one. Whenever another clan increased in numbers and importance so as to exceed that of the principal clan, a part or the whole of this clan would separate from

⁸ Forty-second Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 276-333; Smithsonian Misc. Colls., vol. 85, No. 8.

the village and establish a new one. This happened only when the people were so numerous and the leading men so popular that they could induce members of the other clans to unite with them in the enterprise. In this way the chiefs of the several tribes came to be widely distributed among the clans. This statement must, however, be taken with some qualification since a number of related towns are known to have been governed by the same clan.

In the Red towns the leading officers were selected from the military line by the civil moiety, and the leading officers of the White towns(?) were selected from the civil moiety by the people of the military moiety, in whom inhered the military government and who to some extent took part also in civil affairs, as in a similar manner the civilians took part in military affairs. But questions of peace were decided by the people of the White towns, and civil officers were chosen from their body. Questions relating to war were settled by the people of the Red towns, and the military officers were chosen therefrom.

There was yet another class of people in the state, namely, the prophets and medicine men or shamans. These constituted a priesthood, and performed important functions. Every act of the Muskoogee government, or of the officers thereof, was considered a religious act. Councils were always convened with religious ceremonies and the installation of officers was always opened similarly. In the charge given to the officers at their installation, the religious customs were enjoined and the importance of these shown. The festivals held by the people were all religious festivals, were opened with religious ceremonies, and were intended to inculcate religious ideas, so that when a festival was held religious truths were always taught. Whenever punishment was inflicted, the religious reasons therefor were always explained to the culprit and to the people. All punishment was explained as a washing away of the wrong. Every officer of the government was also a religious officer and was virtually a priest, and these officers were supposed to be repositories of religious truth, so that the doctrines were handed down from officer to officer of the government from generation to generation, and the method of selecting officers long in advance of their installation was needful in order that the men might be trained in the governmental, and especially in the religious, duties. In fact, governmental and religious duties were held to be one and the same.

The principal chief of a town, called Miko or Tálwá Miko, was chosen out of the domestic or White clans by the executive or Red clans. One class selected the leader from the other class. In making the selection they considered the matter for a long time. They studied the character and qualifications of the best men that the

particular group of clans had, and talked about the matter sometimes for a week or more, finally selecting the man they regarded as wisest and best. They did not, however, take a formal vote. The names of a dozen men might be mentioned at first, and the number then narrowed down to one. Afterwards one of their number was chosen to deliver the decision. He might be called a member of the Executive Council. These Town Chiefs never held a higher office but the Executive Chiefs could be promoted. New members were added by the Executive Council itself, but a great many clans had no man fit for the position. They might number as many as 24 but were often fewer. The name of the new chief having been announced by these men, including a list of his virtues, a committee of these same clans notified him in a speech which lasted all night. He might refuse the honor absolutely. If he did they approached him again, but if he refused the third time they left him alone. However, a man of great prudence would refuse until the third time. He would not consent at once, but if he finally accepted he would say: "If it is your will, then it must be so." When he had accepted the office the opposite line of clans was notified of his acceptance. When it was thought to be necessary to change a chief, the matter was taken under consideration a long time. They would say: "This man is getting too old; his thoughts are getting short, and he cannot finish an idea; he cannot rule wisely. Let us select some younger man to learn the duties of the position." Then, after a long conference, another man would be selected and notified. A man's son was never made chief in his father's stead. His uncle was the nearest kin, being his mother's brother, and having the same blood as his mother.

The installation of chiefs.—When they installed a chief they put in his hand a white wing or a white feather. White was the emblem of civic rule. Sometimes they used the wing of a large white bird or white feathers from the wing of a turkey. The fan was placed in his left hand, and in his right hand he held a white staff.

A long ritual speech was made by the celebrant to the officer who was being installed. The first idea presented to him was this: "We put you on your bench and put in your hands the white fan and the white staff of authority and we also put in your care our women, our children, and people without number." They always used these ceremonial expressions, and also said, "We put the laws of our government in your hands." Then they told him that he must not occasion strife nor permit it, that he must not allow the "crossing of sharp instruments," meaning any kind of internal tribal strife, and added, "We are under you; you must see to it that this great calamity does not take place." They told him that he must not govern by sharp instruments, that is, by war, but he must govern by the law

of wisdom. They told him that his eyes must look downward, but that he must not see the ground. This meant that he must keep his people in view and not be influenced by anything around him. There is a great deal involved in the idea. He must look downward toward the ground but should see nothing crawling, crawling things being evils or dangers to the public welfare. He must consider only the interest of his people. The speech of installation was very lengthy.

Two persons out of certain clans were appointed by the chiefs of the towns to install officers, and the people followed them two or four deep. They followed them about until they came and stood before the candidate, when these two men walked out before him, conducted him to his bench, and proclaimed the law to him.

To be considered a person of great wisdom a man must be able, it was said, to discuss fully and completely four lines of thought. There appears to be some confusion in the statement of these, but it seems that the speaker first (a) gave all the objections raised by the opponents of the solution he favored, then (b) he answered those objections, (c) stated all the other objections to his own ideas he could think of and (d) finally outlined his own position on the matter in hand. Usually this was done very elegantly by a skillful speaker, setting forth in succession as convincingly as he could the cases for the negative and affirmative, and often he did it so well that one would believe he advocated the position opposed to his own.⁹

Rather brief mention is made of "the Chief or Superintendent of the Council Square." He seems to have been the man called in one place *Tcoko-láko-miko*, "Big House (i. e., Square) Chief." His duties were mainly confined to matters within the Square Ground, as his name implies, but he was also a kind of lieutenant to the Town Chief and took his place on occasion. Therefore he was usually called *Miko Apokta*, "Second Chief," and generally belonged to the same clan as the *Miko*.

The chief's adviser and spokesman was called *Heníha* or *Táski Heníha*. In one place it is said that he was "the Chief or Head Herald or Speaker whose duty it was to declare the decrees and judgments of the Principal Chief acting as the spokesman of the Council and through whom said Principal Chief always conveyed to the people the knowledge of the laws and decisions of the Council in the establishment and enforcement of law and order." He had charge of certain feasts and festivals. He was supposed to be an old man, thoroughly versed in the laws and traditions of the people. Sometimes there was a fiction of age, for this office might be held by a

⁹ The four lines of thought are recapitulated right afterwards and in a somewhat different manner.

young man. After a decision had been reached by the Council, the Town Chief called this man to him, and informed him of it, telling him just what he must say to the people, and then the other announced the decision in a loud voice to all present. Täski Heniha seems to have been the name of the principal speaker to distinguish him from the rest of the Henihas, for there were usually several, all drawn from one clan or one phratry.

As defined by Perryman, the Heniha appears to have performed the functions elsewhere assumed by the Yatika, "Interpreter." It is possible that in the Okmulgee town, or perhaps among the Lower Creeks generally, this was usual, or it may have come about through a breakdown of the organization. In the Okchai town, at least, the Heniha and Yatika were two different men, one sitting at the right hand of the Miko, the other at his left, but it was the Yatika who spoke. The position of Heniha was, however, hereditary in a special clan, usually the Wind, and at least a White clan, while that of Yatika seems to have been attained by merit. It is possible that a Yatika was gradually introduced owing to the fact that the Heniha would not always be endowed with the necessary eloquence.

The Tästänägi was a Military Chief whose duty it was to organize and have in charge the warriors in the town, i. e., the men who were fit to take part in warfare. In one place there is mention of two Tästänägis, and we know that there were sometimes more than one, and that in such cases the principal warrior was called Tästänägi läko, "Big Warrior." He was the Sheriff or Chief of Police within the town as well as the Head Warrior outside of it.

The Imalas are called "burden carriers" and are said to have had certain duties to perform in the festivals. They were in fact a warlike grade below the Tästänägis and acted as their lieutenants and messengers. Like the Tästänägis, they were selected from Red clans.

The name Yaholägi is given to several messengers, evidently those selected to administer the Black Drink to the members of the Council. In these notes a more general function is indicated, "that of a crier or herald, or one who announces or conveys to others the decisions or orders of his superiors," but their specific and original duty was probably as just given.

The Chief Priest, Fire Keeper, or Fire Maker of the town (Tutkatitca), was also known as Medicine Maker (Hilis-haya). In making a fire he bored one stick into another until the fire started. Sometimes 12 men cooperated, one boring at a time. At every Council the fire must be kindled by means of the fire drill and by the Fire Maker. He did not sleep on the night before he made the fire, being supposed to work upon it all night. He is said to have had as one of his duties that of calling the Council together by beating upon a drum at the

town house. He was selected on account of his recognized abilities and appointed his own subordinates. However, he seems usually to have belonged to the same clan as the Town Chief and I was told that this was due to fear of treachery.

There was a Councilman or Elder Man who represented in the town council his clan or that segment of it which dwelt in his town. At times it became necessary for all the segments of a clan to assemble to discuss and adjust affairs which concerned the entire clan. So many new towns came into existence in later times that it happened that the jurisdiction and authority of the Elder Man or Head Man of a segment in an important town came to extend over two or more segments dwelling in contiguous towns, especially when these towns were only short distances apart. Usually each segment of a clan in the several towns had its special Elder Man but in some cases, where an original town had been divided into two or more, and such divisions occupied adjacent sites, there might be a common Elder Man for such segments, but the Elder Man of the entire clan was supreme over all, and an important case might be submitted to him from any segment.

The clan regulated its own affairs, that is to say, the conduct of its members in relation to one another. The Elder Man was the chief and usually the oldest man, but if the oldest man had become incapacitated by reason of senility, the next in age became the Elder Man. This officer was the teacher and counselor of the clan, and his authority was great. When minor offenses were committed complaint was made to the Elder Man, whose duty it was to advise and warn the offender. When offenses were more flagrant, or had been repeated after warning, complaint was made again to the Elder Man and the offender was punished in accordance with his judgment.

Elsewhere it is said that this officer was called "the Ancient." Though this office might be held by a person of any age and was sometimes occupied by a mere boy, yet he was always called the Ancient One. Nevertheless, an old man might lose his position on arriving at his dotage. When matters of importance to the segment of a clan arose, this Ancient might call a Council of the clan of all those who had arrived at years of maturity. The government and teaching of the youth of the clan belonged to this Ancient. It was his duty to instruct them, from time to time, in their duties and obligations to one another and to their elders and to the members of the clan. Punishment for even childish derelictions could not be meted out without his advice and consent, which was usually given in a formal manner. The boy or girl, the young man or young woman, was charged with the offense and the Ancient heard the evidence. He might decide that the charge was not well founded, and state

that the offender had never been advised to shun the conduct charged against him. But if he decided that the offender had been duly advised regarding such evil conduct as was specified in the charge, then the offender might be whipped by members of his own clan. If matters of grave importance arose in the segment, the Ancient might call a large Council of the clan, composed of the members of two or more of the segments. At this Council the Ancient, or the one among the Ancients who was regarded as the wisest, presided and rendered judgment.

A man's status was indicated by his war or busk name. To the name of a chief was appended the word Miko, to that of a warrior of the first class the word Tâstânâgi, to that of an individual belonging to a privileged peace clan the word Henîha; and to the name of one of the second grade of warriors the term Imathla. According to the informants there were two grades beneath these, one indicated by the word Yahola, and a lowest which carried the name Fiksiko or Hatco. The arrangement is given as follows, reckoning from the lowest grade up:

- (1) Fiksiko and Hatco, (2) Yahola, (3) Imathla, (4) Henîha,
- (5) Tâstânâgi, "warrior," "leader of warriors," (6) Miko, "chief," or "town chief."

And the following explanation is added:

A lad on coming to maturity received his first name. He might be raised subsequently to the second grade, especially if he early manifested wisdom. The word employed for the second grade signified a crier or herald or one who announced or conveyed to others the decisions or orders of his superiors. If a lad belonged to a Red clan he might be raised to the third grade, and if to a White clan to the fourth grade. Later he might be raised from the third grade to the fifth or from the fourth grade to the sixth.

The above statements are in line with those obtained by myself, except that my informants did not define the two lowest grades clearly and I do not feel certain that they were universally distinguished. The names Fiksiko and Hatco were usually given to men known as common warriors (Tâsikaya). In another place it is said that the Yahola title was higher than Imathla, and that is quite possible since the functions of the yahola criers were important and were concerned with the cult of a being supposed to preside especially over the busk. The later statement is also evidently correct in claiming the yahola title particularly for the White clans.

The Ancient of the clan or Elder Man seems to be confounded sometimes in the material at hand with the Simiabaiya (or Isimibaya), which means "he who adds to," or "he who keeps (a body of

people) together." In common usage it meant "a leader," and he was usually described as "a chief who represents national interests," one "who represents the town in the council of the confederacy and who represents the town council in matters relating to the confederacy." This is borne out by what is said regarding the manner in which he was selected. We are told that the Simiabaiya came from the same section as the Chief of the town, and that when he attended the General Assembly he usually took with him one of the Tãstãnãgis from the other bench. This is evidently on the assumption that the town Chief belonged to a White clan. In the contrary case, a leader among the Whites would probably be selected. Considerable is said about the manner in which new Simiabaiyas were selected but it leaves one in doubt whether the position was retained in the same clan or whether it was retained in two clans of opposite moieties and alternated between them. We read that if the Simiabaiya "is of the clan of the Deer, they will take another man from the Deer clan that has been schooled under him, or some old man of the same clan, and he will be taught under that man. The young man steps into his place from the same clan and the same family as the reigning Simiabaiya. Sometimes they have two or three in training at one time." And yet some of the preceding sentences seem to imply that there was an alternation between the Red and White sides. Just above the Simiabaiya is identified with the Ancient of the clan and it may be imagined that the two offices were often combined in one man.

Again, it is said that the clan chiefs were selected by agreement within the clans on the ground that the individuals so selected were the best and wisest men in the clan and therefore able to represent their interests and assert their rights before the chief. "They are selected usually without any vote, but by general consent of the constituents in consultation."

THE COUNCILS ¹⁰

The Council was called Inłãlaka, łãlaka being a word which signified "great men" or "officers." The town council is said to have been composed of the Town Chief (Miko), the Square Chief (Tcoko-łãko Miko), the "Speaker to the Chief," who in this case seems to be identified with the head Tãstãnãgi, and a Councilman from each of the clans, that is, its Ancient. Although it is not so stated, I feel that it must have included the other speaker for the chief, the Tãski-henĩha, though he may have been admitted to it as Ancient for his own clan. This, indeed, appears to be indicated in another place.

¹⁰ See footnote 8.

It is said that town councils were called together by the Fire Maker, presumably at the instance of the Chief. The Fire Maker would go to the town house and beat upon the drum, and then summon the Town Chief, the Square Chief, the man who had charge of the Square Ground ceremonies, and three or four other Councilmen called "lawmakers." These last (?) would then call the people together and state the case to them. If a trespass, for instance, had been committed against some other town, the latter would appoint two persons to meet the others and agree upon some definite method of adjustment. Representatives of both parties would meet and settle the difference.

It was the duty of the Ancient to call the clansmen together in council. If they dwelt near one another, he sent a messenger to notify them. If they lived far apart, he broke up a number of sticks and sent to each a bundle containing as many sticks as there were days between that time and the date of the Council. The one who received the sticks threw one away each day, and when he threw away the last one he went to the place of meeting. In the town they all lived within sound of the drum but they did not use it in calling the clan together.

At least some of the people were privileged to petition the Town Chief to summon general gatherings. On such occasions the Tāskenīha, or the several Henīhas, were also consulted. After the Council had assembled the Chief would set before its members the reasons for calling it, and tell them to take the subject matter into consideration. This was communicated to them directly by the Chief's Speaker.

In the case of a Council of the Confederation, the Ialakas, or "officers," included the Simiabaiyas, but it is uncertain how many others were added. It was their duty to bring with them the officers of their respective towns, but these were usually only listeners. There was commonly one presiding officer of this Council with a second chief under him, but sometimes there were two of each. The first usage was probably the original one, but it may have been changed to the second "owing to some difference of opinion." The two principal chiefs had equal power and so did the subordinates, but the latter had no duties to perform, being merely in line of succession to the leadership. They would choose two others to succeed them when they became principal chiefs. The presiding officer of the Council informed the Town Chief of any decision that had been made, whereupon the latter would go over the matter with his own speaker in a low voice and the speaker would announce the decision to the officers of the town there met together. It was the duty of the officers to pay strict attention to this so that they could repeat it sub-

stantially as it had been announced to them. The speaker would instruct them that on their return to their respective towns they must call their people together and communicate to them the laws or other matters that had been resolved upon at the General Council. They were also to say what the result of disobeying these would be.

There was no set time for the meetings of the Confederate Council. Whenever these great men thought it necessary to call it together, it was summoned by direction of the Chief. This apparently means the presiding officer of the Council, who would then send the broken or split sticks to every town in the nation which was expected to attend the Council.

NAMING ¹¹

The first personal name was given to a child at birth in commemoration of an important event which might have occurred then, or in remembrance of some good or ill fortune that had befallen one of the older clan people, some one of the mother's brothers or sisters or their children. That is, it might refer to an event which was connected with the person's immediate family or members of his clan. For instance, if some person, perhaps the father or mother, ran away or was thrown down, or if the father was on an expedition and a remarkable event happened, the child born soon afterwards was named from that occurrence. This was the first name. It was a baby name, and it did not amount to anything. It simply denoted the time of the child's birth. Sometimes, when nothing unusual had occurred, the child was named from some peculiarity of the mother or father.

But when the child reached puberty it became necessary to give it a new name, and the right to select this inhered, not in the members of its own clan or moiety, but in the members of the paternal clan or moiety on the other side of the Council Fire. Certain persons within that clan had the matter in charge because of their relationship.

The proper notification of the need for giving one of their offspring a name having been made to the officers of the paternal clan, a suitable name was chosen. A new name was not coined on each occasion, for each clan had a large number of names peculiar to it which were constantly in use, being bestowed again after the death of the bearer. On occasion two or more persons might have the same name.

And so at the annual festival called *poskita* the Elder Man of the paternal clan stepped forth at the proper time and called out loudly a certain name four times in succession. The person to whom this name was to be given did not know that it was to be bestowed upon

¹¹ See Forty-second Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 97-106.

him, and he was then informed. Thereupon he stepped forth in front of the said Elder Man and received the name along with a present. Sometimes the name indicated the rank conferred because certain names became attached to certain official positions, as has been explained elsewhere, and installation into an office carried with it the name attached thereto. If a young man was of great promise he might also receive a name belonging to the highest rank of clan chiefs, or the highest to which he might be entitled by reason of his clan relationship.

A youth was likely to receive first the names hadjo or fiksiko. Hadjo signifies "excited," "enthusiastic," "mad," "crazy," and fiksiko "without a heart," "brave." Hadjo denotes a lively or active person, an athlete. Fiksiko means brave, courageous, literally "without feelings." Bestowal of the first name meant that the youth was now worthy of manhood.

The titles given subsequently, Imathla, Tästånägi, and Miko, have been described elsewhere. They carried with them official functions and special seats on the Square Ground.

Often men acquired two names or titles.

Hopayuki was the highest name of all. The bearer of it combined the qualities of a warrior and prophet and it was derived from hopayi which signifies "a prophet." Perryman added that it signified a traveled warrior, one who had been in foreign lands. A Civil Chief might also have this title. Those who had it "did the thinking and the predicting," but the warriors carried out their matured plans.

MARRIAGE¹²

When a man was considered by his clansmen entitled to a wife a conference was held by the elder men of the clan. The prospective groom must, however, have the following virtues. He must be a good hunter, a brave warrior, and an athlete. Having decided that he was old enough and fully capable of becoming the parent of children, a decision which gave him adult status, the elder men conferred with the elder women of the clan, saying to them in substance: "Our young man," giving his name and qualifications, "should now have a wife. He is now a man. He should have the orderly opportunity of having offspring and strengthening our people thereby."

They and the women debated the question seriously and in the best possible spirit, and the women took the matter under advisement. It was naturally supposed that the women knew the qualifications of the marriageable women of other clans better than the men. They selected some family in a clan which had a cousin relationship

¹² Ibid., pp. 368-383.

with their own and could intermarry with theirs and in which there were marriageable women.

They asked this cousin clan to give them a wife for one of their men. At once the members of the cousin clan took the matter under consideration, the elder women consulting with the elder men, saying: "Our cousin clan so-and-so asks us to give them a wife from among our young unmarried women. What do you think of this request?" The men thereupon considered the matter carefully, and if they concluded that the young man was worthy of one of their daughters they permitted the women to return on their behalf an indefinite answer but nevertheless one of encouragement. Thereupon the young man was privileged to make a present to the clan of his prospective bride. It was not necessary to send the present directly to her very house, because the suitor was not supposed to know, and usually did not know, the woman who had been chosen as his spouse. If the clan elders accepted the present they sent it to the woman's house. The suitor was notified and was then privileged to visit in that house. The woman's maternal uncles then talked with him confidentially but frankly. Finally they told him to return to his own home and say that when they were satisfied that he was the right kind of man they would send for him. That meant that he had been accepted.

On the appointed day they harangued him at length, telling of the duties he was about to assume in his new relation as husband. They made him understand the customs peculiar to the clan in which his children would be brought up, and they made him understand what position he would occupy with regard to the people of their clan. Finally they said: "You will find your wife in that house," or "You will find your bed yonder," indicating it with a gesture. She had purposely been placed there already.

In former times it was customary to give away the oldest girl in the family first, however undesirable she might be, especially if the suitor was not considered a very desirable husband, but if he was liked she might be passed over. Sometimes a young man of great force of character would circumvent all the finesse of matchmaking and would manage his case so adroitly as to obtain the girl of his own choice. It depended upon his strategy. After that, being a married man, he could go and come whenever he pleased.

The groom was expected to leave his wife's house before sunrise every morning until his wife became pregnant. He might then remain, but he must suspend sexual relations with her. In the interval before the birth of the child he was expected to build a house for himself, that is, if the house of her mother was not big enough to accommodate another family. He might erect it near the home of his parents-in-law or some distance away, depending upon his in-

clinations. Just before the child's birth the young husband was expected to go off on a hunting trip. He was not supposed to be at home on that occasion. But each clan had customs that were peculiar to itself.

If the betrothed woman eloped, and was not retaken before the next annual busk when all offenses except murder were forgiven, she was free. But if she was recaptured within that time the penalty imposed was very heavy. If the offence was committed within the same clan it was not forgiven and meant death for both man and woman.

When fornication occurred between individuals of different clans the matter was compounded by the clans concerned. Certain demands were made for the loss of the woman and these must be satisfied, but the abductor seldom gave the woman up. Generally the penalty was a heavy fine as an equivalent for the loss of the woman and breach of the common law of marriage. The clan of the offender must pay for the offence.

If adultery had been committed and the guilty pair were captured, they were severely punished. The people of the man's clan were called together to exact the penalty. The offenders were beaten with rods until they were insensible, and then the end of the nose was cut off or it was slit lengthwise, or one of the ears of each culprit was cut off or it was sawed with a dull knife, so that no one would be attracted by either in future. Mr. Perryman says that for the first offence both ears were cut off and for the second the nose.

In reply to a question regarding the punishment for the violation of a widow, Mr. Porter said that the violator of a widow was punished exactly as though her husband were living. She belonged to his clan.

After the death of a married man the clan elders assembled and, after consultation, chose someone from their clan who was in duty bound under clan custom to marry the widow. If he did not wish to marry her he must nevertheless take her as his wife for one night, after which his claim to her was extinguished. Then the clan elders chose another man. One member of the clan had the right to select him. Although the man chosen already had a wife, clan law nevertheless required him to take the widow. The old men said that the man who did not intend to marry a widow took her to his home and kept her there for a single night without having sexual relations with her. That would have been unjust, they said, if he had intended to turn her away immediately afterwards. Still, he could have such relations with her and then release her.

When a man married a woman who had a sister or sisters younger than herself, he might claim the right to marry them, and if he had

done well by the first he was entitled to the others, but he had nothing to say about giving them away.

EDUCATION¹³

The father had no more to do with the discipline and education of his children than an alien. He could not punish their misconduct in any way, but he had such a right in some other man's family, i. e., in the family of the man who had married his sister. It was the mother's clansmen who might punish the children of their sister. The husband might sit around and talk in his wife's house but he had no authority there. He had full authority if he wished to exercise it in the house of his sister and her husband.

When children arrived at a certain age the sexes were kept strictly apart. This age was not definitely fixed, but probably it was when there might be danger that the children would think of having carnal intercourse with one another. The girls were controlled by the elder women. They had to sleep apart and to bathe in pools separate from those used by the boys. The girls had to bathe in streams of flowing water below the point at which the boys and men were bathing if necessity compelled them to use the same stream. The boys and men must not cross the path by which the girls and women went to the stream. The boys were kept strictly from the girls until they obtained wives or until they had passed the age of indiscretion.

In every town there was an old man who taught the children. It is implied that there was only one in a town, but it is evident that he was identical with the Ancient or Elder Man mentioned above and that he was a clan functionary or functioned over a group of related clans. He went from house to house, gathering the children around him and telling them tales, singing songs, instructing them first in their duties at home, obedience to their superiors, their mothers, their uncles (the fathers were not often present), instructing them that they must not tell falsehoods, must not steal, must not injure anyone, must not fight, must not quarrel, must not kill, and so on. As soon as they were 6 years old the boys were instructed to bathe in a stream every morning before sunrise, especially in winter. They were taught to play ball, and once every year they were "scratched," that is, the muscles of their calves and their thighs in front were scratched until the blood ran out in order to make them grow and to harden them. This was continued until they were 15 and it was regarded as an honor for a young man at the ball games to show his scratches in regular order on his arms and legs.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 358-367.

When he was 15 a boy on attendance at a night festival would hear a strange name called out several times and then his own name, after which some friend would come for him, take him from the shed of the women and children in the Square Ground, and conduct him to one of the men's sheds, and after certain ceremonies an old man would give him some token, make him an address, and tell him that he was no longer a child but a man. The boy then waved the token over his head and uttered his first war whoop, shouting "Hi-yo-ke-toh," the war whoop.

The object of all instruction was to develop a fine body and a good character. The girls were instructed in their duties by the same old man, but they were not required to bathe every day. There was a girl's game of ball, different from that of the men. It had a single pole and the ball was thrown by the hand at a mark on the pole, every hit counting one.

When a boy had been detected in an offence, let us suppose it to be theft, he was brought up for trial and the question was put to the old man, "Has he been taught not to steal?" The reply might be, "Yes, over and over again. He is a bad boy and would not heed instructions." And then, if he was proven guilty, he would be punished severely, generally with the "long scratch," a deep and ugly incision extending from his arms down over his breast and down each leg, or down his back, or both. These scratches were readily distinguishable from those given boys at the annual festivals.

But if the teacher said that the boy (or girl) had never been taught, no punishment would be inflicted.

These teachers taught young people about the laws and the penalties attaching to the infringement of them, for though the children would hear the laws proclaimed at every festival, they would not understand them, and so the teacher had to explain them carefully.

If it became evident that a teacher was neglecting his duty another would be put in his place. There was no formal appointment. The people simply sent for him to come and instruct their children. He was usually a medicine man.

Sometimes a woman would study medicine and become a doctor but no woman held any office.

Boys were early instructed in the ball play, as it was considered the best means of developing their muscles, since it was accompanied by running and wrestling. The old men said it was invented at a time when there was no war and therefore there were no enemies to fight. They called it the "Little War." The name of it was Po-ko-its it-ten, "Hitting at a ball," and sometimes Ah-fats-kee-tah, "Amusement." (Related by L. Perryman, December 14, 1882.)

CRIME¹⁴

The fundamental idea regarding punishment was that it cleansed the culprit from the guilt of his crime. Criminals carried no guilt with them out of the world. After undergoing the prescribed punishment the culprit was innocent. It mattered not what he had done. If the law and custom had been enforced against him (or her) he was thereafter, to all intents and purposes, as innocent and as honorable as any other man in the community.

If a person of one clan killed a member of another it was held that the crime had been committed against the entire clan, and it was the right and the duty of every member of the aggrieved clan to seek reparation from the other.

The Ancients of the injured clan formally demanded satisfaction of the other. Two persons were generally selected to carry the news and make the demand. They dressed in a certain way and put certain marks on their persons. They always dressed in haste. Before they reached the edge of the town they rushed forward shouting and were perfectly safe when coming in this manner. No person might then interrupt them. No one might touch them. While on such missions they were sacred. They then had a right to deliver the message, and no person could question them. If there was no dispute as to the facts, the clansmen adjusted the matter without an appeal to the higher authorities, by one of the following methods:

Atonement by adoption and substitution.—If the murderer was a man of consideration, a fine ball player, a valiant warrior, or a successful hunter, and an excellent man in every way, the clan of the murdered man, when they held their council, might say: "Had we not better save this man? We cannot bring back our own kinsman. Here are his mother, his family, his sisters who are dependent on him. Let us, then, save this man's life." Thereupon, he would be adopted to take the place and position of the murdered man. It was not always necessary for a prisoner of war to run the gauntlet before being adopted by some member of the clan. Sometimes the wife of the murdered man accepted the murderer as her husband after he had been adopted into the clan. In like manner, the mother of the murdered son or daughter might adopt the murderer in place of such a child.

Atonement by heroic deeds.—If the injured clan had lost one or more of its members in war with another tribe and such injury was still unavenged, the murderer might volunteer to become the avenger, in which case, if the proposition was accepted, he might at once

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 338-357.

proceed to perform his self-imposed task. To this usage Muskogee tradition attributed the origin of the custom of taking scalps as evidence of victory.

Atonement by payment of wergild.—If the murdered man was a person of low standing in the tribe, a warrior of no renown, a poor hunter, a generally worthless fellow, and the murderer was a man of high standing, and if the latter had a brother or cousin of the same standing as the murdered man, the brother of low degree was usually substituted for the real murderer.

Atonement by death.—If the murderer himself was a man of small repute it often happened that his clansmen consented to his death, and then the clansmen of the murdered man were permitted to execute the sentence. If the members of the clans interested failed to settle the difficulty speedily the matter was usually brought up before the Council of the Town and settled there. Generally three men, but sometimes six, were selected to hear the evidence. The fact that a murder had been committed was sometimes called to the attention of the clan by the Town Chief. In case the parties to the murder belonged to different towns and the clansmen failed to adjust the difficulty the case was brought up before the Council of the Confederation. But if a man killed one of his own clansmen the matter was settled wholly within the clan. No compensation or other satisfaction was made by the clan itself; in this case, the only question that arose concerned the advisability of killing the murderer. The friends of the murdered man might claim their right to take his life, and they might proceed to the killing; but if the murdered man was of less eminence than the murderer, an attempt was usually made by the most closely related clansmen to placate with gifts the anger of the nearer relatives and friends of the murdered man by repeating to them what an injury to the clan it would be to lose a man of such high standing.

When the murderer was a man of distinction he was executed with arrows, but the old women finished a man of no consideration with a war club, and a woman was also executed with a war club. Time was given before the execution to prepare for the death ceremonies. Sometimes the criminal was sent to a hostile town where he was executed by those who did not know him. If his own town decided to execute him it was done by certain officers who had this among their functions.

It may be mentioned as a curious fact that if the executioners failed to kill their victim at the first attempt it was held that some mystic power had interposed, and the offender was adjudged in consequence to be innocent. It sometimes happened that another circumstance was interpreted as involving mystic interference.

If a serious personal difficulty arose between members of different clans it was settled simply by agreement between the clans. All difficulties of this nature were settled by calling the town together. In case a member of one clan lost an eye by the act of a member of another clan, one of the other clan must also sacrifice an eye if reparation was not otherwise made.

With respect to a very troublesome man, his own kinsmen, his own clan would kill him unless, after due warning, he mended his ways, for they had determined that he was not worthy of life, that he would corrupt the young men and cause them to do evil, and that he was not capable of raising good children, for these children would be bad like him. If a man were outlawed no individual might kill him, but after they had related to him his evil deeds as a warning to others, he was executed by the collective body.

If a man or woman stole an object, the injured clan through its own spokesman notified the clansmen of the culprit. After hearing the evidence the accused clan was obliged to bring forward a return or payment of equivalent value. Twofold was the custom of the Creeks; they never attempted to deny the theft if they were satisfied with the character of the evidence. The clan as a whole examined the evidence brought forward to support the charge. If they found the charge true (and their own honor made it necessary for them to find out the truth about it), they decided what should be done under the circumstances. Sometimes in making reparations they turned the culprit over to the offended clan for punishment, where he might be whipped or otherwise punished, although his own clan could pay for the stolen object. But if he was a good man in other respects they willingly paid for the stolen object. If the clan made the reparation by returning the object stolen with a good-will offering or by paying the equivalent of the stolen property, in making reparation the clansmen declared to him the law of theft, pointing out the different steps in wrongdoing which had brought him to this culpable act and the evil consequences of the act as well. The restitution or reparation being made, the offender was considered just as good as any other member of the clan; his physical punishment had the same effect.

CEREMONIES ¹⁵

A number of festivals were held during the year determined by certain phases of the moon. Anciently it was customary to hold such meetings every month to give and receive counsel and also for enjoyment. There were two principal festivals, a lesser and a greater.

The former took place in the spring, usually early in April, and

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 534-613.

in the south generally at the time when berries, such as mulberries, were getting ripe. The town chief notified his people, and particularly the medicine man, when it was time to hold it. Then the people assembled at the busk ground after dark and danced all night—men, women, and children. In the morning the men swallowed the medicine (*pasa*) which soon caused violent vomiting, but the women and children merely washed their hands and faces in it. This was prepared during the night, the medicine man blowing into it and a weak solution of *miko hoyanidja* (red root) was prepared and carried home for those unable on account of sickness to be present. During the morning the people all went home carrying some of this medicine with them to the sick who were not required to take the strong emetic (the *pasa*). The assembly was dismissed after the rehearsal of the several duties which devolved upon each one.

The great festival, called *Poskita* or *Busk*, which signifies "to fast," was held when the corn was large enough for roasting ears, generally in July or August, and at a certain time of the moon. Towns differed as to the time of the moon but each always held it at the same time annually.

The town chief first called a meeting to dance and during the night of the dance he delivered bundles of sticks of seven each to the *Tăstănăgi*, who then proclaimed that the "broken days" were made, i. e., that the time was appointed and the sticks ready for distribution, and that the people must prepare to hunt before the great ceremony took place. This was perhaps the assembly called *Hilīs-činetkita*, "Medicine overnight," at which they took medicine to prepare their bodies for the reception of the maturing crops and the ripening fruits. At these meetings the same ritual was observed, an important feature being the rehearsal of the chief points of their laws, in the nature of an epitome. The speakers would point out in what respects they feared the young and unruly among them were going against the provisions of their laws, and the penalties that must follow such infractions.

Each of the principal men for whom the bundles had been prepared took one, threw a stick away the first day and continued doing so until the seventh day, when all assembled at the Square Ground again and danced all night. They could hunt during the entire intervening period or at any time within it. On the next day, the eighth, the town chief again delivered bundles of sticks to the *Tăstănăgi* and he announced that the broken days were "made" for the Great Festival. They threw away one stick as they began to clean up the Square Ground, a proceeding which generally took them not more than an hour, and then they went home to breakfast.

On the next day, the second of the busk series of "broken days," all remained at home making preparations to move to the Square Ground.

On the third day the people assembled at the Square with the game which they had killed already prepared, like the rest of the provisions, so that it would keep during the busk. That night there was an ordinary dance, lasting about two hours, participated in by men, women, and children. There were no important dances on that night.

On the morning of the fourth day a fire was kindled in the Square by the medicine man with the use of two sticks rubbed together, medicines also being used. The men then assembled in the Square and sat around, and the women brought provisions there and laid them down. The men ate in the Square that day but the women had to eat at their camps. The best of the provisions were supplied but no new vegetables, no new corn. If persons from other towns were present they were also invited to eat. At midday, while the men were eating, the women danced the *Its-hopunga*, "Gun Dance," each woman standing alone and circling about the fire. Before they began, a speech was made by the Great *Tāstānāgi* of the town, in which he rehearsed briefly the traditional history of the people, emphasized the importance of the festival they were observing, and informed them that it had existed from immemorial times. He gave the traditional story of the founding of the town and the origin of the festivals, detailing briefly the rules governing them. He called the attention of the people to the importance of preserving them because they tended to preserve their health and prolong their lives. He exhorted his people to follow their leaders and keep in the ways of their fathers. He also told them that this was the right time for the festival. These speakers always referred to a long-past home in the east where the sun rises. This form of expression was used even when they lived in Georgia.

In preparation for their dance the women put on their finest costumes, with plumes, shells around their necks and ankles. There were three leaders who wore terrapin shells. Three men were stationed in the south cabin, and when the women leaders were ready these musicians began to sing, accompanied by drums and rattles made of terrapin shells or a coconut filled with pebbles and provided with a handle. The women danced around the fire four times. Then they retired and rested, returned and danced around the fire four times more, and continued in this way until they had danced four several and separate times, making four circles around the fire each time. The men sang and kept time to the music of the drum and shells, and the women kept time with their feet and by rattling their shells. It took about two hours to complete this dance.

Meanwhile, after the chief had finished his address, a number of young men, who had been standing about a hundred yards away, around the mound in the *tadjo*, gave a whoop and ran away to the prairie to obtain the medicine. In about an hour they returned bearing this on poles and delivered it to the chief medicine man. This

medicine was the *pasa* (button-snake-root) and it is a very violent emetic.

That night there was another ordinary dance by the men, women, and children. The men sang as they danced but the women and children only whooped.

On the fifth day no woman and no man who was not undergoing the purification was allowed to enter the Square Ground. The medicine being now ready, the fasting men drank it, beginning at daylight, certain chosen men bringing it to them. Each drank until he was full and vomiting was induced. That night the fasters danced and kept it up all night. They ate nothing all that day. Many different dances were performed and if anyone fell asleep he had to pay a fine.

On the sixth day the men drank a decoction made from the leaves of the *asi* (*Ilex vomitoria*). This was taken at intervals until mid-forenoon, perhaps 9 o'clock, and they danced the Feather Dance. Then they ate, or rather drank, a thin gruel made of corn called *sofki*, the water and corn being simply cooked together. No salt must be used. They could now eat the new corn, but without salt, and melons and similar food might also be eaten. They continued to dance the Feather Dance during the rest of the day, but remained in the Square Ground and might not touch anyone who had not partaken of the medicine (*pasa*?). That night they slept in the cabins or on the Square Ground.

On the seventh day they began dancing the Feather Dance early in the morning. Each dancer bore a pole decorated with feathers, half of them, belonging to the White Clan Cabin, having white feathers, and half, belonging to the Red Clan Cabin on the north side of the Square, having black feathers. There were two dance leaders and all followed them in two rows, a white-feathered pole being followed by a black-feathered pole, and so on. The men sang while they danced. After this the ground was swept clean, preparatory to admitting all the other people.

The notes are confusing at this point, but I understand that the women now brought provisions into the Square, but nothing that had been cooked with salt.

Two men were then sent out to tell the women to prepare to dance the Red War Dance, the War Dance, the Paint-Up Dance ("to paint up for war"), the native name of which is *Its-atitska*. Both men and women painted up but only the women danced. The singers painted one side of the face black and the other side red. This was the "War paint." Just before the women began dancing another long speech was made telling of their wars, of their great warriors, and of their great deeds, in order to encourage the young men to become great warriors and leaders. If a war was on foot the warriors

would be ready to set out, being now purified. Then the women, without any men, came out and danced this War Dance. The three leaders had boards made in the shape of tomahawks, painted red, and decorated with black and white feathers, and they shook them as they danced. They danced around the fire and then rested, repeating this four times. In modern times some of the women have had guns or pistols which they discharged while dancing. This dance was like the first women's dance. It was controlled by the Red Clans while the other was controlled by the White Clans. The great Feather Dance, however, was controlled by both jointly. This one dance lasted several hours.

Then followed a Buffalo Dance by the men, stripped naked and wearing only their breechclouts, ornaments on their arms, tiger tails, and ornaments and buffalo horns on their heads. It followed the war dance by the women. One man sang and the rest grunted like buffalo, and they stooped down as they danced. They pretended to paw the ground and bellow.

They feasted afterwards.

Then came a rest until sunset. After nightfall they began the night dances with singing and whooping—no war dances—only peace dances. First they danced the Old Dance, participated in by men, women, and children who danced first around the mound in the Tådjo and then inside the Square. It was followed by common amusement dances or "stomp dances" which lasted all night. In these they imitated the cow, horse, quail, etc. They came to an end at daylight and then all left for their homes.

Mention is made elsewhere of the Crooked Arrow Dance and the Dance with Knives. It is also said that they took medicine for four days while the above schedule allows for but three.

Late in the autumn it was customary to assemble the people for the purpose of performing Medicine Dances which were like those performed in the spring.

All these dances were not solely for the old men or solely for the ball players, but as well in order to give the young men and the young women enjoyment. One group of social units commonly sent a challenge to their opponents in ball-play in the following words: "Our young men have become lonesome for the lack of pleasure and for this reason we are sending to challenge you to a game of ball." At all meetings there was dancing and enjoyment for young and old, and when it was time to separate a speaker of known ability addressed the assembly with words of good counsel.

First the speaker would say that they had assembled for amusement and instruction and then he would follow with an outline of the general law of morals observed by the people. He pointed out

the great danger to the peace of the community involved in forgetting or overstepping that law. The penalty for these transgressions was set forth in brief but forcible terms. Afterwards he announced any new law or regulation adopted by the chiefs and councilors with the injunction that it be carefully observed. He summarized the reasons which had moved their leaders to enact it after having given the matter due consideration, telling the people that their chiefs had discussed it at length. He admonished all to obey their leaders without question, for it was intimated that they knew best the principles of their moral law. The people thus received an outline of it and were instructed to carry it out.

Usually the kindred towns were invited to these assemblies. Their representatives were assigned certain places in the Square and took part in the ceremonies performed there. It was merely a matter of courtesy to ask them to take part in the ceremonies. They had nothing to do with the internal affairs of the town that entertained them.

In emergencies these kindred towns were sometimes asked in to aid if the town itself could not decide on the proper measures to take. Their decision was then accepted as the law of the town in question.

There is a note to the effect that the women danced on each of the four days on which the men took medicine, but this seems to be an error.

GUARDIAN SPIRITS

Innutska is said to have been the name of the tutelary deity which came to a youth when he was fasting at the time of puberty. It seems to mean literally "What-comes-to-him-in-sleep." The girls are said to have acquired their guardian spirits "through the medium of remarkable dreams" and so there may not have been much difference between the two. Indeed, our text continues, "both male and female persons may acquire fetishes through such dreams or by adopting an object or a portion of an object which has impressed the partaker as exhibiting magic power, such as a fierce animal or striking rock, or an element of some weird experience." The editor has no parallel to this in his material.

MEDICINE ¹⁶

When a person was taken ill his near kindred appointed one of their number to take an article he had worn to the prophet who subjected it to a searching examination (by means of certain drugs?) for the purpose of ascertaining the cause of the illness. If he suc-

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 614-666.

ceeded he told his clients the name of it but he himself gave no medicine.

Diseases were carefully classified, and as soon as the disease was known the remedy was known and recourse was had to a medicine man or a medicine woman. This person possessed a pouch, usually made of the whole skin of some animal, which was well filled with the remedies known to him or her. Some were compounded from roots, leaves, or herbs as well as pebbles, shells, or other strange objects, each of which had been acquired in accordance with certain esoteric formulae known only to an inner circle of the medical fraternity of the community. Each drug was prepared during the singing of a song peculiar to it, and it is added that this took place during a meeting of the medicine men of the community, but I feel uncertain regarding this. Usually the words of this song describe the preparation of the medicine in great detail, although in terms which are largely metaphorical.

Many diseases were attributed to the influences of animals, such as the bear, buffalo, beaver, and deer. If a person had stomach trouble it might be said that the beaver had built a dam across it. If he was afflicted with boils it might be said that ants had raised small anthills on his flesh. Another animal was said to cause diarrhea. If a person touched an eagle without using the proper medicine he would have a wry neck. Rheumatism was caused by a fabulous monster. When one sneezed it was said someone was talking about him.

In order to become a medicine man or a medicine woman a person must fast a certain number of days, must learn the prescribed songs, must prepare medicines (and charms) according to well-established formulae, must remain in seclusion at times, and must then use the medicines which had been thus prepared when called to minister to the sick. This process of instruction and initiation continued four moons in each year for four successive years. Each medicine must be learned in four days. Some practitioners would refuse to administer remedies for certain diseases and would send the patient to another who was regarded as a specialist in that subject.

Four was a sacred number among the Creeks. It will be remembered that the novice in medicine fasted for four days. One must sing a song for four days detailing the virtues of the medicine and teaching what it would do. Thus the number four appeared in numerous places. There were four days assigned in which to learn each remedy and four months in each year of a four-year period for completing the medical course. Again, a man might not have sexual relations with his wife for four months after the birth of a child. A sick man must use a remedy during four consecutive days. Mr. Porter said that certain herbs were collected one at a time on four

successive days, and successively on exposures toward the east, the south, the west, and the north.

The medicine man or woman was exempt from all manner of work except the preparation and administration of remedies. The head medicine man of the town must prepare and kindle the council fire, although, in a figurative sense, this was supposed to be burning always.

The chief prophet of the tribe (or town), who might be at the same time the medicine man, had charge of the war medicines, which are said to have been prepared at a secret conclave of the medical fraternity. He was much feared because of his supposed power to cure or cause fatal illnesses. It was believed that he had one medicine potent enough to make the ground quake, another to cause the enemy to lose their way, another to make the ground swampy, another to bring on a rainfall that would obliterate all tracks, others to lengthen or shorten distances, another to bring on heavy fogs, another to make arrows go straight to the mark, another to transform men into certain animals such as the wolf (fox) or owl, so that they might spy out the enemies' camp without being detected, and still another, the greatest of all, to cause the warriors to have an aspect terrifying to their enemies.

This great medicine man would stanch the flow of blood and heal wounds received in war. The first thing done to such a wounded man was to have him eat certain kinds of earth, one of which was the clay or mud brought up by the crawfish (fakkitali, lit. "raw dirt"). This crawfish earth was also applied to the wound externally. Then he was secluded so that no woman might see him, lest one in her catamenial period should lay eyes on him. It was believed that, if such a woman should lay eyes on him, his cure would be impossible.

Grayson added that the medicine man could make a medicine capable of transforming the human body into a sieve so as to allow an arrow or bullet to pass through him without occasioning injury. This condition of the body was known as E-sar-la-weatch-e-toh.

It was commonly believed that a man who killed another was haunted by the latter's spirit and would become insane, meaning "troubled by the spirit," unless he was purified. It was also believed that a person who merely associated with an unpurified murderer must himself be purified lest he lose his sanity.

Insanity was treated as follows. First, four clear white pebbles were selected and placed in a cup of clear water. Over this certain ceremonies were performed and certain songs sung. Then the medicine man took some of the water into his mouth and spurted it violently upon the head of the insane man, also causing him to drink from the cup four times. It was believed that this performance gave the medicine man power over the insane person who thereafter was

compelled to do his bidding and was treated in various ways until finally cured.

WITCHCRAFT¹⁷

One of the duties of the medicine man was to apprehend sorcerers, witches, or wizards who had committed some offense against the welfare of the community, using arts and craft superior to theirs. When a person was convicted of such an offense—by well-established, many, and severe ordeals and tests—he was condemned to death. He was then placed in charge of the medicine man. It was said that a person under charge of witchcraft must show that he had greater powers than the medicine man, thereby proving, I suppose, that he had been falsely accused. "He would try to show a great fire and then vanish out of sight."

It was believed that wizards could take out their intestines containing their life spirit and transform themselves into owls, flickers, etc., after which they would fly through the air to perform their misdeeds. Therefore owls and other birds of ill omen were held in great terror. The owl referred to is commonly the great horned owl.

SOULS¹⁸

A man was believed to have two souls, first, the spirit which goes with him through life and talks to him in his dreams and is called the good spirit, being named *inu'tska*, which signifies "his talent," "his ability," "his genius." It was thought to be seated in the head. There was also the spirit or soul of the dead person, *yafiktca*, lit. "his entrails." Sentiments, passions, feelings of good and evil, are said to come from the latter; thought, planning, devising from the former. There seems to be some confusion in the text between heart and head, the former being *fiki*, the latter *fiktci*. It was declared that the "life spirit" resides in the intestines and does not leave them until after a person's death. (See Witchcraft.) Some, however, believed that the life spirit could leave the body without bringing on death, as in sleep and dreams.

The term *hisakita*, "the breath," was applied to the agency of the great prophet above, but, according to one statement, was also applied to the life spirit.

STORY OF THE MAN WHO BECAME A TIE-SNAKE¹⁹

Among Mr. Hewitt's papers was a version of this story of which I have published five more. It was written down at Washington, D. C., June 24, 1883, perhaps by Porter or Perryman but more likely

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 631-635.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 510-514.

¹⁹ *Bull.* 88, *Bur. Amer. Ethn.* pp. 30-34, 97, 154.

it was one of the tales collected by Jeremiah Curtin to which Hewitt refers in his report to the Chief of the Bureau. It runs as follows:

Two Indians, one of whom was named Kowe, went upon a hunting expedition and were singularly unsuccessful. Before they killed anything their supplies of food became exhausted and they had nothing to eat. One evening, as they were walking along through the forests, feeling very hungry and dejected, Kowe noticing nearby the hollow stump of a tree which had been broken off near the ground, approached it and found that it contained water. Upon closer examination he found a few small fishes swimming about in this which he captured in order to use them as food.

When night came on and they could not well proceed farther, the hunters halted and established a camp or resting place for the night. Dressing the fish and preparing them for the evening meal, Kowe invited his companion to join him in eating them. The latter, however, declined, saying that, as the fish had been caught in a very unnatural place, he feared that they had become in some way unfit for human food, and would have a bad effect on anyone eating them. He advised Kowe himself not to eat them but the latter was very hungry and was not deterred by his friend's fears.

At the time they retired to rest no ill consequences showed themselves, but late in the night Kowe was heard to groan and make sounds as if he were in great misery, so that his friend was awakened. On inquiring the trouble, Kowe replied: "You cautioned me last evening against eating those fishes, but I did not heed you and ate them, and that, I apprehend, is the cause of my present calamity. I am now spontaneously and steadily taking on a hideous form, an end which I can neither avert nor control, and it is distressingly painful. I wish you to get up and look at me, but I hope you will not be afraid of me, for no matter what my form proves to be, I shall never forget our friendship or harm you."

Upon this the friend got up and, lifting the covering from his unfortunate friend, found that he was gradually being metamorphosed into a snake, a large portion being already coiled up in the bed. He replaced the covering and bore his grief in silence. When morning came and it was light Kowe had turned into a fully developed snake of hideous appearance. He was, however, able to converse with his friend in human language and he solicited him to follow him back to a lake or pond of water which they had passed the day before. On their way thither the snake requested his friend to return home and inform his wife and all of his relations of the occurrence, and to tell them that he desired they should all come out to the pond to see him for the last time. He further directed that he should bring back a *saoga* or rattle to rattle on the bank so that

he would know that his wife and relatives had come to see him, whereupon he would appear to them.

Having given these directions to his friend, he disappeared in the depths of the lake which they had now reached. The friend immediately returned home and reported what had happened to him, delivering also his message to his wife and relatives.

As soon as possible the relatives and many others went to the pond to view the strange sight, the news of which was uppermost in everyone's mind. On reaching the pond the friend began to shake his rattle and sing, calling "Kowe! Kowe!" as he had been instructed to do. Thereupon the waters of the pond began to roll and bubble and show considerable commotion, and presently an enormous snake appeared. Coming up to the shore where stood a great crowd of spectators, it laid its head on the lap of the woman who had been its wife during the days of its humanity. Its head was now surmounted by a pair of horns. It happened that the woman was provided with a sharp instrument and with this she cut the horns off as mementos of him who could no more be her companion.

These horns were found to have value to anyone who had a portion of one, giving him luck and success in the hunt. It is said that a song or chant something like the following must be sung before going out with the horn to hunt:

He coiled himself up
He loosed himself out of his coil
He straightened himself out
He went in a zigzag way
He glittered toward the sun
He disappeared in the water
The water bubbled.

On account of the virtues attributed to it, this snake's horn at once became a charm greatly desired by every hunter, and in course of time it was broken up into very minute pieces in order that its virtues might reach and benefit as many men as possible. I (i. e., the recorder of the story) have been informed by a friend who has a minute fragment of this so-called horn that it is a little red particle which will float if placed in water.

THE ORIGIN OF THE NATCHEZ INDIANS

The Natchez have a tradition that they came from the sun, that the sun is a woman who has monthly discharges, and that one of these dropped upon the earth and turned into a man. They think that when they die the sun will expire, and that it shines only for them.

This origin story is identical with the origin myth of the Yuchi and it would be of very great importance if we could be certain that the Yuchi were in no way responsible for it. It is in keeping with the solar worship of both Natchez and Yuchi.