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THE KUTENAI

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

THE Kutenai are not known to be linguistically related to any other tribe. Within historic times they have occupied the southeastern portion of British Columbia between the Rocky mountains and Kootenay lake, and the valley of Kootenai river in northern Idaho and the extreme northwestern corner of Montana. On the west and south and north they were surrounded by numerous tribes of the Salishan family, while eastward across the mountains were the Algonquian Blackfeet tribes. Their traditions give no account of a migration into this region, and, indeed, the scene of action in one version of their deluge myth is on the eastern side of the lakes at the very source of the Columbia river. Nor is there traditional mention of a tribal camp-circle. It may be concluded, therefore, that in at least comparatively early times the Kutenai tribe lost its unity, and the resultant bands spread southward across the very narrow divide between the Columbia and the Kootenai and down the latter river. The testimony of Alexander Henry, the fur trader, however, indicates that the Kutenai once lived east of the Rocky mountains. In 1811 he wrote:

"Along the Clearwater [a tributary of the North Saskatchewan], and near the foot of the mountains, are still to be seen the remains of some of the dwellings of the Kootenays, built of wood, straw, and pine branches. The same are observed along Riviére de la jolie Prairie and Ram river. This gives us every reason to suppose that nation formerly dwelt along the foot of these mountains, and even as far down as our present establishment, near which the remains of some of their lodges are still to be seen. About the time the Kootenays were in possession of this part of the country, the Snare [Snake?] Indians dwelt on the Kootenay or Columbia. But the former, being driven into the mountains by the different tribes who lived E. of them, with whom they were perpetually at war, in their turn waged war upon their harmless neighbors on the W., the Snare Indians, and soon drove them off the land the Kootenays now inhabit. This is on the upper part of the Columbia

[and the Kootenai]."[52]

The remains noted by Henry may have been abandoned lodges of parties which had crossed the mountains from the west for the buffalo hunting, and may have caused him to conjecture that the Kutenai had formerly occupied that region permanently. Had he possessed definite information on this point, he would hardly have written, "this gives every reason to suppose." Chamberlain says that the "legends and traditions [of the Canadian Kutenai] indicate that they originally dwelt east of the Rocky mountains, probably in Montana, whence they were driven westward by the Siksika [Blackfeet], their hereditary enemies." According to the Lower Kutenai (those within the United States) their occupancy of the country east of the mountains was not a permanent one, but was in the nature of annual incursions for buffalo.

The best information obtainable from the few remaining Kutenai beyond middle age indicates that their tribal subdivisions were five in number. Akiyínnik (*akínnik*, thigh) lived on Kootenai river at the present Jennings, Montana. Akanuhúnik *(aknuhununknána,* creek) occupied the valley of Tobacco river in northern Montana. The name probably had reference to the river. Akámnik (ákam, pine) lived on Kootenay river in the country about Fort Steele, British Columbia, a region known to theKutenai as Ákam. Akisknúknik (*akúknuk*, lake*; as,* two*; akhlsmáknik,* people) were north of the last-named band, around the Columbia lakes at the source of Columbia river. Akukhláhlhu *(akakhláhahl,* swamp) controlled the territory between Kootenai river at Bonner's Ferry, Idaho, and the northern end of Pend d'Oreille lake, the name referring to the swampy character of the borders of the lake.[53]

The Kutenai, according to their traditions, early began to make excursions to the eastward, crossing the Rocky mountains through Crow Nest pass, fifty miles north of the international boundary. Like so many other tribes, they were probably attracted by the herds of buffalo, for the buffalo west of the mountains were comparatively not numerous. Emerging from the pass, their parties turned southward, keeping fairly close to the foothills. The Piegan were not yet on the plains, and the

[52] Coues, *Henry-Thompson Journals,* New York, 1897, Vol. II, pages 703-705.

[53] For the present distribution of the Canadian Kutenai, see the Appendix, page 167.

only people they encountered were the Shoshoni, whom they met at the sources of Beaver Head river in southwestern Montana, and from whom they captured their first horses. Before the close of the eighteenth century they had acquired so many horses that they were able to barter a few to the Piegan, who then met them for the first time. It is quite possible that some of the Kutenai bands were beginning to make permanent residence east of the divide, but if so they were not long suffered to remain, for the swarming Piegan soon filled the eastern country; and the friendliness of the first meeting between the two tribes was soon interrupted by thefts of Kutenai horses.

About this period a small tribe called Tunáha, camping east of the Rocky mountains, was nearly exterminated by smallpox. Fleeing from the strange evil, the remnant hurried eastward, but before they had gone far, eight young men left the party and turned their faces to the south. The larger party was never heard from, but the smaller found refuge among the Flatheads in a valley near the site of Butte, Montana.[54] Seven took wives among the Flatheads, but one, whose name was Bad Road, married a Kutenai woman at a time when the two tribes met peacefully in the Bitterroot valley. It was through him that permanent peace was effected. Accompanying a war-party bent on capturing horses from the band at Ákam, he alone survived, his life being spared by the victorious Kutenai because he called for quarter in their language. He lived among them for a year, then returned to the Flatheads to prepare them for a messenger of peace. He was soon followed by a Kutenai bringing tobacco from his chief, and its accep-

[54] This was probably a Salishan tribe, as is indicated by the following words remembered by old Flathead men to have been used by the Tunáha: *metlché*, grizzly-bear; *ⁿkúschinshin,* dog; *ichâhtseshi,* naked; *chitsiléhuntsutsh,* to run; *temtemqélsh,* hear a sound approaching; *esnékutiqé,* gulch; *koktsinopimétlsi,* let us eat; *kokshâlíhumí,* I travel along a hillside.

According to an aged descendant of one of the survivors of the epidemic they lived in the region where now is the railway station of Pleasant Valley, Montana. From traditions of the Flatheads it is learned that the predecessor of the chief in power when the Lewis and Clark expedition passed through the country was a member of the Tunáha tribe - doubtless one of the eight refugees. It is from Tunáha that our word Kutenai is formed; the proper name of the tribe is Ksánka, although Kitunáha is heard among the northern bands.

tance instituted a peace that was never interrupted. So far as is known, smallpox first attacked the tribes of this region in 1780-1781, when it appeared among the Blackfeet. This was about the time the latter appeared on the Montana prairies, and it is altogether likely that from them the disease was communicated to the Tunáha, from whom it passed to the Akiyínnik, and possibly to other bands.

Two generations ago, probably about the year 1840, the Akiyínnik, bereft of their young chief, Red Sky, who had been killed by the Blackfeet, joined the Akanuhúnik at Tobacco Plains under Not Grizzly-bear. This chief was succeeded by*Kisklámahl,* Shot Head, who, under the name Michelle, signed the treaty at Hellgate, in the Bitterroot valley, in 1855. He was accompanied to the council by a portion of his followers, members of both bands of which he was head; the remainder crossed the border and took up permanent residence with the northern bands. In 1857 Michelle relinquished his position to *Kóhlua,* Rose-hips, known to the white people as Baptiste, and himself joined the Kutenai in Canada. In accordance with the terms of the treaty, a part of the Akiyínnik and the Akanuhúnik settled on the reservation at the foot of Flathead lake in northwestern Montana. The Kutenai in Idaho have never been placed on a reservation.

Nothing whatever is known as to the early population of the Kutenai. The belief of the better-informed among them, based on tradition, is that at the beginning of the historical period they numbered seven hundred lodges, or about five thousand persons. In 1890 the census reported a total of four hundred to five hundred in Idaho and Montana. Recent estimates of the officials at the Flathead agency, placing the number under their jurisdiction at more than five hundred, are greatly exaggerated; there are few, if any, more than a hundred Kutenai on the reservation. Those in Idaho number about the same, while in Canada there are five hundred and fifteen.

The reservation Kutenai in the United States have profited even less than most tribes by association with civilization. A more ragged, filthy, idle, and altogether hopeless-looking community of ophthalmic and crippled gamblers it would be difficult to find on a reservation. Their degradation is the more regrettable since the Kutenai physiognomy seems to promise much. It is far less heavy and gross than the plains type or the types of the surrounding plateau area. It is such as one associates with intelligence and character, and one cannot escape the

feeling that an opportunity was lost when the Kutenai were permitted to sink to their present level. In stature they are shorter and in build lighter and more delicate than their neighbors. In the various phases of their culture the influence of the plains, reaching them doubtless through the Blackfoot tribes, can be readily discerned. Yet the foundations are distinctive, and show the Kutenai to possess a culture in many respects peculiar to themselves.

Chiefship was hereditary. The chief as a rule directed the movements of the band; but community laws were few and weak, and obedience could not be enforced. There were always some who did 121 not care to follow the majority. About 1860 the Catholic priests introduced whipping and binding with ropes in a solitary lodge as a punishment for evil-doers. Formerly the relatives of a murdered person either exercised the right to kill the murderer or demanded blood-money. A wronged husband either killed the woman and her paramour, or he cut off her nose or crippled her by shooting her in the leg, and then sent her to her lover to become his wife. An indiscretion on the part of a girl was punished by a severe beating at the hands of her father; but in his absence the punishment devolved upon the mother, and then it was merciless indeed. The partner to her folly went free, but long ago it was the custom to compel marriage. An illegitimate child was a mark of shame both to its mother and to her family.

To obtain a wife, a young man in person took presents to the father of the girl he desired to marry. If the gifts were accepted, the girl belonged to the giver, and no presents in return from the father were necessary. An unusual form was that in which at the Victory Dance a young man might dance in front of an unmarried woman and thrust a stick about twenty inches long past one of her cheeks and then the other, repeating the movements as he danced. If she pushed the stick away, he was rejected; if not, when the last beat of the drum sounded, he touched her on the shoulder with the stick, and everybody shouted. They were then regarded as married, and at the end of the festivities the woman followed him to his lodge. Any man dancing in the circle with a stick was known to have the intention of obtaining a wife, and any unmarried woman by dancing avowed her willingness to accept a husband, if the one of her choice proposed.

The wooing songs of many Indian tribes are plaintive, mournful, but among the Kutenai they become positively lugubrious.

A newly married couple lived as a rule with the woman's family, except when the man was well-to-do and had a lodge of his own. There is no system of clans or gentes. At the present time boys of fifteen and girls of twelve or thirteen marry, but formerly the age was twenty to twenty-five for the man and fifteen or more for the girl. Polygyny was the custom, and men usually took the younger sisters of their first wives. Two men are known to have had at one time five wives each, and it is said that some had even more. Husband and wife owned their property in severalty. The property left by a deceased woman was divided in great part among the children; a small portion was given to her relations, but the husband received nothing. A similar rule applied to the possessions of a man, except that, as a rule, an inconsiderable bequest was left to his widow; even then his relatives sometimes appropriated her share. As to restrictions and privileges attendant upon relationship of various degrees, the customs common to the plains culture were practised.

The primitive type of dwelling was a tipi-frame covered with rush matting, the rushes being strung together on willow-bark thread used with a needle made of a piece of deer-bone. The number of layers of matting decreased gradually from the bottom to the top. The lodges of the very poor were covered with bark or with spruce boughs, while well-to-do men sometimes had elk-skin structures. Later, when buffalo-skins began to be plentiful, they replaced other materials to a great extent. Low, permanent lodges were made of willows, bark, and earth. The Akukhláhlhu now construct their lodges, it is said, in an oblong form like those of the Nez Percés, from whom possibly they copied this style. The largest lodge required the use of twenty-two poles and twelve buffalo-cow skins, and the average dwelling eighteen poles and nine skins. The door always faced eastward, even when the camp was in a circle, but at the present time when lodges are pitched in a circle they open toward the centre. The sweat-lodge was a framework of willows covered with skins or matting, and men and women together employed the sweat for curative purposes; some sweated daily, others on alternate days, and others only occasionally. A few had the custom of plunging into the stream before entering the sudatory. A typical sweat-lodge song follows:

Organized no doubt in imitation of a warrior society of the Blackfeet, the Kupúkahálchin-níntik, or Reckless Dog Society, possessed a

very distinctive feature in that membership therein depended upon a vision. A boy, rarely a girl, who, fasting, saw the spirit of the dog in his visions, or in later life dreamed at home of this spirit, became a member of the organization. When the chief of the society announced that the Reckless Dogs would dance, all the male members stripped to the loin-cloth, took their rawhide rattles, placed their bands of dog-skin around wrists and ankles, and assembled at the appointed lodge. At such a time any one who had never before danced, but had seen the dog-spirit in a vision or a dream, would dance with the members if he were old enough, and thus make known the fact that he had seen the dog-spirit and was a Reckless Dog. The ceremony was held at irregular intervals, usually in war-time, to incite its members to brave deeds. Each fought with that weapon which his vision had directed him to use, and in many cases this was only a club or an axe. They were expected to be more daring than other men, but there was no prohibition against retreating if necessity arose. Whenever food for the society was needed, the members danced around the camp and took meat wherever they could find it. Men and women brought food out of the lodges and gave it to them; and if anybody refused to feed them, they would cut up his lodge. The Reckless Dogs played an active part in constructing the lodge for the annual tribal ceremony. One of their songs was the following:

In their war customs the Kutenai differed little from the tribes of the plains. When a war-party was being organized, the leader called into his lodge in the evening those who desired to accompany him. There assembled, they beat with switches on a dry rawhide and sang such songs as the following:

Then they marched around the camp, pausing in front of various lodges, where they sang the war-songs, kicked against the pole at the doorway, and cried, "May I come back safe, so that I may enter your lodge as heretofore!" This dance was called *Ktâhláhohl*. Occasionally another dance, known as *Ktamóhohl* ("beat the drum") was engaged in by all the people for the purpose of "making their hearts strong," so that the approach of an enemy would not frighten them. If scalps were brought by the returned warriors, the Victory Dance (*Kpíyam,* "rejoice") was celebrated, the women wearing the captured war-bonnets, as well as those belonging to their own warriors, and dancing with the scalps elevated on poles.

The creative instinct of the Kutenai women found expression chiefly in cedar-root basketry. A form of basket called *yíchki,* having its bottom flat, but with rounded edge, its sides flaring, and its rim a stout willow hoop for the attachment of the pack-string, served the purpose of a water-vessel. A larger basket of the same form was used for the boiling of meat by means of heated stones dropped into the water. The *ná'hik* also was flat-bottomed, but otherwise nearly spherical, with a very small opening in the top; it was used principally in berry-picking. The same name was applied to a quiver-shaped berry-basket, consisting of a single large piece of bark from the cedar, spruce, or large cottonwood, which was doubled over to form the bottom and sewn along the two sides. Plates and dishes were made of cedar-root basketry, and large vessels for the storage of roots either of birch-bark or of deerskin. Ornamentation with elk-teeth and with dyed porcupine-quills was much in evidence about their clothing, which was of the typical plains style. Instead, however, of buffalo-robes, their mantles and blankets were usually of elk-skin, or for colder weather fur skins of the mountain-goat.

Inhabiting a mountainous country dotted with lakes and traversed by long winding rivers, the Kutenai very naturally became expert boatmen. The commoner form of craft was a canoe made of pine-bark or spruce-bark laid over a framework of split fir. It was sharp at bow and stern, of the form still seen among the Kalispel.1 Another type consisted of a skeleton framework and a covering of fresh elk-hides sewn together and well stretched, which dried stiff and hard. This formed a remarkably seaworthy craft, very wide of beam and so bulging amidships as to be, in effect, rather more than half-decked. Both ends were noticeably rounded and upcurving, the canoe giving the impression of being closely patterned on the lines of a water-fowl. In the summer of 1909 a canvas-covered specimen of the rounded-end type was discovered on the shore of Flathead lake, and was used in making a number of Kutenai pictures. It was seventeen feet in length, forty-seven inches in extreme width, twenty-three inches in depth, forty-two inches in height at the bow and thirty-seven inches at the stem. The Kutenai made dugouts of cottonwood logs only after steel axes were acquired. Although horses were obtained very early, the travois was never adopted. Snow-shoes seem to have been aboriginal with the Kutenai.

The best native information indicates that prior to the era of mis-

sionaries the Kutenai had only the vaguest conception of the human soul. The priests taught them that inside this body of flesh is another body exactly like the human form, hence the word now used to describe the soul, *ktukhluhluhláknam,* which is formed of *akuhláknam,* human flesh, and *tukhluhómik,* twofold. The dead were painted, dressed, and wrapped in skins, and deposited in earthen graves, on the back and with the head toward the west, "because they were going to where the sun sets." This custom seems to indicate an aboriginal conception of a future life, but what form that conception assumed is so little known that the Kutenai deny its very existence. In mourning the hair was cut short and left uncombed, the face remained unwashed, and ornaments were removed from the clothing, which was not changed during the term of mourning, a period sometimes covering more than two years.

Medical treatment was administered by men and women occupying a position quite distinct from that of the medicine-men, whose power was ascribed to supernatural sources and whose practices were altogether magical. In former times remedies were not frequently employed, but now they are much in evidence. A decoction of roots of the Oregon grape, of red-osier sticks stripped of the outer bark, or of red-osier roots, is used as a wash for ophthalmia, a very prevalent affection among the Kutenai. A decoction of buck-brush roots or of Equisetum is administered when the action of the kidneys requires excitation. To cure a cold in the head, an opening formerly was made in the scalp and a quantity of blood permitted to escape. If the cold had settled in the lungs, blood was let at the elbow and at the ankle, the upper arm and the knee being bound with a tourniquet. A person suffering from a shock sustained in a severe fall was treated in the same manner. Broken bones were set and held in place with a bandage of rawhide or with cedar splints. Snow-blindness was treated by permitting the smoke of a burning, old moccasin to envelop the face.

RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

The religious practices of the Kutenai had to do with the acquisition of supernatural power through the aid of supernatural beings. To them all things were the abode of spirits, one or another of which, if rightly approached, would take pity on a suppliant and become his life-

long guardian and helper. The effort to gain this much-desired power was begun early in life. At the age of six to ten years a child of either sex was compelled to go apart from the camp and spend the night in solitude, waiting for a spirit to appear while he slept. In the morning the child returned. At rare intervals throughout childhood he was sent to the solitary places to await the coming of a spirit, but seldom was the period extended beyond a single night. Boys were usually told to go into the hills or the mountains, but girls seldom went far from the camp. More than one spirit might take pity on a child; but usually the same one appeared at various times and gave the same songs, the mind of the sleeper no doubt being unconsciously predisposed, by much contemplation of the previous experience, to a repetition of the former vision. After marriage the Kutenai did not undertake to commune with the spirits, but occasionally supernatural beings appeared to them while they slept at home. Not until years of maturity had been attained was the secret of the vision disclosed, and then only when an occasion of need justified calling on the spirit for aid. When such an occasion arrived, the songs given by the spirit were sung, the story of what had been told by it was repeated, and its instructions as to procedure were observed. In general the spirit appeared to the suppliant in the guise of a human being, but after singing, and imparting its wisdom, it melted into the form of the animal whose spirit it really was, and vanished. A considerable part of the lore given by the dream-spirit consisted of directions governing the suppliant's individual manner of painting and dressing. In later life all the articles necessary to fulfil the requirements of the dream were obtained, either by purchase or by killing the animals whose bodies furnished the desired objects, and were kept in a cylindrical, rawhide case, which was carried by its owner to war. When the enemy was sighted, these sacred things were taken out, the paint was applied in the manner prescribed by the vision, and the feathers, bits of fur, claws, or other symbol of the guardian spirit were fastened in the hair, likewise in accordance with the vision. At the same time the sacred songs were chanted, and the words of the spirit repeated.

Illustrating the custom of sending young children into solitary places in the hope that they would receive help from the spirit-creatures, Akásik, a woman of sixty-five, related her first experience of this kind:

"It was winter, and snow was on the ground to more than ankle depth. I was about eight years of age. We were living on Crow creek at

the foot of the Mission range. I had done some mischief, and my mother told me to go out and camp alone, to see if I could not get some help. She took my moccasins and sent me away. It was nearly dark. She did not tell me where to go, so I turned into the undergrowth and about two hundred yards from home I crept under a log into some tall dry grass. During the night a certain person appeared to me in human form, and talked to me, and sang. He told me to wear a grizzly-bear's claw for him. In the songs he said that whenever any person was angry with me, I should know it; that if any one wished to do me wrong, that same wrong would happen to him; and that I should live to have gray hair. He kept me from freezing that night. In the morning when I went home, my mother only said 'Take some meat and eat.' After a while she asked, 'Where-did you sleep last night?' But I did not tell her, and she inquired no further. I have never told anybody what my dream was. I did not use the song until I was grown and a mother, when, in an attack by the Piegan, I sang my song. and, though the enemy were many, I was not injured. While I sang, my father said: 'I, too, know that song. Since you have the song, you may as well take all,' and he handed me a bear's claw. He had been unaware that a spirit had talked to me. Thereafter I always wore the claw on a string around my neck, but underneath my dress, so that nobody could see it. This was my own secret, and I told nobody."

The spirits were called *nipíka,* and one to whom a spirit had appeared in a vision was *nipikáka*. If from the spirit the suppliant received power to expel disease, he became *wámu*, or what is commonly called a medicine-man. Ordinarily such power came from the grizzly-bear or from a large bird of prey. Any one requiring the services of a *wámu* gave him presents or promised them. The medicine-man then went to the home of the sick person, passed his hands over the body, or blew on it, or, by sucking the flesh over the part supposedly affected, caused blood to exude from the skin. Singing, drumming, and dancing formed a part of the treatment, which was repeated daily as long as it appeared necessary. If a patient died, it was assumed that it was his time to die, and the wámu was not held responsible; only, he received no payment, and if there had been an advance payment, this was returned by him. Only the *wámu* could cure wounds, and only those who had dreamed of a snake could treat a snakebite, which they did by painting the wound yellow and binding an otter-skin about it. The *wámu* had pow-

er to inflict sickness on others, and even on one another. Bearing malice toward a person, one of them would tell him that in so many days he would die. Or the illness could be sent without warning, and in such a case the patient might be informed by his guardian spirit as to the identity of the *wámu* responsible for it. Another medicine-man would then be summoned to exorcise the evil, and if his medicine were more powerful than that of the one causing the disease, he would be able to restore health to the patient. After examining him, the wámu would allege that a certain man whom he named was responsible, and in most cases the sick man would reply, "I know it; I knew it before you told me." In his efforts to save the stricken man the *wámu* would pretend to remove something from the body of the patient, — a small stick, perhaps, — saying that this was the sickness; and he would then burn it. There was no provision for the punishment of a medicine-man who exerted evil power, for there could be no proof of his guilt. In this respect the Kutenai were rather more just and reasonable than those tribes among whom it was customary to take the life of any medicine-man suspected of having caused a death.

Formerly a ceremony was observed whenever a man dreamed that sickness was coming upon the people. He at once called the people into his lodge, and sang his medicine-songs while they stood in a circle, but without any prescribed order, and danced in their places. When the songs were ended, they departed. Sometimes he would recall them and repeat the songs, and if the danger appeared to him unusually great, he might summon them for the third time. This might occur day or night, at any time of the year.

When game was scarce a medicine-man might dream that at a certain time a certain animal would be killed and that thenceforth game would be plentiful. He would then arise and tell some one to bid all the old men to bring their "stems" (pipes) and smoke. So they would assemble in his lodge, to smoke and sing all the night, and at intervals to listen to the prophecies of the dreamer.

There is a tradition that long ago a Frenchman, not a priest, came to the Kutenai country and took away to an island on the Pacific coast two Kutenai youths, one Pend d'Oreille, and one Flathead. A year later the Kutenai returned and instituted a Sunday ceremony in which the people stood in a circle in a lodge and danced around shoulder to shoulder, singing songs which have much the same sound as those used

in Shahaptian ceremonies. At the end of a song all extended their arms upward and with open palms to the front. This dance was abolished by the missionaries.

Two old women once were seen by an informant to light a pipe, hold the stem to the east, then blow two puffs of smoke in that direction and say, "Help me, Old Man Coyote!" They then blew smoke to the ground, praying, "Help me always, and let my children not die, Earth!" In the same way the sun was supplicated, especially by warriors about to depart for an enemy's country, the prayer being that the enemy might not be permitted to see them. Supplications of this nature were probably the effect of foreign influence, inasmuch as Old Man Coyote is not a character of Kutenai mythology, and the sun does not appear to have been mentioned in any ritual.

It is said that on the walls of the pass by which the Canadian Pacific railroad crosses the Rocky mountains are the rude outlines of three figures. Two have the form of human beings, but of the third the lower portion of the body is not divided into two legs. Red Sky, a middle-aged Canadian Kutenai, declares that when he was a child he used to hear the old people, travelling past this place, say: "There are the three: Kahlókahlmíyit, Kukhlúkinam, and Kúkisak." They explained the petroglyphs to mean that Kukhlúkinam was looking for Kahlókahlmíyit, who was the principal one of the spirits. When he found him, he knew that he himself was of equal power.

Kúkisak, who was not of great power, killed a man, and in fright he ran in between the other two for protection. The word *kahlókahlmíyit* is said to mean "both morning and night alike," the significance being that to this most powerful of the spirits there is no night. *Kukhlúkinam* means "weariness," and *kúkisak* means "one leg." Little definite information about these three spirits can now be gained, beyond what is said of the two of them in the description of the ceremony that follows.

KANKÓHOHL, A HEALTH CEREMONY

Annually at the season when the snow began finally to disappear, that is, about March, the Kutenai observed a ceremony the purpose of which was to keep disease away from their camp and to promote the health and prosperity of the tribe. It had its origin in a vision, tradi-

tion says, in which the spirit Kukhlúkinam appeared to a certain man and commanded him to perform the ceremony, which the spirit then revealed to him. Each year thereafter it was repeated at the direct command of the spirit, and by that man or woman to whom he first appeared in the interval following the last previous performance. When such a dream was had, the dreamer as soon as he awoke began to sing the song of Kukhlúkinam:

After the second repetition are spoken the words: "This is Kukhlúkinam. It is I singing. I have seen him. This is why I am singing this Kukhlúkinam song. He lives far away on the high peaks of these mountains." At the end of the song are the spoken words, "Kukhlúkinam is helping me!"

Hearing this, the people knew what had occurred, and two or three men would come to his lodge, while it was yet night, to hear the story of his dream. The next day they sent word to the other camps, so that all the people would know who was to make the ceremony in the spring. After this, from time to time the spirit would appear to the man, then ceased coming, until at the approach of spring, that is, about February, it appeared once more. Then the dreamer sang the song in the night and continued until daylight, when he arose and sent somebody from his lodge about the camp to cry: "Go over to the lodge of [naming the dreamer] and burn juniper leaves! He has been told to make *Kankóhohl!"*

In the meantime he had kindled a small fire in the back of the lodge and now sat behind it, still singing the song of Kukhlúkinam, and burning incense of juniper leaves. Each person entering passed round on the northern side of the central fire, and coming to the incense fire in the rear placed on it some juniper leaves from a large bag beside the fire. He then inhaled the smoke, rubbed his hands over his body, held his feet in the smoke, and passed on round the lodge and out. As the people incensed themselves, the dreamer (he was called *Kankóhonáhlka*) directed a few of the young men to return after this portion of the ceremony was over, and drum.

When all had made themselves pure with incense, these young men entered, gathered around the drum, and practised the songs of the ceremony, all day and all night. On each succeeding night the singing was taken up by a new set of singers, and those who chose to attend entered, purified their persons with incense, and seated themselves.

After a few nights of singing (there was no number prescribed), at the beginning of one of the meetings the dreamer commenced the preparation of the effigy of Kukhlúkinam, which sometimes was a stick rudely marked at the top to represent human features and clad in small deerskin garments, and sometimes a figure of deerskin stuffed with deer hair and fastened to a stick.[55] It was about thirty inches in height. In the meantime, at the dreamer's command, men outside the lodge were making several drums, varying in size so as to produce tones of different pitch, and in the lodge a man was preparing an elliptical space of about fourteen by twenty inches (the longer axis extending toward the door, that is, to the eastward) by removing the sod and spreading over the exposed earth powdered white clay on which were placed the embers for burning incense. This altar was called *kokhlíhlmi* ("tracked ground"), because after smoothing it perfectly the participants would sing a while and "find the white clay marked with the tracks of game." Behind the altar space the stick supporting the image was planted upright, and the men with the drums, of which sometimes there were as many as six, entered, incensed their bodies and drums, and sat down. Then, as the singing began, all the people in the camp, men, women, and children, came in, passed round to the right, and, after purifying themselves (mothers even putting a bit of juniper leaves into their infants' fingers and then dropping it on the coals), they sat down around the lodge, if they chose to remain and join in the singing; but most of them went to their homes. As before, the singing lasted all night and every night for about a month.

Each morning those hunters who had slept during the night, and any others who felt able, went out to hunt. Any one who killed a deer, an elk, or an antelope brought to the lodge the right ribs, the right kidney, the flesh of the lower joint of each leg, and the tail. The tail he passed through the sacred smoke, then he removed all the parts to another lodge, usually one occupied by some relative of the dreamer. The occupants of this lodge dried the meat, but not in a ceremonial

[55] Occasionally the *Kankóhohl* ceremony was performed with the especial purpose of preventing death in battle. The image then was an unmarked stick with a pair of eagle feathers at the top, and it represented the spirit Kúkisak, which had appeared in a dream to the maker of the ceremony. For the song used by a dreamer of Kúkisak, see the Appendix, page 171.

manner. When a sufficient quantity had been obtained and similarly treated, the final act of the ceremony commenced.

From the time he dreamed that it was time to begin the ceremony, the *Kankóho-náhlka* was not permitted to leave his lodge. He had a servant, who sat beside the image, on its left, during these preliminary ceremonies, while the dreamer himself sat at the right.

It was the servant's duty to keep the incense fire burning, a forked stick being employed in conveying embers from the central fire, and to fill the pipe of any visitor to the lodge. When a pipe was produced, he filled it, held it in the incense, lighted it, drew in a whiff while holding the stem to the image, and blew the smoke out as if the image itself were smoking. He then passed the pipe back to the owner, who shared it with whomsoever he chose. To those who visited his lodge the dreamer sometimes confided the messages he had received from Kukhlúkinam, especially such as regarded the whereabouts of game.

Whenever the hunters reported that game was becoming scarce, the dreamer announced that the camp was to be removed to a certain place. Before daylight the man whom he had appointed to carry the effigy went twice round the camp, outside the circle, blowing on his eagle-bone whistle as a warning to all to remain within their lodges and to speak in low voices. Then he took the image, unwrapped, and started out for the appointed camping place. After daylight the people moved. When the bearer of the effigy arrived at his destination, he concealed himself among the trees, and only after dark when the people were once more in camp did he come out, again blowing on his whistle and passing twice round the camp, thus sending everybody within doors. Then the effigy-bearer entered the lodge of the dreamer, which always stood in the centre of the circle, and planted the stick in the usual place behind the ellipse of whitened earth. Silence was observed while the image was being carried out of and into the camp, because noise, or the sight of any one, would frighten the spirit away. This sometimes happened, and in such event, when the image was carried back into the lodge, the dreamer would say, "You have only the shell, the spirit *(nipíka)* is gone!" The singers would be called in haste, and after drumming, and singing the song of Kukhlúkinam several times, the dreamer would suddenly say, "He is back!"

After the making of the image the family of the dreamer continued to occupy the lodge. He himself slept with his head beside the image,

lying to the south of it, with his feet to the eastward. Continence was enjoined upon him, and disobedience to this rule would have resulted in the death of the dreamer and the flight of the spirit. Any one failing to observe the rules of the lodge, such as that which compelled one entering to pass round at the north, would find that his luck in hunting was gone, and it could be restored only by bringing his weapons and passing them through the incense.

After this had been done the dreamer would assure the hunter: "The deer's tail is at the end of your gun." Occasionally, when the dreamer sat in the lodge with his visitors, he would suddenly place juniper leaves on the embers, saying, "Kukhlúkinam tells me that a deer has already been killed by the hunters!" He ate and drank as he pleased, but he did not take purifying sweats, as he could not leave his lodge.

When the proper time had come, the dreamer sent out the announcement that the lodge-poles were to be cut. At the head of a party consisting of all who would accompany him, he set out, carrying a stick about three feet in length, along which at close intervals were fastened short thongs, each passing through one or two deer dew-claws. He appointed a man and a woman to cut the centre-pole, and they took their places on opposite sides of the tree which he selected. This was preferably a spruce, but if that could not be found, a fir, a tamarack, or almost any other kind of tree, about six inches thick at the base, was chosen. The dreamer began to dance round it, and the man and the woman raised their axes. At intervals the dreamer leaned with his back against the tree, then turned and faced it, and struck it with his stick, whereupon the man and the woman dealt it simultaneous blows with their axes. This continued until the tree began to lean, when members of the Reckless Dog Society stood under it and supported it with their hands as it slowly fell: for it must not be permitted to touch the ground. They carried it to the camp untrimmed and laid it on two supports, each of which consisted of four short poles set up in the manner of a tripod. Branches and bark were then removed. In the meantime the other poles, usually about fifty in number, were being cut by the other men and women who had been in the party of the dreamer. When these were brought in the Reckless Dogs bound four of them together near one end with osiers, and set them in such a way that the bases were at the semi-cardinal points of the compass, and the

point of intersection was elevated a few feet above the ground. Juniper branches were piled and intertwined at the angles formed by the poles, and offerings of robes and garments, usually torn into strips so that nobody could be tempted to take them, were piled in the same place for Kukhlúkinam, to whom the lodge belonged. The dreamer then stood on the juniper boughs, and the feet of the poles were brought inward toward the centre, thus raising him into the air. A hole had been dug for the centre-pole while it was being procured, and now by means of forked lifting-sticks the pole was raised until its base dropped into the hole, and the dreamer bound it at the top to the other four, and descended along one of the four. Then the Reckless Dogs threw up the other lodge-poles, which were placed with intervals of about thirty inches between the bases, thus forming a lodge about a hundred and twenty-five feet in circumference and fifteen feet high. Next the builders went about the camp looking for lodge-covers, about ten of which were required. Stripped to the loin-cloth, with knife in hand, and followed by certain drummers, they hurried hither and thither. They were privileged to appropriate the cover of any lodge, unless some one appeared and appeased them with meat. If any one attempted to prevent them from removing a lodge-cover, they proceeded to take it by force, and if he still resisted, they cut it to pieces. On their progress round the camp they continually fought among themselves, and snarled, and in every way acted as much like dogs as possible; and this applied also to those occasions when a woman was among their number.[56] When the covers were placed on the lodge, the servant of the dreamer entered and prepared the ellipse of whitened earth.

After darkness had settled, the carrier of the image went twice about the camp, blowing his whistle in warning. Then he entered the dreamer's lodge, and the dreamer himself went into the ceremonial lodge, while at the same time the carrier took up the image and marched twice more round the camp, whistling. Arriving the second time at the point opposite the entrance of the ceremonial structure, he

[56] At the performance in 1888 a certain man appeared before his lodge and announced that he also was a reckless dog and would fight the whole number. They took him at his word, and a real fight ensued, with the biting, barking, scratching, and snarling that should accompany canine hostilities.

entered the camp-circle and proceeded to the lodge, where he found the dreamer with his wife and family. The incense fire had already been kindled, and incense smoke was rising. The carrier passed the image through the incense, purified himself in a similar manner, and placed the end of the stick into the hole that had been prepared for it. Then the people began to assemble in obedience to the call of the whistle, and as they entered, the dreamer selected two young men, who, stripping to the loin-cloth, placed themselves behind a rope stretched between two of the poles at the back of the lodge. There they stood with their hands on the rope and with whistles in their mouths, whistling the whole night. Still the people came, and each one purified himself in the incense. Some of the young men sat beside the various drums, and sang, first the Kukhlúkinam song, then the other songs of this ceremony. Two typical dance-songs are the following:

Some of the people arose and danced in their places, the men with hands on hips and swaying from side to side with a slightly rotary motion at the waist, and the women in a similar manner, except that the hands were clenched and held in front on a level with the waist. When a song was at an end, they all sat down, and when the next began, any who felt impelled to do so arose and danced. As the night wore on, the people grew excited, and many danced continuously, not pausing even when the drums ceased. When daylight was almost at hand, they crowded around the image, holding their outstretched palms toward it, praying with much emotion: "Kukhlúkinam, give me good luck! Let no sickness be in my family! Give me abundance of food! Give me horses and clothing! I wish that I may see you again in this lodge, Kukhlúkinam!" The principal prayer was always for good health and long life, and was expressed in the wish, "May I live to see you again."

When daylight broke, the effigy-bearer, who had been dancing with the others, came forward, raised the image, and turned about so that he faced the people. Some of them cried out and fell down, others went close to it and stretched out their hands, weeping and repeating, "I wish to see you again next year!" All wept, in sorrow because Kukhlúkinam was leaving them. The carrier stood only a brief moment, then moved toward the entrance. The people began to wail more loudly than ever, for the spirit was now really going. Nevertheless they opened a lane, and the carrier marched out, blowing his whistle, and walked slowly eastward, constantly sounding his whistle.

At some distance from the camp he hung the image on the eastern side of a tree, tying it with a string.

As soon as the sound of the whistle was heard no more, the people in the lodge sat down, and the meat which the hunters had been providing, and which at the beginning of the preceding evening had been carried into the ceremonial lodge, was distributed among them. After the feast the people went home, and the men caught their horses and painted them, and donned their war-garments. Then all returned to the lodge, from which the cover had meanwhile been removed, and the war-dance was held and coups were recounted.

KHLÚKINAM,[57] THE BEAR CEREMONY

The Kutenai observed a ceremony each spring for the purpose of securing immunity from attack by the grizzly-bear, who soon would be coming out of his winter quarters. Each participant wished him good luck during the summer and requested the same for himself. At the same time the hope was expressed that the grizzly-bear would not send sickness upon the people, and especially not upon the children of the suppliant.

The ceremony was under the direction of the man who first in the course of the year dreamed of the grizzly-bear. Immediately after his dream he went about the camp announcing that he would "make *Khlúkinam*" in the spring. When that season arrived, he prepared the whitened-earth ellipse in his lodge, and just behind it laid a bear-skull, with the nose pointing toward the entrance. On each side of the skull he placed the skeletonized fore paw of a bear, the claws directed toward the front. The whole arrangement was designed to resemble the appearance of a bear lying at the mouth of a den with its head between its fore paws. Late in the day he went about the camp kicking the lodge-pole at the door of each lodge, and crying, "Have you anything to give?" Whoever had a medicine-bundle then gave it to him, saying

[57] Chamberlain says: "This word is probably composed of the root HLUK, seen in ahlukine, 'makes the noise proper to it' (i.e., sings, neighs, chirps, bleats, calls, talks, etc.), the word of widest extension of meaning in Kutenai." The ceremony could therefore be called The Growling.

where he wished to have it placed, as, for instance, on a certain lodge-pole or in a certain position near the bear-skull. The dreamer carried all the medicine-bundles to his lodge and arranged them in the desired positions.

Then at nightfall the people came into his lodge, and each one, beginning with the one sitting at the left of the bear-skull, filled his pipe and gave smoke to the bear, praying: "You are coming out in a few days, and I want you not to bite me, or my children, or my people. Do not make us sick. I want you to have a good summer, with good food, and may we have the same."

After each person had voiced his supplication, the dreamer, sitting behind the skull, started the songs of the bear, which were equal in number to the claws on the altar, and the women arose to dance, making motions and uttering cries imitative of the bear. Two of these songs, representing respectively the male and the female bear, are here given:

Then, beginning with the man at the left of the skull, each person sang his individual medicine-songs, the others assisting. At day-break each departed with his medicine-bundle.

KHLUKÁHAHL-IYÁMU,[58]
THE HORNED-ANIMAL CEREMONY

The ceremony of the horned animals was performed either in the late autumn or in the late winter, about February, at times when game was difficult to find and food was scarce. On such occasions some man, who in his fasting had seen one of the horned animals, especially the deer, would say, "We must have *Khlukáhahl-iyámu.*" He would then summon all the people to his lodge, men, women, and children, and each as he came in would purify himself in incense of juniper leaves at the whitened-earth ellipse in the rear of the lodge. Then the maker of the ceremony would sing his medicine-songs, continuing about half

[58] According to Chamberlain, *khlukáhahl* contains the root HLUK, "makes the noise proper to it," with verbal *k-* and terminal *-ahahl,* also probably verbal in meaning. He suggests as a translation of the name, Making the Deer Song.

the night. Early in the morning an elongated structure, formed of the poles and coverings of three of the ordinary, conical lodges, was erected. The lodge was provided with three fires, and its single entrance was at the easterly end.

When darkness came the priest kindled a fire, and burned incense on the altar, which had been prepared in the extreme back. Then he began to sing, and the people assembled. When all were present, he despatched two brave men to procure a small fir tree at the place designated by him in the mountains. Regardless of the depth of the snow, the two stripped to the loin-cloth. During their absence the priest sat behind the altar, constantly singing and shaking his rattle, which consisted of a staff about four feet in length, covered with deerskin and wound spirally with a thong from which dangled deer dew-claws set close together but with an open space left for the hand at the middle of the stick. The people danced without moving from their places. Usually the men returned with the tree in about an hour and brought it at once into the lodge. The priest in charge said, "Already some deer have come with that tree into this lodge."

The two men bore the sacred tree around on the northern side of the three fires, held it in the incense at the altar and purified themselves, and planted it in a hole already prepared near the middle fire.

A number of men and women, as many as wished, now arose, and the men stripped off all their clothing except the loin-cloth, while the women rolled up their dresses to their knees and removed leggings and moccasins. In single file they passed out of the lodge and round the camp-circle, on the outside, in the direction of the sun's course, then reentered the lodge, stepping like deer and coughing like deer, while a few snorted as does a deer that has scented the hunter. The maker of the ceremony still sat shaking his stick-rattle, and singing with the assistance of those who had remained in the lodge. As an example of the songs here used, the following is given:

The impersonators of the deer passed around on the southern side of the lodge, following the direction taken by the sun, always dancing, and simulating deer. Some danced up near the fir, which was about eight feet high, and placed their hands on a branch, then drew them away as if taking something from it and fell in a faint, real or simulated. Men whose medicine was known to be strong went to such as had fallen, and, placing the clenched hands of the dancers in the incense,

forced them open, revealing a fresh deer-tail, with the blood-stains still evident. Others, when assisted by the medicine-man, vomited pieces of deer-meat. The tails and the meat were believed by the spectators to have been taken from the sacred tree. The performance continued through the night, and in the morning the hunters, obeying the priest, made a game-drive down a single gulch to which he directed them, and killed two deer, and two only. The dance was resumed on the two succeeding nights, but without the progress round the camp-circle. Permission was given on the second and the third night to kill but one deer. On the last night, just before daybreak, the two men removed the tree to the place where they had cut it, while the people wept, and prayed, "May we see you again next year!" On the following day the restriction as to the number of deer to be killed was removed.

So far as the Lower Kutenai are aware, this ceremony was last performed in 1875.

MYTHOLOGY

THE DELUGE: FIRST VERSION

In the days when the people all lived on the eastern side of Columbia lake they used to cross the water for huckleberries. One day, as they were returning, Duck and his wife were swallowed by a great monster, *Ya-wóo-nik*, Deep Water Dweller. Duck's brother, Red-headed Woodpecker, having decided to summon all the fish in order to find out where this monster could be found, sent Dipper up every stream, inviting all the fish to come; and Snipe he despatched around the lake. Each messenger, whenever he stopped, called: "You fish are all invited to come! If you do not, we will dry this lake, and you will die!" So the fish gathered at the appointed place.

When they arrived, Woodpecker said to them: "I have lost my brother in this water. Ya-wóo-nik has swallowed him. Now you fish must know where this Ya-wóo-nik is. I want you to tell me where he is." Sucker responded, "I like to stay in the deep water on the bottom, and there I have seen him." Woodpecker immediately sent Long Legs, a kind of duck, to find Ya-wóo-nik, but the water was too deep, and he had to turn back.

At that moment there appeared in the council a very tall person, so tall that had he stood upright his head would have touched the sky.

He was Nahlmókchi, and he was a person, not an animal. He had been travelling from the north to the south, stopping at each place to give it a name.[59] Woodpecker requested him to drive the monster out of the depths, and the stranger waded into the lake. He kicked at Ya-wóo-nik, but missed him, and the monster fled into the river, up a small creek, and into the very source of the stream under the mountains. After him crawled Nahlmókchi, and built a dam at the place where the monster had gone under the mountain. Woodpecker now placed his brother, Sapsucker, beside the dam, and instructed him carefully: "When he comes out, say that Woodpecker is going to spear him. Then he will stop, and I will come round and kill him." Woodpecker himself then went to the other side of the mountain and kicked, and the monster started to come out. When he encountered the dam, Sapsucker, excited and confused, cried, "Sapsucker is going to spear you!" Ya-wóo-nik broke through the dam, grunting: "Sapsucker! I am not afraid of your spear; I am going to swallow you!" Sapsucker turned and ran, but just at that moment Woodpecker appeared, and thrust with his bill at the monster, who, however, had started to enter the stream below the dam, so that he was only wounded in a foot. He hurried down the stream, leaving a trail of blood.

Woodpecker sent Beaver ahead to build a dam and stop him, and when Ya-wóo-nik came to the obstruction he could go no farther, and Woodpecker came up and killed him. He ripped the monster's belly open, and released Duck and his wife.

Water began to flow from Ya-wóo-nik's wounds. His blood was water. It gradually spread over the earth until the people were forced to flee to the mountains. Still the water kept rising, and at last only one peak was left above the water. Chicken-hawk pulled out one of his spotted tail-feathers and stuck it into the ground at the edge of the rising water. "Watch!" said he. "If the water goes above that last stripe, we shall die!" The water stopped at the last stripe, then began to subside. After the water was gone, not all the people descended to the earth: the mountain birds began their life in the mountains at that time.

[59] In this particular Nahlmókchi resembles the culture-hero Coyote of certain other tribes.

THE DELUGE: SECOND VERSION

One day Chicken-hawk's wife, Pheasant, went to pick berries. About mid-day, tired and hot, she went down to the lake for a bath. No sooner was she in the water than she saw Ya-wóo-nik, a water-monster, and she was frightened. As she hurriedly swam to the shore, he called to her not to be frightened, for he was not going to harm her. Then she stopped, and he made love to her. She gave him all her berries, and remained with him until it was late. Afraid to go home without berries, she went to the mountains and hurriedly gathered some fruit, breaking off leaves and twigs in her haste. When she reached home, her husband asked at once why she had brought such berries, and she replied that she had had a headache and had not been able to gather clean fruit.

Chicken-hawk was suspicious, and on the next day he followed her. While she picked berries, she sang happily, and gathered clean fruit. About noon she had a great quantity and went to the lake, still gayly singing, and at the shore she threw the berries into the water. Chicken-hawk, keeping close in order to see what she was doing, beheld the monster coming through the water. Ya-wóo-nik ate the berries, and Pheasant stood on the shore singing. Then she went into the water.

Chicken-hawk hastened home, to mend his arrows and to look after his bow. In the evening his wife returned again with trashy berries, and with her head bandaged, feigning headache. Chicken-hawk made no complaint.

On the next day he followed her again; saw her quickly gather berries and carry them to the lake; saw the monster eat them and then come ashore to caress her. At that moment Chicken-hawk put an arrow through his body. Water began to stream forth from the wound, and it spread and rose higher and higher. All creatures fled to the mountains, and Chicken-hawk put one of his tail-feathers into the ground to mark the rise of the water. When it reached the last stripe, it stopped and receded. Had it passed that mark, it would have destroyed them all.

ORIGIN MYTH

A snake was first made, and told to walk; it crawled away. As it was not just what its creator had intended to make, another creature was formed, a frog. It tried to walk, in obedience to its maker's command, but it could only hop. Then a cricket was made, and it started to rise on its feet and walk, but its long tail threw it down. A grasshopper was next created, but instead of walking it flew. Then the work was stopped.[60]

SEVEN HEADS, A MODERN TALE

In a solitary lodge the father and the mother died, leaving their only child, a young boy, without a companion. They had named him *Katsákka,* Sleeps Long, because of his laziness. His clothing became ragged, and his food scarce, and one day he decided to go travelling to see if he could not improve his condition. After a while he reached a large camp, and went to the chief's lodge for food. The chief fed him and then said, "You shall herd my horses." The boy noticed that the horses were very thin. He drove them to the hill which the chief pointed out, but there it was like all the country below it, bare and dry. On the other side, however, was excellent grass, and he pastured the herd there. Toward evening he returned to the camp. The chief asked him, "Did you leave a horse there?" "No, I brought them all back," said the boy.

The next morning the chief said, "Take the horses back there, and to-night, when you return, leave two on that side of the hill." Once more the boy took the herd to the good grazing, and at night drove them all homeward. The chief inquired, "Did you leave two there?" "No, I brought all back,"' was the answer. "I saw nobody there to care for them, so I brought them all." On the third day the chief warned him to leave three horses, but once more the boy drove all home. "Did you leave three?" asked the chief. "No, I brought them all." Then said the chief: "To-morrow go to this other hill and not to the one to which you have been going. That grass does not belong to me, but to Seven

[60] This apparently is but a fragment of an almost forgotten myth.

Heads. Everybody here fears him. Three days you have used his pasture without paying him."

On the fourth day the boy set out with his herd, but again he drove them to the same place. Soon after he arrived there he saw a man with seven heads approaching him. It was Kustahláhlam. Said he: "You are the person who has been starving me. Every man who herds horses here leaves one for the use of this ground. Now you are the herder that is starving me. I am going to kill you!" The boy said, "Well, perhaps you wish to be killed!" Seven Heads replied: "To-day you must leave four horses. If you do not, I suppose you will come here at noon to-morrow, and we will fight." "These horses do not belong to me," said the boy. "I have no right to leave four of them here. I am only the herder." Seven Heads disappeared around the base of the hill. Said the boy to himself, "I believe I can kill all those heads."

At sunset he drove all the horses back, and when the chief asked if he had herded in the new pasture, he replied, "No, I went there over the hill, because in the place you spoke of there is no grass." "Did you see anything there?" "No, I did not see anything." "Did you not see something that was very dangerous, that would frighten you?" "No, I saw nothing." "To-morrow," then said the chief, "we shall all be killed. The man who owns that place will kill us." "Wait," said Sleeps Long; "I am going over there alone to-morrow."'

On the next day he prepared a heavy club with teeth of flint and of bone set in on both sides. To the chief he said, "I think I will quit herding your horses." "Why do you say that?" asked the chief. "You said we are all going to die," responded the boy, "and I might as well quit. To-day I am going to see that man." He took his club and went across the hill. There was Seven Heads, who asked roughly, "Where are those horses you were going to leave here?" "I have quit herding horses," said Sleeps Long. "I had no right to leave them here. You said we were going to fight, and that is why I came: I am looking for a fight. I am no horse-herder." Seven Heads said, "Come this way to the place where I always fight." So the boy followed him. At the foot of the mountain there was a cave in the side of the rocky wall, and in front of it the grass was worn off and the ground was smooth. They began to fight. Seven Heads threw the boy, who, however, succeeded at that moment in cutting off one of his heads. Again and again the fight was renewed, until the giant had lost four of his heads. Then he said, "We

must stop for to-day, and to-morrow we will fight again." The boy was weary and very glad to hear these words. The four bloody heads lay scattered on the ground, and only three remained on the shoulders of Seven Heads. When the boy returned to the camp, everybody was in a great fright, expecting that the monster would destroy them. The next morning he was surprised to find that the seven heads were once more on his enemy's shoulders. He began to think: "Perhaps he is going to kill me! But the best thing to do is to keep fighting." Seven Heads told him: "When we grow tired, we will stop, and start again to-morrow. We will fight four days." Again the contest began.

Now when Sleeps Long had left his former home to find an opportunity to do something for himself, he had met Eagle, who had said to him: "You can be just as great as I am. If you see anything in the air and have no way of getting it, think of me and you will turn into an eagle." Later he had met Jack-rabbit, who had told him that when there was anything on the ground he desired to overtake, he had only to think of a jack-rabbit and he would have all of that animal's swiftness.

Before noon Seven Heads had but one head left, and then he proposed, "We had better stop for awhile, to rest and eat." "No," objected the boy, "I would not eat with you; and, besides, this is not the place for me to eat." They continued the contest during the afternoon, and toward evening the last head was severed. As it struck the ground a large bird flew up out of it. This was the life of Seven Heads. Instantly Sleeps Long thought of the eagle, and said, "I wish I were an eagle, so that I might kill that bird!" Forthwith he became an eagle and flew after the bird. Straight up into the air they soared until they could go no higher, and the bird began to descend, with the eagle close after it. Near the ground they began to fight, at the same time flying upward again. At length the eagle began to overpower the other bird, which fell, the eagle still pursuing. On striking the ground the bird turned into a kit-fox, and the eagle at once became a jack-rabbit. After a long chase the rabbit killed the fox, and the boy resumed his natural form. Carefully cutting open the fox, he took out the heart, wrapped it up, still beating, and placed it inside his shirt. Then he went directly to the camp and reported to the chief: "Your people are now safe. I have killed Seven Heads!"

Sleeps Long decided now to search for his own people. On his journey he approached a lodge, wherein he saw an old woman, who

looked at him in surprise, and said: "What are you doing here, my grandson? You are going to die to-day!" "Why am I going to die?" he asked. "Seven Heads is going to kill you. He is after you at this moment!" she warned him. "Seven Heads! You had better go behind that hill and see the seven heads. I have killed them all." "No," insisted the old woman, "you did not kill them. You have his heart with you. Follow me. I am going to try to help you in this." They went outside, and behind the lodge there was a vessel of fat boiling without any fire under it. She said: "Give me that heart. I am going to put it into this fat, and if that kills him it is well. If it does not, there is no way to kill him. Go back toward the place where you saw Seven Heads, and if on the way you hear an explosion, you will know that his heart has burst, and all will be well. Go back to the place where you cut off the seven heads, take one ear from each head, and bring them to me; I want to eat them. If you do not hear the explosion, there is no hope. You will be killed." She put the heart into the fat and it floated on the top, still beating. Now the woman was a cannibal like Seven Heads; but she knew that the boy was powerful, and she was desirous of conciliating him. For that reason she called him grandson and tried to help him kill the heart of Seven Heads.

Sleeps Long set out for the place where he had fought, and on his way he heard a sound like rock bursting behind him, and he knew it was the heart of his enemy. He found that the heads, which had been scattered here and there over the ground, were arranged in a row at the end of the body, just as if they were about to reunite with it. He cut off one ear from each and hacked the heads and the body to pieces. Then he returned to the old woman, who said, "Did you kill Seven Heads ?" "Yes, here are the ears," he answered. "I have something here," she said; "do you know what it is?" She showed him a piece of flint in the shape of a spearhead, which had flown out of the heart when it exploded. Here, at last, was the real heart, the life, of Seven Heads. The boy took it and returned to his own people, where he became their chief.

KOMAHLKÁNKO

Komahlkánko was lame, and his nose was cut off like that of an adulterous Piegan woman. He was very poor and was looked down

upon by nearly every one. Yet he had a few friends, to one of whom he said that if he ever were killed, he could be brought back to life by placing the pieces of his body together, hanging up a small baby-carrier with the image of a baby in it, and shooting at it with a small bow. He showed to his friend the baby-carrier and the bow. Then the friend was to sing: "Get up! Get up! Your father is coming; your father is coming! Komahlkánko, Komahlkánko!"

The people were living on Tobacco river, near the place now called Eureka. One morning the chief announced: "We are going to move this morning. We must go to plant tobacco seeds." The people began to prepare for the march to Tobacco Plains, near what is now Gateway, where they always planted their tobacco. Komahlkánko and his friend sat apart from the camp on a hill, watching the people prepare. The chief had two women. He said to them: "Go and get me a horn of water; I am thirsty." So they went to the creek for water. The two young men watched them. Said Komahlkánko, "Let us go and take the chief's wives: you one and I one." "No, the chief would kill us," replied his companion. "Well, if you are afraid, I will go alone and take one of them," said Komahlkánko. He went down to the stream. The women were just turning away from the water, and he caught each by an arm. They said: "You had better let us go! Our husband is not a boy, he is the chief! He will come down and kill you!" He answered, "He is not the chief; I am the chief." Then he laughed. He was one of the lowest of people. The woman who carried the horn said, "You had better let me go, and I will take this water to him. He is thirsty." Said he: "Let this other woman go back. If the chief is thirsty, let him come down here and drink." So he released the other woman and told her to say to the chief that he must come to the water. She carried the news: "Komahlkánko has your wife down there." The chief replied, "Go back and tell him to let my wife go, for I am dry, and I want a drink." So she returned, bearing his message. Komahlkánko answered: "Go and tell him I said, 'Come down here and drink."' She took the message to the chief, who protested: "I will not go there. Go and tell him to let my wife go. I am going to sharpen my knife now." Once more she returned to the stream, and Komahlkánko cried, "Let him sharpen his knife!" When the chief heard this, he sent the woman once more with the word: "I am getting up to come down there!" Komahlkánko merely laughed, "Let him get up and come down here!" This she reported

to her husband, and then returned to the creek, saying, "The chief is coming!" "Let him come!" cried Komahlkánko.

So the chief went to the creek and demanded: "Let that woman go; I want to drink that water!" "You can drink right here," said Komahlkánko; "why don't you drink?" The chief approached closely, and said, "Are you going to release her?" "I am not!" said Komahlkánko. The chief caught him by one arm, the one which held the woman's dress, and cut it off. The hand still clutched the garment, and the arm did not fall. Komahlkánko laid hold of her dress with the other hand, and the chief cut off that arm, which also did not fall. Then the man seized her sleeve with his teeth, and the chief cut off his head, but it still clung to the garment. The chief cut his body into pieces, and threw them to the dogs, and where the hands and teeth still grasped the dress, he cut pieces from the garment. Then the tribe moved away, and the chief commanded that the parents of Komahlkánko move, too, and not remain with the bones of their son.

The friend of Komahlkánko remained on the hill after the people moved. Just before sunset he went down to look at his companion's scattered bones. All the flesh had been eaten by the dogs, but he found a few bunches of grass and leaves upon which blood had dripped, and all these he gathered. He placed the baby-carrier in front of them, walked back a few steps, and began to sing: "Get up! Get up! Your father is coming; your father is coming! Komahlkánko, Komahlkánko!" As he spoke the last word he sent a little arrow straight up into the air, and as it began to fall, he sang, "Look out, look out, he might strike you!" The arrow dropped near the heap of grass and leaves but did not strike it. Again he shot the arrow and sang, "Look out, look out, he might strike you!" Just as the arrow touched the ground, Komahlkánko leaped up, laughing. He was still lame and without a nose. He said, "Where are the people?" "They have moved away," replied his friend. "Let us follow the trail," proposed the other. So they did.

It was night. When they reached the camp, they walked round the circle twice, singing Komahlkánko's song; but the people thought that they were only some of his friends. Everybody knew he had been cut to pieces. The parents of the young man, began to cry, sorrowful that anybody should take his song so soon after his death. After circling the camp twice, Komahlkánko said, "Let us go to my father's lodge and get something to eat." So they went to the lodge, and his parents

were greatly astonished. Komahlkánko and his friend were in the habit of singing all night and then sleeping in the hills the next morning. So after eating they went about the camp, singing through the night, and at daylight they went out into the hills and slept.

The sun was high when they awoke, and from a distance they beheld the people at work planting tobacco seed. Komahlkánko ordered his companion: "Go to the creek and bring some clay. I will see if this chief is as strong as I." When the clay was brought, he made it into the shape of a man with all the features and parts of a man. He took a pine needle, and ran it into a finger of the image under the finger-nail. He sat with his back to the people, who were planting, and said to his friend, "Watch the chief!" Soon his friend cried, "One of his wives has gone to where he is!" "Watch him closely," said Komahlkánko, as he pressed the needle deeper. "The other wife, too, has gone," was the report. Soon his companion said: "The whole crowd is there. Now they are placing him on a robe, and now they begin to carry him to the camp."

While at work the chief had run a splinter under his finger-nail, and each time he pulled at it the sliver penetrated only the deeper. He called one wife, and then the other, but their efforts were worse than unavailing. His arm began to swell, and all the people gathered around, placed him on a robe, and carried him into the camp. The two young men followed. When they reached the camp, they heard the people in the chief's lodge crying: the chief was already dead. Komahlkánko said, "Let us go and see what is the matter with the chief." They hurried on to the lodge and found it crowded with people. Komahlkánko went in, pushing his way between the people, and saw the chief lying dead. One of his widows was just about to cut her hair, when Komahlkánko took the knife from her, saying: "Why do you wish to cut your hair? I am not yet dead!" He seized the body of the chief by the leg and dragged it outside and cut it to pieces, saying the while: "Now we will see if you have as much power as I had. I will cut you just the same as you cut me, and see if you will come back to-night." The people had opened the lodge-cover to make room, and he said to the women, "Fix our lodge!" They closed the cover, the people went out, and the two young men took the women for their wives. The next morning Komahlkánko commanded the people to prepare to plant their tobacco seed. He was the chief.

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