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ON THE INDIAN TRIBES INHABITING THE NORTH-WEST
COAST OF AMERICA.

BY JOHN SCOULER, M.D., F.L.S.

Read before the Society, 29th April 1846.

The ethnography of the tribes inhabiting the north-west coast of America, although far from being so well known as that of the Indian races to the east of the Rocky Mountains, has of late made considerable progress. In addition to the materials scattered through the works of the older voyagers, much valuable matter is to be found in Baer's recent work on the Russian Settlements on the north-west coast; and, in the Proceedings of the Geographical Society, I have published a very extensive series of Vocabularies of Indian Languages, collected by Dr Tolmie, which have been illustrated, and made the subject of comment by Dr Latham, in two communications, read before the Ethnological Society. In the following observations it is my intention to attempt a classification of the various tribes found between Behring's Straits and the Columbia River, and included between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Ocean. As all our more authentic information respecting the more northern tribes of Esquimaux and Koluschians, have been derived from Wrangel's communications to Baer's work, it will not be necessary to enter minutely on that part of the subject. In attempting this synopsis of the Indian tribes of the north-westward, we have to premise that it is merely an attempt, and one which will necessarily be subject to much correction. The number and names of the tribes is very imperfectly known; and, in many cases, we have no specimens of their language to enable us to fix their place, and often the indications of travellers are so vague, and even contradictory, that their statements only produce perplexity. The following is, therefore, to be considered rather as an exhibition of what is known on the subject, than as a complete monograph. The distinction, however, between facts and probable inferences has been carefully observed.

With respect to the tribes inhabiting the Russian territory,

it may be remarked, that we find there three very distinct families of the human race brought into intimate relationship, and each retaining its own peculiarities. We find the Esquimaux to the north and west, the Koluschians, on the sea-coast, to the south, and, in the interior, the Carriers and other tribes of the Athabaskan family, extending eastward toward Hudson's Bay, and spreading southward along the western side of the Rocky Mountains to the head-waters of Frazer's River. Notwithstanding the contiguity of these three families or groups, and that they have interchanged several words of their respective vocabularies, the distinction between them in language, manners, and modes of living, is very apparent, so that there is, in general, little difficulty in ascertaining to which of the three families a tribe belongs. Thus the Esquimaux of Greenland and Kodiak, although thousands of miles apart, have more dialectic affinities than the Kodiaks have with their neighbours, the Kenai or Koluschians. There is nothing more remarkable than the pertinacity with which even small tribes of Indians adhere to their language, retaining it, as Mr Gallatin observes, to the last moment of their existence. The difference of customs, as, for example, between a fishing and a hunting tribe, also tends to prevent intercourse, and thus keep languages distinct. Mr Dunn informs us, when speaking of the tribes situated around Puget's Sound, that "the coast tribes and those of the plains observe a marked aversion to mutual incorporation, and confine themselves to distinct localities; the plain tribes not approaching the Sound, and the tribes bordering on the Sound not extending their roamings into the plains." In the same manner, the Athabaskan and Esquimaux races, in the northern regions, carry on a perpetual warfare. We also find, among the Indian races to the east of the Rocky Mountains, that amalgamations of dialects rarely, if ever, take place; their organization into tribes, and the necessity of preserving the full extent of their hunting-ground causes repulsion, not union, and is favourable to perpetual hostilities. It will be seen, in the course of this paper, that a different social condition has tended to obscure the marks of dialectic distinctions in certain tribes.

1. *Esquimaux*.—The ethnography of this race is now well known, and requires no illustration here. Extending from Greenland to Aliaska, they speak everywhere the same language, with dialectic variations. They inhabit the most northerly parts of the new world, and even part of the icy coasts of the old. The Esquimaux tribes, inhabiting the north-west angle of America, appear to have been the most numerous portion of the race, in proportion to the extent of country which they occupy, and, at the same time, the most social and civilized. This may be accounted for by the milder climate of this region, by far the most temperate of any occupied by the Esquimaux, from its numerous islands, inlets, and peninsulas, which multiply, in a comparatively small space, an extensive line of sea-coast adapted to their mode of life. The Esquimaux of this region display much industry and ingenuity, and carry on an extensive intercourse among themselves as well as with the Koluschians, and even with the inhabitants of the Asiatic coast. In this part of America the Esquimaux are divided into numerous small communities, whose names and places of residence are to be found in Baer's work, where much information may be obtained respecting them.

2. *Athabascans*.—This family of Indians is not numerous in proportion to the extent of country which it occupies, but is interesting from its positions amidst so many distinct families, and occupying very nearly the whole breadth of the American continent. The Athabascans are everywhere separated from the sea-coast by the Esquimaux; and towards the Mississippi River they become conterminous with the Algonquin race. To the west of the Rocky Mountains, the Athabascans, under the names of Tacullies or Carriers, occupy the country called New Caledonia; but have nowhere reached the sea coast, from which they are cut off by the Esquimaux, Koluschians, and other tribes. The Athabaskan tribes are separated from the Ichthyophagous tribes of the coast by repugnance arising from difference of mode of life, or by natural barriers. To the north, the Athabascans inhabit the head waters of the streams which flow into the Pacific, and thus come into hostile contact with the Esquimaux.

Further south, they are cut off from the Koluschian and other sea tribes by the range of mountains which runs parallel to the coast, and from which they extend eastward to the Rocky Mountains. It would appear, that, to the north and west, the Tacullies or Athabascans rarely approach within 100 miles of the coast. Tribes of the Athabaskan family occupy the country about the sources of the Salmon River, Frazer's River, and the northern tributaries of the Columbia. The *Nagailers* or Chin Indians, who speak the same language as the Tacullies, and are consequently Athabaskan, come in contact with the Bellichoola on Salmon River, and with the Atnas or Noosdalums on Frazer's River. In the interior, they descend as far as Flat Bow Lake, where their neighbours are the *Kootanie* and Flatheads.

An inspection of the vocabularies of the languages spoken on the north-west coast, will aid us in defining the limits of the Athabaskan family. If we examine the languages spoken from Observatory Inlet to the Columbia, we find they possess very few Athabaskan words, the mountain barrier having obstructed the intercourse between the fish-eaters of the coast and the Athabascans of the interior. On the other hand, on the north and south, where no such defined barrier separates the different races, we find in the vocabularies evidence of a more frequent intercourse. In the dialects of the northern and continental Koluschians, we find a good number of Athabaskan words; and the Kenai may probably be considered as rather Athabaskan than Koluschian. In like manner, we find Athabaskan words in the Kleketat and Shahaptan, as tribes speaking these languages form the southern frontier of the Athabaskan race.

3. *The Koluschians.*—The narrow portion of sea coast extending from Mount St Elias to the Columbia River is remarkable from being inhabited by Indians whose manners, physical features, and even intellectual and moral characters, differ considerably from those of the other Indians, whether of North or South America. The northernmost of these families may be called the Koluschian, and consist of many small tribes, of which we have attempted to give a tolerably complete enumeration.

1. *Ugalenzi*. A small tribe, dwelling in winter to the east of the Island of Kodiak, and during summer at the mouth of the Copper River.
2. *Atna*. Living on the River Atna; distinct from the Atna of M'Kenzie.
3. *Galzani*, or *Koltschani*. Living to the north and east of the Atna River.
4. *Kinai*. Inhabiting the vicinity of Cook's Inlet.
5. *Inchulukhlaites*. Inhabiting the vicinity of the River Chulitna.
6. *Inkalites*. Inhabiting the vicinity of the Rivers Kwichpack and Kuskowim.
7. *Sitkans*. Inhabiting King George the Third's Archipelago.
8. *Cheelkaats*. Inhabiting Lynn's Canal, and neighbourhood.
9. *Tako*. Inhabiting Point Salisbury and Snettisham.
10. *Stikine*. Inhabiting Prince Frederick's Sound and Stikine River.
11. *Tunghaase*. Inhabiting the island of Revilla Gigedo.

The territory occupied by the Koluschian family may be defined as including the islands and the shores of the mainland, from Cook's Inlet to the *Stikine* River. In the northern part of the Koluschian territory, the limits become undefined, from the intermixture of tribes of different languages in the same country. Thus we find an Esquimaux tribe, the Tschugassi, inhabiting the peninsula between Cook's Inlet and Prince William's Sound. The Inchulukhlaites and Inkalites, although Koluschians, live still farther north, amidst tribes of Esquimaux. Another cause of perplexity is, that in the six tribes first named in the table, we find in their vocabularies so many Athabascan words as to indicate an intimate intercourse with the Carriers. In the Kinai vocabulary, for example, the number of Athabascan words is so great, as to render it probable that they belong rather to that family of Indians than to the Koluschians, and that, to use a geological expression, they form an outlying portion of the Carriers. The more southern tribes, Nos. 7, 11, are un-

questionably Koluschian, speaking dialects of the same language, which is much freer from all Athabascan or Esquimaux intermixture. The Koluschian family, as we have defined it, includes the Tunghaase of Dr Tolmie, the Sitkans of the Russians, and Tchinkitane of Marchant.

4. *Chimmesyán*.—In the present state of our knowledge, the Chemmesyans must be classed by themselves, as speaking a distinct language as peculiar as that of the Koluschians, with which it has had remote affinities.

The following table will exhibit the limits of this family and the principal tribes which speak the Chimmesyán language :—

- | | |
|----------------------------|--|
| 1. <i>The Naaskaak</i> . | Inhabiting Observatory Inlet. |
| 2. <i>The Chemmesyan</i> . | Inhabiting Dundas's Island and Stephen's Island. |
| 3. <i>Kitchatlah</i> . | } Inhabiting Princess Royal Islands. |
| 4. <i>Kethumeesh</i> . | |

5. *Haidah*.—This well defined family comprehends the various tribes inhabiting Queen Charlotte's Island, including the *Skittegats*, *Maasets*, *Cumshewes*, &c. Besides the inhabitants of Queen Charlotte's Island, the Kyganie tribe, inhabiting Kyganie Bay, and the southern extremity of Prince of Wales' Archipelago, belong to the Haidah family.

6. *Haeeltsuk*.—The Haeeltsuk tribes occupy the mainland and islands from Hawkesbury Island, and Millbank Sound to Broughton's Archipelago, inclusive, with the opposite coast of the Continent, and also the northern parts of Quadra and Vancouver's Island. The geographical position of the Haeeltsuk, will be best exhibited by the following table of tribes, and their places of residence.

1. *Hyshalla*. Inhabiting Hawksburg Island.
2. *Hyhysh*. Inhabiting Cascade Canal.
3. *Haeeltsuk*; 4. *Esleytuk*. Inhabiting Millbank Sound.
5. *Weekenoeh*. Inhabiting Fitzhugh's Sound.
6. *Nalatsenoeh*. Inhabiting Smith's Inlet.
7. *Quagheuil*. Inhabiting Broughton's Archipelago.
8. *Tlatla-Shequilla*. Including Northern extremity of Vancouver's Island.
9. *Leequeeltoch*. Inhabiting Johnston's Strait.

7. *Bellichoola*.—This family comprehends but a small number of tribes, speaking, however, a peculiar language. They live on the Salmon River and Dean's Canal, where they were visited by M'Kenzie on his journey to the Pacific Ocean. The small vocabulary collected by M'Kenzie, leaves no doubt, as Dr Tolmie and Dr Latham observes, that the Indians found by M'Kenzie at Friendly Village, belongs to the Bellichoola tribe.

We have classified the Koluschians, Haidah, Chimmesyans, Bellichoola, and Haeltruk, as distinct families of Indians, and the distinction will hold good even if their languages should be proved to belong to one general tongue, of which they are respectively modifications. The languages of any of these tribes is unintelligible to the others; but, at the same time, the number of words common to them all induce us to suppose, that, with more copious vocabularies, many affinities might be detected and discrepancies removed.

8. *Kawitchen*.—The following tribes belong to this family:—

1. *Commagsheak*. Gulf of Georgia, Northern Part.
2. *Kawitchen*. Gulph of Georgia, Southern Part.
3. *Quaitlin*. Frazer's River.
4. *Noosdalum*. Hood's Canal.
5. *Squallyamish*. Puget's Sound.
6. *Atnas*.

The table of tribes speaking the Kawitchen, and of their habitations, indicates the extent of country over which the language prevails. It extends along the shores of the Gulf of Georgia on the mainland, opposite Vancouver's Island, and south to Puget's Sound, where it approaches the Cowlitch River. Dr Tolmie has supplied three vocabularies, those of the Kawitchen, Noosdalum, and Squallyamish, which appear to be so many dialects of the same original language; the Squallyamish, however, exhibiting the greatest amount of variation. The Atna Indians of M'Kenzie are, as Dr Latham suggests, a branch of the Kawitchen family, and have for neighbours the Athabascans.

9. *Nootkans*.

1. *Naspatle*; 2. *Nootkans*; 3. *Tlaoquatch*; 4. *Nit-*

tenat. All inhabit the western shores of Vancouver's Island.

5. *Classet.* Inhabit Cape Flattery.
6. *Queenioolt.* Inhabit Queenhithe South of Cape Flattery.
7. *Chikeelis.* Inhabit Chikeeli Bay and River.
8. *Cowlitch.* Inhabit Cowlitch River.
9. *Tilhalumma.* Inhabit sources of Chikeeli River.

The relations of this important family, as well as its geographical limits, are very difficult to ascertain, especially as there is much confusion in the vocabularies and relations of the tribes inhabiting the Lower Columbia. If all the above mentioned tribes belong to the Nootkan family, it occupies a very extensive region, including the greater part of the western and southern shores of Vancouver's Island. On the mainland it extends south to the Columbia River, and occupies the greater part of the region between Puget's Sound, the Cowlitch River, and the Pacific. As this extensive range is given to the Nootkan family for the first time, it is necessary to distinguish what is ascertained from what amounts only to a considerable degree of probability. We have many vocabularies of the Nootkan language by Cook, Mozino, Dr Tolmie, and Jewitt, who remained a captive at Nootka for several years. A comparison of these vocabularies leaves no doubt that the first four tribes in the prefixed table belong to the Nootkan family. We have, unfortunately, no vocabulary of the Classet language; but I have reason to believe that the Classets and Tlaoquatch can understand each other, and if so, the former belongs to the Nootkan family. The chief difficulty is with the last four tribes mentioned in the list. Dr Tolmie merely says, that they speak the Chikeeli, but gives no further information respecting them. The reasons for supposing that the Chikeeli tribes are allied to the Nootkan family are as follows:—At the mouth of the Columbia River, especially on the south side, we find several tribes, hereafter to be mentioned, who use the Cheenook language. Above these tribes, and ascending to the falls of the Columbia, we find the Cathlascans also speaking a peculiar language. Of the tribes on the north side of the river, between the Cow-

litch, Puget's Sound, and the sea, we have apparently no vocabularies, although the country is occupied by well-known tribes of Indians. It is not, however, upon this negative argument that we place the Chikéeli tribes in the Nootkan family. While residing for several weeks among the Indians of the Lower Columbia, I collected a small vocabulary of the language, and of the phrases essential for carrying on some conversation with the natives. A comparison of this language, spoken by the Chikeelis, with the Tlaquatch vocabulary of Dr Tolmie and the Nootkan ones of Mozino and Jewitt, prove that it has very great affinities with the Nootkan.

			COLUMBIA.
Plenty . . .	Aya, Tlaquatch . . .	Haya	
No . . .	Wik, Nootkan . . .	Wake	
Water . . .	Tchaak, Tlaquatch . . .	Chuck	
Good . . .	Hooleish, do. . .	Closh	
Bad . . .	Peishakeis, do. . .	Peshak	
Man . . .	Tchuckoop, do. . .	Tillicham	
Woman . . .	Tlootsemin, do. . .	Clotchamen	
Child . . .	Tanassis, do. . .	Tanass	
Now . . .	Tlahowieh, do. . .	Clahowiah	
Come . . .	Tchooqua, do. . .	Sacko	
Slave . . .	Mischemas, Nootka . . .	Mischemas	
What are you doing ?	Akoots-ka-mamok, Tlaquatch	Ekta mamok	
What are you saying ?	Au-kaak-wawa, Tlaquatch	Ekta-wawa ?	
Let me see . . .	Nannanitch . . .	Nannanitch	
Sun . . .	Opeth, Nootka . . .	Otlach	
Sky . . .	Sieya, do. . .	Saya	
Fruit . . .	Chamas, do. . .	Camas	
To sell . . .	Makok, do. . .	Makok	
Understand . . .	Commatax, do. . .	Commatax	

The vocabulary here given proves that there is a very considerable affinity between the tribes of the north part of the Lower Columbia and the Nootkans of Vancouver's Island, and is the evidence on which we have ventured to place the Chikeelis in the same group as the Nootkans.

10. *Cheenooks*.—The Cheenooks inhabit the lower part of the Columbia, near the sea, and from thence extend along the coast, probably until they reach the Umpqua tribes on the river of the same name. The chief tribes are

1. *Cheenooks*. Inhabiting the south bank of the Columbia.
2. *Cladsaps*. Inhabiting the sea-coast near Point Adams.

3. *Kellamucks*. Inhabiting the Kellamuck River, and south of the Cladsaps.
4. *Cathlamuts*. Inhabiting the south bank of the Columbia above the Cheenooks.

11. *Umpquas*.—Lewis and Clark have given the names of many Cheenook tribes which live on the bays and streams entering the Pacific, and extending towards the Umpqua river. Their names it is unnecessary to repeat. We will merely state, that beyond them, and on the Umpqua and Clamet rivers, we find the Umpqua Indians, of whom we know very little, except that they speak a very distinct language, and are therefore entitled to form a separate family.

12. *Cathlascans*.—The Cathlascans inhabit the banks of the Columbia, from the Falls down to Wappatoo Island, and also the lower part of the Multrumah or Willamud river. The Cathlascans are divided into many little tribes. Their chief place of resort is Wappatoo Island, a low but fertile tract, which resembles the Lizerias of the Tagus. The alluvial and overflowed parts of the island abound in a species of *Sagittaria*, resembling the *S. sagittifolia*, but remarkable for producing at the root a tuber of the size of that of the artichoke, which it very much resembles in flavour, and forms an important article of food to the natives of the Lower Columbia.

As in the case of the northern tribes, the families which we have called Kawitchen, Nootkan, Cheenook, and Cathlaskan, may form a group by themselves, and the recurrence of the same words in several of the vocabularies, induces us to suppose that the differences will be reduced as our knowledge of the ethnography of the Oregon improves.

13. *Shahaptan*.

1. *Kliketan*. Inhabit the tract between Fond Ner Percees, Mount Rainier, and the Falls of the Columbia.
2. *Shahaptans* or *Ner Percees*. Inhabit the southern branch of the Columbia, and spread over a great extent of country.
3. *Wallawalla*.
4. *Cayoose*. Inhabit the Snake River from its mouth to

its junction with the Salmon River, and the intermediate country.

5. *Peloose*. Inhabit sources of the Spokane River.

Of the numerous tribes inhabiting the upper tributaries of the Columbia, there are probably many who should be included in the Shahaptan family, but who, in the absence of vocabularies, cannot be placed in the table with any degree of certainty. That the Kliketat, Wallawalla, and Shahaptans, speak the same language, although with dialectic variations, is undoubted; and the vocabularies in the appendix, perhaps the most accurate we possess of any Oregon languages, exhibits both the affinities and divergences. It was drawn up by the Rev. Cornelius Rogers, who has resided as a missionary among the Nez Percees, and is thoroughly versant in their language. The Peloose and Cayoose Indians may also be referred to this family without much risk of error. The first live on the Wallawalla and Columbia at their junction, the second to the west of the Ner Percees. The Shahaptan tribes occupy a very extensive territory, extending from Mount Rainier south to Ford Ner Percees, at the junction of the great northern and southern tributaries of the Columbia, and including the extensive country included between them.

14. *Okanagan*.—This family is placed to the north and east of the Shahaptans. The language is spoken at Fort Okanagan and in the upper part of Frazer's River. As Dr Latham conjectures, it is probable that the Salish or Flatheads belong to the Okanagans. The Rev. Mr Parker says, they are a branch of the Shahaptans, and speak the same language, but the scanty vocabulary we possess is in favour of Dr Latham's opinion. The affinities of the following tribes are uncertain, although they must be referred either to the Shahaptans or Okanagans :—the Spokans, who live on the Spokane river, the Coeur, and Alenes, and Ponderas, who are a numerous tribe living to the north of Clarke's River. The Cootanies on the M'Gillivray River, according to Mr Parker, speak a peculiar language, and beyond them we have the Athabaskan Carriers.

15. *Kalapooiah*.—We possess vocabularies of two dialects, of this family, the Kalapooiah and Yamkallie. The language is spoken beyond the sources of the Willamut River, in the extensive plains in that quarter, and separated by the range from the Cheenook and Umpquas.

16. *Shossoonies*.—The Shossoonies, Snakes, or Diggers, who reside in the mountains and deserts to the south of the sources of the Columbia, are the only remaining family to be noticed, as the tribes inhabiting California, from the sources of the Rio Colorado southward, are too little known to afford materials for description. In the absence of complete vocabularies, we only know that they form a family apart, having no affinity with the Shahaptans or Kalapooiah. The Shossoonies are, perhaps, the most miserable Indians on the whole continent, except the inhabitants of Terra del Fuego; and in their arid deserts their condition, as described by Captain Fremont, is more like that of the Hottentots, or the natives of New Holland, than of American Indians. Their chief subsistence, when fish is not to be found, consists in a scanty supply of game, lizards, and small mammifers, and such roots as the country affords.

Their chief vegetable food consists, according to Captain Fremont, of the roots of a thistle, the *Circium turgenianum* of the *Anethum graveolens*. The *Camas camassia esculenta*, and a species of Valerian, *V. eduli*. It is on such scanty fare that the Shossoonies subsist amidst their rocks and deserts.

In the preceding synopsis, it has been attempted to exhibit as complete a view as possible of the various tribes inhabiting the northern coast of America, from the Polar Seas to the Columbia. The extreme difficulty of the task, and the toil of collecting information scattered in minute portions through a great variety of works, will, it is trusted, be taken as an apology for any errors which may have been fallen into. Were we to construct an ethnographical chart of the north-west part of America, and compare it with the excellent one which Mr Gallatin has given, illustrating the distribution of the Indian tribes east of the Rocky Mountains, nothing would appear more striking than the great variety of languages spoken in the narrow district included between the Rocky

Mountains and the Pacific, contrasted with the few but wide spread dialects, spoken between Hudson's Bay and the Gulf of Mexico. Unwilling to introduce premature generalizations, we have estimated the number of distinct languages at sixteen. Although the number will probably be considerably reduced by subsequent investigations; the Okanagan may be perhaps united to the Shahaptan and the Haidah, with the Koluschian; but after all such reductions, the number of distinct languages spoken to the west of the Rocky Mountains, will be far greater, in proportion to the surface of country and population, than it is to the east, between the mountains and the Atlantic. The territory occupied by the Algonquin race alone exceeds the whole extent of the Oregon territory. In the south of the United States, however, we have something analogous to the population of the west coast, for there a great number of small tribes are found speaking distinct languages, and having little affinity with each other. The creeks and the jungles of that part of country appear to have afforded an asylum to tribes expelled from their ancient abodes. On the east of the Rocky Mountains the wide diffusion of particular languages depends in part on the nature of the country. Subsisting almost exclusively by the chase, each tribe required a great extent of country; few natural barriers existed to prevent dispersion, and the sanguinary nature of Indian warfare left no resource to the vanquished but the alternative of flight or extermination. In the history of the Irriquois confederacy, we have a picture of this desolating warfare in which even the harsh mercy of slavery was refused to the vanquished.

Among the natives of the north-west coast, the features of the country, intersected by mountain ranges, or broken up into islands, rendered the tribes more sedentary; while, at the same time, it permitted, and even from the diversity of its products required, some degree of commercial intercourse. Under such physical conditions, and where the modes of obtaining food varied with the character of the country, extensive conquests were impossible; the energetic Haidah of Queen Charlotte's island could not, even if conquerors, abandon at once their mode of life as fishers, and change themselves

into hunters if they penetrated across the mountains, and occupied the country of the Athabascans. This circumstance is unquestionably favourable to the production and preservation of a variety of dialects, although it is by no means a proof that they were not originally derived from a common source. When, to ascertain this, we compare the different vocabularies, we find a source of perplexity which does not occur to any thing like the same extent among the languages spoken to the east of the mountains. In the Irriquois, Cherokee, Sioux, and Algonquin, we find very few words common to all or to any two of them ; the term expressing numbers, the common objects of nature, articles of indispensable necessity, or of family relationship, are perfectly distinct. In the languages of the north-west coast, on the contrary, there seem to be an equal balance of divergences and resemblances ; the same words reappear in the most remote languages, and these frequently numerals or other terms of the first necessity. The similarity with respect to numerals, may be at once seen on inspecting the vocabularies published in the Proceedings of the Geographical Society.

The following instances will explain the same fact :—

Man, Tillicham, Columbia River ; Boy, Tehileque, Carrier.

Woman, Shewat, Koluschian ; Aiat, Shahaptan.

Water, Tehuk, Nootkan ; Tshush, Wallawalla.

Child, Munna, Bellichoola ; Mumunna, Kawitchen.

Child, Tillcoole, Chimmesyan ; Tool, Cheenook.

The source of strange confusion, so to speak, appears to depend on the following circumstances. The Indians of the northward possess a very different natural character from that of the eastern tribes ; they are more sedentary, of a milder nature, their wars are far less cruel, the prisoners are usually detained in a state of mild slavery, and ultimately incorporated into the conquering tribe ; and this circumstance alone will tend to produce an intermixture of dialects. Another modifying cause results from the extensive commercial intercourse carried on between even very remote tribes. Baron Wrangell has given an interesting account of the active trade carried on, from time immemorial, among the tribes from Behring's Straits to Queen Charlotte's Island, and even

to Nootka ; Dr Tolmie has given valuable information respecting the fairs held at Naas, where the Koluschians, Haidah, Chimmesyans, and Haeeltzuk, interchange commodities.

Previous to the arrival of Europeans, when the use of iron was unknown, copper was an article of great value, and the traditions concerning it prove its former importance ; and also a commerce in articles constructed from this metal. Wrangell informs us that the Northern Atnas of the Copper River were famous for the fabrication and commerce in knives and daggers of copper. The tradition of the Chippewyans, recorded by M'Kenzie, that their ancestors came from the west, from a country abounding in copper, may probably refer to their intercourse, by means of the Carriers with the Atnas of the Copper River. According to Mr Dunn, the Cheelhaats of Lynn's Canal were, like the Atnas, famed for their copper, which they wrought with great dexterity. In this country, he says, great quantities of virgin copper are found, some of it is worked into a kind of shield, two feet and a-half long and one broad, with figures of men and animals expressed on it. The labour and ingenuity expended in working these shields gives them a great value. One of them is estimated as worth nine slaves, and is transmitted as a precious heirloom from father to son. The tradition of the Nootkans, as related by Meares, bears upon the same point. An old man entered the bay in a copper canoe with paddles of copper ; and thus the Nootkans acquired a knowledge of the value of that metal.

Another article of commerce, or rather the circulating medium of the country, was the hyaqua shell, which was a still better substitute for money than the courie of the east. These hyaquas were sorted according to their sizes, and afterwards strung together always to the number of forty. The mode of estimating their relative values was very ingenious and simple. If the string of forty hyaquas made only a fathom they were of small value ; if thirty-five made a fathom, the shells were of greater size and worth, and, of course, five remained over, and when ten remained in excess, such a string of hyaquas was worth many beaver skins. These hyaquas are obtained at Nootka and De Fucas Straits, but so much value

was attached to them that they found their way to Oonalaska and the Columbia River. This shell money, both from its limited supply, its durability, and facility with which its value could be expressed in numbers, and its portability, was far superior to the *coccoa* money of the Mexicans. This commercial intercourse must have tended to produce some assimilation among the idioms; and, accordingly, we find that most exchangeable articles have the same name in Kolutchian and Haidah, although the languages are, in other respects, very different. The practice of kidnapping and selling slaves must have had a similar tendency.

Another cause of variation is the dialectic differences which grow up in distant tribes speaking the same language, leading to differences of pronunciation which the stranger cannot detect.

In the Wallawalla and Shahaptan vocabularies, appended to this paper, we see that, even in Indian languages, such variations follow certain rules. According to the excellent remarks of Mr Rogers, one form of the subjunctive ends in *tah* and *nah*, in Wallawalla it is always *tahna*; the Wallawalla substitute *sh* for the Shahaptan *k*, as in *tshusk* for *scush*; the Wallawalla substitutes *n* for Shahaptan *l*, as *wanaka* for *walasa*. Mr Rogers also adds, that the same word often varies considerably in signification; and hence another cause of difficulty in judging of affinities from imperfect vocabularies. Another observation by Mr Rogers, points out another cause of variation, of which I know of no other instance among Indian tribes. He informs us that the Cayoose Indians have an entirely distinct language of their own; but they have long since adopted the Nez Percee as their national tongue, and only a few of the old people retain a knowledge of their original language. If this circumstance be fully established, it throws much light on the causes of variation in the Oregon languages, and indicates a much more flexible disposition than is usually found among Indians. The smallest tribe, in the south of the United States, retained its language with the most obstinate tenacity; and the barbarous Otomis retained their uncouth language for centuries amidst the more polished languages of Mexico. With our present imperfect knowledge of the

languages spoken in the north-west coast, all attempts at ethnological classifications will remain imperfect, more vocabularies must be constructed, and the old corrected, before we can trace the affinities and migrations of tribes, the study of whose dialects constitutes all their history.

The researches of American philologists, especially Du Ponceau and Gallatin, have shewn, that, however different the words may be in Indian languages, the same grammatical structure pervades them all. From Canada to Chili, we find similar forms under a great diversity of words. The principles of M. Du Ponceau have been found applicable, with one exception, to all the hitherto examined languages of America, and it is an interesting inquiry to ascertain whether the languages of the north-west coast afford confirmation, or exceptions, to so extensive a generalisation; unfortunately the materials are not abundant, as it is far more difficult to obtain a grammar than a vocabulary. The only grammar of an Oregon language, which we are acquainted with, is a manuscript one of the Shahaptan or Nez Percee, drawn up by the Rev. C. Rogers, and which affords a short but perspicuous view of the peculiarities of that wide-spread tongue.

The only consonants used in Shahaptan are h k l m n p s t w. The letters b d f g r v z, so often absent in Indian languages, are only used in Shahaptan, when pronouncing foreign words. They have, however, several sounds unknown to English as *ph* aspirated *lk*, *tk*, *shk*.

Like the other American, or in short, all barbarous languages, the Shahaptan is rich in words indicating every variety of object, but poor in general terms, like the Malayan dialects, where there may be twenty names for gold, but none for metal. It is apparently to the same poverty of general ideas, that the pronouns and verbs, with their definite and general plurals, and vast variety of inflexions, indicating every minute particular of time, place, or motion, are very unfit for the discussion of moral topics. They resemble the technical language of botanists, expressing with rigorous precision, the form and properties of bodies, but unfit for any kind of speculative discussion. The distinction of bodies into animate

and inanimate, which pervades the Algonquin, and exists, although in a minor degree, in many American languages, has not been hitherto detected in dialects of the Oregon. Although not immediately connected with the subject, it may be mentioned that this distinction of bodies into animate and inanimate is not peculiar to some tribes in North America. It appears to exist in the Peruvian, where also animate objects are divided into rational and irrational. In the rational and irrational divisions, the sex is expressed by words equivalent to male and female, but these words are different in the two classes of nouns.

We have now to offer a few remarks on the physical appearance, intellectual character, and social institutions of the Indians of the north-west coast of America. Even if we exclude the Esquimaux, we find there is a considerable variety in the physical features of the north-west Indians. The Haidah and Koluschians differ greatly from the Chenooks and Cathlascans of the Columbia; and the Shahaptans and Kleketat differ from both. The northern tribes are of a pale complexion, and are not darker than the Portuguese or Italians, while the complexion of the Columbian Indian is deeper, although not so much as the Irriquois of Canada. The features also of the northern tribes are more prominent, they have broader cheek-bones. The Koluschians are of middle stature, but strong made, with broad nose and great cheek-bones, and in all respects strongly marked features. The Cheenooks are of small stature, with crooked legs, from sitting so long in their canoes, with flat nose and large nostrils, but their features are less prominent than in the Haidah and Koluschians. The Kleketat and Flatheads are of a fair complexion, tall stature, well made, and active. The peculiarities in the form of the cranium have been mentioned in a paper on the Oregon Indians, published in the Transactions of the Geographical Society.

The intellectual and moral characters of the Indians on the west coast are very different from those of the Indians east of the Mountains. From the nature of their pursuits the Oregon Indians have a more extensive range of ideas, and are less inflexible in character than the other American

tribes. The western Indians are imitative and docile ; and instead of the hard-heartedness of the Irriquois, the ferocity of the Carib, or the implacable cruelty of the Brazilian, the Oregon Indians are comparatively humane, the custom of scalping is unknown, prisoners taken in war are rarely put to death after the excitement of the contest has subsided, and they are never exposed to lingering tortures. Those probationary tortures by which the young men were initiated into the rank of warriors, and of which, as practised by the Mandians, Mr Catlin has given so entertaining an account, are unknown to the west of the Rocky Mountains.

There is, however, a very considerable variety of psychological character among the tribes of the north-west coast. The northern tribes of Koluschians, Haidah, and Bellichoolas are, in point of skill and ingenuity, far superior to the Cheenooks and Cathlascans. The mechanical skill and imitative ingenuity of the northern Indians as displayed in the construction of their canoes, houses, fishing implements, as well as in their ornamented daggers, pipes, and masks, has attracted the notice of all civilised visitors. The elaborate carvings of the Haidahs is equal in skill to any thing we find displayed by the Mexicans, and shews how small an amount of civilisation might suffice for the construction of the monuments of Chiapa or Yucatan. A very curious instance of the imitative powers of the northern Indians is related by Mr Dunn. The Bellichoolas of Millbank Sound were struck with admiration on the first sight of a steamboat, and undertook to construct a vessel on the same model. In a short time they had felled a large tree, and were constructing the hull out of its scooped trunk. Some time after the rude steamer appeared. She was from twenty to thirty feet long, she was black with painted ports, was decked over, and the paddles painted red, and Indians under cover to turn them round. She was floated triumphantly, and went at the rate of three miles an hour. The introduction and general cultivation of the potato without the aid of European lessons or example, is a remarkable instance of the docility and industry of the Haidah, and they not un-

frequently sell from five to eight hundred bushels of them at the annual fair at Naas.

The Indians of Nootka are not equal to the northern tribes, but are superior to the Cheenooks and Cathlascans of the Columbia, who are the least energetic, and at the same time the most cowardly and licentious of all the inhabitants of the north-west coast. If inferior in some degree to the northern tribes, in as far as regards dexterity and mechanical skill, the tribes of the interior, such as the Flat-Heads, Cayuse, and Shahaptans, are by far the first in moral character. The desire for religious even more than for intellectual culture, and the strong, although untutored, devotional feelings, are pleasing phenomena in the Indian race, in general so untractable. This favourable account of the Flatheads and allied tribes, does not rest on the evidence of the missionaries alone, but is the opinion of all who have travelled among them. They are described as polite and unobtrusive. Even the children are more peaceable than other children, and although hundreds may be seen together at play, there is no quarrelling among them. They have learned to observe Sunday, and will not raise their camp on that day; they also spend a part of it in prayer and religious ceremonies. The chief assembles them to prayer in which they all join in an occasional chorus. He then exhorts them to good conduct. These customs were adopted before the arrival of Christian teachers among them.

The religion, or rather superstitions, of the Indians of the north-west coast, do not appear to differ greatly from those of the tribes to the east of the Mountains. The supposed simplicity of the Indian creed, as well as their equally imaginary eloquence, have been the subject of much vague speculation, founded on inaccurate observations. As an instance of the vagueness with which the customs of the Indians are sometimes described, it may be mentioned, that a very respectable writer, in speaking of the Cheenooks, alludes to assemblies around the council fire, taking up the tomihawk, and displaying the scalps of their enemies, although such customs were unknown in the Oregon territory.

In like manner, when we hear the term Great Spirit so often used in speaking of Indian superstitions, we are ready to suppose that such an expression conveys the equivalent idea to the Indian which it does to ourselves, and that their faith was a simple natural theism. This, however, is very far from being the case. The religion of the Indian is merely a kind of fetichism, consisting in charms and incantations. In the narrative of Tanner, who lived from his childhood among the Indians, and whose faithful and detailed narrative is so different from the speculations of certain writers, we find that the religion of the Indian is merely a system of fetichism similar to that which once prevailed among the Finns, and is found at the present day among the people of Siberia. Among the Indians east of the Mountains, the fetiche, under the name of medicine bag, is well known, and consists merely of some object supposed to be possessed of mysterious powers. Along with this, there is excitement produced by fastings, incantations, and dreams. On the north-west coast the system is similar; and in a former paper, to which allusion has been already made, there is an interesting account by Dr Tolmie of the superstitions of the Haeltruk. In the Oregon territory, the term medicine-man is more appropriate than it is to the east of the Mountains; for, on the Columbia, the chief influence is derived from expelling diseases by means of charms and mystic ceremonies.

Connected with the religion of these Indians, their mode of interment deserves notice. It is remarkable, that the simple and natural process of committing the body to the earth, is rarely practised by the American Indians. Among the ancient Peruvians, the body was wrapped up in mats, and interred in a sitting posture, the same posture in which the dead are represented in the picture writings of the Mexicans. On the north-west coast, the body is sometimes placed in a box, and deposited in the crevices of the rocks, or put into a canoe, and raised upon props, where it dries, and becomes a mummy, and so remains until the body and the canoe fall into decay. The custom of burning the body, although uncommon, was practised among the Carriers of New Caledonia. Mr Dunn informs us, that, like the people of

Hindustan, they used, until lately, to burn their dead, a ceremony in which the widow of the deceased, although not sacrificed, was obliged to continue beating the breast of the corpse until it was consumed on the funeral pile. Instead of being burned, she was obliged to serve as a slave the relations of her deceased husband for a series of years, during which she wore around her neck a small bag containing a portion of the ashes of her husband. At the end of the allotted time a feast was held, and she was declared at liberty to cast off the symbols of her widowhood.

Another curious custom, of which, however, we have found as yet only obscure notices of its existence on the north-west coast, is what has been called the *totem*, among the Algonquins, among whom the institution exists in perfection. According to this institution, an Indian tribe or nation is divided into various clans or families, each supposed to have a common descent, bearing, as an emblem or surname, the appellation of some animal or other object, which, among the Algonquins, is called the totem of the clan. Individuals among the Indians cannot marry within their own clan, but must seek a wife in a clan bearing another totem; and hence marriages into a close degree of consanguinity are effectually prevented. The female children in many tribes follow the totem of the mother, while the males follow that of the father. This system appears to be very general among the Indians, and even in other barbarous nations; and we find traces of it among the Indians of the north-west coast. The Cheenooks generally seek for wives among the Chiheeles, and *vice versa*; and thus Indian women may be found in places very remote from the abode of their parents. Among the Kuluschians and northern tribes, there is the division of the dog and raven clans, with numerous subdivisions. This system existed in South as well as North America. Thus Piedrahita, in his History of New Grenada, notices its occurrence among the Panches, a tribe inhabiting that country. He says, "No casaban los de uno pueblo con muger alguna del, porque todos se tenian por hermanos, y era sacro sancto para ellos e impedimento de parentesco pero era tal su ignorancia, qui si la proporia hermana nacia en deferenti pueblo, no escusaba

casarse con ella el hermano." The existence of this institution appears to have produced the very curious peculiarity of Indian languages noticed by Mr Gallatin, that the women use different words from the men to express family relationships. In some Indian languages this peculiarity penetrates even deeper into the language. Among the Moxas of South America, the women and the men use different pronouns in speaking to each other of things relating to each other. The Kobang of the Australians appears to be the very same institution as the totem of the Algonquins; and it would be interesting to know if similar peculiarities pervade their language.

	Shabaptan.	Wallawalla.	Kleketat.
Man	Nama	Winsh	Wins
Boy	Naswae	Tahnutshint	Aswan
Woman	Aiat	Tilahi	Aiat
Girl	Piten	Tohauat	Pitiniks
Wife	Swapna	Asham	Asham
Child	Miahs	Isht	Mianash
Father	Pishd	Pshit	Pshit
Mother	Pika	Ptsha	Ptsha
Friend	Likstiwa	Hhai	Hhai
Fire	Ala	Sluksh	Sluks
Water	Tkush	Tshush	Tshaush
Wood	Hatsin	Slukas	Slukuas
Stone	Pishwa	Pshwa	Pshwa
Ground	Watsash	Titsham	Titsham
Sun	Wishamtuksh	Au	Au
Moon	Ailhai	Ailhai
Stars	Witsein	Haslu	Haslo
Clouds	Spalikt	Pashst	
Rain	Wakit	Sshhauit	Tohtoha
Snow	Maka	Poi	Maka
Ice	Tahask	Tahauk	Toh
Horse	Shikam	Kusi	Kusi
Dog	Shikamkan	Kusi Kusi	Kusi Kusi
Buffalo	Kokullia	Musmussin	Musmussin
Male Elk	Wawakia	Wawakia	Winat
Female Elk	Taship	Tashipka	Winat
Grey Bear	Pahas	Wapantle	
Black Bear	Jaka	Saka	Analmi
House	Snit	Snit	Snit
Gun	Timuni	Tainpas	Tuilpas
Body	Silaks	Waunokshash	
Head	Hushus	Tilpi	Palka
Arm	Atim	Kamkas	
Eyes	Shilhu	Atshash	Atshash

	Shahaptan.	Wallawalla.	Kleketat.
Nose	Nathnu	Nathnu	Nosnu
Ears	Matsaia	Matsiu	
Mouth	Him	Em	Am
Teeth	Tit	Tit	
Hands	Spshus	Spap	Alla
Feet	Ahwa	Waha	Waha
Legs	Wainsh	Tama	
Mocassens	Ileapkat	Shkam	Shkam
Good	Tahr	Skeh	Shoeah
Bad	Kapshish	Milla	Tshailwit
Hot	Sakas	Sahwaih	Sahweah
Cold	Kenis	Kasat	Tewisha Kasat
Far	Waiat	Wiat	Wiat
Near	Keintam	Tsiwas	Tsa
High	Tashti	Hwaiam	Hweami
Low	Ahat	Smite	Niti
White	Naihaih	Koik	Olash
Black	Sunuhsimuh	Tshimuk	Tsimuk
Red	Sepilp	Sutsha	Sutsa
Here	Kina	Tshna	Stshiuak
There	Kuna	Kuna	Skone
Where ?	Minu ?	Mina ?	Mam
When ?	Mana ?	Mun ?	Mun ?
What ?	Mish ?	Mish ?	Mish ?
Why ?	Manama ?	Maui ?	
Who ?	Ishi ?	Skiu ?	Skiu ?
Which ?	Ma ?	Mam ?	
How much ?	Mas ?	Milh ?	Milh ?
So much	Kala	Kulk	Skulk
How far ?	Miwail ?	Maal ?	
So far	Kewail	Kwal	
How long ?	Mahae ?	Maalh	
To long	Kohae	Kwalk	
This	Ki	Tshi	Tshi
That	Joh	Kwa	Skwa
I	Su	Su	Suk
You	Sui	Sui	Suik
He, she, it	Ipi	Ipin	Pink
We	Nun	Nama	Nemak
Ye	Ima	Ena	Imak
They	Ema	Ema	Pamak
To go	Kusha	Winasha	Winasha
To see	Hakesha	Hoksha	
So say	Heisha	Nu	Nu
To talk	Tseksha	Siniwasa	Sinawasa
To walk	Wenasa	Winashash	
To read	Wasasha	Wasasha	Wasasha
To eat	Wipisha	Kwatashak	
To drink	Makosha	Matshushask	
To sleep	Pinimiksha	Pinusha	

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	Shahaptan.	Wallawalla.	Kleketat.
To wake	Waksa	Tahshisask	Tahshasha
To love	Watanisha	Tkesnask	Tkehsha
To take	Paalsa	Apalashask	
To know	Lukuasa	Ashakuashash	Shukuasha
To forget	Titolasha	Slakshash	
To give	Inisha	Nishamash	
To seize	Inpisha	Shutshash	Wanapsha
To be cold	Iswaisa	Sweashash	Iswaiska
To be sick	Komaisa	Painshash	Painsha
To hunt	Tukuliksa	Salaitisas	Nistewasa
To lie	Mishamisha	Tshishkshash	Tshiska
To steal	Pakwasha	Pakwashash	Pakwasha