THE LILLOOET: AN ACCOUNT OF
THE BASIS OF INDIVIDUAL STATUS

by

MILENA NASTICH

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ABSTRACT

of

THE LILLOOET: AN ACCOUNT OF THE BASIS OF INDIVIDUAL STATUS

The Lillooet are a Salish speaking people living in the interior of southwestern British Columbia. In the light of recent archaeological and linguistic research in the Plateau, it seems likely that Lillooet boundaries in pre-White times, were different from those held at the time of White contact. Borden and Swadesh have presented evidence which suggests that Athapaskan speaking peoples were moving south, displacing and dispersing formerly contiguous groups. My own information indicates that in late pre-historic times at least, pressures exerted by the Chilcotin and Shuswap were keenly felt by the Lillooet. The Lillooet on the other hand, were not on good terms with the Stalo to the south of them and engaged in periodic scuffles with them over hunting rights. It is thus possible that the Lillooet under pressure from the north moved south where they came into conflict with the normally peaceful Stalo, who resisted Lillooet advances into their territory.

The Lillooet were not organized into one large political unit. The ties of kinship, common language, and culture encouraged a loose sense of unity which did not, however, find expression in political unity. The villages were grouped together into local bands, the significant political units. Each band had a hereditary chief whose power lay in the orderly regulation of peace time affairs. This power did not extend beyond the band.

High social standing was based on achievement and the respect which such achievement inspired. Most families of high social standing attempted to preserve their position in the community by controlling the marriages of their children and by teaching them the techniques and behaviour upon which success and respect were based. Thus the Lillooet considered the "training to live"
period an important part of the individual's life. It was felt that people of prestige would inculcate the proper qualities in their children and aid them in acquiring powerful spirits, which in turn, would increase their prestige and social standing in the community. A family of high standing tried to choose marriage partners for their offspring from a family of equal or of greater social status, for it was felt that only families of prestige and achievement would "train" their children in the proper manner. Poverty and inability were considered to be the results of poor training and of lazy and careless behaviour. To introduce such characteristics into a household would be to endanger the status of that household.

Serious training commenced at puberty and consisted of isolation, fasting, frequent bathing and scrubbing, the observance of a number of restrictions and the enactment of prescribed symbolic behaviour, as well as a more intense instruction in handicrafts and other practical tasks. It was at this time that boys usually sought spirit aid in hunting, fishing and curing, and it was for this purpose that they endured a period of isolation and observed a number of restrictions. The persistence and sincerity with which this training was carried out was reflected in later successes. Because accomplishment was the basis of prestige and respect, and hence power, and because accomplishment depended a great deal upon the way people conducted themselves during this critical period, the training period was considered to be of great importance.
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The material upon which this study is based was collected in the summer of 1952, in the course of general ethnographic research among the Lillooet Indians of southwestern British Columbia. The field work was carried out primarily among the Lillooet living at Darcy at the head of Anderson Lake, with subsidiary work among the people living at Seton Portage at the foot of Anderson Lake and at Creekside in the Pemberton Valley. These people are members of the "Lakes" and "Pemberton" bands as designated by Teit.1

Most of my data were obtained from three informants, all of whom resided at Darcy. The additional material collected at Creekside and at Seton Portage from three other informants generally substantiated my initial investigations although local variations were evident. The material thus refers specifically to the Upper Lillooet and only generally to the people living further south on the Lillooet River and Lillooet and Harrison Lakes. It is important to note, however, that it is not always possible to determine the exact range of applicability of information given by present day people, whose experiences have been more diverse than those of their predecessors. Thus, one of my informants, an elderly man much given to travelling up and down the Pacific Great Eastern Railway, has frequently visited Lillooet, Vancouver, Squamish, Fountain, Pavilion and other nearby points, as well as western Washington in the United States, where he has come in contact with Indians from various parts of British Columbia and Washington. He was fond of telling myths and in the course of his travels had accumulated quite a few. He had assimilated these (to the degree that he was rarely able to)

to the degree that he was rarely able to remember from whom and where he had learned them. This, coupled with his sense of the dramatic, made the task of localizing the data very difficult indeed. I had to contend with the informant's reworking of material assimilated from the Upper and Lower Lillooet and possibly from the Shuswap, Stalo and Coast Salish as well. This instance could be duplicated by countless others, for the increased opportunities for travel afforded by the railway have resulted in a greater fluidity of movement in the area, with travel by some being more extensive than by others. For the sake of clarity, therefore, both in evaluating the material and in determining the extent to which the material is local and not an assimilation of knowledge of other cultures, the names of the informants from whom the information was obtained have been given as often as is possible, without cluttering the text by references. This, coupled with a brief biography of each informant given at the conclusion of the preface, will enable the reader to evaluate some of the facts independently.

Since it was summer when I arrived in the field, most of the younger people and some of the older folk had gone south to Washington to pick berries, thus considerably reducing the population of the villages. Many of the older people who had not gone were not able to travel or had remained to take care of the farms. Both of the main roads of the villages of Darcy and Creekside were conspicuously bare of children and even the inevitable group of dogs seemed at first to have gone somewhere else. This situation was not as formidable as it seemed, however, for I soon found that many of the old people were not at all fond of keeping silent watch on a silent road and were happy to have company, however strange it might be. I was pleasantly surprised at the ease with which I was able to locate and interview informants. This happy set of circumstances remained...
return of the younger people, at which time I had to adjust my pace to meet
the demands of a more suspicious and worldly-wise youth.

A small remainder participated in the old culture before it began
to alter drastically from the effects of White settlement and prolonged contact
in the area. Their great age and physical weakness, however, barred inter-
views with these people who undoubtedly could otherwise have contributed to
the study. But even the oldest informant's knowledge of the aboriginal
culture would necessarily be incomplete. After 1860, penetration into
Lillooet territory was rapid and it was not long before the culture began to
give way under the combined influences of Christianity and increased White
movement and settlement in the area. Even the oldest informants would
necessarily have been very young before 1860 and a goodly portion of the
culture absorbed at such an early age would have been obliterated with the
passage of time and increased external pressures. That knowledge of some
aspects of the culture have vanished, even from the memories of the people,
was evidenced by some of the discussions of my puzzled informants, who often
spent many hours searching their memories and questioning each other on
vital points on which I had questioned them earlier. Occasionally, these
discussions yielded valuable information, but there were times when they
gave only vague and fragmentary statements.

In a few other instances, the influence of Christianity and the
Indians' identification of me with the "government", handicapped free discus-
sion. The former was particularly noticeable in talks with specialists such
as shamans, from whom it was most difficult to obtain specific statements on
parts of the culture which they knew best. This may have been partly due to
the reticence in discussing a subject both intimate and personal, but un-
doubtedly the vigorous disapproval of shamanism resulting from Christian
teachings had created a block to discussion, and it was only with the utmost effort that I was able to probe beneath the stock and superficial answers which they gave to the curious. This, however, was a surmountable problem and posed only a fraction of the difficulty experienced in overcoming the suspicion of one of my informants.

My initial identification with the government by the villagers had led, at first, to a guarded wariness in answering questions. The essentially friendly and hospitable behaviour of the Lillooet however, soon asserted itself, and as I became a more familiar figure in the village, the influences of these suspicions, if they still existed, became less and less evident and it was felt that an encouraging degree of rapport had been established. This harmonious relationship continued with all of my informants except one, whose distrust was reawakened by the emotionally charged assertions of his son who had just returned from Washington. It was because, perhaps, of my previous lack of experience in working with Indian informants, that no positive method of counteracting these influences was found and that it was finally with a hopeless sense of failure that the interviews with this informant were abandoned. By not pursuing the point, however, I had unwittingly chosen the proper course, for soon after the son left for his home at Creekside, the informant began to appear at the Priest's House or to join our discussions under the shade of a tree and venture a comment or two on parts of the discussion which he considered he knew best. Subsequent talks with him indicated that it would have been possible to continue the interviews, but the nearby presence of his son, whose attitude had been made explicit on a number of occasions, made it seem advisable to concentrate on other

2 See the discussion on avoidance, p. 26-27.
informants and to avoid the possible creation of a situation in which the
violent assertions of the son would again be brought to the fore.

The field notes themselves were reorganized in the evenings after
the daily meetings with informants. I kept the original notes in chronological
order in a notebook and then rewrote the information and placed it in separate
files according to the subject matter. An attempt was made to preserve the
original wording of the informants, and every evening I went through my original
notes inserting comments and descriptions, in an effort to provide the proper
context for future evaluation. In addition to the material recorded in this
manner, I accumulated a body of data based on observation and informal talks
in the course of day to day contact. This information, of course, was not
recorded in the presence of the people themselves, but was written up as fully
as possible every evening and placed in a separate file. It was not always
possible for me to separate my material according to subject matter, but I
never neglected to go over my original notes and to insert a paragraph or two
of descriptive data, or to contribute to my files based on my own observations
of day to day activities in the village. The occasional trip to Vancouver
for consultation and further work in the library, enabled me to catch up on
my subject file and to discern more clearly where further investigation was
required.

The research itself could not have been initiated or carried through
without the assistance of members of the Department of Anthropology. I am
particularly indebted to Dr. H. B. Hawthorn for his valued counsel and guidance
during the course of the project. Without his continued support and encourage­
ment, the study could not have been made. My thanks are also due to Dr. W.
Suttles for assistance and suggestions during the course of field work and for
information on the Coast Salish, given both informally and in lectures. My appreciation is extended to my informants for many hours of worthwhile discussion. To them and to other inhabitants of the villages at Creekside, Darcy and Seton Portage, I wish to express my sincere thanks for their kindly reception of an inquisitive stranger. To those who generously opened their homes to me and provided me with accommodation and hospitality, I further extend my gratitude and thanks. Funds for the field work were granted by the Canadian Social Science Research Council and the University of British Columbia from the Carnegie Grant in Anthropology.
Mrs. Margaret Carlsen, well over seventy, was my main informant on subsistence activities and customs centring about life crises. She was not certain of the place of her birth, but had spent her childhood in the small village Solaris at the foot of Seton Lake. After her marriage, she moved to her husband's village at Darcy, where she and her husband remained until it was discovered that his father had been a White man. They then moved from the reservation and built a home near Birken. After her first husband died, she married Andrew Carlsen, a White employee of the Pacific Great Eastern Railway. Although technically, she does not belong in the village at Darcy, Mrs. Carlsen has nevertheless lived there with her widowed brother ever since the death of her second husband in 1945. Respected by the villagers for her industriousness and amiability, her presence has not evoked the resentment displayed on other occasions when an outsider has settled in the village.

Mrs. Carlsen had frequently travelled to Vancouver, Squamish, and Lillooet. Noted for the fine baskets that she used to make, Mrs. Carlsen, in company with Tom Joseph's mother, often went to Vancouver to sell her wares. The two of them would stay in North Vancouver with a Joseph female relative.

Mrs. Carlsen's English was only fair, but her knowledge of subsistence activities was full and it was in my conversations with her, both in her home and occasionally working with her, that I was able to gain some insight into the Lillooet women's character and outlook.

2. Tom Joseph, in his late forties or early fifties, was of invaluable aid both as an assistant in locating informants and in discussions with them. He was born in Darcy and has spent all his life there, except for brief sojourns
at the Catholic school at Mission and trips to Vancouver and Washington. He was unmarried at the time and lived alone with his aged father in one of the oldest houses in the village. He was the grandson of a powerful shaman and had acquired a body of esoteric knowledge which he was eager to increase. He began to accompany me on my visits and to ask questions himself which often proved to be valuable leads to further investigation. His presence sometimes acted as a stimulus to the development of a discussion group in which two or three people talked on one topic. It was not unusual, especially on rainy days, for passersby to casually join our group and to take part in the talks. I found it profitable at these times to introduce a topic and then to allow a relatively free exploration of the subject. As I had anticipated, however, the exploratory nature of these discussions soon lapsed into pleasant but irrelevant digressions, and I thereafter found it useful on rainy days to induce Louie Peters to relate a myth which entertained and silenced others, and provided me with some information.

Through Tom Joseph, I was able to obtain information from his father, a very old man who was physically unable to take part in more than a few talks. Tom Joseph had acquired most of his knowledge of Lillooet shamanism from his father. This knowledge, combined with the questions which I asked him, and those which he in turn asked his father, provided me with information I would not otherwise have obtained.

3. Louie Peters had lived at Darcy for the past thirty years or so. His mother had been a Lakes woman and had been born at Shalalth. He was fond of going away on sudden jaunts and thought nothing of going away for weeks

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3 See p.10.
at a time to Vancouver, Squamish and other points along the Pacific Great Eastern Railway line, as well as to Washington and the mainland of the lower Fraser River.

Around seventy-five years old, he was in good health and, at first, was pleased at the prospect of being questioned about the "old people." He was fond of telling \( \theta t\text{akw}\ell \) and indeed, seemed to have a great repository of these which he related in a dramatic and entertaining fashion. When Louie related his tales in the Priest's House in which we met, he always had an audience of two or three others besides myself. Our interviews, however, had an unfortunate conclusion when Louie was visited by his son who became highly suspicious of my notebook and concluded that I was a government agent. Although I had further talks with Louie, the influence of his son was always present.

4. **Mrs. Paul Dick**, wife of the chief at Creekside, was preoccupied with maintaining a household and garden in the absence of her hospitalized husband, but kindly spoke with me in the evenings. Intense and energetic, she often talked on into the night, in which case our interviews were carried out in total darkness. Her English was not too good and I had to rely to a great extent on her daughter's interpretations.

5. **Peter Alexander** was born at Alexander Creek. He spoke English well but his knowledge of Lillooet culture was only general and he frequently had to refer to his wife who preferred to allow her husband to do the talking. He was extremely helpful however, in introducing me to other informants and it was through him that I was able to have a few talks with **Billy Ben** of Seton Portage, who spoke no English. Old and ill, the latter was able to speak for only a short length of time each day. The combined handicaps of ill
health, great age and lack of English, made it seem advisable to abandon the interviews after a few days.

Mrs. Mary Dan, Charlie Dan, Francis Joe and Lawrence Edmunds of Creekside, Isaac Jackson and "Old" Joseph of Darcy, and Mike James of Seton Portage, supplied information in the course of casual conversations on a variety of topics.

Informants have been referred to by their initials:

Mrs. C.  :  Mrs. Carlsen
Mrs. D.  :  Mrs. Dan
T. J.    :  Tom Joseph
L. P.    :  Louie Peters
B. B.    :  Billy Ben
F. J.    :  Francis Joe
CHAPTER I

The focusing of attention on the unique cultures of the Pacific Northwest Coast has resulted in the accumulation of a vast amount of ethnographical data on the area. Boas alone unearthed a great mass of material, much of it still awaiting systematic analysis, which forms the basis of a good proportion of our knowledge of these people. This, combined with the work of Swanton, Sapir and Krause, to mention only a few scholars randomly chosen from a large number, has made the Northwest Coast one of the better known areas in North America. This situation, unfortunately, is not paralleled in the adjoining Plateau, where the neglect of the area over a number of years has resulted in the passing of much valuable information. It is only within comparatively recent times that the Plateau has received the attention it deserves, and this at a time when much of the information is no longer to be had.

Bounded on the east and the west by the virile cultures of the Plains and the Pacific Northwest Coast, this area was initially described by early students as possessing only a minimum degree of individuality. Evidence of significant borrowing from the Coast and the Plains led investigators in the area to postulate a great inward movement of ideas to the extent that little of the indigenous culture remained. This assumption was subsequently rejected, at first tentatively, by Spier, on the basis of his study of the Klamath, and then more emphatically by Ray, who conducted a survey in the

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4 See for example, one of Franz Boas' publications on the Kwakiutl in ARBAE, vol. 35, 1921, p. 43-1481.


Plateau over a period of ten years. His conclusion that the Plateau had been significantly modified only in the areas of contact with the Coast to the west and the Plains to the east, gave an orientation to the area which insisted upon the presence of a core of indigenous culture, independent of both the Plains and the Coast. Such work as has been done since that time has neither verified nor disproved Ray's conclusions, and it is indeed doubtful if future ethnographical research in the Plateau will be able to contribute data of the calibre necessary to discuss such broad conclusions. It is an unfortunate, but demonstrable situation, that the need for ethnographic knowledge of the Plateau, at least of the Upper Lillooet, is not one which can be easily satisfied, for much has disappeared, even from the memories of the people themselves.

It was with the intention of contributing data towards our knowledge of one of the Plateau groups, the Lillooet, that this study was undertaken. First studied by Teit and Hill-Tout some fifty years ago, the study of the Lillooet since that time has come practically to a standstill. Teit's work, published in 1906, is still the standard reference for all who wish to obtain information on the Lillooet. It is hoped that the results of the field work as here presented, will fill some of the gaps in our knowledge of these people. The specific aim of the paper is to present a descriptive account of the course of individual life in an attempt to discern the basis of individual prestige. In order to provide cultural context for this discussion, one chapter will be devoted to a description of the community as I was able to reconstruct it from data obtained from the Upper Lillooet. The material obtained from my informants refers to late pre-historic and to early historic times.


The Lillooet are a Salish speaking people living in the interior of southwestern British Columbia. They have been variously designated in the early literature as the Askettih, StlatlumH, Lilowat, Salish, or simply by their specific geographical location. The term Lillooet, appears to have been derived from the Salish ‘liluэт’ ("wild onion") a word used to designate a locality in the Pemberton Valley, as well as the Lillooet living roughly south of Anderson and Mosquito Rivers. Used in either connotation, it is understandable that incoming Whites would have interpreted it to be the name of the tribe as a whole. Insofar as the Lillooet possess certain common features of language and culture, their designation under one term is justified. This does not mean, however, that the Lillooet were organized into a political unit. The important unit of affiliation was the local band and any ties which existed between these bands were the ties born of kinship, common language and similar customs, not of political organization.

In this respect, the term band requires further explanation. Although the Lillooet lived in small named clusters of houses, a grouping which I have called the village, a number of these villages, within a certain explicitly recognized boundary, used the same fishing and camping sites as distinct from those used by other groups of villages. Each such group of villages had one chief, whose duties, although not clearly defined, appeared to lie in the maintenance of order and regularity in the day to day activities of the band in peace time. This authority did not extend beyond the band.

Camping and fishing sites were not always used exclusively by

9 Teit, (MAMNH, vol. 2:5 p. 292) renders this Liluэт.
the band which claimed it to be part of its territory, but it was recognized that if a neighboring village of a different band utilized a camp, it was through the courtesy of the people on whose territory they were trespassing. Thus, the people living at Darcy had camping and fishing sites as far north as Marne, midway on Anderson Lake, and as far southwest as Birken on Gates Lake. Beyond Marne were the camping and fishing sites of the people of Seton Portage, and beyond Birken, that of the Pemberton Valley. It was not uncommon, for example, for the people living around Darcy to go to the marshy areas around Creekside to gather swamp grass which did not grow at Darcy, or for the men to take advantage of the fall run of salmon on the Birkenhead River, which was not within their boundaries. Coupled with the typical Plateau ownership of resources where hunting territories were drawn with less exactness than the more easily defined fishing areas, was the explicit recognition that there were some who had the right to use these and there were those who were allowed to trespass because "the people liked each other and didn't say anything." In short, intermarriage, common culture and language and frequent intercourse, combined with the essentially peaceful and kindly disposition of the Lillooet, engendered a feeling of oneness among neighbouring bands. This feeling was not given concrete expression in any mechanism of control or of unified activity. The loose, friendly unity felt for members of one's own culture and language group remained as an informal guide to action.

The main arteries of travel in Lillooet country were the chain of lakes and rivers which extended from Harrison Lake to the Fraser River and its tributary, the Bridge River. This strip of lake and river country running

through the heart of Lillooet settlement facilitated cultural exchange and resulted in considerable homogeneity between the villages situated along these waterways, as well as acting as the main avenue along which the people travelled to trade and to visit with each other. Frequently, small groups from Anderson or Seton Lakes went on trading expeditions with the people in the Pemberton Valley, or the Pemberton people travelled south to Lillooet Lake. Most of the trading, however, took place in the early fall, when Lillooet people from all parts of the area congregated on the Fraser River, above and around the present town of Lillooet, trading and meeting with one another. Unlike trading expeditions with the Shuswap, Stalo and Coast Salish, which were carried on by the adjacent local groups, the fall meeting on the Fraser acted as one of the mechanisms by which the Lillooet were able to maintain some unity of culture. This is not to deny, however, variations between village groups, which assume significance when viewed in broader perspective.

When the explorers and early travellers first arrived in the territory subsequently and vaguely known as New Caledonia, the Lillooet were living along the shores of the rivers and lakes of a rough, mountainous country, extending in a curve from as far south as the lower Lillooet River, stretching northward to intersect the Fraser River just below Lillooet, and swinging back across that river above Pavilion. Teit's map indicates a more southern boundary, with the Lillooet occupying territory as far south as the middle of Harrison Lake. Hill-Tout, however, states that this was originally Stalo country and that Lillooet occupation of territory south to Douglas on Harrison Lake, was a post

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contact movement stimulated by the Gold Rush of 1858.\textsuperscript{12} In any case, it is quite probable that the pre-historic boundaries of the Lillooet were quite different from those which met the eyes of the early travellers. Recent archaeological and linguistical research in the Plateau indicates that the area in pre-White times was the scene of significant population shifts and that Lillooet occupation of the southwestern portion of British Columbia, was a move stimulated by an aggressive southward push by their northern neighbours.

Swadesh,\textsuperscript{13} working with linguistic materials, accounts for the sound shift of original Salish \textit{l} to \textit{y} in Comox, Squamish, Thompson, and Clallam by postulating an earlier period of geographical contiguity for the four groups. He suggests that the present separation of the Thompson, Squamish and Comox, was caused by the southward advance of the Lillooet under pressure from the Chilcotin, Lillooet territory, according to this thesis, would have extended further northward, adjacent to that of the Salish speaking Shuswap and Bella Coola.

Further confirmation of a more northern boundary for the Lillooet in prehistoric times, is offered by Borden, whose work in Tweedsmuir Park in Central British Columbia, in Carrier Indian territory, yielded evidence of an earlier culture different from that of the overlying Carrier.\textsuperscript{14} The excavation of a circular house, similar in many of its details to houses further south in Salish speaking territory, and the discovery of implements differing significantly in type and material from that of the typical Carrier assemblage, would indicate,

\textsuperscript{12} Hill-Tout, \textit{JRAI}, vol. 35, p.127.


\textsuperscript{14} Charles Borden, "Results of Archaeological Investigations in Central British Columbia," \textit{ABC}, No. 3, p. 31-40.
as Borden suggests, that the area was occupied at an earlier period by a group other than the Athapaskan speaking Carrier. Whether this group was Salish or not, is too early to indicate. Borden's work, however, does give further credence to the thesis that Athapaskan peoples were moving south, displacing and dispersing formerly contiguous groups. It is possible that the Lillooet, who would have been directly in the path of such movement, were pushed south to their present territory.

Borden in turn indicates the further possibility that warfare was originally conducted on a larger scale than is usually thought to have been the case in the Plateau. Ray expressed the more common opinion that warfare in the Northern Plateau "must be conceived as the expanded raid which may occasionally flare into somewhat sustained group conflict." My data point to the same conclusion, but this does not preclude the possibility that warfare in early prehistoric times was conducted on a larger scale than present evidence indicates to have been the case in late prehistoric times. Whether or not it is finally shown that warfare in the Plateau was originally organized on a mass basis, it is certain that the Lillooet fear of attack, in late pre-historic times at least, was very real and that their movements were considerably hampered by the Chilcotin, Shuswap and Thompson.

Within historic and late pre-historic times, the Lillooet were subject to periodic raids by the Chilcotin, who came down to Lillooet territory in small marauding parties, seeking slaves and booty as well as new hunting and fishing territory. Small groups of women gathering roots and berries, hunters or trading expeditions to the coast, were usually the victims of such surprise.

attacks by the Chilcotin, who swooped down upon their prey as if from nowhere, and then quickly disappeared into the hills. Occasionally, the Lillooet retaliated by slipping into Chilcotin country, murdering two or three people and then retreating. These excursions were, however, proportionately rare. All of my informants stated that the Chilcotin were feared by the Lillooet, who hesitated to attack them "because you never know where they are, even in their own country." The Lillooet, in turn, were not on friendly terms with the Stalo to the south of them. Resentful of Lillooet hunting around Harrison and Pitt Rivers and maintaining a careful watch on the boundaries between their own and Lillooet territory, the Stalo often clashed with Lillooet hunting parties, who, in turn, did not hesitate to fight and occasionally to raid their southern neighbours. This southward pressure of the Lillooet may have been related to comparable movements of the Chilcotin in the north, which diminished Lillooet hunting territory and harassed their movements along this northern boundary, thereby forcing these normally unaggressive people to retreat and to hunt in less dangerous areas further south. Thus harried in the north by the Chilcotin, and in the northeast and east by the Shuswap and the Thompson, with whom they have traditions of sporadically fierce fighting, the Lillooet perhaps directed their attention south to the territory of the peaceful Stalo.

One may even discern in some of the accounts of warfare, evidence that territory was occasionally seized and people forced to retreat, in late pre-historic times. Thus, Teit's informants describe the forcible occupation by the Shuswap "of the whole country along the Pole River from Anderson to Lillooet Lakes," and the establishment of headquarters and "a fortified.. camp," about

six or eight miles above Lillooet Lake."\(^{18}\) The Lillooet were rendered helpless by this occupation and were terrorized by the Shuswap, who continued to attack Lillooet villages and hunting parties from their centrally located stronghold. The Lillooet finally "retreated to fortified houses along the lower Lillooet River between Warm Springs and Douglas."\(^{19}\) The Shuswap, however, did not consolidate their holdings by settling in the territory, and came only in the summer and fall during the food gathering season to establish temporary camps in their newly won territory. This occupation was said to have lasted eight to sixteen years, when they were finally ousted by the Lillooet.\(^{20}\)

My informants stated that the Lillooet were by no means incautious, and that every effort was taken to ensure their safety against surprise attacks by raiders who often penetrated into the heart of settlement and intercepted travel from one group to the other. That the combined pressure of the Chilcotin, Thompson and Shuswap gradually forced the Lillooet southward and whittled away their northern boundary seems quite conceivable. In their southward quest for hunting lands, they came into conflict with the Stalo who resisted the inroads made upon their territory. Some of the Stalo, such as the Chehalis of Harrison River, were friendly with the Lillooet\(^ {21}\) and it is quite possible that the advance was quite peaceful in this direction. Whether this can be interpreted as the remnants of a former aggressive warfare conducted on a full scale basis, remains to be determined.

Living immediately adjacent to the Stalo of the Fraser River, the

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20 The expulsion of the Shuswap is credited to the cunning of two brothers who, after training themselves, killed most of the Shuswap who came one spring to occupy the territory they had seized, and then warned the others not to return.
21 Duff, *ABC*, p. 22.
Klahus of Toba Inlet, the Sechelt of Jervis Inlet and the Squamish of Howe Sound, the Lillooet, of all Plateau groups in Canada, exhibited the greatest influence of the coast cultures with whom they were in contact in historic and almost certainly, pre-historic times. There were two main currents through which coastal influences flowed into Lillooet territory: the northern travel route by which the people of Anderson and Seton Lakes and the Pemberton Valley went to the coast on trading and visiting trips, and the southern route via the Fraser River to Harrison Lake and up to the Lillooet River. Every summer, large groups of Squamish, Cowichan, Nanaimo and Saanich descended upon the Fraser River to fish for salmon. Here they came into face-to-face contact with the Stalo of the Fraser River. Although unfriendly with the Lillooet, the Stalo, especially the Chehalis, nevertheless traded and often intermarried with them and it is probable that Coast Salish influences were thus transmitted indirectly via the Stalo to the Lillooet living above Harrison Lake. This current seems, however, to have been subsidiary to the northern one, which was direct and more intensive. Bound by ties of marriage as well as by the desire to obtain coveted trade articles from the coast, the Lillooet of this particular area were frequent visitors to the coast. They became known as the greatest traders among the Lillooet and it was primarily from them that coast trade articles and influences filtered through to the other Lillooet, around the present town of that name on the Fraser River, where a large part of such dispersal took place.

Living as they did, along a series of lakes and rivers which give ready access to the interior of British Columbia, the Lillooet came almost immediately into face-to-face contact with large numbers of miners and

22 Ibid., p. 11.
adventurers, who surged into the area in search of gold after 1858. Prior to this time, the Lillooet had been in contact only with traders. Such contact, however, must have been established at an early period, for Fraser, writing in 1808, notes the presence of a European kettle and rifle among the Lillooet, and describes the impressions of one of the Lillooet of the Whites he had seen on the coast.23 It was not, however, until 1858 that the Lillooet met large numbers of Whites, who penetrated into the heart of their country and began to use their waterways and trails to the gold diggings in the Cariboo.

First working around Yale on the Fraser River, the miners, spurred on by discoveries further inland, began to move into territory hitherto traversed only by Indians and traders. By the end of 1858, a miner had discovered gold at the mouth of the Chilcotin River. In the following spring, 300 boatloads of men left Yale to ascend the Fraser River, while others proceeded by land to the upper regions in search of new discoveries. The increased demand for transportation into the interior, coupled with the almost insurmountable difficulties of traversing the dangerous canyons above Yale, made the discovery of another route imperative. The opening of the Douglas-Lillooet route via Harrison, Lillooet, Anderson and Seton Lakes, carried the miners through Lillooet country. During 1860 and 1861, the trail was converted into a wagon road, and by 1862, steamers had been placed on Lillooet, Anderson and Seton Lakes. A large camp sprang up at Lillooet on the Fraser River and at Parsonville on the opposite bank, with the combined population numbering 5000.

The Lillooet appear to have accepted the sudden invasion of their

country with little outward sign of protest. Although hostility was expectedly aroused upon occasion, travellers were rarely molested and indeed were usually treated with courteous hospitality. Far from passively watching the miners exploit their country, however, the Lillooet soon learned the value of gold, and joined in its search. Working chiefly around Bridge and Upper Fraser Rivers, they were able to earn considerable sums of money. Hunter Jack, whose descendants still live at Darcy, allegedly found gold worth one thousand dollars in a day's work. 24

Today, the Indians around Darcy and Creekside are engaged in maintaining small farms on Reserve lands by which they supply themselves with fruit and vegetables. The nearby presence of a logging camp and mill enable the younger men to earn comparatively high wages. One of the more successful men in the village owned a mill of his own, and at the time of writing was busily engaged in cutting ties for the Pacific Great Eastern Railway.

CHAPTER II
THE LILLOOET COMMUNITY - ITS OPERATION AND DEFENSE

Socio-Political Units

I was able to distinguish three socio-political units into which the Lillooet were divided. The first, the patrilocal extended family, was the smallest local group. The second, the village, was composed of a number of houses in close proximity, each of them occupied by an extended family. The third, the band, was composed of a number of villages, not immediately contiguous, but functioning in close harmony with each other and recognizing the headship of one person.

Extended families were varied in size, depending upon their wealth and social status. Wealthy households were large, consisting not only of the offspring of polygynous marriages, but of a number of slaves and of a fringe of poor relatives who were permitted to reside in the household through the generosity of its members. L.F. stated that some such households numbered up to thirty people. Each nuclear family of spouses and their offspring occupied its own living space, possessed its own cooking rocks, baskets, blankets and eating utensils, but functioned in close harmony with other members in social and economic pursuits. Upon the extended family devolved the responsibility of educating its young, maintaining its aged and lending assistance in the form of economic co-operation and social support to its members.

Since marriages were patrilocal, the male members of the household formed the nucleus around which the other members were associated. The oldest male was considered to be the head of the household; at least deference and respect were always accorded to him even though actual leadership may have
passed from his hands to that of his son or grandson. The heads of extended families were often able to exert considerable authority in village and band affairs by virtue of their personal prestige and social status. This authority, based as it was on the respect for the individual, was not hereditary, and varied in extent with the personality of the individual. Social status itself was based on achievement and the respect which such achievement inspired. Whatever influence was exerted by these people was exerted as a direct consequence of this respect and high social status. There was some attempt to maintain this status for succeeding members of the family by controlling the marriages of offspring, as well as by carefully supervising their education, so that they too, in turn, would be successful and respected. Thus, my informants stated that there were some people who came from "good, rich families," and there were others who came from "families who didn't care much about anything." These latter were described as poor, lazy and incompetent. They dressed poorly and often depended upon the generosity of richer people to prevent them from starving. In return for such aid, they were expected to perform some task for the family who had helped them, or to share portions of food which they were able to gather. Marriage with these people was carefully avoided by high standing families who felt that poverty and ineptness were largely the result of poor training, and of careless, lazy and slovenly behaviour, and that to introduce such characteristics into a household would be to jeopardize the very wealth and social status of the household. In the last analysis, however, social status and influence were acquired, not simply because one

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25 Mrs. C. stated that these people were often unable to afford warm garments in the winter. Consequently, they either had to rub ashes on their naked bodies or borrow clothes from more fortunate people when they went out looking for food. In the latter case, they had to pay for the use of the clothing by giving the owner a portion of the food obtained while wearing the clothes.
belonged to a high standing family, but because one exhibited the cultivable qualities upon which respect was based. Because these qualities were felt to be cultivated in each succeeding generation, high social status tended to be retained by families.

Villages were composed of a number of extended families. Occasionally, a village consisted simply of one large house. L.P. stated that villages of two or three houses usually had one person, the "most important" member of one of the extended families, who "helped" the other people of the village. This "help" seems to have varied with the prestige of the headman, and to have been largely the informal authority exerted by one of superior standing in the community. Yet it is difficult at this date to discuss the nature of political control and leadership in Lillooet society, because the data upon which such discussion is based are themselves incomplete. It can be said that formal authority was exerted by chiefs of bands, but it appears that other men of prestige and social standing were able to influence and sway decisions. Thus, while the greater authority of chiefs was formally acknowledged, L.P. stated that:

Once in awhile, a bigger and stronger man has lots to say. If he were a real strong (shaman) the chief might be afraid he would use his power on him.

The chief's position was hereditary in the male line, with the chief selecting the son he considered to be most suitable for the office. The position itself carried a great deal of respect and prestige, and it was on the basis of this that the chief was able to exert authority in band affairs. Informants customarily spoke of the "advice" of the chief and asserted emphatically that the people listened to such "advice" because "they liked each other and wanted to." However, the chief's counsels on day to day matters were valued and not challenged,
for it was felt that his position entitled him to speak with authority, and to make decisions in matters affecting the smooth functioning of the village and band. My informants, when asked to describe the functions of the chief, said that it was his duty to "keep the people quiet" and to see "that everything went along all right." L.P. stated:

A chief was a good man. He was there to advise the people, to tell them what was good for them. Everybody listened to him because he knew what he was talking about.

More specifically, it was the chief's duty to announce the commencement of the food gathering season, to direct and to advise on day-to-day activities, to arbitrate disputes, to act in a ceremonial capacity in the winter dances and festivities, and, through his influence, to inspire harmony and peace among the people. It was felt that a chief should exhibit all the qualities which were necessary to ensure the smooth functioning of his own and other villages of the band and, by his example, to inspire the members of the band to respect him and to look to him for advice. Thus, it was stated that chiefs were peaceful, kindly, generous, serious, industrious, and good speakers. When a chief spoke to the people, he did not order, but advised and suggested. He pointed out his reasons for his suggestions and because the "people knew the chief was good." these suggestions were acted upon. His authority lay strictly in peace time affairs and it was in this, the peaceful regulation and ordering of human relations within the group, that the chief was looked to for advice.

Law and Punishment

The Lillooet disapproved of the harboring of a resentment and attempted to encourage dissenting individuals to settle their differences amicably. These attempts were not always successful, however, and occasionally a quarrel resulted in physical violence. If no serious damage resulted from this encounter, it
was expected that both individuals would let bygones be bygones and not bear a grudge against the other. On the other hand, if the quarrel resulted in a serious loss of face by one of the party, the other had to be constantly on guard against possible revenge. Any indication of dislike or avoidance roused the suspicion that some evil was being planned and often it was only through the intervention of the chief, who "advised" both the individuals and their families, that serious trouble was avoided. Suspicion of the individual who nursed a resentment was based, not only on the fear of actual physical harm, but of the engagement by the man of a shaman to bring about one's death or at best, sickness and bad luck. Illness was thus often attributed to individuals who were suspected of nursing a grudge. On the other hand, if it were felt that a shaman had been hired to bring bad luck or death, another shaman was engaged to counteract these influences, with the result that shamans were often put in the position of pitting their strength against each other.

A modern manifestation of this pattern is illustrated in one of the disputes which occurred at Darcy. Sometime before my arrival at the village, T.J., the narrator of the incident, had been involved in a quarrel with his former partner over the division of the profits of an enterprise which they had undertaken together. They had both been drinking and in a fit of anger, the partner seized an axe and attempted to strike T.J. T.J., however, was younger and stronger, and was able to snatch the axe from the partner and to brandish it himself. The police were summoned and the now infuriated T.J. was taken to prison where he was sentenced to a few months imprisonment. When he returned from prison, he found that he had acquired a reputation for being a dangerous man and that the younger men treated him with a new respect. The
man with whom he had had his quarrel, however, avoided him and refused to speak with him. T.J. waited for the man to indicate that his resentment was gone, but when the months passed by and still the man avoided him, T.J. became concerned. He described his feelings to me in the following way:

I talk to everybody. It is not good to be mad at people. When people don't talk to you, they are waiting to do something to you. I don't like the way that guy just sits there and doesn't talk. I'm going to tell him to watch himself.

Eventually T.J. did speak to his offended partner and threatened him with further violence if he insisted upon avoiding him.

Throughout this quarrel, T.J. remained on the best of terms with the man's brother and sister.

If a dispute ended in the death of one of the individuals, compensation in the form of deerhides and food was occasionally accepted. If, however, the family demanded revenge, there was little that a chief could do to prevent retaliation by the dead man's family. The murderer could escape such revenge only by fleeing to the hills where he spent the rest of his life, a lone and bitter outlaw. If he chose to remain in the village his life was in constant danger, for it was certain that at some opportune moment, some member of the dead man's family would try to kill him. The person who undertook this venture was chosen by the chief and the immediate family of the dead man.26 My informants stated that this man was always a "relative" but I was unable to obtain more specific information on eligibility for the task. Since the

26 Mrs. C. and T.J. at first stated that the choice was made only by the family of the dead man. When I asked if the chief were consulted, T.J. replied, "Oh yes, they would ask the chief too."
man's identity was not revealed to the people at large, it is probable that no one individual was required to perform the killing. Sometimes many years passed before the murderer was killed and this added to the element of uncertainty and fear which marked the unfortunate man's existence.

The life-for-a-life concept seemed to have been carried to great extremes. Mrs. C. described the following incident which had been told to her by her grandfather. Two little girls were playing on a hillside. They began to tumble and to wrestle with each other, shouting and laughing all the while. One of the little girls playfully pulled the other down the hill after her, unaware that she had pulled the girl over a sharp rock and cut open her belly. When she turned around, the little girl was writhing on the ground, her intestines impaled on a rock. The parents of the dead girl refused the offer of the little girl's parents to compensate for the death and demanded that the child's life be forfeited. This had to be granted and the little girl was then tied and buried alive with the dead girl.

Adultery was punished by public ordeal. If a man suspected his wife of having an affair with someone else, he said nothing until, in company with another person, he caught her with her lover. The woman was then brought before the chief and asked to admit her guilt. If she denied the charge, her husband and the witness were brought forward to tell the people under what circumstances they had found her. If she still refused to admit her guilt, the *watchman* tied her hands and feet together and began to tighten the rope. The people started to sing a song; at the conclusion of which the woman was again asked to admit her guilt. If she still refused, the singing was started again and continued for a longer period. The watchman did not relax the rope until the woman admitted her guilt. She was then made to turn to face the people while they sang out her guilt. The
husband was expected to take her back, but if she continued to meet her lover, she was again brought before the chief and the people. This time, in addition to being subjected to the ordeal of tightening, the woman was lashed with buckskin straps by the watchman. If, after this, the persisted in her activities, her husband was entitled to return her to her parents. Shamed and ridiculed, she was called leyám ("the devil"). When she approached, people turned away and did not look at her, for she was now the devil. Her lover was similarly shamed.

T.J. stated that theft was also punished by public ordeal. The culprit was placed in front of a post and made to hold a rock in each of his hands. He held his arms up until the assembled people finished singing the thief's song. If he lowered his arms, the watchman whipped him until he raised them again. If he were a chronic thief, this ordeal would be continued each time for increasingly longer periods.

Wife beating was less severely punished, but the culprit was nevertheless brought before the assembled people and, together with his wife, made to kneel before the chief. If found guilty, he was asked either to lick the ground or submit to a lashing. If he agreed to the latter, he was blindfolded so that he would not see who punished him. If a man persisted in mistreating his wife, she was entitled to leave him. No woman would marry him after this.

According to Mrs. C. and T.J., each cluster of three or more houses maintained one or two zuauxe to keep peace and order in the community. They translated the word as "watchman" and indicated that one of his chief functions was to maintain a watch over the village at night. The Lillooet believed that the spirits of the dead hovered around after dark and that it was not "good" for people to come into contact with them. This probably acted as a way of keeping
women and children in at night and of preventing meetings of young boys and girls. It was one of the specific duties of the watchman to prevent and to note any such meetings or movements of individuals after everybody had retired. If a boy and girl were caught together, it was the duty of the watchman to report this to the parents and to the chief who would then, I was told, see that the two were married.

The watchman often acted as a go-between in marriage negotiations. Girls and boys of wealthier families were betrothed in childhood, but the more common method of marriage among ordinary people, was a simple procedure in which the parents advised their children whom they should marry. Having decided to propose to a girl, the boy sent the watchman to her home to state his proposal and to bring back the girl's answer. Mrs. C. stated that he was paid for his services only if the boy "wanted to," Mrs. C. described this procedure in the following words:

(The description is of her own marriage at the beginning of this century.)

I was making banik over an open fire. The watchman came over and sat down beside me near the fire.
He said: I'm coming over just for you."
I said: "Why?"
He said: "There is a fellow who wants to marry you."
Then I said: "Go away."
Then he went away. I told my father what he said, and my father said: "It is up to you."
When the watchman came back, I said: "O.K."
Then when the watchman had gone, I said: "I will be married before my banik is even cooked."
Then we got married by the priest the next day. Everybody had to go to the priest.

The role of the watchman in punishing transgressors has been mentioned in the preceding account. My informants stated that he was a helper to the chief in "keeping the people quiet." This often involved bringing culprits by
force to the assembly of people where justice was meted out. It was stated that those who resisted the watchman would be accorded a worse punishment and consequently, it was asserted, the "smart" people, as soon as they heard the traditional song of the watchman coming for his culprit, stayed where they were and waited for him to come to take him away. Not all people were wise in this respect, however, and the watchman often had to resort to force to bring the people in. He consequently wore a buckskin belt wound twice around his waist, which he used to bind people with when they were uncooperative. He carried a torch in his hand, and as he walked through the village towards the culprit, he sang a song which told the people of the approaching arrest.

This latter account was given by T.J. and it is possible that his experience with the police had colored his description. It is also possible that the duties of the watchman, if indeed such an individual existed, had changed considerably in post-White times. Certainly the accounts of public ordeal and expiation appear to have been greatly colored by post-White experiences. The enforcement of Christian standards, moreover, are undoubtedly reflected in the accounts of adultery, wife beating, etc.

Use of Resources.

The band was composed of two or more villages which used a number of camping and fishing sites in common as distinct from those of other bands. The Lillooet pattern of economic activities resulted in the winter occupation of semi-subterranean houses and the summer occupation of temporary camps in fishing, hunting and gathering areas. The latter were visited in succession each year by the people in the course of food gathering, and it was felt that all members of the band had equal rights of use.
T.J. gave the following list of place names, camp sites, fishing sites and house sites, which he stated, belonged to "the people of nkwałkwa." These sites extend northeast to Marne, midway on Anderson Lake and southwest to Birken on Gates Lake. From there, he said that the sites were those used by the people of Seton Portage to the northeast, and by the people of the Pemberton Valley to the southwest.

A. Southwest to Birken:

(1) hmičog: T.J. stated that a number of winter houses had been located here and that this had been the main grouping at nkwałkwa. The site he indicated is located a short distance from the present village, near the old graveyard.

(2) nxoTim: This place, located on William Elliot's farm was said to have been the site of one large winter house.

(3) żkažak: This was a fishing place on the Gates River where the people came every September to catch and to dry salmon. They had temporary camps here.

(4) kloTeman: This spot was known for the great number of saskatoons which grew in the area.

(5) ngokumag: This was a summer camp on the Gates River which the women used while gathering berries.

(6) memukwam: This was another summer camp at which people stopped during the seasonal round of food gathering activities.

(7) səqwaləki: This was a fishing camp.

(8) nəxoxox: Also a fishing camp.

(9) klərkət: This camp was utilized by women gathering škwolip in the summer. After having gathered the on the surrounding hills, the women descended to this camp to dry it.

(10) wəqwəkəs: This was a general vicinity in which women used to gather škəkm, šhošum, mula and šnaqazəqs.
This camp was utilized in the spring to fish, and, T.J. asserted, in the winter to trap beaver and marten. Traps were individually owned.

The men used to fish for dolly varden here while the women gathered berries in the surrounding area.

This was one of the summer camps on the southern end of Anderson Lake, where the people cleaned and dried fish.

This place, a large rock in the hill above the water tank near the railway, a short distance from Wickett's store, was supposed to have been the site of a winter house formerly occupied by four men. Because the men refused to listen to the commands of the mythological transformers, as they passed through the area, their house was turned into the large rock.

A crack in one of the rocks, resembling a dog, was asserted to have been the work of the who changed the dog into stone at this spot.

In the spring, the people emerged from their winter houses and prepared for the summer season of food gathering and preservation. At first, only the young shoots in the immediate vicinity were gathered, but by the end of May, food gathering began in earnest. The chief indicated the appropriate time at which to begin, and soon small parties, sometimes the nuclear family, or groups of women or of men, began to visit known berrying and fishing sites. Women, carrying digging sticks and baskets searched diligently for roots and plants which they dried either up in the hills or in the village itself, and stored in the cellars of their winter houses. Baskets of fresh and dried berries were laboriously packed from their growing areas and stored with the rest of the precious supplies for the long winter months ahead. The men visited their privately owned trapping and spearing
sites, and brought their catch to their wives who cleaned and dried the meat and skins. These were the busiest months of the year, for during this time the people had to gather the bulk of the winter supplies.

The food gathering activities of the people often carried them into the territory of adjoining bands. They frequently went from Darcy to the vicinity of the present town of Lillooet to catch salmon and possibly to trade a few articles of clothing or of food while they were about it. Similarly, they encountered one another at camping sites and resting spots, in which case friendly gossip and news were exchanged, the weather and supply of food discussed. Privately owned sites, on the other hand, were carefully guarded against use by members of one's own village as well as against people from other villages and bands. When such a site was used by a friend of the owner, permission had to be granted beforehand.

Warfare and Defense.

The Lillooet have traditions of warfare with the Thompson, Chilcotin, Shuswap and Squamish. This warfare was not, in late pre-historic times, characterized by large scale operations, and was typically carried out by small raiding parties. Members were recruited informally and on a voluntary basis. Villages or houses usually extended help to one another when such help was requested, but there was no mechanism, at least none which is discernible today, which ensured that such help would be given or that an entire village was obliged to lend its assistance en-masse. The claims to assistance were made and given on the basis of common culture and language, kinship and a mutual fear of traditional enemies. One should not underestimate the strength of such ties and assume a strict independence for each village,

27 Teit states that the Lillooet have a tradition of warfare with the Klahuse (Teit-Tlahus) of Toba Inlet. (MAMNH, vol. 2:5, p.236.)
for, indeed, such it would have been, had not help been extended by one village
to another on a number of occasions. Thompson, Chilcotin and Shuswap marauders
occasionally penetrated deep into Lillooet country and aid often had to be
enlisted to free captives and to restore lost goods. But such aid was given
on an individual and voluntary basis and was conceived of as an obligation to
one's friends and relatives, and not as a duty to a large organization.

This account of Lillooet warfare is based on information received
from T.J., Mrs. C., and F.J. Unless indicated otherwise, only these data
will be utilized. I did not exhaust all the material my informants had on
warfare. Most of this information is to be found in accounts of wars, kid­
nappings, murders, etc., and I could well have spent a month or so simply
recording these accounts from informants, each of whom seemed to have retained
quite a store of them. This, in itself, indicates that pressures, even in
late pre-historic times, were keenly felt by the Lillooet.28

The chief causes of attack on the Lillooet seemed to have been the
desire for booty, slaves, revenge, and the use of fishing spots and
hunting areas. This was achieved by tactics which depended mostly upon the
element of surprise. Hence, a house might be seized suddenly in the dead of
night, two or three people murdered or captured within sight of their village,
a trading party massacred in their sleep, or a hunter surprised in the act
of shooting a deer. It was characteristic of the daring of the Chilcotin to
come down to the very villages of their victims, sometimes alone, waiting for
an opportunity to surprise a hunter or a woman gathering food. T.J. told me
of a Chilcotin who came down to a habitation at Birken and managed to steal some

dried berries and fish before he was detected and killed. Usually, however, raiding expeditions consisted of three or more men, depending upon whether it was initiated with some definite purpose of attack, or whether it was simply the hopeful venture of one or two marauders lurking on the village outskirts, ready to pounce on the first individual who strayed in their direction.

L.P. described a raid by the Thompson on a village in the Pemberton Valley, which resulted in the Thompson carrying off all the stored food, baskets, etc., as well as most of the inhabitants. He described another raid by the Thompson on a large house with a stockade below Tenass Lake, which was occupied by over a hundred people, according to his estimates. Such ventures necessarily involved more than just two or three men, for it was no easy matter to attack a stockaded house and, if successful, to walk off with heavy loads of food, as well as a number of captives, except by a number sufficient first to initiate the enterprise and then to provide sentries and scouts, as well as warriors, to guard and defend the party on its homeward journey. Lillooet survivors usually made an effort to gather enough men from neighbouring villages to attack the enemies before they left Lillooet country. This added to the hazards of the venture. A party laden with goods and captives would necessarily travel more slowly than pursuers bent on overtaking them and travelling in familiar country. Hence, depending upon the nature of the excursion, attacking parties ranged in size from one to twenty or more men.\(^{29}\)

Sieges of a limited nature were occasionally laid against a house.\(^{30}\) One of the accounts describes how some Thompson vainly attempted to break down the defense of a large house which was well protected by a stockade. The

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\(^{29}\) Teit mentions Thompson "companies of several hundred" (MANNH, vol. 2:4, p. 267.) I did not obtain accounts of raids by such large numbers.

\(^{30}\) Prolonged siege was not practised, for attackers carried no provisions with them.
inhabitants of the house were able to shoot through specially constructed loopholes and to kill a great many Thompson. The house was finally burned by the impatient Thompson, with one result that they were not able to obtain any food or captives.

Lillooet defensive measures against such raids and seizures, consisted of the construction of stockades around larger houses, special underground passages leading to an opening near a creek or an area covered with trees, and possibly, the posting of sentries at night to warn of any untoward movement in the surrounding countryside. Informants described the stockades as being constructed of a number of logs placed horizontally on top of each other, to a height double that of a man. Front and rear gates were securely locked from within by heavy wooden bars or large stones. Firing holes were made near the top of the stockade through which the people could shoot down at their attackers. Underground passages leading from the interior of the house, were used as a refuge and as a means of escape when the fiery arrows of attackers set fire to the dried leaves and timber of the house. If the passage opened on to a creek or a river, one or two canoes were usually hidden in the brush. The passages were always blocked from within to prevent outside penetration and discovery. Not all houses had stockades, but many houses which lacked stockades had underground passages. The Lillooet made use of stone spears, rod or hide armor, and bows and arrows. Teit states that they used basalt knives, clubs made of "bearberry-root firmly enclosed in a piece of rawhide, which was shrunk and sewed to a short wooden handle about 40 cm. in length." My informants spoke of "rib" clubs, probably those described by Teit.

Fraser, upon entering Lillooet territory, was "confronted suddenly by
Askettihs with bows and arrows. Later, the "chief sent couriers ahead to inform the natives" that they were not enemies. These were probably the scouts and sentries of which my informants spoke. Under ordinary circumstances, during the day, houses and villages were not guarded. People passed in and out of the stockades performing their daily tasks with little thought of closing the gates. This sense of security was not entirely unjustified, for strangers were usually detected either by neighbours or by the people themselves engaged in performing their day to day tasks. The trapper checking his lines, groups of women gathering berries, neighbours on their way to trade, a boy training in the hills, or even a child who had wandered off by himself, were able to warn of the approach of strangers and to spread the alarm. Messengers were often sent to other villages to warn them of the approach of strangers. Occasionally, people who were related to a member of the raiding group, were warned beforehand to escape or to take the proper precautions. But at night, when all had retired, the watchman toured the village and as Mrs. C. put it, "looked out for the Chilcotin." The differentiation between military and non-military duties is not clear however. His chief function appeared to be the surveillance of the village at night. But as previously noted, this seemed to be part of the watchman's duty in helping maintain order in the village. Thus, it was one of the specific duties of the watchman to note the movements of a member of the village who went out at night after everybody had retired and to report it to the chief if he were suspicious of the motives of the individual. This seemed to have been directed primarily at preventing lover's trysts, but

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31 Fraser, "Journal of a Voyage From the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Coast, 1808," in Masson, L.R., Les Bourgeois de la Campagne du Nord-Ouest, Quebec, 1889, p. 173.

32 Ibid., p. 174.
undoubtedly, in the course of fulfilling these duties, any untoward movements outside the village would have been observed and reported. Whether this latter function was merely a side line of the watchman's duty of helping maintain order, is not entirely clear. In the light of Mrs. C's and T.J.'s specific assertions that the watchman also maintained watch over the village against possible attack, it would seem that the protection of the village was considered as important a part of his duty as the maintenance of order in the village. On the other hand, the accounts of warfare do not mention the watchman as figuring in the defense of the village against attack. One account describes the manner in which the Thompson were able to surprise the people in their sleep and to take command before they were fully aware of what had happened. No mention is made of the watchman. As noted earlier, it is quite probable that the watchman is a post-White innovation, or that the duties of the post-White 'watchman' have been confused with the partly remembered \( \text{\textcircled{\text{X}}} \) of prehistoric times, if such a position existed.

In times of actual attack, the war party posted sentries around the camp at night and sent scouts ahead to report on the placement of the enemy. These were members of the war party itself and were usually men with strong warrior spirits, for it was considered that only the bravest would venture to come near the enemy's camp or village alone. If word was received from a courier from another village that a party of strangers was advancing in the direction of a village, these warriors posted sentries in strategic spots to observe the direction the strangers were taking, and to report it to the village, so that some sort of strategy could be planned. Although not normally aggressive, the Lillooet were often provoked to retaliation. In the case of single kidnapnings, some members of the family of the captive might attempt to recapture
the individual, but this was considered risky, especially in Chilcotin territory, where the people did not live in settled villages. More often, retaliation took the form of a war party with its members recruited from relatives and friends. Revenge for the murder of one's relatives was the responsibility of the family itself, who had to accumulate the necessary berries, salmon, meat, deerskins and blankets to pay the members of the war party. The war party itself was recruited from friends and relatives in the village, as well as from neighboring villages. Such a planned expedition involved preparation and planning, often over a considerable period of time. The war party, on the other hand, which was gathered together hastily in order to overtake raiders, involved only a minimum of preparation, possibly some dancing and singing, prior to the actual attack of the camp of the invaders. In both types, the men with warrior spirits and men or women with shamanistic powers, were eagerly sought to join the party.

In the case where an attack of a house or a cluster of houses, usually by the Thompson or Shuswap, resulted in the capture of people and the stealing of goods, escaped survivors or members of the house or houses not present at the time made an effort to overtake the raiders before they had left Lillooet territory. A messenger was dispatched to get as many helpers as would come from the neighboring villages. The aid of twins who were thought to be especially brave and powerful, because of their association with the Grizzly Bear and of men with warrior power were especially enlisted. Having gathered together at an appointed spot, the initiator and leader of the party, himself a powerful warrior, welcomed the helpers, who in turn manifested their eagerness to fight with the enemy by jumping around and stabbing the air with their spears.
The party then started on the trail of the enemy, advancing as quickly, but as secretly as possible. The strategy usually involved tracking down the enemy while they themselves remained undetected, observing the general layout of the camp to see where the captives were placed, how many enemies there were, where the sentries were posted, to discern the best point from which to attack, and then descending upon the sleeping forms of their enemies, clubbing and spearing them to death before they were fully awake.

My informants stated that an attack was rarely carried out in the daytime. Having observed where the enemy had pitched their camp, the Lillooet retreated to a spot where they would not be observed by the enemy, and then settled down to wait for nightfall. A scout, usually one of the bravest warriors, was sent before the attack to see that the enemy were properly asleep and to check on the details of the camp layout.

Prior to the actual attack, the warriors prepared themselves for the fight by painting their faces red and spreading eagle down on their knotted hair. Warriors expressed their impatience to be fighting by moving around restlessly and eagerly fingering their spears. One of the accounts relates how a member of a war party against the Thompson amused his comrades by imitating the actions of the powerful warriors. Although a small man, possessing no strong supernatural powers with fighting value, he continually expressed his desire for the fray by leaping in the air and ferociously brandishing his spear at imaginary enemies, just as the most powerful warriors did. Such action probably did much to amuse and to encourage the warriors as well as to relieve the tension of the wait before the attack. A dance of the warriors in their regalia was held around the fire. Each wielded his spear as
though he were using it on the enemy. The group sang a song which was thought
to attract the souls of their adversaries to their camp. The souls were then
symbolically speared, one by one, by the warriors as they moved around the fire.

Having completed their preparations, they waited until just before
daybreak to attack. The leader of the party led the way down the trail to the
camp of the sleeping enemies. The group advanced stealthily, their spears ready
and their minds alert for any sound of movement in the camp. At a signal from
the leader, they pounced on the sleeping forms and dispatched any who offered
resistance. Sometimes they killed everybody, but usually they spared those
who did not raise their weapons against them, and took them as slaves.

Planned attack by the Lillooet on neighboring peoples was usually
stimulated by the desire for revenge. Such expeditions were undertaken by
the people directly concerned and did not obligate other members of the village,
or of other villages to participate. Chiefs appeared to have little formal
control over these expeditions and did not attempt to oppose or direct them.
They may have exerted an influence through their personal prestige, and in
their capacity as "advisers" to the people. This did not imply, however,
that they necessarily would be consulted by those who were planning the
expedition. Chiefs derived their prestige from their virtues as peace loving,
hospitable men, as well as from their functions as advisers in day-to-day
activities. Because they ideally possessed these qualities, they were considered
capable of maintaining and inspiring harmony in the village. Under ordinary
circumstances, it appears that their advice was heeded. But warfare was not
their sphere and any influence they exerted in it was informal and based on
their personal qualities. Warfare was essentially the concern of those who
had been wronged. If an entire village decided to send out a war party, it
was not the chief of the band or the head person of the village who directed or initiated the venture, but a powerful warrior or perhaps a powerful shaman. If the chief were a shaman, whatever power he exerted in this sphere, was a result of his supernatural power and not a function of his position as chief. If he were not a shaman, to openly oppose one in this matter might very well be fatal. Chiefs may or may not have been able to dissuade or persuade a group to embark on an expedition, in the interests of the general welfare of the community, but they did not possess merely by virtue of their office the necessary power to lead, direct, or forbid an attack.

I was unable to obtain a specific accounting of the relatives involved in the revenge party, if indeed there were specific obligations on certain relatives to take part in the venture. One of the accounts describes the manner in which a woman called her "brothers" from another village to embark upon an attack of the Squamish who had murdered seven of her "brothers." She accumulated dried berries, fish, meat and deer hides to "pay" these men for joining the party. Other accounts mention the paying of individuals for participating in a war party and for having freed a relative from the Thompson. The people who were paid in the latter instance were not relatives of the payer and seemed to have been rewarded simply on the basis of the act itself.

Although the Lillooet had wars with the Thompson and the Shuswap, groups living on the borders of these areas were generally on friendly terms with one another. Friendship was consolidated by intermarriage and trade. This was particularly the case with the Lillooet around the Fraser River, who intermarried with the Thompson and the Shuswap. The Lillooet were similarly on good terms with the Squamish to the west of them with whom they intermarried and traded. The people living in the Pemberton Valley and around Anderson and
Seton Lakes, often ventured on trading expeditions with these people and spent long periods of time visiting their relatives in the area. They followed a known route through the valleys which cut the Coast Mountains, and it was chiefly on their way to and from these visits that they fell prey to the Chilcotin who in turn became familiar with the route usually used by them. The Lillooet do not appear to have intermarried with the Chilcotin, whom they regarded as their natural enemies. They feared Chilcotin attacks, even though they were sporadic and usually carried out by small parties. This fear may have been based on an earlier fear when the Chilcotin were much more formidable enemies.

To the south, the Lillooet maintained friendly relations with the Chehalis, but were unfriendly with the rest of the Fraser River Indians with whom they engaged in periodic scuffles over hunting rights. As suggested elsewhere, the latter may have been the result of the fear of hunting in areas in the north, where the Chilcotin roamed in small but dangerous bands.

Shamans played an important part in warfare. Because of their ability to see events in far-off places, they were able to advise the people beforehand of attacks and to indicate the number of people in the war party as well as the direction in which they were coming. They could utilize their power to put obstacles in the path of the attackers, as well as to break down the resistance and defense of people attacked by the Lillooet. If their wrath were directed against an individual kidnapper, they could cause his death simply by pointing at him. Because of this ability to influence events through their power, their advice on matters of warfare was respected and often they themselves acted as the leaders of war parties. T.J., Mrs. C. and L.P., all stated that women shamans often went on war parties as well as men. Their menstrual blood was believed
to be especially potent and, if thrown at the enemy, could cause their death. They were described as being just as militant as the warriors. One of the accounts describes how a woman shaman who had led an expedition against the Squamish, shouted at the height of the battle, "Kill them all." They too could use their power to render their enemies helpless. L.P. described how a woman shaman who had been captured by the Thompson, discerned the presence of the Lillooet who had followed the raiders and were waiting in a nearby camp to attack. In order to help them, she started to sing her song, which sent her power to take away all the weapons of the Thompson.

The Lillooet were often taken into slavery by the Thompson, Chilcotin and Shuswap. Teit says that some of the Lillooet were sold by the Chilcotin to the Carrier and to the people of the Coast and that a Lillooet slave was found among the Tahltan, while still another was discovered among the Haida.\(^{33}\)

Usually attackers killed only those who offered resistance, taking the rest with them as slaves. Occasionally, individuals out by themselves were seized and taken into slavery by small bands of roaming Chilcotin. These rarely returned. On the other hand, the Lillooet sometimes were able to rescue people from slavery by attacking the raiders themselves before they had left Lillooet country.

The Lillooet took slaves in warfare and considered them to be the property of those who had captured them. Slaves were given only leftovers to eat and were dressed very poorly in the cast off clothing of their masters. No special guard was maintained over them, but if a slave attempted to escape, he was killed immediately. It was felt that if a slave managed to return to his people he would tell them that he had been badly treated and thereby precipitate

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\(^{33}\) Teit, *MAMNH*, vol. 2:5, p. 236.
another attack. Slaves were usually married to other slaves or to a poor Lillooet.
CHAPTER III

THE COURSE OF INDIVIDUAL LIFE

Childhood

Immediately after birth, children were placed in baby baskets where they were to remain for most of the period of infancy, suspended on rockers or carried about on their mothers' backs. As they grew in size, they were placed in larger baskets until finally, at one or two years of age, they began to sleep on blankets on the floor of the house with the rest of the members of their family. They wore no clothing at all during this period and were rarely taken out of the house until they could assume a measure of self-responsibility. Older children aided in the care of their younger siblings, but it was expected that children would learn early to assume responsibility for their own safety. If they fell or scratched themselves, they received little sympathy and were told that it was their own fault. It was considered important that they become hardened to these small accidents and often a parent barely glanced at the scratched knees and cut fingers of her offspring. Children were not, however, exposed unnecessarily to dangerous situations. For the first few years of their lives, they were taken out of the house only on their mothers' backs. If replaced by other babies, they were left in the house in the care of grandmothers, older siblings, or possibly another wife of the father. At about four or five years of age, they joined the play group of their brothers and sisters and were never far away from somebody who would see that they came to no serious harm. Adult supervision of play groups was a casual and informal affair in which all members of the village participated. Children wrestled and chased one another, tripped over stones, fell off bushes and cut
their knees without drawing a comment from passersby. But if a child were in danger of seriously hurting himself, there was always an older person around to come to his aid. I have seen groups of men sitting on a porch watching children make a game of dragging one another by the feet through a mixture of mud, manure and rocks, without comment. On the other hand, one of these same men responded with startling alacrity to a situation which he judged as potentially dangerous for a neighbor's child. T.J. and I were driving through the village in his old Ford. T.J. was busily describing some medicine to me, when he suddenly jammed on his brakes and leaped from his car. He ran up to the porch of one of the houses where a small child was clanging the lid of a garbage pail on the steps. The edges had been twisted and bent and bits of sharp tin protruded all along the sides. T.J. seized the lid and ignoring the angry howls of the child, brought it back to the car with the comment, "I better throw that away somewhere."

The Lillooet were fond of children and spent a great deal of time playing and talking with them. Parents attempted not to shout at children for it was said that those who raised their voices at children would, in turn, be shouted at when the children grew older. Similarly, it was considered shameful to shout at one's parents or to speak in a surly manner to any older person. It was expected that children would act "crazy" among themselves and little attempt was made to discipline them in the play situation. Children, were, however, expected to remain silent in the presence of elders and not to act in a disrespectful fashion. It was said that a child who was noisy in the presence of a shaman would die, for the shaman would see his soul. Only if the child remained silent would the shaman be able to restore him to life.
Children were not permitted to laugh when elders were present, for it was said that older people would think that they were making fun of them and be offended.

The participation of children in the round of household activities was considered important primarily for their education and only secondarily for their material contribution to the household. For a short while after infancy, children played around the village with little direction from adults. Their education was limited to the stories and fond admonishments of their grandparents with whom they spent a great deal of their time. By the time they had reached six years of age, however, parents and grandparents began to take a more active interest in their development. Grandparents began to instruct them in simple tasks and to expect them to participate to some extent in the round of adult activities. A boy's father or grandfather would take him hunting, send him out alone to spear a fish, and teach him how to set traps. Men with warrior spirits were known to take their young sons, not yet in their teens, with them on war expeditions. Shamans began to observe their grandsons more closely and to take a greater interest in their training. If the child were a girl, her grandmother kept her occupied with weaving, basket making, cooking and other household activities. She began to accompany older women more on food gathering trips and to appear less frequently in play groups. It daily became more important for her to be busy and to increase her proficiency.

The Lillooet placed great emphasis upon the need to train their young people in the "proper method of living," as well as in subsistence techniques by which wealth in the form of deerhides, food and blankets was acquired. Proficiency in any pursuit depended a great deal upon "living right," and consequently this training was considered as important a part of an individual's
education as the, practical instruction in hunting, fishing, weaving, etc. To the Lillooet, the one complemented the other, and without a knowledge of both, the individual was bound to be inept and unsuccessful. It was thus particularly important that young people be "trained hard" so that they would grow up strong and active, and knowledgeable in the techniques which were thought to be necessary for the general well-being and success of each individual.

This training was at first carried out in company with other children of the household, usually siblings, under the supervision of the "oldest man" in the house, usually the paternal grandfather. If there were a shaman in the household, he might undertake this task. Every morning, the children were gathered around the ladder of the winter house and struck on their arms and backs with fir boughs, to toughen their skins and to stimulate the flow of blood. The children then ran to the creeks or to the lake to bathe in the cold water and to scrub themselves with fir boughs. Some of the older and stronger children rubbed themselves with boughs until they began to bleed or stayed in the cold water until their hair had frozen. The bathing was repeated at night. This process of scrubbing and bathing was continued throughout life, although not necessarily as often, and was considered necessary for the continued strength and health of both men and women. To refrain from such practices, especially at certain times such as birth, menstruation, or prior to a big hunt, was considered dangerous, and the people who continually neglected to bathe and to scrub themselves, were usually afflicted by sickness, loss of spirit power, hunting prowess, and bad luck.

Older children and adults usually preceded the plunge into cold water
by taking a steam bath in specially constructed huts, capable of accommodating two or three people, and made of fir boughs placed over a small excavation. Water was slowly poured over hot stones placed in a special hole in the hut, and the steam so generated was endured as long as possible. The people carefully avoided emptying the container of water in one movement, for it was stated that to do so would be, as it were, to pour away one's life in one action. Water was poured in small quantities over the rocks so that life itself would ebb away a little at a time.

Shamans or individuals seeking spirit power had their own private huts where the symbols of the spirit powers which they possessed or hoped to obtain were kept. Ordinary people, however, who had no special purpose in view other than the maintenance of their general well-being, bathed in common with one or two other people.

With the onset of puberty, training took on a new aspect. This was a crucial period in the lives of both boys and girls and the persistence and sincerity with which they carried out their training had an important effect on their future lives. It was at this time that boys customarily sought spirit power which would aid them to be successful hunters, warriors or shamans and it was to these ends that they endured a period more or less protracted, its length depending upon the type of power sought, of isolation, scrubbing, bathing and fasting. Although girls often acquired spirit powers during their four months' isolation after the first menstruation, this was only incidental to the main purpose, which was to train the girl to be proficient and to ensure her continued health and well-being. The boys' training at puberty, however, was carried out to obtain spirit powers as well as to ensure
their future health. The discussion of the boys' puberty rites will thus be found in the chapter on the acquisition of spirit power.

**Puberty**

When a girl perceived her first menstrual flow, she reported it immediately to her mother. The mother then set about gathering together the necessary clothing and paraphernalia which the girl would have to have during her isolation. This included *ča:kwat* 34, a robe, a fir bough or deerskin head band covered with feathers, 35 a bone drinking tube and scratcher, a special spoon and dish, and some cedar bark napkins. The girl then retired to her menstrual hut, a lean-to of fir boughs, where she remained for four months. 36 During this time, she came into contact only with her mother, who at first came only to bring her food. After the first month, however, her mother began to appear more frequently to instruct the girl in her duties and to see that these were carried out. This was a period of great danger to the girl and a mother made every effort to see that the training was carried out in the proper manner. The way the girl conducted herself during this time would have a significant effect on her future life and it was important that she train herself in the proper manner.

Every evening, after everybody had retired, the girl, dressed in her bulky robe and headband, emerged from her hut where she had sat all day

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34 This is a fine red powder made from spruce. T.J. said that from the hemlock was also used for this purpose.

35 Teit, (MAMH vol 2:5, 1906, p.263,) states that girls did not wear buckskin bands for fear of displeasing the deer, who would give the girl headaches in later life. But both Mrs. C. and Mrs. D. described the deerskin band or cap with feathers on it as being part of the costume of the girl at this time.

36 Teit, (Ibid. p.265) states that the period lasted for not less than a year. Both Mrs. C. and Mrs. D. stated specifically that 4 months was the usual time.
in a little pit. Her face was covered with paint and in her hand she carried a rattle. Walking quickly and occasionally breaking into a short run, she disappeared into the surrounding countryside. She did not go near the habitations, but chose isolated spots where she would not encounter anybody. She walked briskly and jumped nimbly over small fir trees. She grabbed bits of bark and tore them into small pieces. All her actions were characteristically quick and nimble. She continued this activity until she was thoroughly tired and then shortly before dawn returned to her hut to prepare to have a steam bath. While the rocks were heating over her small fire, she put two stones down her bosom and began to run towards the steam hut. As she ran, she sang a song saying that she would bear her children easily. She then dropped one of the stones (baby) and still singing, ran a short distance further where she dropped the second stone (afterbirth). After her bath, she retired to her hut where she covered herself with fir boughs and slept for a few hours. If she awoke with her legs straightened out, she immediately bent them. Sometimes she slept outside.

In the morning, she had a cold bath in the creek. She scrubbed herself vigorously with plaited fir boughs so that her eyes would be strong and healthy. She put on the same garments and smeared her face with warmed salmon grease (squeezed from the head of the salmon) and covered it with ĉakwsɨ (stored in a special spruce root basket 2aɬok5) which, mixed with the grease, spread easily over her face. She then knotted her hair over each ear and put on her head covering.

During the day she remained in her hut, sitting with her back straight and her knees bent under, working at some task. At first the tasks
had no other purpose than to increase her dexterity. One such practice was
to pick the needles from a fir branch as quickly as possible for long periods
of time. After the first month, however, the girl began to make baskets and
to plait small mats under the supervision of her mother who appeared periodically
to examine her work. A girl was expected to work quickly and efficiently and
to produce neat work of a high quality. If the work was not to the mother's
satisfaction, the girl was urged to take more laxatives to make her "lighter,"
to bathe more often and to train more vigorously. During her isolation, the
girl ate only sparingly. She was not allowed to cook and ate only the foods
her mother brought her. These never included fresh food of any sort. Mrs. C.
stated that no meat was eaten, but that the girl could eat dried salmon. Mrs. D.,
on the other hand, said that the girl could partake of either, provided they had
been dried. The girl made her own laxatives and took these frequently to
cleanse herself and to make herself light and active. Teit says that the girl
had to fast for the first four days of her isolation. 37 Both Mrs. C. and Mrs. D.
when asked about this, stated that the girl ate sparingly and expectedly fasted
at intervals during the isolation. The frequency with which she fasted
depended upon her determination and sincerity. Mrs. C. and Mrs. D. both
stated, however, that they knew of no rule which stated that the girl must
fast for a certain length of time at any period during the isolation. It is
possible that some of the restrictions have been forgotten.

The girl had many restrictions to observe, most of which safeguarded
against contaminating people concerned with maintaining the food supply and
against contaminating the source of food itself. It was important that she
avoid crossing streams, walking or sitting behind people, (especially hunters or

fishermen), jumping over or stepping on anything alive (not including plants), cooking, touching or eating fresh foods, touching traps, weirs, nets or anything that belonged to, or would be touched by a man, and finally, coming up close to a man, even if she remained hidden in the brush. The violation of these restrictions resulted in the hunter or fisherman being unable to catch his quarry, who, offended at the contamination, would refuse to enter the fisherman's traps and nets or expose themselves to the hunter. A hunter might even be killed by the quarry, especially by the grizzly bear. If the girl touched anything that belonged to a twin, or if he ate something that had been touched by her, his nose began to bleed and people immediately knew that a pubitant girl had been in the vicinity. It was believed that people who came in contact with the girl would die young. It was necessary, therefore, not only for the welfare of the girl herself but for the community as well that menstrual and puberty regulations be strictly adhered to.

After the four months were over, the girl returned to her home. All her clothes, eating utensils and appurtenances, were left in the hut to be worn again at the next menstruation. If she wore any of her menstrual clothes in front of men, they would be unsuccessful in hunting.

Marriage

Girls customarily married shortly after the onset of puberty. When the girl returned to her home after her isolation of four months, she was expected to act with greater modesty and to conduct herself in a manner befitting an adult. People began to notice and to comment on her temper, her proficiency and her industriousness. If she were lazy and slovenly in her habits, this was attributed to improper training during the isolation.
Parents thus tried to keep her occupied with various household tasks and to prevent any untoward comment which might damage her chances of marriage, or, if she were betrothed in childhood, as most children of wealthy parents were, to lessen her worth and her family's standing in the eyes of her fiance's family and the community at large.

Owing to the length of time involved in obtaining a spirit, boys did not usually marry as young as girls. If a boy were training to be a shaman, his marriage was delayed even longer, for the long length of time involved in acquiring shamanistic powers, coupled with the rule of strict continence during the quest, usually resulted in the boy not marrying before he had acquired his power. It was not unusual, however, for men to seek visionary experiences after marriage, in which case they had to refrain from sexual contacts with their wives until their powers had been granted to them. The normal age of marriage for those who obtained spirit powers, was approximately from twenty to twenty five years of age.

Marriage of the betrothed was considered the most acceptable form of marriage. Individuals were betrothed in childhood or after they had reached the marriageable age. Childhood betrothal was practised by all families of high standing, who wished their children to marry into families of equal worth. As one of my informants, B.B., put it: "If there is a good, hard working family, you want your children to marry into it and not to mix with the others."

The second type of betrothal marriage was that practised by less wealthy people who allowed their children some choice in the selection of a marriage partner. Usually the parents, after taking into consideration their child's preference, "advised" them whom to marry. A second type of marriage practised by those
who had difficulty in obtaining a marriage partner, was that between people chosen at the marriage dance held specially for this purpose. Finally, a less common but less acceptable form of marriage, was that involving a girl and a youth who had been caught together. Occasionally, a youth would sneak to the bedside of a girl and, if accepted, spend the night with her. The pair simply announced that they were married the next day and little more was said. If, however, the girl refused to accept the boy, there was always the possibility that she would rouse her parents. The risk of humiliation involved in such a venture restricted this form of marriage essentially to those who had no hope of obtaining a spouse, or who were fairly certain of their acceptance. This form was never tolerated by families of worth, and it was said that only those "who didn't care much about themselves" got married in this fashion.

The first and most honorable form of marriage was that between people who had been betrothed in childhood. People of great wealth and prestige in the community considered it their duty to choose suitable marriage partners for their offspring. It was felt that a household could continue to be wealthy and influential only insofar as its members were properly trained, not only in the various techniques of gathering and preparing food, skins, and other items, but in the non-material techniques of obtaining supernatural aid, which, in turn, would result in proficiency and, concomitantly, wealth. Every individual who trained himself vigorously usually obtained power of some sort, but a person instructed beforehand by a powerful hunter or shaman had a better opportunity to acquire a powerful spirit. Thus, spirit power, while not hereditary in the sense that everybody had to train for its acquisition and that even then there was no absolute guarantee that such power would be granted
was, nevertheless, more readily obtainable by children or close relatives of a person who had such power themselves. Similarly, it was felt that the training of girls of wealthy families would be rigorously supervised, so that as adults they would carefully preserve the proper conditions necessary for the success of their husbands in hunting and fishing, as well as being more proficient themselves in household tasks. Wealth, in my informants' eyes, was the result of such combinations between men and women. A lazy, careless woman, incompletely trained, could easily cause the loss of her husband's power or bring him bad luck in the hunt and thereby cause the impoverishment of the family. It was felt that wealthy families would carefully train their boys and girls in the expectation that such training would result in material advantage and well-being. Poverty and mediocrity were derived from poor training or incomplete instruction, and to allow the offspring of an unsuccessful family to marry into a wealthy family was to endanger the wealth of the latter.

The marriage of the betrothed was heralded by a feast at the home of the groom. Prior to the actual feast, both the family of the bride and groom accumulated large numbers of blankets, dried fish, meat and berries which were distributed at the gathering. I was unable to obtain the precise mechanism involved in such accumulation and distribution. In order, therefore, to present as full and accurate account of what my informants were able to tell me, I will quote the descriptions given to me. The following account was given by L.P.

The party which is held when the people who are promised to each other, get married is called the ḫaŋitʃe. People used to get married in the summer time. Other informants stated that people were usually married in the winter.
is held, both the boy and the girl have to work hard to get lots of blankets and berries, dried fish and dried meat. Then her mother and father help her and his mother and father help him. They do this for about a year. Then when it is all ready, the girl piles up all her stuff on one pile and the boy piles up all his stuff on another pile. Then they make two big fires. All her sisters and her mother and his sisters and his mother will help her cook and all his brothers and his father and her brothers and her father will help him cook. Then each will give the food to the other. Then the boy's father yells out to eat. Then the girl's father yells out to eat. Then everybody eats and makes jokes while they eat. They do this at the boy's place.

They have the \textit{Sakota} dance here, but they do not sing the marriage song. Everybody sings who doesn't dance and the \textit{\textipa{\textsc{m\textsc{a}n}}} (singers) do their songs too.

They have lots of people there. Everybody comes, even the poor people. They take home what they do not eat. The Chief stands up and says how long they have been engaged. Then they come together.

The ideal, even for people who were unbetrothed in childhood, was to choose a marriage partner upon the advice of parents. This seems to have been the most common form of betrothal in pre-White times and most certainly in post-contact times. The descriptions offered by my informants of the hybrid mechanism involved in this type of marriage reflect post-contact influences. It is probable that the pressures exerted by the Christian Church in early times resulted in an emphasis on features which were acceptable to the Church or, if not, in the significant modification of practices to such an extent that today little is remembered of the aboriginal practices.

My informants stated that a boy, upon the advice of his father, requested a watchman to state his proposal to the girl. The girl then asked permission from her parents and informed the watchman of the decision. If the proposal was accepted, both families prepared quantities of food for the ceremony at the boy's home.
People who had reached or had passed the marriageable age without acquiring a spouse, usually chose their partners at the dances. In the course of gatherings in which dances were held, the marriage dance (mal'ýxél ("Getting married dance") and song was usually introduced to allow unmarried and unbetrothed people to ask formally the consent of the person they wished to marry. Although only unmarried and unbetrothed people could participate in the dance itself, others sat in the background singing the marriage song and keeping time. The dancing continued until a section of the song was reached which commanded the dancers to indicate their choice. Each boy walked over to the girl he had chosen, and put his hand on her blanket. If she allowed him to keep his hand there, the two of them finished the dance together. If, on the other hand, the girl pushed the boy's hand away, or, if he persisted, dropped her blanket and left the dance, the boy knew that he had been rejected. A girl often took the initiative in choosing, in which case the procedure was the same. The dancing was continued until all the couples had been paired off. The chief then announced who had married whom, and who had been rejected. My informants stated that there was no gift-giving attached to this form of marriage.

Marriages were patrilocal, though by no means rigidly so. Wives were usually chosen from other villages and brought to live with the extended family of the groom. Rich men had two or three wives, usually sisters, though occasionally unrelated women from different villages. L.F., whose father had had two wives, stated that it was better to marry two sisters, for then they "would get along better than if they weren't related." A considerable degree of harmony seemed to prevail in polygynous households, however, for it was felt
that the contribution of each wife added considerably to the wealth of the household, as well as lightening the burden of work for all concerned.

Reciprocal aid in the form of assistance at childbirth, menstruation, sickness, and in food-gathering activities, served to strengthen the bonds between women in a household and to decrease the importance of day-to-day friction. Each woman had her own sleeping place and blanket in the house, which the husband visited in order, thereby decreasing the possibility of humiliation from neglect. Meat brought home was given to the wife with whom the husband was currently sleeping. This, however, was prepared by her for the rest of the family, who carried on with other essential tasks.

In the instances in which women were unable to cooperate peacefully, the husband could return the one whom he judged to be the chief source of conflict, together with her children, to her parents. This was acceptable, however, only if he had not been betrothed to the woman before marriage. It was considered an insult to the family to return a wife to whom one had been betrothed. Similarly, a betrothed woman who left her husband was not welcomed by her parents, who usually sent her back to her spouse. L.P. described this in the following fashion:

If people were promised to each other, they never parted. Sometimes a man was married to somebody he had not been promised to. Then if she left him, there were no hard feelings. That was only if they were not promised.

If a woman who had not been betrothed decided to leave her husband, she simply took all her belongings, her baskets and mats which she had woven, her sleeping mats and her children and returned to her home. Some people married many times before they settled down to spend the rest of their lives with the same partner.

Marriage was considered to be a partnership in which each spouse contributed to the wealth of the household. A man could not hope to be
successful in the hunt or in catching fish, if his wife did not aid him by observing the proper restrictions during her menstrual period or by not touching his hunting gear during the hunting season. Moreover, her contribution to the household in the form of weaving, basket making, food gathering and preservation, was recognized as being significant and complementary to that of her husband. An efficient and hardworking woman was highly valued and as L.P. said:

A man would be real crazy to beat up a woman like that.
In the old days, we never hit our wives. They worked, worked all the time. They stayed home when they were supposed to.

Birth

The Lillooet were fond of children and it was the desire of every married person to have a family of at least three or four children. As one of my informants put it: "You got to have children or what's the use?"

When a woman discovered that she was pregnant, she immediately informed her husband, who then slept apart from her until four months after the birth of her child. Teit states that both spouses bathed in creek water periodically before and after the birth of the child.39 My informants did not verify this. They stated that it was only necessary for the woman to bathe and this regularly only for the first child during the first four months of pregnancy and then for four months after the birth of the child.

The woman gave birth to her child in the house. Only the midwife, possibly a co-wife, or a paid older woman who had presided at other births, was present. Children were taken out of the house by other members of the household, who themselves did not return until the baby had been born. A woman was expected to bear her child silently and with as few expressions of pain as possible. The umbilical cord of the child was cut with a sharpened stone and

then later given to the father, who buried it at some spot where it was not likely to be trampled upon. The baby itself, was carefully washed in lukewarm water, rubbed with melted groundhog grease, and wrapped tightly with its hands at its sides, in softened cedar bark. It was then placed on a soft mattress of beaten ̕a̕k̑̕nin in its basket and covered with rabbit and squirrel skins.

When the child was about a week old, its ears and nose were pierced with a sharp deer bone. Beaver teeth or deer bones were later inserted through the apertures.

The mother rested only for an hour or so after the birth and then arose to care for the baby herself. If it were winter, she stayed with the child in one corner of the house for four months, neither cooking nor touching any utensils or equipment belonging to the other inhabitants. She spent most of her time on her blanket caring for her baby, washing it every morning and nursing and rocking it on its swing when it cried. She drank laxatives to cleanse herself and to take away "the pains". She ate dried salmon head soup to increase her flow of milk. If it were summer, she moved with her baby to a small brush hut some distance away from the main house. Here she remained for the required four months, taking care of herself and her baby, and avoiding contact with other people.

Because they were considered to be the offspring of the Grizzly Bear, twins were accorded special treatment at birth. Immediately after the birth of twins, both parents moved into a fir bough hut some distance away from the village. Every morning they bathed themselves and the twins. The father did not hunt or fish and the mother did not gather any berries or
fresh plants. If the infants cried, or became ill, the parents sang a special song which summoned the Grizzly Bear, who then instructed them in the way to cure the children's illness. At the conclusion of the first month, they left all their clothes and utensils in the hut and moved to another hut some distance away. This was repeated at the beginning of each month during the entire isolation period. They did not come near anybody for fear of angering the twins who would become sick and die. If they required anything, they shouted from a distance and their requirements were placed at a certain spot.

Because of the inconvenience of isolation, especially in the winter, the birth of twins was not welcomed by parents. Mrs. C. stated that people refused to go near parents of newly born twins, or to take or touch anything of theirs, because they believed that by such action, they too would give birth to twins. The isolation of both parents, however, seems to have been primarily a concession to the twins' relation to the Grizzly Bear and to the potency of the power which was bestowed upon them. L.P. said:

People thought a lot of twins. They were strong. When they were small, they played just like two little cubs. They wrestled all over. Then when they grew up, the people knew that they were afraid of nothing. They were always good hunters. The Grizzly helped them.

Youth and Age

The Lillooet accorded great respect to their old people. It was felt that age and experience were accompanied by valuable knowledge from which younger people could profit. It was considered shameful and foolish to
disregard the advice of old people or to slight them by acting contrary to their wishes. Children at an early age were taught to heed the advice of their grandparents upon whom devolved the chief responsibility for their education. Thus, it was the paternal grandfather, the "oldest" man in the house, who gathered the children around the central ladder in the morning to strike them with fir boughs and to see that they bathed in cold creek water. Usually it was he who instructed the boys in the proper method of acquiring spirit power and in the various subsistence techniques upon which their future livelihood depended. Similarly, a grandmother taught her granddaughter how to weave, and to make baskets and acted as her general counsellor and friend in need. The role of instructor and educator was tempered by the bonds of affection which existed between elderly and young people and training was often relaxed in the interests of the mutually pleasurable pastime of story telling. As children grew older, however, grandparents became sterner taskmasters, for the future welfare of the children depended upon their rigorous adherence to the training program. It was felt that in later years children would appreciate the stern training and thank their elders for their strictness.

Old people were usually the centres of attraction at large gatherings such as funerals and marriages, where their dramatizations of myths and stories of the "old days" acted both as a form of entertainment and education for the younger people who sat listening in rapt silence. Occasionally, old people took turns at telling $tākwał$, but many times, a good $tākwał$ teller held the floor all night, spurred on by the encouraging $ət$ of his audience and stopping only when they had finally fallen asleep. A person who could tell $tākwał$ well, was much in demand, for the dramatization of the myth was an important accompaniment to the myth itself. The teller was usually seated at a strategic
spot where others could congregate around him. As he talked, he acted the part of his characters, raising and lowering his voice to fit the situation, drawing out his words to indicate a continued action, or speaking hurriedly to indicate speed. To the great delight of his audience, he often executed a few dance steps or sang the song of one of his characters. If he performed particularly well, the approving $\text{currentColor}$ punctuated his remarks frequently.

Death

The death of a person was followed by the arrival of people from other villages who came with the purpose of "helping". Although it was the responsibility of the immediate family to supply these people with food and lodgings during their stay, friends and relatives often assisted by giving food from their own larders. The usual practice today is for people to donate money to "buy the coffin." A second gathering held usually a year or so later, for the "putting up of the stone," enables a member of the family to give an accounting of the money spent at the first gathering and to collect some more for the erection of the headstone. The death of Tommy Jack, the chief of the village at Darcy, was followed by the arrival of large numbers of people from Pavilion, Lillooet, Fountain and Creekside. The local inhabitants took in as many of the visitors as they could and those who were left over were given accommodation in barns. Meals were eaten outside the dead chief's house with food provided by both the guests and the local inhabitants. In the evenings, the people gathered outside to listen to $\text{pʃækwət}$ and to play lahal games. Money was collected for the coffin and a tentative date set for the putting up of the stone.

A person was formerly buried in the clothes in which he died.
Occasionally, the dead person was buried with all the clothing and blankets he possessed wrapped around him. His head was placed between his knees and his arms bound in front of his bent legs. A dying person was often placed in this position beforehand so that when death occurred, it was only necessary to bind his hands and feet together. When the body was properly bound and tied in a blanket, it was carried to the grave by a person hired also to dig the grave. My informants stated that this job was usually undertaken by men who were not proficient in other tasks, but who "still had to make a living." The grave was lined with woven mats and blankets and the body placed on its left side with the head towards the West, the land of the Souls. Spears or other implements were often placed in the grave or later burned, for nobody would use them any more. The body was covered first with soil and then with a small pile of rocks. An overturned canoe was placed on top of the stones and either burned or left there.

If a person died away from his own village, he was placed in a cedar root basket in a tree and "dried" over a smouldering fire. He was then left there until he was light enough to be carried home, at which time his relatives came for him. He was then buried with his belongings in his own village.

After the burial, the people were feasted by the family of the deceased. Occasionally, a dance was held. The old people told $\texttt{pa}k\texttt{wa}t$ between dances and at the conclusion of the ceremonies, all the belongings of the deceased which had not been buried, were burned. The guests left shortly afterwards.

Both widows and widowers went into isolation for a period of four months, during which time they were subjected to a number of restrictions.
They ate only dried foods, avoided crossing streams or walking behind people, even from a distance, and refrained from fishing, hunting or gathering fresh plants and berries. They bathed and scrubbed themselves every morning and night and emerged from their huts only in the evenings. On the day of the burial, they bound their joints with strips of buckskin, which fell off after a year or so. They wore fir bough crowns, buckskin belts, and carried white sticks in their hands and fir boughs under their arms wherever they went. They did not throw away the old boughs they used to scrub themselves with, or the dried crowns, but piled them up neatly near the steam hut. At the conclusion of their isolation, they left all their clothes and paraphernalia, destroyed the hut and never ventured near the spot again.

An orphan bound his right knee, ankles, wrists and neck with buckskin bands and ate only dried foods for two days.

Some of these practices were continued in late post-White times.

Mrs. C. gave the following description of the observances after the death of her husband, Louie Gold.

The flu came (about 1918) and Louie died. Then they took Louie to Darcy to be buried. There was nothing for Louie because there were lots of people dying. After he died, my sister put me in a corner of the house. I took a bath every day and changed the fir boughs from my place and also my clothes. I never stayed in the house during the day, but I walked around the hills. I didn't paint my face, but I ate only dry salmon and baked spuds. I drank water with rosebushes put in it (boiled). If I didn't drink it, I would feel that Louie was around me at night. I would have frozen in my sleep. Then I put the leaves of the double clubs and the needles of the spruce on my bed. I did this so that I would not get the creeps. I drank juices so that I would be clean. I didn't eat anything fresh or greasy for four months. I ate only by myself in my corner. I didn't walk around the house. The food was made for me by my sister.
After the four months were over, I had a bath and threw away all my clothes and the fir boughs and the white sticks. I carried the sticks so that I would not have to touch anything. Then I cleaned the place where I had been sleeping.

I did all this so that I would live longer. In the early days, we all did this so that we would live longer. We would have been sick if we didn't.
CHAPTER IV

THE ACQUISITION OF SPIRIT POWER

Most people at some time in their lives acquired a spirit power. It was felt that spirit help was necessary for outstanding achievement and that without it an individual could not hope to attain the full measure of success. The spirit quest was therefore undertaken by most people and considered an important episode in life which no one could really afford to miss.

The quest for spirit power could begin at any age, providing the individual had prepared himself over a period of time by bathing and scrubbing. Usually, however, the quest began at puberty while the seeker was still unmarried. The quests varied in duration from two days to seven years, depending upon the nature of the spirits sought. Some spirits were more powerful than others and it was only after prolonged periods of fasting, bathing and isolation, extending over a considerable length of time, that such spirits revealed themselves to the seeker in a dream. Most people, however, did not seek such powerful spirits and were content with shorter quests and less potent revelations.

A young boy, seeking spirit power, rose early in the morning before the others and bathed and scrubbed himself with fir boughs in cold creek water. Occasionally, he went to an isolated spot in the hills where he stayed, bathing, singing and dancing, until daybreak at which time he returned to the house. As his strength increased, however, he stayed out in the hills for increasingly longer periods, bathing, scrubbing, singing and carefully following instructions given him either by his father or grandfather, until the spirit revealed itself in a dream.
Shortly after the commencement of training, the boy built a steam hut, with the entrance facing east, in a lonely spot near a creek. Here he bathed at intervals during his nightly exercises, vigorously scrubbing and slapping himself with fir boughs. When not bathing, he ran quickly up and down hills, jumping over small trees and stopping only to start other equally vigorous activities. He ate only sparingly and, as the training progressed, fasted for two or three days at a time. Frequently he slipped a slender twig down his throat to induce vomiting or took laxatives to purify his body. He rubbed his face with smooth stones found in creeks and carefully replaced them in the same spot. He slept for only a few hours each night, rising early in the morning to bathe in cold water.

The boy's father gave him the symbol of his own spirit power to put in his steam hut, in the hope that the spirit would be revealed to the boy also. Depending upon the type of spirit sought, however, the boy usually took with him other symbols which he placed in his steam hut. Thus, if he were seeking hunting powers, he put the symbols of the animals who were thought to bestow hunting powers in his hut. T.J. and L.P. mentioned only the grizzly bear, deer and cougar as bestowing hunting powers. Teit says that the most powerful spirits for hunters were the wolf, lynx, wolverene, grizzly bear, deer and beaver; for shamans, the dead, raven, golden eagle, mink and owl; for warriors, the knife, gun, ball, arrow, thunder, sun, red winged flicker and hawk. My informants mentioned the black crow, bald eagle, coyote, porcupine, cougar and the dead as being some of the spirits, the symbols of "

which the prospective shaman ($\text{swan\text{'}a}_m$) took with him to his steam hut.

When the spirit finally approached the singer, it was revealed to him in a dream. T.J. described the process:

He (the seeker) has been singing and dancing. He hasn't eaten much, so that he will be nice and clean. Then he begins to see something while he is dancing. It is near him and he tries to grab it. But he can't get it. Then he trains every night until he gets it. When he gets it, it may be a deer, a bear, an eagle. When he catches it, it is small in his hand. He doesn't eat. He bathes and sings all night. He paints the picture of the animal he grabbed on his face, and puts down on his hair. It gives him a song and tells him what to wear. Then he knows what his spirit is. He sings his song and dances all night.

The symbol of the spirit was kept in a small pouch made usually of the skin of the spirit power. One man was stated to have kept his power hanging in its little bag above his bed. Nobody, except he, touched it, because of the power in it.

Occasionally temporary power was given to a man in need. T.J. described the temporary acquisition of power by August Smith. August had murdered his trapping partner while the two were drinking in their cabin near Harrison Hot Springs. August drank so much that he became unconscious. When he awoke, he found his partner dead, although he did not remember killing him. Frightened, he ran away to some relatives in New Westminster. There he was advised to give himself up, but August was so thoroughly frightened of the police, that he continued to run. Travelling at night through uninhabited country, he finally reached the vicinity of Lillooet where tired and hungry he sat on a rock to think of what to do. He did not have a gun with which to hunt and he was afraid to go down to the town to get food. Yet he was desperately hungry and weak from his exhausting and nerve-wracking journey.
Suddenly he saw a bird such as he had never seen before. The bird began to talk to him and told him that it would give him a small stick which would make him invisible if he stood behind it. August was thus able to reach his home unobserved. However, as soon as he arrived safely home, the stick lost its power. The bird had come to August to help him; this help was withdrawn when safety was reached.

Hill-Tout states that supernatural power was transmitted from person to person. He describes how one of his informants, Captain Paul, acquired his uncle's power:

The uncle took the symbol of his nam which in this case was a dried bird's skin, and bade his nephew breathe upon it. He then blew upon it also himself, uttered some zūwêêh or mystic words and the dried skin seemed to Paul to become a living bird which flew about them a moment or two and then finally disappeared. Paul was then instructed to procure that day a bird's skin of the same kind and wear it. This he did and the following night he had a dream, in which the nam appeared to him in the shape of a human being, disclosed to him its mystic name by which it might be summoned, and promised him protection and mystic power. The essential feature of this transmission of the nam was the blowing or breathing upon it. 41

My informants stated that people often instructed and supervised the training of their children and grandchildren. Usually the seeker obtained the symbol of his proctor's power and put it in his sweat house, for it was felt that the proctor having obtained the spirit power himself, would teach the boy how to obtain the same spirit power. T.J. stated that although his father had no inclination towards shamanism, his grandfather, who had been a powerful

41 Hill-Tout, JRAI, vol. 35, p. 146-147.
shaman, had attempted to instruct his son so that he too would become a shaman. He taught him the names of many medicines and how to prepare them, and this knowledge was still partly retained by T.J.'s father. T.J. stated that a shaman could "help" his son or grandson to acquire power, but that the person had to train before he could get it and that the power was always revealed in a dream.

Power from the dead, occasionally relatives, seems to have been one of the most important sources of shamanistic power. Consequently, seekers often hovered around cemeteries, seeking bones, skulls or even whole bodies which they put in their sweat houses and around which they danced and sang. It has already been mentioned that T.J.'s grandfather, ḱuṣqan had a skull which he kept in his steam hut. This skull was the source of his power and ḱuṣqan would often sing and dance around the skull all night. The following account given by T.J. illustrates the process by which one shaman finally obtained his power.

He went up in the hills to get power. He stayed up there seven years, but still he had no dreams. He stayed up in the mountains and watched the people below, but he would not come down. One day he saw the people burying somebody. That night he came down when nobody was around and dug the body up. It was a child. He cut the meat of the child from the hip to the knee. He cooked it and then he began to sing. But nothing happened. Then he ate some of the meat. Then he began to act as if he were crazy. He rolled around on the ground. He didn't know what he was doing. When he came to himself, the fire was out. The meat was there but it was fresh, as if it hadn't been cooked. He cooked the meat again. This time he made a corral of fir boughs so that he wouldn't bruise himself as he had done before. He cooked the meat and ate it again. When he came to himself, he wasn't as bruised as before and the meat was still cooked. He made some medicine and ate it. He sang for three days. Then he ate some more meat, but this time he didn't act as crazy as he had before. He seemed to see people around. One came and tapped him on the back
and told him to do right and said that he would give him power. Then he saw people who were many miles away - they were his relatives who were far away. He could see them even though his eyes were closed. The one who was talking to him told him to keep his eyes shut. Then the same one started to sing and said that was his power. He gave an eagle feather to him.

Following the acquisition of power, the seeker, now a shaman, returned to his home and went to sleep. He did not arise until late in the morning. He told nobody of his experience, but late that same evening, returned to his steam hut where he bathed, sang and danced all night. This process was continued until he felt that he was "well trained." As T.J. put it:

Even though he is well trained, he still fools around with the boys his age. He is a doctor but he doesn't let anybody know it yet. Then one day, he hears the Indian doctors singing trying to save somebody from dying. Then the boy will ask why they are singing. Somebody will tell him. Then the boy will say: "That's easy." Somebody will tell the ūma and then they send for him. They say: "You are going to do your best to save this person." They say this because they have been paid already. They are scared to lose their pay if the person dies. They then give the boy water and he washes his hands and face. Then the ūma put their hats on. Then they sing their songs and try to bring the spirit of the person back.

In this manner, the new shaman was introduced to the community. His reputation as a shaman still had to be made, however, and it was only after he had proved his "strength" by curing, by engaging in combats with other shamans, or by demonstrating his power in warfare, hunting, or in bringing back the dead, that his reputation was made. Generally speaking, however, shamans were feared and respected as a group. If a shaman were present in the house, everybody had to be quiet lest the shaman be startled, in which case somebody would be certain to die, for the shaman would see his soul. Only by becoming quiet could
the person be saved.

People did not walk behind a shaman, laugh too much in his presence or allow their shadow to fall on him. He was always addressed politely and respectfully, lest he strike a person dead by pointing at him and stamping his feet. People tried not to offend him especially when eating, for he could cause the food to pass into their stomachs without nourishing them. His opinions on warfare were listened to with respect, for he could use his power to put obstacles in the path of the enemy, and to discern the actions of the enemy in their own camp. People were careful to invite a shaman to go with them on hunting expeditions lest he send his power out to stop them from getting any meat. Finally, his superior knowledge of medicine and his ability to cure the sick or to cause sickness and death made people treat the shaman with respect and deference.

Sickness was caused by soul loss. All living things had souls. When somebody was dying, his soul left his body and started to journey to the land of the souls to the west. This land was called sxwainita. To get there, the soul had to pass a number of campfires. Each campfire that the soul passed increased in size. The shaman had to catch the soul before it passed the first campfire because after that it would have become too wild to return. The soul did not wish to return to the land of the living and did not linger long beside the first campfire. The shaman therefore had to be summoned immediately, so that he would catch the soul before it went beyond the first campfire.

When working over a sick person, the shaman covered his face with a conical covering made of cedar bark, nhuloktin. Everybody had to remain silent. Nobody was allowed to cough, to scratch himself or to make any sudden
movement for fear of interrupting the shaman's work. The shaman began to sing: the entrance of his power was announced by the stamping of his foot. If the person were dying, the shaman went searching for the soul. He usually had to struggle with the soul before it would return and occasionally he had to combat other souls who tried to stop him. When he had caught the soul, he brought it back clasped in his hand, or thrown in the buckskin bag or tucked under his clothing. He heralded his arrival back in the house by a yell which was answered by another shaman if there were one in the house. He then took off his nhuloktin and began to sing. After he had finished singing, he took a drink of water, but did not swallow it. He held the water in his mouth until he had thrown the runaway soul back on the dying man. He then spat the water out. A variation of this practise was to put the soul in a basket of cold water before throwing it on the patient. The sick person woke up and asked, "What happened?" and immediately asked for something to eat. This was an indication that he had been restored to health.

If the patient failed to awaken, it meant that another shaman was using his power to thwart the cure. It would then be the duty of the first shaman to discover who was counteracting his work and to endeavour to eliminate the opposition. This often resulted in a combat in which each shaman pitted his power against the other until one had been killed. T.J. said that this was the only way a shaman could die - by being overcome by the power of another stronger shaman.

In addition to curing by restoring the souls of patients, shamans sucked sickness either directly through the skin or through a tube. This was usually resorted to when it was thought that another shaman had caused the sickness. B.B. said that he once saw a shaman demonstrate his ability to suck
sickness out of a person by sucking up some boughs through a rock. Just as
he was able to suck through the rock, so was he able to suck through the skin
of a person. Having extracted the sickness, the shaman then dipped it into a
basket of urine and then into a basket of water. He did not always disclose
the name of the evil-doer but occasionally he did so, in which case the relatives
of the patient usually demanded payment or punishment and sometimes death.

In addition to invoking his spirit power for help in curing, each
shaman knew how to make medicine to cure skin ailments, to relieve stomach pains,
sore joints, haemorrhages, diarrhoea, fevers and rheumatism, the list of ailments
given by T.J. and L.P. In addition to the common cures, each shaman had his
own secret cures for various diseases which he transmitted only to his successor.

Shamans were paid beforehand for their services, the fee depending
upon the reputation and skill of the shaman. If the shaman failed to cure his
patient, he had to return the fee. Sometimes the shaman became ill himself if
he did not succeed in effecting a cure. When shamans worked together they split
the fee between themselves.

Shamans working on separate cases occasionally encountered each other
in the Spirit Land and were able to converse with each other. T.J. related
the following story of the encounter of his great grandfather ncuwet only with
a powerful shaman from Seton Portage named kwenuč.

ncuwet only was visiting at Sechelt. A person was dying at
Seton Portage so his relatives called kwenuč in to help
him. Kwenuč put his hułəkəw on his head and began to
look for the lost spirit. The spirit had left the body already
so kwenuč went to the west where all spirits go. At
Sechelt ncuwet only had been called in to try to bring back
a girl who had already died. He was trying to catch her at
the first camp. Then both kwenuč and ncuwet only
met in the West. Kwenuč was coming back from and ncuwet only
the west
was going to the Land of the Souls. Ncuwetk asked Kwenuc what he was being paid. Kwenuc said that he had been given some salmon grease. Ncuwetk then said that he had been given a buckskin and that he would give half of it to Kwenuc for the oil. Kwenuc said "Alright." Then they both went on their way.

Both brought back the lost souls. They told the people how they had met in the Spirit Land. A year later when they met at Darcy, they carried out the agreement.

In addition to being able to establish contact with other shamans in other parts of the country, shamans were able to see events in far off places, and to tell of the whereabouts of people in distant places. T.J. told me that he had once gone out searching for a gold mine and that when he did not return at the time he said he would, his grandfather sent his power to search for him. T.J. stated:

I was standing in front of the fire cooking some meat. Then I felt a hand on my shoulder. I turned around but nobody was there. I felt funny, as if somebody was watching me. This happened just as my grandfather put on his nhulokin and began to sing in front of a dishpan of water. It was his power which touched me.

It seems clear that shamans were people of respect and prestige in the community. Their opinions and wishes were carefully listened to and it was felt that only a foolhardy or more powerful shaman would care to tangle with or arouse a shaman. They were protected by their power and, depending on the strength of this power, were able to exert a considerable influence in community activities. Indeed those who had the aid of supernatural power, shamanistic or not, were generally accorded respect, the degree of which again depended on the strength of the power obtained. Ambitious parents attempted to inculcate in children the desirability of undertaking spirit quests, but here again, the practice often fell short of the ideal. Long, trying spirit quests required determination and endurance as well as
prior instruction. Not everybody was capable of undertaking the long quests, or in a position to receive aid and instruction. Hence the people who received strong spirit powers were proportionately few. Those who were successful in the quest received the approbation and respect of the community. The extent to which this respect enabled them to wield practical power in community affairs was again determined on an individual basis. Strong spirit powers, especially shamanistic powers, were thought to result in wealth, prestige and influence. Since wealthy families tried to preserve this wealth and status for their children by "training" them, there was a tendency for worthy members of the family to benefit from their family's superior prestige in the community. But political power (except in the chiefly line) was not inherited. The extent to which an individual exerted an influence in the community depended, in the last analysis, upon himself. It was felt that success in the accumulation of wealth and prestige was achieved only after a thorough "training". The family provided the setting and instruction for the individual, but the final success depended on him.

Because accomplishment was the basis of prestige and respect, and hence power, the training period was considered to be of great importance. The way people conducted themselves during this critical period had an important bearing on their future lives. To be successful in life, a man had to establish the proper conditions for success while still young. This involved personal training and knowledge of techniques which would establish the proper conditions for success in a given endeavour. This, in turn resulted in prestige and power.
SUMMARY

This paper has been divided into three main parts. The first, an introduction to the Lillooet, discusses the findings of recent research in the Plateau and the implications of such research insofar as the historical relations of the Lillooet are concerned. Ray's contention that the Plateau possessed a core of indigenous culture independent of both the Plains and the Coast has found neither confirmation nor denial in my own information, for the nature of the data available today, at least among the Upper Lillooet, are not conducive to such conclusive statements as those offered by Ray. On the other hand, recent archaeological and linguistic research in the Plateau by Borden and Swadesh has yielded suggestive evidence on the prehistoric movements of the Lillooet and their neighbours which has found support in my own information. The suggestion that Athapaskan speaking peoples were exerting an aggressive southward pressure in late prehistoric times and that Lillooet were directly in the path of such movement, seems a plausible conclusion when the ethnographic, linguistic and archaeological data are all considered.

The next two sections, forming the main body of the paper, are descriptive accounts of the operation and defense of the community and the cycle of life and the acquisition of power among the Lillooet. The first forms the cultural context for the succeeding section (two chapters) and includes as much information as was obtainable from present day informants, on leadership, socio-political units and warfare. The Lillooet placed great emphasis on rigorous "training" as a necessary prerequisite to achievement, which was the basis of social status and prestige. Hence Chapters III and IV describe the training of the individual from infancy to adulthood and indicate its importance in Lillooet life.
The Lillooet have been described as possessing no larger political unit than the band. The ties of kinship, common language and culture resulted in a certain nebulous unity, which, however, did not find expression in political unification. The band was the largest political unit. It was composed of a number of villages or groups of clusters of houses not immediately contiguous. Each band possessed a hereditary chief who exerted influence by virtue of the peaceful attributes which chiefs were supposed to possess. This influence was exerted only in peace time affairs and was shared and sometimes overpowered by men of high social standing. The chief had no formal power in time of attack. War leaders, men with powerful spirits, undertook the defense of their house or of other houses and initiated and led war parties against enemies. They were usually men with strong spirit help and hence men of considerable prestige in the community. War leadership was divorced from peace time leadership, although personal prestige often carried over from one sphere to the other. Thus influence and leadership was not confined to the chiefly line and political influence, albeit not the formal leadership of a chief, was often the concomitant of high social standing.

High social standing, strictly speaking, was not hereditary. It was the result of accumulated wealth and recognized achievement. It was, however, thought to be impossible of attainment without a rigorous early training. This, in turn, was thought to be given only by parents of high social status who would realize the great need to train their children rigorously and who would know the proper techniques and habits to inculcate in their children. Thus, the acquisition of a strong spirit helper was considered an immense social advantage and men who possessed such aid transmitted their knowledge and possibly their power to the most likely candidate among their sons or grandsons. In addition to this, high standing families betrothed their children in infancy to children of other high
standing families so that the good name and characteristics of the family would not be marred by the admittance of a person of low social standing. This attempt to retain high social status for succeeding members of the family may reflect coast influences, for coupled with this tendency was an awareness of the importance of individual achievement and effort in the bid for prestige and standing in the community. Success in hunting, warfare, curing, or, more generally, in wealth accumulation, could result only if the individual were "strong" in spirit powers and, concomitantly, in certain abilities which such spirit aid conferred. Strong spirit power was achieved only after long, arduous quests, and it was felt that only the most persistent, sincere and knowledgeable would succeed in obtaining spirit aid. Those who failed because of improper or incomplete training, lack of ambition, persistence or sincerity, could not expect the success and prestige of those who obtained spirit aid. It was felt that people of high social standing would see that their children sought spirit powers and that they would teach them the techniques necessary for its acquisition. Failure in its acquisition was the fault of the individual who did not carry out his training in the proper manner. His would be the life of the undistinguished many who eked out an ordinary existence. He still retained a certain prestige because of his relation to a family of high status, but he was not accorded the degree of deference and respect due to his successful relatives.
PHONOLOGY

Vowels

ı as in French fini.
ı as in bit.
ø as in but.
ü as in at.
e as in fate.
ï indeterminate, as in sofa.
ɔ as in owe.
u as in rule.
ø front, unrounded. The distinction between ç and ã may not be necessary.
ʔ glottal stop.

Long vowels are indicated by . Thus, long = a.

Consonants

Unless otherwise indicated, the consonants are pronounced as in English.
č as in church.
č as in mats.
š as in show.
ž as in azure.
ṡ as in maze.
ł voiceless l.
ś tl
ś dl
ț as in thought
ș as in that
ș palatal
Consonants (continued)

X uvular

\( \hat{q} \) in same position as \( X \). Closure is further back than \( k \).

\{ p and b \} seemed to be interchangeable

\{ s and d \}

Labialization

\( k^w, q^w, h^w, x^w \).

Some of the Lillooet words used in this paper are probably Chinook terms.

\( \text{malyixel} \), for example, is very likely the Chinook word "malše\( \text{h} \)" (to marry) and \( \text{leyám} \) the Chinook word "yaub" (the devil).
BIBLIOGRAPHY


LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABC</td>
<td>Anthropology in British Columbia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JRAI</td>
<td>Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAMNH</td>
<td>Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History</td>
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<tr>
<td>UCPAAE</td>
<td>University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology</td>
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From Darcy, Kalpačun from Shalalth, Škawa from Fountain and one from Skookum Chuck, were fishing at Sechelt. Then some Coast Indians were coming to Sechelt to fight. Then the people from here (Darcy) and some from Sechelt watched for them as they went fishing in a creek. There was a big log at the creek which they used as a bridge. One of the Sechelt saw somebody. Another Sechelt said: "Leave him alone, let him see us."

One of the enemies yelled his name out. He said he was strong and could not be killed. Then somebody from here said: "O.K., come out and fight!"

Then they both came out on the log. The big fellow from the enemies yelled out: "When I get to you, I am going to break every bone in your body."

The one from here waited for him. He had his bow and arrow ready and then he shot him in the chest. The big fellow just laughed and pulled it out. He said: "Keep shooting." Then he was shot four times in the chest and each time he pulled the arrow out. Then he was speared fifteen times. When he came to the end of the log, he fell down dead.

Then all the friends of the dead man came over. They were happy that he was dead, because he was a mean man and even his own people didn't like him. Then they said that the one who had killed him should have his name and tell the story to his people.

Then the people from here left Sechelt and went to Nanaimo on a canoe. The people there told them of a mean man who lived there. Škawa from Fountain said that he would stay by the canoe and watch it. Then he saw somebody come down the hill. It was a man. The man asked him what he was doing. Škawa said: "Nothing."

Then the man said: "You are not here for nothing. You have come to be killed."

Then the man dived at him and tried to choke him. He opened Škawa's jaw, trying to break it. Škawa bit his thumb off. But the man hit him all over and finally his jaw came out of joint. Both of them were bleeding. Škawa grabbed the man by the ears and they both fell into the water. The man nearly choked, but Škawa came up. He dived under the water again and swam to the beach. Škawa did this because it was the only way he could save himself. When the man came up, he thought Škawa was dead.

The others came back. They saw the blood and mess. They thought Škawa was dead too, but he came back. His jaw was crooked. He said that he couldn't beat the man.

Some Nanaimo came down to tell them to kill the man if they could. The Indian was going to kill him. The people from here all went back to Sechelt for a week and then they came back to Nanaimo again.

One man's wife said that she would stay in the canoe. She said that she had an axe and that she would not be hurt. The man came again. He
asked her what she was doing. He said: "You are from here."
Then she said: "No."
He said: "Yes you are."
He grabbed her and took her to his house. Then he tied her and hid her there. He barred the door. Then he took an old Hudson Bay rifle and waited.

The people came back to the canoe. They saw that the woman was gone. Some Nanaimo told them that the mean man had taken her. The Nanaimo said: "You had better kill him."
The people said: "We will kill him by our power after we are gone."
The Nanaimo from Darcy said: "It is a shame for us. We are not children."

The people said: "Let us get prepared."
Then they bathed in the water and scrubbed themselves. They decided to go get the woman. They painted their faces with zucman. One of them cut his pants to his knees. He painted his leg with four red strips from the knee down and took off his moccasin. He was going to kick the door. He was an Indian Doctor.

The Nanaimo old men came to see how the people prepared themselves. The Indian Doctor told each of his people to stand in a place in a circle. Then he told one to start the song, one to do the second part, one to sing the third part and all three to sing the fourth part. Then they would sing like this as they went up to the house. When the fourth part would be reached, it would be like a signal to open the door.

They did this. When they sang the fourth part, the Indian Doctor opened the door. He didn't even touch it, but it opened anyways. Then the one with the bow and arrow and the one with the spear stood in front of the man who had stolen the woman. But the man just sat there. He didn't move. The people began to look for the woman. They found her. Then the man shot at them, but he could do it only once because he had to load his gun again. But he still didn't say anything because he was afraid. Then the Indian Doctor said to him: "If you follow us, you will die. I will just point my fingers. I won't have to shoot you for you to be dead."

The others asked the Doctor why he didn't kill the man. The Doctor said: "After we are gone, he will be sick for about a month. He will die slowly."

Then the man did die after they had gone. The people went home in the fall. In the spring they came back to Squamish and then to Sechelt. Everybody respected them because they were strong.

Then they went to Nanaimo. Everybody came down to see them. Then the people spread their blankets on the ground and told the people at Nanaimo to visit them. Then the Nanaimo took their visitors back to their big log house and gave them food. Then they had a dance because they were glad that the people who had killed the mean one were back. Then the Nanaimo gave them seal skins. The people from here had proved that they were strong.
Louie Peters: A Thompson War.

A man was trapping muskrats in the swamps one spring. While he was working there, he saw some poles moving. He stood still and watched. Still the poles moved until they went past him. He got scared and went to his house on the island (cukak). He told the people at the village at cukak that he had seen some poles moving in the swamp. The people said: "Oh its just some other people trapping muskrats." The man didn't say anything anymore.

That night, the enemies made a raft and crossed over to the island. They waited around until daybreak, looking the place over. Then when they were ready, they started to spear the people there. They killed a lot, but some escaped by jumping into their canoes and paddling away. One canoe full of people was about to push off when a Thompson stuck his spear in it and tried to pull it back. Somebody shot him from behind with an arrow and he fell down dead. The people in the canoe kept his spear. Then they went across to the other side of the river.

After the fight was over, only the women and children were left alive. The Thompson took everything - baskets, berries, meat. All the women and children they had captured were tied up together. The people who had escaped watched from the side of the hill on the other side. They watched to see where the Thompson were going. After the Thompson left, the people came down but there was nothing left except their houses.

The Thompson went down to Lillooet Lake. About half way there, they made a camp.

Two men and a boy from Creekside were at Skookum Chuck. The men were two strong fighters. They saw the fire of the Thompson as they were paddling home. They saw the canoes full of people and the people tied together.

One of the men, whose name was $\xi$, called the name of one of the Thompson Indians.

He said: "piphamag an, are you there?"

Then $\xi$ told piphamag an to go to $\xi$ wpam, the next valley, to get away from the rest of the Thompson. He told him this because piphamag an was his relative. He said: "Well, I'm going to finish off the rest of the Thompson."

Would you fight right away, but his partner said: "No, let us go home to find out if everything is all right first. Then we will come back."

So they didn't stop but kept right on going.

When they got to cukak, $\xi$ hung up the fellow who had been shot in the back. He put four poles on a sandbar and then tied the fellow's wrists and feet to the poles. He came every day to see him until the water washed the body away.

Then the people came back to the village and everybody ate.

A man brought a moosehide over and told the boys to cut some of it for the soles of moccasins for the warriors. $\xi$ and extravlie got ready to go after the Thompson. Then they hurried after the Thompson.

The Thompson had broken camp and wrecked all the canoes they had stolen. They were now packing the food, but they couldn't go very fast because they
had heavy loads. $^\xi_5^t$ and $^{\xi}_\text{twuTalic}$ went up the hill with the boy who was with them. When it became dark, they sent the boy to Skookum Chuck to get help. On the way, the boy stopped at every house he came to, told what had happened and asked for help. Quite a few men came back with him the next day, but he ran ahead of them. He came to the hill where $^\xi_5^t$ and $^{\xi}_\text{twuTalic}$ were waiting, but he was running so fast that he didn't see them and they had to call him back. His father told him to rest, so he took a blanket and lay down for awhile. Then after he had eaten, $^\xi_5^t$ and $^{\xi}_\text{twuTalic}$ asked him how many men were coming. The boy told them the names of all who were coming, except one. $^\xi_5^t$ asked if $k_{\text{late}}$ was coming. Then the boy said: "Yes, I forgot to tell you."

$^\xi_5^t$ was glad to hear this, so he jumped all over, pretending he was killing with a spear. $^\xi_5^t$ was glad that $k_{\text{late}}$ was coming because $k_{\text{late}}$ was a twin. He was a Grizzly Bear and not afraid of anything.

Then all three lay down to rest, waiting for the rest of the people to come. When they came, they were glad to see $^\xi_5^t$ and $^{\xi}_\text{twuTalic}$. One of the men was lively. He jumped all around. He could hardly wait to start to fight with the Thompson. His name was $\text{kwilpap}$. He was not strong, but he was lively. He kept jumping around.

Then they all started to trail the Thompson. When they thought that the Thompson were camping just ahead, they would sneak up slowly to surprise them, but each time they found nobody. Then the fourth day they did this twice again but still they found no Thompson, only their camp. Then they decided that the Thompson were on the divide in the timbers. The people stopped to rest. They found a place where they couldn't be seen and camped.

One of the women who had been captured by the Thompson began to sing late one afternoon. She had a feeling that her people were coming up. The Thompson asked the old lady why she sang. She said: "I want to get over to your place to eat something different." She was really singing to get all the Thompson spears and arrows away. She was an Indian Doctor. After all the weapons had been taken away from the Thompson, she told the rest of her people: "If anything happens tonight, run down the trail we have been coming from."

That night, $^\xi_5^t$ told someone to go see where the Thompson were camping. But the man was scared, so $^\xi_5^t$ told someone else to go. But he was scared too, so $^\xi_5^t$ asked someone else again. He was scared too.

Then $k_{\text{late}}$ said that he would go. $\text{kwilpap}$ was so glad that Grizzly was going, that he got up and growled like a bear. He did this to keep everybody happy. $k_{\text{late}}$ got ready to go. He put down on his hair and a mountain goat skin over his shoulders. He put his belt on. Then he was ready.

It was a clear night, but all of a sudden it started to snow. It was July, but still it started to snow.

$k_{\text{late}}$ started to sneak up to the Thompson fire. He stood there for awhile looking to see where the prisoners were lying. While he stood there, one of the Thompson woke up. The Thompson growled like a bear and
broke some branches to put on the fire. He took off his blanket to warm it by the fire and then went back to sleep. He didn't even see Kulań. Then came back and said to the people: "I think the Thompson saw me." He told them what had happened. Then the people said: "He would have spoken to you if he had seen you. His eyes must have been closed when he was warming his blankets close to you."

Then they made a fire. Kwųč̱pa̱k kept running around. He wanted to fight. The people told him to sit down, but still he kept getting up and running around.

Then they went around the fire. The Indian Doctors began to sing and dance. They put their spears against the fire. Their song brought the Thompson spirits one by one to the fire and then they killed them all except Pípíhámq̓an. Then everybody sat down to rest and to eat. Then just before daybreak, they started down the trail. The first one to start was Twiteč̱ and then 5x̱/ 7. When they got to the Thompson camp, one of the Thompson had his spear placed across so that 5x̱/ 7 couldn't cross. But 5x̱/ 7 jumped right over his head right into the camp. The Thompson didn't even know he was over until he heard 5x̱/ 7, killing the Thompson with his spear. Pípíhámq̓an didn't get away when he had been told to, so he was stabbed. But he said to himself, "I was told to go away." Then he ran away in his bare feet. He was hurt, but he was able to get away. He and two young Thompson boys sleeping outside the camp were the only ones to get away.

The Thompson were so surprised by the fight that they didn't know what they were doing. They grabbed each other and fought one another because they didn't know what had happened.

After the fight, all the people started back. One of the young men saw a little hair sticking from the ground. It was a little kid sleeping. He was covered with dirt and pine needles. It was a missing kid. The man who found the kid was paid some clothes.

Then the three Thompson who had escaped told what had happened. This was the last time the Creeksiders were attacked by the Thompsons.


Seven people from Shalalth were visiting some people at Creekside. One of the people from Shalalth saw the Creeksiders eating some salmon. He asked where they had got it. The Creeksiders said they had got it from Squamish. Then the fellow said he wanted to go to Squamish to eat some of the salmon. Then all seven went to Squamish. When they got there, the Squamish asked them in to eat. The Squamish said there would be no trouble, so they took all their spears and arrows away from them. But then the tough fellows of the Squamish stabbed all the Shalalth people. That's how the war started.

These men from Shalalth were all related. When their sister heard that they were all killed, she wondered what to do. She went around to all her relatives to save up deerhides, to gather berries, to dry salmon and meat. She made many moccasins and blankets. After she had finished,
she went to **nhoistun** on Bridge River to get her brothers and brought them to her place at **nkaxf**. Then she got some other people and they started out. They passed through Darcy. She told all the people here what she was going to do. Then they went on to Squamish.

Two days later, **ncucelétok** (T.J.'s great grandfather) remembered that he had some relatives at Squamish. So he went down to get them out of the road before the fight started. He caught up with the party at Green Lake.

Green Lake was frozen over so they walked on the ice. They heard a lot of geese flying over them. The woman who was leading the party looked up and said to one of the men with her: "Catch me one of the geese, I am hungry."

She sat on the ice and washed her hands in snow. Then she pointed at one of the geese and it fell down dead. She sent one of the boys to get it. Then they all went to the beach where they made a fire and cooked it.

They kept on going. They camped once before they got to **kiwakw** (probably Cheekye Creek) about seven miles from Squamish. Then **hakwak** (from Darcy) went down the Squamish River where some of his relatives were living, a little way from the others. He told them what was going to happen and if they had any friends in the big house to tell them to get out on a certain day. Then these people told one another and one by one, each said he was going fishing, until they all had got out. They didn't tell the real Squamish why, they just gave an excuse to get out and to save themselves.

**hakwak** told one of these to go to the camp of the woman. He did this and then the woman told how her seven brothers were killed. This man told the rest.

The people from Shalalth were there for a few days. They were at their camp, training themselves. The woman whose name was **kawle** was a powerful Indian Doctor. She had brought some Indian Doctors with her. **kawle** sent one of the men to see how the big house of the Squamish looked. He went. He saw how the fence was made, where the gates were and how the gates were locked up inside.

Then all the people got ready. They made long poles about 10 feet long from a springy young fir. Then they took these poles to the big corral around the house one night. They tied the ends of one pole to cross the two standing poles.

They tied it with twisted cedar bark until it was as high as a man's waist.

Then an Indian Doctor cut off his pant leg from the knee down and painted one foot. He took off his moccasin and kicked the door. It opened right away and then there was fire all over the house. Then everybody except two rushed in to fight the Squamish. These two stayed by the fence,
one at each end. Those that tried to run out were caught by the pole. The two guards would yell out, "Watch him," and the man standing at the fir tree would pull it forward and then let it spring back, pushing the man who tried to run away back in the corral where he would be speared. The back fence was locked and guarded. kwal said: "Kill them all." They killed everybody except the women and kids who did not try to get away.

The house burned down. Finally, almost everybody was killed. They picked up a few good clothes, but that was all that was left. The rest burned down.

4. Margaret Carlsen: An Account of a Kidnapping by the Chilcotin.

Hata from Creekside was going with his mother, his older brother and his baby brother and his mother's brother-in-law to nhwātkwə. They were going to pick shośum and ščākum there. They were going to stay there until they had dried what they had picked. Then one day, after they had picked and dried the berries, they said they were going home. They said that they would stop off at káhnata (Birken) and at Blackwater Lodge, before they went back to šiču. Then they went. Then they were about half a mile from nšilćamplun.

I forgot to tell you that it was just the mother and the children who came to nhwātkwə. Her brother was about half a day behind them. It would take them three days to get to šiču. Her husband was at Skookum Chuck.

The mother and her children met the Chilcotin. The boy who was older than Hata, got scared. He ran down a hill and jumped over a dry log. The log turned and he was stabbed by a dry branch and killed. Then the Chilcotin took the mother, the baby and Hata. They went up the hill over nšilćamplun to Horseshoe Lake.

When the mother's brother came to šiču he asked if they had come. Then when the people there said that the mother and her children had not come, some people went back to look for them. Then they found the place where the Chilcotin had taken them and they found the dead boy. They saw the tracks of the Chilcotin. They were scared to chase the Chilcotin.

The Chilcotin camped three times before they came near Pemberton. Then they took the cloth from the woman's eyes. But she looked down the hill and knew where she was. She was tied to Hata.

When the Chilcotin went to sleep, she listened. Then she untied her hands and feet. Then she petted the baby, but she left him and Hata to run away. She climbed above the hill and hid there where she could watch the Chilcotin. Then the Chilcotin looked, but couldn't find her. They had just got up, so they had something to eat. She heard the baby cry then, but after they had finished eating, she did not hear the baby cry anymore. Then the Chilcotin left.

Then the mother saw the baby at the foot of the creek. (tša'awin) Then she saw her son tied to a Chilcotin as they left. Then she came down to the camp at the creek. Then she saw her baby in its basket. It was split open from the neck down and left there.
The woman knew where an old canoe was. It was hidden near the Lillooet River. By the time she got there, she had torn all her clothes on the trees. But there was only half a canoe there. She lay down in it and floated down the water. She didn't paddle, she just lay there. She came down to Pemberton (Skiwattmish - "strawberry patch"). A man there was going up in a canoe. He thought he heard some one singing. Then he saw the canoe. He listened and he heard the singing again. He stopped his canoe and put the woman in his canoe and came back to with her.

Then the woman gave her clothes and something to eat. Then the woman told her story. Then she told them where the baby was and then the people went to get it. They were scared to go after the Chilcotin.

Then some Whites came. They went to where the Chilcotin lived. When they came back, they said they saw a boy there who talked different from the people there. Then the next year the Whites came again to Lilloo. They wanted a guide. One of Hata's uncles said he would go. They went through Darcy, Lillooet and Williams Lake. Then they reached another river there which goes into the Fraser. Then they were in Chilcotin country.

The Whites camped near a Chilcotin village. Then after they had eaten, some of the people who had come from Lilicu told the Whites why the uncle was there.

The Whites were looking at the land and every day they would have to go across the Chilcotin village. There at night they would go to see the Chilcotin. The uncle would watch the Chilcotin. Then he spotted Hata. The Uncle said to the Whites that he was going to get Hata and that he didn't want any money. Then the White men said O.K. and gave him a gun. This was the first time he had seen a gun, so he said no, he didn't want it.

One day, early in the morning, the uncle saw Hata. The Chilcotin were eating and Hata was sitting away at the back. The uncle jumped over to the nephew, grabbed and ran. The boy began to cry, but the uncle began to speak to him in way hatamick and told him not to be afraid. When he came back to the Whites camp, they gave him a note which would tell all the Whites he met to give them something to eat. He then went away. He walked for three days until he reached the Chilcotin River. There was a ferry there. He showed his note to the man there and the man took them across.

Some Whites let them stay in their attic for a couple of days. They were safe now though and were not scared any more. They were nearer their own land. When they came to Shuswap country, the people there let them camp there. The uncle told the Shuswap what had happened. Then in the morning the Shuswap gave the boy a gentle horse and they started again. The uncle gave some White man's money for the horse. They stayed at Pavilion and then walked to Lillooet. Then they went to a store. That's where his note was finished. Then they came to Portage and to Darcy and then home. That's the last time we saw the Chilcotin. In the early days the people were scared of the Chilcotin.