## INDIANS OF SILETZ RESERVATION, OREGON.

## BY J. OWEN DORSEY.

In August, 1884, I was sent by the Director of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Siletz reservation, Ore., for the purpose of gaining information respecting the tribes now found in that region. I obtained linguistic and sociologic notes relating to twenty tribes (or sub-tribes) now inhabiting the reservation, but was surprised to find no Indians in their native attire. About thirty houses could be seen from the agency boarding-school, several of which were built by the Indians. Farms were fenced in. Oats, potatoes, and many vegetables were cultivated. The old men of the Chasta Costa tribe reminded the writer of the Ainos, as described in Miss Bird's work on Japan. As more than twenty tribes, each having its own dialect, have been consolidated on this reservation, they are obliged to use a common language. So all speak Chinook jargon, and many are learning English. The vocabularies obtained on the reservation may be thus arranged according to linguistic stocks:

- I. Athapascan.—Applegate Creek, Galice Creek, Chasta Costa, Upper Coquille, Chetco, Mikonotunne, Tutu (and Joshua), Euchre Creek, Sixes Creek, Naltunne tunne, Smith R. (Cal.), and Upper Umpqua.
- II. Yakonan.—Yaquina, Alsea, Siuslaw, and Ku-itc or Lower Umpqua.
  - III. Kusan.—Mulluk or Lower Coquille.
  - IV. Takilman.—Ta-kel-ma or Upper Rogue river.
    - V. Shastian.—Sasti or Sesti.
  - VI. Shahaptanian.—Klikitat.

Grammatic notes.—Nouns and pronouns in the Athapascan dialects (of Oregon) have three persons in each number, singular, dual, and plural. Classifiers, when preceding the modified nouns, are formed from verbs of attitude. When the noun precedes, the verb of attitude remains unchanged. In Siouan languages modal syllables (showing how the action is performed) are prefixed to verbal roots, but in these Athapascan dialects the roots precede the modal syllables.

## EXAMPLES.

Siouan.	Athapascan.						
Ma-qa-pi, to cut a hole through	Rxa-ni-t'as, to cut a hole through						
with a knife.	with a knife.						
Ma, denotes action with a knife.	Ni-t'as, denotes action with a knife.						
Qa-pi, the effect.	Rxa, the effect.						

The inflection of the Athapascan verb is more complex than that of the Dakota or Ponka. In Dakota there are seven modal prefixes, and in Ponka there are nine. In Tutu fourteen modal suffixes have been recorded. In Siouan languages there is but one verb, "to have." In Alsea there are fifteen. In Lower Umpqua thirteen have been found. Six have been recorded in Tutu. Of verbs of "desiring" Siouan languages have one, while there are five in Lower Umpqua. In the latter language the name of the object desired is not found in the verb, though it appears in other Oregon languages. In the Athapascan dialects there are two sets of cardinal numbers, the human series and the non-human, the latter including references to inanimate objects, as well as those to animals.

In Alsea and Yaquina there are two kinds of inseparable pronouns used with verbs; one set used with verbs of possession begin with t, those used with other verbs begin with q or h. Separable pronouns used with verbs in these dialects are of three sorts. 1. Those occurring before the present (or aorist). 2. Those used before the future. 3. Others which seem to be used only before certain active transitive verbs. The verb is not inflected when the first or second set of separable pronouns is used, but when the third set takes the place of the first the verb can take the inseparable endings.

In Lower Umpqua there is a particle, uni, suffixed to nouns which answers to English en in wooden, ashen, etc., and to y in rocky, stony, etc. The Lower Umpqua numerals are inflected thus: One of his, one of thy, one of my, etc. Two of his, two of thy, two of my, etc. A possessive ending is also found in Lower Umpqua. Thus, for rabbit skin they say, in two words, of-the-rabbit skin.

Social organization.—Very little information concerning this could be obtained. A map of western Oregon and northern California has been prepared on which have been placed the names of two hundred and seventy ancient villages, which may be classed as follows:

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Californian A	thar	oasca	ns,		-		-		-		-		14
Oregon	di	tto,		-		-		-		-			108
Takelma villa	iges,		-		-		-		•		-		17
Yakonan family:	ily:	Yaq	uina	vill	ages	,		-		-		56	
		Alse	a vi	llage	es,		-		-		-	20	
		Sius	law	villa	ges,	-		-		-		34	
		Low	er U	Jmp	qua '	vill	ages,		-		-	2 I	
Total of the	Yako	nan	fam	ily,		-		-		-			131
Total,		-	-		-		-		-		-		270

The territory occupied by the Yaquina villages extends from Elk City to the mouth of the Yaquina river, a distance of, say, thirty miles. Translations of more than seventy of these names were given by the Indians. Among these are the following, taken from the list of Upper Coquille villages: People at the forks of the river; people at the big rocks; people by the large fallen tree; people on the open prairie; people opposite a cove of deep water; good grass people; people where they played shinney; people by a small mountain on which is grass but no trees; village at the mouth of a small creek; village on the dark side of a cañon where the sun never shines; people at the base of a plateau; people among the ash trees; only one village—the Coyote people of the Takelma—had an animal name.

A child belongs to the village of its father. This is an old custom and should be taken in connection with another ancient law, now obsolescent. In order to marry aright, a man must buy a wife, who left her village (and kindred) and went to that of her husband. Children born of a wife who had not been bought were regarded as illegitimate. A man must marry outside of his village, as all the women in his village were his consanguinities. The village seems to have been the unit of social organization, and about equivalent to the gens or clan of the Siouan family and other tribes east of the Rocky Mountains.

Each village, as the Tutu, Mikono tunne, etc., has its special burying-ground on the Siletz reservation. Several of these have been visited by the writer. The only exception was in the case of the Chetco tribe. These Athapascans were formerly in nine villages, of which the names have been preserved; yet to-day they

have one burying-ground, instead of nine! This hardly agrees with the usages of a gens as given by Morgan in his "Ancient Society." It may be that the Chetcos are now consolidated, and hence are regarded as one village, though a few years ago a man of one Chetco village could marry a woman of another Chetco village.

The kinship system is, with a few variations, substantially that of the tribes of the Siouan family. Certain Tutu and Naltunne tunne kinship terms resemble names for parts of the body:

Parts of the Body. Kinship Terms. Sus, my mother (sometimes in Sus, skin (in Naltunne tunne). Naltunne tunne). Clă, my husband. Cl'a, my hand. Cmi'-se, my brother's son. Cmi'-sě, my membrum virile. Cla'-sûn, my wife's sister's hus-Cl'a, my hand; sûn, meat. Cla-si', my mother's sister's child. Cl'a, my hand; si, head. (?) Sa'-ts'ě, my wife's father. Sa'-tsé, a name for skin in the Chetco dialect. Cts'ûn-ne', my paternal grand- Cts'ûn-ne', my long bone. mother.

Folk-lore notes.—The Athapascans fear to speak the real names of the wild cat and field mouse in the presence of small children. The wild cat has three names, but instead of them adults use a long phrase in the presence of children. It means "They do not pronounce it when a child stands there." An infant must be kept in the cradle cover four days after birth. Early in the morning of the fifth day the cradle is made and the child is placed in it. This is according to the command of the great Being, Qa'-wa-ne'-ca (or Kha'-wa-ne'-sha), who made the first cradle early in the morning of the fifth day after the birth of the first infant.

Part of a creation myth told to the writer in the Chinook jargon is appended.

At first it was dark. There was neither wind nor rain. There were no people nor animals. In the midst of the water was a small piece of land on which were two beings. One, called Qa-wa-ne-ca by the Naltunne tunne, remained seated by his fire inhaling the odor of burning cedar instead of eating. The other being was sent to the edge of the land to watch for what might appear. Looking

northward he saw an ash tree arise; turning to the south, he beheld a red cedar. Hence, the ash and red cedar are held as sacred above all other trees. By and by he reported something red in the southwest. Said Qawaneca, "It must be land coming." At last the land came, touching that on which the two beings sat. But it was unsteady. Then Qawaneca pressed his hands over it, making it steady. He tried to make more land, but he did not wish sickness to be in it. Said he, "Where many die I will make much water and little land. Where few die I will make much land and little water." He chose three rocks and two pieces of earth. He threw one rock into the water, and as it went down, down, he bent his head and listened. He threw another rock, then the third, then the pieces of earth, in succession, listening awhile after throwing each. After the fifth throw mighty waves arose, dashed against the land, then receded. Thus were the tides formed. (Five is the mystic number among these Indians.) Then more land came, but it was muddy. Man could not step on it. Presently footprints appeared. "Ha!" said Qawaneca, "that is sickness! It is bad!" So he made the water cover the land. After this he blew at the water and made the land reappear. Once more footprints were seen in the mud and again did he cause the water to cover the land. This was done four times. When the land appeared the fifth time the footprints were seen as before, but Qawaneca would not disturb the land again.

The old man then plucked two hairs from his head and threw them on the ground. All this time there was no daylight, so Qawaneca tried to make it; but he failed. Finally he called all the birds to him, asking them if they knew the secret. He found one that knew, and this bird said that in the far north was the sun. Only two white geese had been there. These agreed to reveal to Qawaneca a certain magic way of calling the sun if he would bestow some privileges on all the birds. Having promised this, Qawaneca learned the secret, and the sun came at once in obedience to his summons, stopping a little south of the zenith. Then did Qawaneca settle his course, northward in summer and southward in winter.

Meanwhile the hairs thrown on the ground had become serpents, the first created animals. These serpents had a hundred young ones at a birth. There were many of them on the land and some in the ocean. They made storms by blowing with their mouths. An enormous serpent coiled itself five times around the world, and thus

keeps it together. On pulling two more hairs from his head, Qawaneca changed them into dogs. These were as prolific as the serpents.

Subsequently a woman came from the south. She wished Qawaneca to marry her, but the other man deceived her, coming in the dark, and so became her husband and the father of the Indians. This woman is the Mother, who never dies (she is in the South). All Indians return to her at death, and she sends them back to this world as infants. Her husband, too, is still alive. He never leaves this world; but Qawaneca now dwells in the sun and looks down on the people. The circumference of that upper world in which he dwells is curved upwards. No one who dies here can go to live with Qawaneca.

The preceding paper by Mr. Dorsey was read before the Anthropological Society of Washington.

## DISCUSSION.

At the close of the reading, Dr. Washington Matthews spoke as follows:

- 1. Phonetic differentiation seemed more marked in the Navajo than in these northern languages. Thus, where the Oregon languages of this stock had many verbs beginning with two consonants, as rxa-ni-t'as, the Navajo word corresponding dropped a consonant and then prefixed a vowel, as a-qa'-nit'as, or a consonant and vowel, as ba-xanit'as.
- 2. There were about forty Navajo gentes having local names; none had animal names.
- 3. These Navajo gentes may be divided into three classes, perhaps into four: (a) The original gentes, with names that are explained by myths. From these gentes others have sprung. (b) Certain gentes were sent by the Woman or Mother (spoken of in the Oregon myth) from the west to the home of the Navajos. (c) Modern accretions. All these are called after surrounding tribes, as the gens of the Mexicans, that of the Utes, etc. (d) Gentes originating from Pueblos, now in ruins.
- 4. There are localities in the Navajo country which give names to people, as People of the Bear Spring, etc. Early travelers often recorded these names as the true names of gentes.

5. Among the Navajos descent is in the female line. The man has not that control of the woman which he seems to have in Oregon

The President, J. W. Powell, remarked that many years ago he commenced the study of the tribes of Utah, belonging to the Shoshonian stock. He found them scattered throughout the Territory in small bands, with their homes adjacent to great springs and smaller water-courses. Each little tract of country thus occupied had its distinct name, and the body of Indians resident therein took the name of the district which they inhabited. In asking a person to what people he belonged, he found that the idiom of the language expressing that question signified, "How are you landnamed?" This body of people taking the name of a district of country was not found to be a gens or clan. It seemed to be a segment of a tribe, composed of segments of two or more gentes. The body politic thus constituted was found not to be very permanent. Individuals or families might move from one such body to another at will.

EVOLUTION IN CHEROKEE PERSONAL NAMES.—Genuine Indian personal names are usually significant and appropriate, if not always musical or polite; but civilization introduces great changes in Indian methods of naming. Indian names are distorted into something approaching a civilized form, or are discarded for English names which are supposed to be translations, but which are generally wide of the mark, while many of the Indians take scriptural or other familiar names, but so alter them that they are hardly recognizable. To the names thus modified Indian terminals are frequently added, so as to make what seems to be an aboriginal name, which can even be translated. The result is a mixture which would be the despair of a genealogist. We find all these various classes of names among the east Cherokees, very few of whom speak any English, but who are familiar with Bible terms and civilized methods of naming. First, there are the Cherokee names pure and simple, such as Tskilekwa, Ahyûini, Salâlanita, and Tsiskwa (giving the vowels the Latin sounds), meaning, respectively, Big Witch, Swimmer, Young Squirrel, and Bird. Then compounds are formed in accordance with civilized usages by adding the father's name to that of the individual, the latter name being sometimes a corrupt scriptural name or perhaps another Indian name. Thus we have Josiah Black-Fox,

whose father was simply Inâli, "Black Fox;" Sampson Owl, a descendant of Uguku, "Hooting Owl;" Wesley Crow, Joe Feather, John Usawi, Bird Salâlanita, and Lawyer Calhoun. The last name shows another process of evolution. Calhoun, the paternal name, may have been taken originally in compliment to a white man, for the owner appears to be a very dark full-blood. His individual name is Ditiyâhihi, which signifies "Quarreler" or "Wrangler;" and, from their acquaintance with white men's courts, the Indians have taken, not inaptly, this term to designate a lawyer; hence, Lawyer Calhoun; but the Cherokees have no r; so, when Lawyer was obliged to take out a marriage license in order to escape prosecution under a recent ruling of the State Legislature, which refused to recognize the Indian marriage ceremony, the officer mistook the name for a genuine Indian one, and the document was filled out for Loya Calhoun, and so the record stands.

Some mixed bloods have two names; for instance, James Blythe, the interpreter, who is known to the Indians only as Tiskwani, "Chestnut Bread." His father, Jackson Blythe, a half-breed, is known as Tseksini, an attempt at Jackson. The school superintendent is Mr. Wilson Spray, but, as the Cherokees have neither the p nor the r, he is known to them simply as Wilsini. In the same way Iwi Katâlsta gets her first name from the first woman, while Tsâkwi Wahu, a bright little fellow about six years old, gets his from the most patient man on record. Tsowelski is merely Joe Welsh in an Indian form. The chief, whose father was also a half-breed, is known to the whites as Jarret Smith, but the Cherokees call him Tsalatihi, the first part of which, Tsalati, is their rendering of Jarret, while by adding hi they get Tsala-tihi, a common Cherokee name, which might be translated "Charley-killer," from Tsali, Charley, and tihi, a killer.

When Joe Welsh was adopted as an Indian name Anitsi became a civilized name, and his son, who has a fair English education, now signs himself W. W. Arneach. Old Sawanuca, who derived his name from his Shawnee origin, left several children. One of these took the Bible name of Nicodemus, which among the Cherokees becomes Nikatimsi, and then Timsi for short, which last the whites have again corrupted to Timpson. At the same time Sawanuka became Sawanook, and then Sanook, and in the next generation one of the last representatives of the Shawnees among the East Cherokees will probably lose his identity under the plain title of Tim Snooks.