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LANGUAGE
and
SOCIAL CHANGE
among the
Flathead Indians

by

Vernon D. Malan

B. A., Montana State University, 1947

Presented in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Mas-
ter of Arts.

Montana State University

1948

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INTRODUCTION

In times past the Flathead or Salish occupied the country at the base of the main range of the Rocky Mountains in Western Montana which they called in their language, Spetlemen, meaning the place of the bitterroot. Hence the Bitterroot Valley was their proper home. However, like other tribes of the Northwest, they spent much time roaming about, for purposes of hunting or trading, in the plateau area of the Northwest and in the plains area of Eastern Montana.¹ Today their descendants are to be found in the Jocko Valley on the southern end of the Flathead Reservation in Western Montana. The reservation, with headquarters on the banks of the Flathead River about two miles northeast of Dixon, is located between the cities of Missoula, and Kalispell, Montana, and besides the Salish, is occupied by the Kalispel-² Pend d'Oreille and Kutenai tribes.

1. Palladino, L. B., Indian and White in the Northwest, Wickersham Publishing Company, Lancaster, Pa., 1922, page 1.

2. Wright, C. C., General Information about the Flathead Indian Reservation in Western Montana, Unpublished Manuscript, page 6.

These people call themselves the Salish, and they are similarly denominated by the tribes to the west of them. The white man, however, has followed the practice of the tribes to their east by calling them Flathead.³ Mr. James Teit holds that there exists a "Flathead Group" composed of the Flathead or Salish, the Pend d'Oreilles, the Kalispel, the Spokane, and two other tribes now extinct,⁴ and he studied this group as a whole. Although the logic behind this grouping of the tribes is unknown, there would not seem to be too much basis for it either culturally or geographically, and it is summarily rejected⁵ by Turney-High in his study of the Flathead Indians. The point in mentioning this disagreement is not to enter the argument, but rather for the purpose of establishing more exactly the identity of the tribe with which this study is concerned. In Teit's grouping, it is the first tribe, the Flathead, or perhaps more properly, the Salish.

3. Turney-High, H. H., The Flathead Indians of Montana, American Anthropological Association, Menasha, Wis., 1937, page 5

4. Teit, James A., The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateau, Forty-fifth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, 1930, page 295

5. Turney-High, op. cit., pages 5-6

Perhaps a somewhat sounder basis for the classification of these peoples is by linguistic stocks. They are classified, as a branch of the Salishan linguistic stock, as follows:

A. Interior Dialects:

e. Flathead

1. Spokane
2. Kalispel, or Pend d'Oreille.
3. Salish, or Flathead 6

There would appear, then, to be some relationship between these three groups, at least to the extent of similarities in their language. However, the distinctness of these tribes is of sufficient quality to merit their separate study, since the uniqueness of each separate group is very real to the members of the different tribes. This study is devoted to the Salish or Flathead tribe primarily, and the other tribes will only be considered where they are incidentally of importance for the development of the main theme.

Most of the new information in the following pages was obtained in a series of interviews with Pierre Pichette, extending over a three months period. This is especially true of the information concerning the changes which have

6. Wissler, Clark, The American Indian, Oxford University Press, New York, 1938, page 396

VIII

taken place in the Salish language. Pichette is considered by many people on the reservation to be the final authority on the Salish language, as well as being acquainted first-hand with the legends, culture, and history of his people. He was born in September 19, 1878, and educated at the St. Ignatius Mission School. Although his education was brief, and in his later years he became blind, he has overcome these handicaps and educated himself remarkably well. He is well aware of the forces which have created the numerous social problems among his people, and has succeeded in understanding and interpreting the complex changes which are taking place among the members of the tribe.

Besides telling what he knew about the topic with which this study is concerned, Pierre checked many of the sources quoted in this study. After having them read to him, he was able to point out inaccuracies, and in some instances to reject parts of the literature. For instance, he rejected the legends quoted by Turney-High in his study as not well known or important in the mythology of the tribe, and he felt that legends which were known to him were misrepresented to some extent. Turney-High indicates that the people of the legends, the dwarfs and giants and the foolish folk, were considered by the people of the tribe to be real people. Actually, Pierre says that they were

mere stories of spirit people invented for entertainment.

Some additional information about the speech behavior of the present day was obtained from Mr. C. C. Wright, Superintendent of the Flathead Agency, and Louis Ninepipe, and several Salish and mixed-blood children attending the St. Ignatius mission. Most of the interviews were held in the presence of Mr. Robert E. Albright, Assistant Professor of Speech at Montana State University, who was able to add considerably to the author's understanding of the linguistic phases of the problem. And, of course, it is inevitable that one should learn a little, at least, from personal observation during the course of the investigation.

A few words should be said about the method of this study. Studying the linguistic behavior as an index to other aspects of the social behavior of a bilingual minority group offers the following advantages as contrasted with the usual sociological methods of solving the same type of problem: First, the student of linguistic behavior need not be concerned so much with what an individual says are his attitudes and values, i. e. how he rationalizes, as with how the individual uses and reacts to the linguistic symbol systems at his command in the course of his daily

7. Interview with Pierre Pichette, April 10, 1948

contacts. This advantage rests upon the concept of the linguistic behavior pattern, or language useage, which holds that the linguistic behavior of any given individual exhibits a systematic patterning "which can be defined objectively in terms, first, of the limits of the system; second, of the parts of which it is composed; and third, of the relative frequency of use of the various parts in standard situations."⁸

Second, a principal advantage of the method would seem to be indicated by the fact that it offers a means of obtaining an independent check on other sociological data. If the linguistic behavior of an individual in the group functions as a autonomous, self-contained system, this system may be reported and analyzed independently of other social data. Once again, the fact that language is intimately concerned in the defining and redefining of all interpersonal relations, entering almost unconsciously, makes the data of linguistic behavior have a higher degree of objectivity in the study of interpersonal relations.⁹

8. Barker, George C., "Social Functions of Language in a Mexican-American Community", Acta Americana, 5:201, July, 1947

9. Loc. cit.

After presenting a sociological frame of reference, in chapter I, chapters II, III, and IV will be devoted to a discussion of the Salish culture before the introduction of white culture. Then chapter V is on the historical development of the tribe to the present day. Chapter VI will present an analysis of the social economy of the tribe, and then chapters VII and VIII describe the linguistic behavior patterns which are evident today, with the second of these two chapters being interested mainly in the process of acculturation in language. Chapters VI, VII and VIII will be summed up in chapter IX on the language use in various social classes, and the final chapter will present the conclusions which can be made from the study.

CHAPTER I

DEFINITION OF THE PROBLEM

It has been observed that bilinguals who are members of the same ethnic minority group often display wide variations in their linguistic behavior. These differences are apparent in respect to their usage of both the ancestral language and in their usage of English.¹ Mead's work on the "Antlers" contains some brief references on the variations in the English spoken by the Indians, and some remarks on this subject have been included in various studies in acculturation in the field of language.² Barker deals more specifically with these variations than any other writer in his study of a Mexican-American community in Arizona. His inquiry into the social functions of language in this community has as its central problem: "How, if at all, may the linguistic behavior of members of the bilingual minority group be related to other aspects of their social behavior?"³ This question will also serve as the central problem of this study.

1. Barker, George C., "Social Functions of Language in a Mexican-American Community", Acta Americana, 5:185, July, 1947.

2. Herskovits, Melville J., Acculturation, the Study of Culture Contacts, J. J. Augustin, New York, 1938, page 14.

3. Barker, loc. cit.

Whenever the process of culture contact is evident in the life of a group, anthropologists and sociologists have frequently noted that if two languages are involved, the functions formerly performed by one language come to be divided between two or more languages. This division appears to be based partly on convenience and partly on necessity. The language of the ancestral culture is more convenient to use by individuals brought up in that culture when speaking to other members of their own group. At the same time these individuals generally find it easier to talk to outsiders in the language of the outsider's culture, and, in fact, they must necessarily do so, since the outsiders are usually unable to understand the ancestral language.⁴

Basic to this problem is the understanding of what a bilingual is. Included among those people who can be said to know two languages are those who handle both languages with equal facility. However, since this person is the exception today, the bilingual is usually considered to be a person who handles one language natively and with ease and another language, which is acquired later in life, only partially and with difficulty. This fact introduces the concepts of the primary language and the secondary

4. Barker, op. cit., page 186

language, and these terms differentiate the languages in terms of the actual control a person has of them. The primary language being that language which is controlled fully and with ease, and the secondary language being that language which is controlled partially and with difficulty.

The question then arises: What is the process which produces the bilingual as an observable social phenomenon? Obviously if all societies spoke the same language he could not expect exist. It is the transfer of language from one society to another which makes the bilingual person a reality, and this transfer of culture elements from one society to another is known as diffusion.⁶

Acculturation, furthermore, embraces the subsequent changes that take place in two societies when they are in intimate first-hand contact with each other--changes taking place through the process of diffusion.⁷ Thus the linguist in

5. Swadesh, Morris, "Observations of Pattern Impact on the Phonetics of Bilinguals", Language, Culture, and Personality, Sapir Memorial Publication Fund, Menasha, Wis. 1941, page 60.

6. Linton, Ralph, The Study of Man, D. Appleton-Century Company, New York, 1936, page 324.

7. Redfield, Robert; Linton, Ralph; and Herskovits, M. J., "Memorandum for the Study of Acculturation", American Anthropologist, 38:149, March, 1936.

his study of language, as well as the ethnologist in his study of culture, distinguishes two processes, the first being treated under the term diffusion and the second under the heading of acculturation. Obviously, in language, as well as in culture, the first process is prerequisite⁸ to the second.

Culture can be defined as consisting of "common and more or less standardized ideas, attitudes, and habits which have developed with respect to man's recurrent and continuous needs."⁹ It can be further analyzed, and it will be found that its simplest unit is the culture trait. A combination of culture traits forms a culture pattern, and those culture patterns which are found scattered throughout the whole range of societies are called universal culture patterns.¹⁰ Included in this category would be such headings as speech, material traits, art, mythology, religion, social systems, property, government, and war. And this list could probably be extended without

8. Johnson, Jean Bassett, "A Clear Case of Linguistic Acculturation", American Anthropologist, 45:427, July, 1943.

9. Young, Kimball, Sociology, American Book Company, New York, 1942, page 35

10. Ibid., pages 37-38.

11
difficulty.

It should be mentioned that communication in general is the culture pattern referred to above under the term speech, and that language is the term limited in use to designate only oral communication. This distinction is arbitrary, but the important thing is that back of both terms there is a basic activity whose purpose is communication.¹²

Reviewing briefly what has gone before in reverse order, it can now be stated that the bilingual is a cultural phenomenon. If the premise that different societies possess different cultures is granted, it follows that certain universal culture patterns exist in all cultures. One of these universal patterns is language. When elements of language are exchanged between cultures (diffusion) certain changes may be expected to take place in both languages (acculturation). When the languages are in close enough contact to admit these changes, some individuals are certain to possess a speaking knowledge of both languages, hence the bilingual. It is, however, in the

11. Wissler, Clark, Man and Culture, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1925, page 75

12. Ibid., page 81.

primary groups that language works best, for here it permits specialization, and its short-cuts are most apparent in culture.¹⁴

If the bilingual learns his primary language in the home, it is quite common for his secondary language to be added in contact with groups outside of the home. This is usually the case in communities near a language border, or where families live in a speech-island, and where the parents are of different speech.¹⁵ The bilingual is never an isolated phenomenon then, but a part of the bilingual community. Such a community is usually in a state of relatively rapid transition from the universal use of one language to the universal use of a second, although this is not always the case. One example will suffice:

The nature of the process is well illustrated by the Oneidas of Wisconsin. Oneida is the sole language of a few old people; English is the sole language of many children and a certain number of young and middle-aged adults. . . The present state of the community is the interim manifestation passing from a purely Oneida-speaking community to a purely English-speaking community.¹⁶

14. Ibid., page 82.

15. Bloomfield, Leonard, Language, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1933, page 56.

16. Swadesh, op. cit., page 61.

But even when the change is not of this rapid sort, there will still be a subtle flow of linguistic elements proceeding more or less continuously. This may be evidenced by "the incorporation of foreign words, occasional phonetic shifts, and structural innovations, but these are quite infinitesimal when we consider the otherwise rigid conservatism of tribal speech."¹⁷

As a social phenomenon language is self-contained and resistant to change, and in most instances it is easier to kill it off than disintegrate its individual form.¹⁸ When the cultures, of the two languages in intimate contact, are of about equal status, the change will be slow and insignificant. However, in most cases of intimate contact, the primary language will be indigenous, and the secondary language will be introduced by a body of conquerors. This last group may even be in the minority, and still the tendency will be to change toward the secondary language, although not always at the same speed. Some of the factors governing the speed of change should receive attention. The primary language will change less rapidly if parts of the speech community remain unconquered. The

17. Wissler, op. cit., page 139

18. Sapir, Edward, Language, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1921, page 220

smaller the number of invaders, the slower the pace of borrowing, and if it happens that the dominated people are culturally superior, real or conventionally asserted, the change will be at a retarded rate.

Actual physical dominance of a people may not be necessary, for if the secondary language is the language of a people who are looked upon as a center of culture, it may exert an appreciable influence on the primary language without the actual use of force.²⁰ If the secondary language is spoken by the dominant and privileged group, much pressure is brought to bear to force the speaker of the primary language to use the secondary language. He may be subject to ridicule or serious social disadvantages as punishment for his imperfections. Even when speaking the primary language to members of his own group, he may take pride in garnishing it with borrowings from the secondary language.²¹

It has been suggested that the logical outcome of this division of functions for language is that, for individuals both inside and outside of the ethnic group, the primary language comes to symbolize the group and its

19. Bloomfield, op. cit., page 462

20. Sapir, op. cit., page 205

21. Bloomfield, op. cit., page 462

cultural background. In terms of its social function,²² the language tends to identify the group as a group. Indeed, it is likely that uniformity in language is a prime requisite to the continuity of culture. This may especially be true in regard to Indian cultures, since their languages are generally unwritten and thus far more plastic than the languages with written and objective standards. Without these objective standards uniformity can be maintained only by continuous social contact such as is possible in a single tribal group. When tribal connections are broken then, there are bound to be changes in the tribal language.²³ In the case of white and Indian cultures, the status of the primary language reaches a very low level. For example:

The desire to conform to white patterns has resulted in the attachment of a feeling of inferiority and shame to any Indian trait. Young Indians today refuse to speak their language for this reason.....²⁴

This division of linguistic functions leads to a second and equally important hypothesis--"that the individual's skill in using the language of a second or adopted

22. Barker, op. cit., page 186

23. Wissler, op. cit., page 19.

24. Barnett, H. G., "Cultural Processes", American Anthropologist, 42:44, January, 1940

culture comes to symbolize his status in the new society."²⁵

The individual's status in any group depends upon the rights and duties which he has, and it may be either ascribed or achieved. A member of a minority group generally finds

himself with an ascribed status, and only if he possesses very special qualities can he expect to better his status

and then only to a limited extent.²⁶ Since he is debarred in many instances from the status which he could most ably

fill, the member of the minority group is often a very

maladjusted person.²⁷ This has been pointed out in ref-

erence to the mixed-blood group:

Indeed the majority of the younger ones are today sadly maladjusted. For this there are two reasons. In the first place they have been rejected by both the whites and the full bloods and despite their obvious desire to become white men they, like other racial minorities, find themselves blocked at the outset. Secondly, it is my impression that the fathers and the grandfathers of the youth of today were able to and did make a better adjustment than it is possible for any of their living descendants to make. This I believe to be concomitant of the difficulties experienced by our own culture bearers in keeping pace with the changing values of the last fifty years.²⁸

25. Barker, op. cit., page 187

26. Linton, op. cit., pages 113-115.

27. Ibid., page 482

28. Barnett, op. cit., page 28.

The last sentence of the preceding quotation presents us with a strange paradox: that while human beings are strikingly conservative in maintaining their institutions, no body of tradition continues long in existence unless it is constantly changing. As a result of this paradox, which is strengthened by the study of primitive societies, in every culture a series of institutions can be found which to the student seem "curious or quaint or inefficient". But they never seem curious or quaint and rarely even inefficient to the people who live in a culture. Therefore, it is probably the business of the student to seek out the reasoning that causes a particular pattern, to seem right to a given folk.²⁹

Returning once again to the division between two languages of the functions originally performed by the ancestral language, a third suggestion may be made. In a bilingual minority group in the process of cultural change each of the languages comes to be identified with certain fields of interpersonal relations. Barker noted this in his study of the Spanish and English used in a Mexican-American community:

29. Herskovits, Melville J., The Economic Life of Primitive Peoples, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1940, pages 61-62

In the field of intimate or familial relations, Spanish is almost universally dominant in Tucson's Mexican-American community. Almost without exception, the Southern Arizona dialect of Spanish is the language of early childhood and the language used by parents to children in the home. By extension, the informal Spanish of the home is used in close friendships and in Parish social life and ceremonial relationships in the community. The Southern Arizona dialect thus comes to be identified with family background and minority group membership. 30

Outside of the family a different situation exists:

In the field of informal relations among bilinguals, a field in which most of the social life of the younger Mexican-Americans takes place, we find that rapid shifting from one language to another is common. Often two languages may be used in the same sentence or phrase. In some instances this may be due to the fact that the speaker feels that the context or subject he is discussing can be better and more easily expressed in one language than in the other. In other instances, the speaker's choice may be dictated by his feeling that what he is trying to say simply cannot be expressed in the other language. In general, however, it may be said that the mixing of the two languages is indicative of the speaker's participation in the urban social life of the younger native-born group in the Tucson Mexican community. 31

30. Barker, op. cit., page 395

31. Ibid., pages 395-396.

Among bilinguals still a different language situation exists in formal relations:

In the field of formal relations among bilinguals--a field which includes many types of economic relations and some formal social relationships--English is widely used. The substitution of English for formal Spanish may be traced to the fact that, as has been noted among other bilingual groups, young children do not learn formal Spanish at home. Instead, at the age when they ordinarily would be learning formal Spanish, they go to school and learn English. For many children, English thus becomes identified with most types of formal relationships. Exceptions are events in the Mexican community having a religious or patriotic social context, in which formal Spanish is customarily used. 32

Finally, the case is quite different in relations between Anglos and Mexicans:

In relations between Anglos and Mexicans in Tucson, English is the standard language. Even though the bilingual individual knows that the Anglo he is addressing speaks Spanish, he will almost always use English. Exceptions to this are some immigrants from Mexico who, if they feel that the Anglo to whom they are speaking is favorably inclined toward Mexico, will encourage him to speak Spanish. So strongly is the speaking of Spanish identified with participation in the Mexican community in Tucson that some bilinguals who wish to improve their relations with Anglos will even deny that they speak Spanish. 33

It seems then that the languages spoken by the bilingual individual take on different symbolic values

32. Ibid., page 196

33. Ibid., page 196

varying according to his social experience. It follows in turn that the character of this experience depends on, "first, the position of the minority group in the general community; second, the relation of the individual to the minority group; and third, the relation of the individual to the general community, or in short, to the above-described fields of interpersonal relations."³⁴

An important consideration in this discussion is the relation between the language and culture of a group. Language does not exist apart from the socially inherited practices and beliefs that determine the pattern of life for the group.³⁵ The form of language in our society varies with political boundaries, but culture recognizes no such delimitations, thus in the modern states culture and language may not coincide. In primitive tribal states, however, it is practically universally true that there is a unity between language and culture, for tribal groups must all speak a mutually comprehensible tongue.³⁶ Since political unity exists only for a single community and no legislative recognition of language is taken, each such

34. Ibid., page 196

35. Sapir, op. cit., page 221

36. Wissler, op. cit., pages 18-19

group will show some individuality in speech as well as culture. Likewise the separation of such political units into two or more parts will finally result in different forms of culture and speech.³⁷

There would then seem to be a basis for the observed correlation between language areas and culture areas. The geographical distribution of languages will be similar to that of cultures if the clustering of similarities in speech can be interpreted as due to contact and long residence in a single area.³⁸

If there are variations in the form of language, there are also similarities. For instance, what they do. This may be expressed as "conveying images and their relations to one another; or, in other words, what is sought, is to reproduce what is in the speaker's mind within that of the hearer." This is best illustrated by the "sign talk" of our western Indians which is not based on the spoken word at all, but upon ideas and their relations. Although the sign talk came along after their spoken languages were set to present standards, it still reverts

37. Wissler, Clark, The American Indian, Oxford University Press, New York, 1938, page 331.

38. Ibid., pages 342-343.

to this first principle of communication.³⁹ Further evidence is furnished by picture writing:

More familiar to American readers, perhaps, are the pictorial devices of our western Indians, which when placed upon robes, or other convenient surfaces, depict the war exploits of the owner. In all such cases, however, it is not mere representation that is aimed at, but a uniformity of convention within the group to give the picture code value. When such a level is attained we have picture writing.⁴⁰

Language possesses other advantages besides this unique similarity. One's vocal apparatus is always available even when the hands are in use. It makes possible great speed in the transmission of ideas with a small expenditure of energy, and it keeps in sight the train of thought. These special advantages, no doubt, have been responsible for the separation of language and culture, as when the anthropologist says that there are three aspects of mankind, race, language, and culture. While this emphasis on language may be advantageous at times,⁴¹ it should still be remembered that even our methods of communication are inventions or culture complexes, just like tools.

39. Wissler, Clark, Man and Culture, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1923, pages 83-85

40. Ibid., page 86

41. Ibid., page 88

The content of language is certainly related to culture, since an aboriginal society that had never seen or heard of a horse would have no name for it, and they would be compelled to invent or borrow a word for the animal when they made his acquaintance. The vocabulary of a language then more or less faithfully reflects the culture whose purpose it serves, and the history of language and the history of culture move along parallel lines.⁴²

The linguistic behavior pattern quoted earlier in the chapter, may now be related to the social relations of the bilingual. Starting with the family relations, it is evident that Mexican cultural interests, aided by religious influence, are dominant in this field. At the other end of the scale which is the field of Anglo-Mexican relations, the influence of the Anglo urban culture is dominant:

For individuals in the Mexican community, these fields may be represented as a kind of continuum, at one end of which are the intimate relations with others of Mexican descent, while at the other end are the purely formal relations with Anglos. In between are formal and informal relations with people of Mexican descent outside the family circle, and

42. Sapir, op. cit., page 234

in some cases with Mexicans from Mexico.⁴³

Paralleling this continuum in fields of interpersonal relations is another continuum in language usage, and it will be observed that the categories of interpersonal relations described are reflected by corresponding variations in linguistic behavior:

At one end of this linguistic continuum Spanish is dominant in the individual's contacts and at the other end English is dominant. In between are the pochismos, the Pachuco dialect, and the various mixtures of the two languages.⁴⁴

If this comparison is carried still a step further, we find that, "the position of each individual on the cultural continuum is roughly parallel to his position on the linguistic continuum."⁴⁵

Although English is the language used in the schools in the Mexican community of Tucson, once outside the formal atmosphere of the classroom, the children appear to have an almost irresistible impulse to revert to the informal Southern Arizona dialect at play. The presence of a large number of pupils of other ethnic groups, which is the one factor which might prevent this reversion, is missing.

43. Barker, op. cit., page 197

44. Ibid., pages 197-198

45. Loc. cit.

There are few non-Mexicans living in the Mexican community. On the Antler reservation studied by Mead the day schools presented a different situation. Here over half of the pupils spoke English as their native tongue, and thus the disadvantage which the Angler children suffered in competing with English-speaking children in learning school subjects, was at least partially compensated for by the greater command of English which they acquired on the playground and in the daily contact with white children. 47

Barker points out that in addition to the tendency of the Mexican-American to avoid Spanish in relations with Anglos, many of the bilingual group manifest feelings of inferiority in speaking English because of their "Mexican accent". This association of accent with an inferior social standing would tend to support the hypothesis regarding linguistic behavior and status. 48 Linguistic ability is also a factor in the language situation on the Antler reservation:

The best English on the reservation is spoken by a few old people who had many years of schooling in the east. A few of these people are very sophisticated linguistically. . . From these older people, there is a steady revision downward of ability in English. There are many young people of twenty who speak

46. Ibid., page 198

47. Mead, Margaret, The Changing Culture of an Indian Tribe, Columbia University Press, New York, 1932, pages 122-123

48. Barker, op. cit., page 199

hardly a word. There are hardly any children under six and seven who can speak English, although a few understand it. There are only two Antler homes, where both parents are Antlers, in which English is spoken to the children; from one of these, two of the sons have been adopted by a conservative uncle and speak very little English. 49

Even in the homes where one of the parents belongs to another tribe and English of a sort is spoken by the parents, the children may not retain this initial advantage because of the greater vitality of the Antlers' speech on the reservation.⁵⁰

The correlations between linguistic behavior patterns and acculturation conditions should now be investigated. The subordination of the bilingual minority group is one of the basic psychological, as well as social, conditions of acculturation. The subordination of the Mexican population in the general Tucson community, as pointed out by Barker, is indicated by:

- a. reticence of many Mexicans to speak Spanish with, and in the presence of Anglos.
- b. identification of the term "Mexican" with lower-class status in Tucson, and corresponding substitution of the term "Spanish-American" for Mexicans having higher status.
- c. lack of informal interpersonal relations between

49. Mead, op. cit., page 126

50. Loc. cit.

Anglos and Mexicans as indicated by lack of informal linguistic categories common to both. 51

A second basic condition of acculturation is the cultural, as well as physical, segregation of the bilingual minority group. In the Mexican population of Tucson this is indicated by:

- a. inability of many bilinguals to free themselves of "Spanish accent" in speaking English.
- b. inability of many young bilinguals to translate freely from one language to the other.
- c. dependence of American-born bilinguals on Spanish in certain fields of interpersonal relations:
 - i. e. family life and close friendships.
- d. use of pochismos and other hybrid linguistic forms. 52

Among the bilinguals in general it has been observed that they frequently have occasion to use words of one language in speaking the other. 53

Whenever this borrowing of foreign words does occur, it usually entails their phonetic modification. When the secondary language is being spoken, phonetic modifications conditioned by primary language habits will cause an accent. 54
Also, Mead noted certain stock peculiarities in the English spoken by the Antlers. "The plural of 'man' is always

51. Barker, op. cit., page 200.

52. Loc. cit.

53. Swadesh, op. cit., page 61.

54. Sapir, op. cit., page 210.

'mens' the plural of 'woman,' is 'womens'." Such grammatical errors, especially in the speech of those whose English was very scant, as confusion of tense, number, and case and omission of particles were quite common. Another peculiar characteristic of Antler English is described:

There are young people who have learned to speak English and to read and write in public schools; and who usually speak passable English in which only an occasional incongruity grates upon the ear which are more often than not mere mistakes in grammar in no way characteristic of the Indian. But when they come to write letters, they revert to a purely Antler type of construction, abandoning tense, neglecting plurals, bandying gender about with complete disregard of the rules. It is strange that the compulsions of the Indian syntax have ceased to operate in the spoken work, but should still hold such sway over the written English of children who have never read nor written any language except English. 55

It is evident then that in the process of acculturation there are diverse influences exerted by one language on the other, probably the simplest of which is the "borrowing" of words.⁵⁶ But even in this simplest kind of influence, the bilingual often gives evidence of not being aware of phonetic differences between the two languages:

55. Mead, op. cit., page 127

56. Sapir, op. cit., page 206

There are many cases in the Indian languages of America of words borrowed from the new language. The phonetic form is necessarily different at least to the extent of the minimum adaptation. But always in the case of minimum changes, and often in the case of more extensive changes, the informant will say the word is alike in the two languages. 57

A third basic condition of the acculturation process is the divergent types of cultural orientation, and the corresponding divergent social goals, of the bilingual minority group. Among the Tucson Mexicans these divergencies are indicated by the four main types of linguistic behavior patterns found among the minority group. 58 And they likewise seem to be borne out by a study by Spoerl who reported that on the Vernon-Allport Study of Values only one section of the test, the section on social values, differentiated clearly between a bilingual and a control group. This great variability, expressed by extreme scores, it is contended, was the result of the two possible reactions to social frustration, "some of the bilingual students having reacted aggressively by putting a high emphasis on social values, while others have reacted by retreating and consequently giving a score indicative of low social

57. Swadesh, op. cit., pages 63-64

58. Barker, loc. cit.

values."⁵⁹

Besides these social, psychological and cultural aspects of acculturation, some attention should also be given to the manner in which the vocabulary of a language adjusts itself to the importation of new objects and ideas. One of the ways in which a vocabulary may extend its range and scope to cover such needs is to take words over bodily from the language which accompanies the impact of the culture, and which to some extent carries it.⁶⁰ These "loan words" often acquire different meanings from those which they had at the time of acceptance, and this may take the form of either accretion or loss of meaning. In this connection the presence or absence of a written tradition⁶¹ seems to be of primary importance.

A second way in which a vocabulary can adjust to the importation of new objects and ideas is to coin new expression² to describe the new phenomena, and thirdly, old

59. Spoerl, Dorothy Tilden, "Bilingualism and Emotional Adjustment", The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 38:41, January, 1943

60. Herzog, George, "Culture Change and Language: Shifts in the Pima Vocabulary", Language, Culture, and Personality, Sapir Memorial Publication Fund, Menasha, Wis., 1941, page 66

61. Spicer, Edward H., "Linguistic Aspects of Yaqui Acculturation", American Anthropologist, 45:426, July, 1943

words and formations can be extended in meaning, while the old meanings are either retained or displaced entirely by the new.⁶² These three methods are also apparent in Wintu acculturation:

When a new trait was introduced to the Wintu, the language responded in one of three ways: it gave it a new name, probably a descriptive name; or it gave it a name which had been applied heretofore to a somewhat similar trait; or it accepted the English name along with the trait. 63

These methods usually operate side by side, and more than one of them may even be active in connection with the same trait. A language may at times use one method pre-⁶⁴ dominantly, however, at the expense of the others.

Among the Wintu, Lee points out, it is probably the older process to extend an old word to cover the new trait or to coin a new Wintu word for the new trait, and each of these processes tends to be applied to different groups of traits.⁶⁵ There may also be a loss of words as the old traits disappear. These two antithetical processes are clearly pointed out by Lee:

62. Herzog, loc. cit.

63. Lee, D. D., "The Linguistic Aspects of Wintu Acculturation", American Anthropologist, 45:435, July, 1943

64. Herzog, loc. cit.

65. Lee, loc. cit.

We find, then, that white culture has effected two types of change on the Wintu language; it has caused the introduction of new words which have been formed according to established habits; and it is causing the loss of old words, in a manner which suggests that these same habits are being lost. It is probable that the new words have been coined by the older generation who retain their old habits of thought; the loss of specific words is found in the speech of the bilingual generations. 66

If the process of diffusion is now examined more thoroughly, new light may be thrown on the acculturation process. Every speech-community receives something from its neighbors. Culture traits are continually passing from one community to another.⁶⁷ Every trait or complex has at least three distinct, although mutually interrelated,⁶⁸ qualities: i. e., it has form, meaning, and function.

These have been defined as follows:

By the form of a trait or complex is meant its overt expression, its presentation to the senses without the interposition of an interpreter or expositor. By its function is meant the psychic, physical, or social needs which it satisfies. By its meaning is meant the associations, mental or overt, which cluster about it; this aspect places a trait in the cultural nexus and is the basis for incorporating new ones . 69

66. Ibid., page 440

67. Bloomfield, op. cit., page 445

68. Linton, op. cit., page 402.

69. Barnett, H. G., "Culture Processes", American Anthropologist, 42:31, January, 1940.

In a given culture, form is always linked with a certain set of associations, values, and emotional responses (meanings). The reappearance of a specific form recalls its function, and the first step in the process of diffusion of a culture trait is the attachment of the new form to some common and widely shared tendency--either an older meaning or function current in the receiving culture.⁷⁰ If the familiar associations are unpleasant, the new form is rejected or at least resisted, but whether accepted or rejected, the process of reinterpretation takes place. It results in the tendency to break down the introduced trait into its component elements through the reassociation of the familiar forms.⁷¹

The above linkage naturally works reciprocally. When a specific function and a meaning are given, the form locally associated with them will be recalled:

In consequence of this, when a familiar function and meaning comes with an unfamiliar form, there is a tendency to alter the new form to accord with the indigenous formal expressions of that function and meaning. 72

70. Bartlett, F. C., Psychology and Primitive Culture, Cambridge University Press, London, 1923, page 194.

71. Barnett, op. cit., page 37

72. Loc. cit.

This last process is not nearly so common since form is quite stable and since different forms can as well meet the same function and meaning requirements. If it does occur, it results either in a mutation of the new form, or in additions to it. Much more common, however, is for the form to persist, while its meaning may be altered or elaborated in accordance with a familiar linkage of function and form.⁷³

The question may then be raised as to how certain meanings grow up in a culture. Meanings are probably first of all assigned by an individual, who then communicates the meaning to others. What meaning is assigned will depend upon the individual's past experiences, and their acceptance by the group will depend upon his position in relation to other members of the group.⁷⁴

This growth of meanings is most apparent in the diffusion process. Culture traits drawn from foreign sources are given an individual interpretation which, if widely accepted, becomes at least partially the meaning of the new trait.⁷⁵

73. Barnett, loc. cit.

74. Bartlett, op. cit., page 222-223.

75. Ibid., page 225

The breaking down of a culture trait into its component elements creates in the first place, through a lack of intertrait fusion of elements, dual or alternate ways of doing things. The results are disagreement, confusion, loss of group control, and, perhaps most importantly, unpredictable behavior on the part of the group members. Secondly, the new traits are seldom if ever extended laterally through the rest of the adopting culture into other patterns, and they are seldom modified to accord with traits already assimilated. As a result remnants remain "sticking on to the basic and meaningful part of culture like sores and patches, unconvinced, painful, and totally unrelated to the real life values and motivations."⁷⁶

If the fundamental assumption that language is a culture pattern holds, then it must have a form, a function, and a meaning to operate properly as a signalling-system. Its introduction into a new culture is subject to the diffusion process just described for no single part of the pattern can be disturbed without the effects being felt throughout the whole system.⁷⁷ Since language is far from

76. Barnett, op. cit., pages 47-48.

77. Johnson, op. cit., page 428

a perfect mechanism, it is susceptible to disintegration in the diffusion process, and is not generally able to make the adjustments necessary to meet the new demands. This frequently results in the development of "pidgin" dialects.⁷⁸

One approach to this problem recognized the independence of the three aspects of language--phonetics, vocabulary, and grammar--and holds that the last of these is the most resistant to contact. This is especially true of that mode of expression to which the word idiom is applied. On the other hand vocabulary is most easily worked into the speech habits of those who must learn a new tongue.⁷⁹

Still another problem which should receive some attention is the difference between in-group and out-group diffusion. The former is less likely to be resisted than the latter, and in fact, out-group diffusion may be resisted entirely.⁸⁰ An example from the Louisiana French illustrates this point:

. . .the harsh and cruel fate experienced by the homeless Acadian unfortunates. . .so reacted on the

78. Wissler, op. cit., pages 47-48

79. Herskovits, op. cit., page 15.

80. Devereax, George, and Loeb, Edwin H., "Antagonistic Acculturation", American Sociological Review, 8:135, April, 1943

entire Gestalt of this group as to make them cling all the more tenaciously to their mode of living, irrespective of consequences, so bitter had been their experience under a different culture. 81

The reasons for this resistance to acculturation are probably many, but resistance to borrowing is often a reaction against identification with the out-group. Resistance to lending is likely to be a reaction against adoption by the out-group.⁸² Some of the reasons for the resistance of the Acadians are listed as follows:

. . . (1) the intermarriage of the Acadian and the French maidens with the males who constituted the bulk of the newcomers; (2) the dominance of the Acadian mother in all matters pertaining to the child, the mothers' thorough inculcation of the offspring with all phases of Acadian culture; (3) the tremendous influence and control of the French Catholic priest over his parishioners; and (4) the esprit de corps of the French-speaking people which engendered imitation. 83

Such factors, apparently, would militate against the use of a newly introduced language.

In conclusion, then language is an important complex

81. Smith, T. Lynn, and Parenton, Vernon J., "Acculturation Among the Louisiana French", The American Journal of Sociology, 44:364, November, 1938

82. Devereax and Loeb, op. cit., page 137

83. Smith and Parenton, loc. cit.

in culture whose function it is to communicate between mind and mind. Also, the mechanisms that make up the separate cultures are based upon what is in the mind or upon things and their relation. Thus it is inevitable that language is a universal culture pattern. The purpose of this vocalization is to call up experiences of the past, and at the same time set off the right response in the listener. Still more important, if the system of communication is efficient, one can dispense with a large part of the experience itself, for the experience can be communicated to him second hand, and in this way get⁸⁴ into his memory by a convenient short-cut.

It appears then that the great function of communication lies in the fact that it makes tribal life possible and as a result culture. The individuals of a tribe can cooperate effectively only when ideas can be passed along in this way, and cues can be readily given to set off the⁸⁵ right response. When the introduction of a new language is attempted into a tribal group through the conquest of the tribal group, the process of extinction

84. Wissler, op. cit., page 89.

85. Ibid., page 82

(disuse) of the primary language may be long delayed. One or more generations of bilingual speakers may intervene. Finally, there may come a generation which does not use the primary language in adult life and transmits⁸⁶ only the secondary language to its children.

The bilingual generation reflect the conflict of cultures in their speech, and in the balance between the culture elements, as reflected in the speech, behavior of the bilingual, much of conflict is apparent. Even after the bilingual generation disappears, it is likely that the assimilation of the primary culture will leave its mark⁸⁷ on the new culture which develops.

86. Bloomfield, op. cit., page 463.

87. Redfield, Robert, Tepoztlan, A Mexican Village, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1930, page 30.

CHAPTER II

YEARLY PATTERN OF SALISH LIVING

One of the basic patterns of Salish living was the annual economic cycle, based primarily upon food habits. In this respect the Salish resembled other hunting-gathering peoples of the Plateau group. Lacking a knowledge of agriculture, their collective activities and movements were so arranged as to coordinate closely with the seasonal changes in the local plant and animal life. The rhythmic succession of these movements and activities was such as the Salish habits, conforming to seasonal changes in the regions most favorable to hunting and gathering, dictated.¹

The Salish food quest centered around two important activities--bison hunting on the plains and the gathering of roots and berries, along with some desultory fishing and hunting of deer and elk in the plateau area.² The former function was added only after the introduction of the horse which occurred during the early part of the Eighteenth Century, and this was when this new and more

1. Schaeffer, Claude, Unpublished Manuscript.

2. Ibid.

dependable and abundant supply of food was added to the Salish economy.³ The two activities supplemented each other, but required movement back and forth between the regions most favorable to each pursuit, and during the appropriate season either bison meat or roots and berries⁴ were prepared for future use.

A brief outline of the general seasonal pattern would show that the summer activities of the Salish were more diversified than the activities of the remainder of the year. From May to September the women were engaged in the collecting and preparing of wild vegetable products in the valleys west of the Continental Divide. The men at the same time, except for the months of June and July when the summer hunt took place for the bison along the upper Musselshell River, accompanied their women folk and engaged incidentally in fishing or in the hunting of elk⁵ or deer.

With the coming of fall the tribe moved to the bison range east of the Rocky Mountains, and October found them engaged in the winter hunt and its attendant activities.

3. Schaeffer, Claude, "The First Jesuit Mission to the Flathead, 1840-1850: A Study in Culture Conflicts", Pacific Northwest Quarterly, 28:228, July, 1937.

4. Schaeffer, Claude, Unpublished Manuscript.

5. Ibid.

Throughout the winter the people lived on the dried roots and berries collected during the summer and the present kill of buffalo meat. Any surplus meat obtained was dried for use in the coming spring. Again approximately in March, the Salish moved back over the mountains to the root-gathering valleys, where they spent the coming summer months.⁶

The Salish annual economic cycle varied slightly in certain years. Unforeseen circumstances such as a scarcity of game or a severe winter sometimes changed the normal pattern of activity and movement.⁷ These variations occasionally appeared in sources, and only one reference contained in the diary of Granville Stuart will be given in passing:

September 21. The Flathead Indians are camped in the bottom below here on their trip to the buffalo range for their usual winter hunt, and there are plenty of drunken Indians passing from Grantsville to their camp. I wish those whiskey traders would go on to the Blackfoot country or to Hades. . .

September 23. The Flathead camp passed on their way to hunt buffalo all winter. Am glad they are gone because of the d---d whiskey. ⁸

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

8. Stuart, Granville, Forty Years on the Frontier, VOL. II, (Paul C. Phillips, Editor), The Arthur H. Clark Company, Cleveland, 1925, pages 186-187

Actually these variations are of little significance since the object is to present only a generalized pattern of behavior, and the description to follow will give in greater detail the general pattern.

January-March

With the approach of spring marked by the first appearance of wild geese flying northward, the Salish turned their faces to the west and began to prepare for the journey to the valleys on the other side of the mountains. The new season would bring to a close the activities of the winter bison hunt and open the period of summer root and berry gathering. The great herds of buffalo were beginning to move northward to the plains of Saskatchewan, and they would not return again until late summer. In the Bitterroot and Missoula valleys the camas and bitterroot would soon begin to flower, and later on the berries would begin to ripen. As the winter was passing, there would be increased numbers of hostile war parties on the plains since the buffalo range was claimed and permanently inhabited by the great and fierce Blackfoot tribes who slaughtered any mountain Indian who infringed on their buffalo land.⁹ In view of these circumstances, it was

9. Trexler, H. Al, "The Buffalo Range of the Northwest", Mississippi Valley Historical Review, 7:358, March, 1921

indeed a favorable time for the tribe to move to the mountain valleys west of the Divide.

The tribe had been camping at the most favorable sites along the upper reaches of the Musselshell River since the previous October.¹⁰ If the buffalo were plentiful, they often spent a week or more at one place from which they set out in pursuit of the bison herds. A man with a good mount could pick the animal he wished to kill and after riding into the herd and separating it from the others, it became an easy mark for his arrow. The first kill being successful, he would simply select another and separate it in the same manner. In this way a man could shoot bison almost as fast as he could draw the bow, but he usually did not kill more than two at a time since that was all that a good skinner and butcher could handle, and as much as he could dress, and his woman could cut up and dry. With an ordinary mount a man was somewhat more limited in his choice, and he had to be content to rush the edge of the herd and kill whichever animals he was able to approach.¹¹ The Salish aimed his arrow at the back

10. Turney-High, H. H., Ethnography of the Kutenai, American Anthropological Association, Menasha, Wisconsin, 1941, page 35

11. Ibid., page 36

of the bison's shoulder in the hope of it piercing his heart, as this was the best place to kill him. If, however, they could not do this, the kidney was an easy region to hit. but they did not prefer this, as a pierced kidney embittered the meat. The bison was the animal of chief economic importance to the Salish, and this plentiful natural resource was seldom wasted.¹² The communal buffalo-hunts occupied most of the able-bodied men of the tribe for the entire winter, and the sense of combined effort was so great that the unsuccessful member of an expedition was given meat¹³ so that he would not return empty-handed.

Before the tribe started for home, the meat that was not used for daily needs was prepared and dried for future needs. Body and bed robes were made from the hides which had been scraped and tanned.¹⁴ If the game had been plentiful, by the end of the winter a large supply of dried meat and of hides had been prepared. This material now had to be transported the long distance across the mountains by pack horses. Only short distances could be covered each day because the animals had been weakened by the

12. Ibid.

13. Herskovits, Melville H., The Economic Life of Primitive Peoples, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1940, page 86

14. Trexler, loc. cit.

scanty grazing on the snow-covered plains.¹⁵

The members of the tribe, who had remained behind in the mountain valleys where the spare horses were wintered, were now informed of the approach of the hunting party, so that they could meet the latter with fresh horses.

When the two parties met the packs were transferred to the stronger horses and travel resumed. The mountain passes¹⁶ were usually free of deep snow at this time of year.

Thus little difficulty was encountered on the return trip unless they were attacked by the dreaded Blackfoot, who sought their buffalo meat and ponies, as well as their scalps.¹⁷

The latter part of March or the first of April found the Salish once again camped in the valley of the Bitterroot unless the spring was very late, and by this time "the grass was beginning to appear and the buttercups¹⁸ were blooming."

April-October

From April to late fall most of the activities were carried on out-of-doors. The campfire and cooking hole

15. Schaeffer, Claude, Unpublished Manuscript.

16. Ibid.

17. Trexler, loc. cit.

18. Schaeffer, loc. cit.

were built outside of the lodge for greater convenience, and both men and women could now look forward to a short period of comparative leisure before the varied activities of the summer began. The horses were driven off to good grazing grounds since they were in need of rest and good pasturage at this time. Sufficient food for the spring months was available. The dried bison-meat and the stores of camas and bitterroot cached from the previous summer were brought into camp. The tribe began to divide up into summer units in preparation to begin moving out to the camas and bitterroot fields. In the meantime fresh fish and meat was being obtained by the men who were engaged in hunting deer and elk, or less frequently, catching fish in the streams. These activities continued to occupy the men during most of the summer while the women were engaged in their gathering activities.¹⁹

Early in May, the "bitterroot moon", the wild vegetable season opened with the gathering of the first bitterroot. It must be gathered right at its first flowering if its flavor was to be at its best, and it was also very difficult to find unless the delicate pink blossom was showing. The digging of the roots was accomplished with

19. Ibid.

light wooden digging sticks. After they were out of the ground, the harsh outer skin was peeled away, the remaining root was washed thoroughly in cold water to whiten them, and then they were spread on hides to dry while their procurer was engaged in gathering the next day's supply. The supply which was not immediately cooked and eaten was placed in parfleches and cached in the forks of trees.²⁰

Soon the camas was ready to be harvested, and since its roots were longer, it required a heavier digging stick and harder work. It was easier to see than the bitter-root, and it was allowed to mature in the ground longer. In succession followed a number more such vegetable foods to be gathered, to be dried or roasted, and to be stored away for future use. These activities occupied the women during most of the summer months.²¹

Competing teams of young women did, however, find time to engage in their favorite athletic activity--a type of ball game. During the bitterroot season it was not uncommon to see friendly teams of Salish women hitting a ball of deer or elk hair with a club or bat with a flat,

20. Turney-High, H. H., The Flathead Indians of Montana, American Anthropological Association, Menasha, Wisconsin, 1937, page 111.

21. Loc. cit.

curved end. Games were often played with the women of other tribes including the Crow, Blackfoot or Shoshoni. At Three-Mile Creek, near Stevensville, the women of Charlotte's and Arli's bands often played each other while the two groups were camped there gathering bitterroots. The men occasionally engaged in the ball games also, but they generally preferred to watch and cheer their women in the game. Many of the boys and young men occupied themselves with throwing darts or shooting arrows at rolling hoops or wheels.²²

As the end of May approached the desultory fishing and hunting of the male Salish ceased, and they began their preparations for the summer bison-hunt. They were busy making many new pairs of moccasins, repairing riding gear and weapons, and driving the best horses into camp where a store of dried roots and berries were packed for the excursion. Because of the great bulk and thickness of the bison hide, it was desirable for related families to split their lodge-covers in half so that each family would only be burdened with one-half of the weight. These two families then shared the lodge during the hunt, however, the head-chief was required to take an entire lodge-cover, as

22. Schaeffer, loc. cit.

his lodge was to serve as the council place of the tribe.

The right of the Salish to hunt on the plains was severely contested by the Blackfoot, and the danger from their war-parties was increased during this time of year. The Salish, however, maintained that their forefathers had exercised the right to hunt on these disputed grounds, and that so long as one of their warriors remained alive the right would not be surrendered.²⁴ They were almost forced by economic necessity to defend this right since the scarcity of the bison west of the Divide would have caused them to suffer severely from famine if cut off from the bison range.²⁵

Thus the party started, composed of the more able-bodied men and a small number of women. Often the Nez Perces or Pend d'Oreilles combined their hunting parties with the Salish party for greater protection.²⁶

23. Turney-High, op. cit., page 100.

24. Palladino, L. B., Indian and White in the Northwest, Wickersham Publishing Company, Lancaster, Pa., 1922, page 2.

25. Kingston, C. S., "Buffalo in the Pacific Northwest", Washington Historical Quarterly, 23:171, July, 1932.

26. Spinden, H. J., The Nez Perce Indians, American Anthropological Association, Menasha, Wisconsin, 1908, page 227.

Although usually outnumbered by the Blackfoot, they seem to have surpassed them in prowess and daring, and the docile Salish were considered by even their enemies to be extremely brave. The group remaining behind was composed of the children, the old people and most of the women. They were guarded and cared for by one of the second chiefs and a few young men.²⁷ They were undoubtedly brave and excellent fighters to invade willingly the plains and to hold their own in the invasion. Only occasionally after administering a severe defeat on the Blackfoot were they able to enter the bison country with a reasonable degree of security.²⁸

June-July

The signal for the beginning of the summer hunt was the blooming of the wild rose bush. Then the people began to say, "Now the bison are beginning to grow fat". The trip was a short and hurried one, and usually a distance of thirty miles was covered in one day. The party, consisting of fifty lodges or less, usually reached the bison range in about ten day's time. Upon arriving on the short grass

27. Palladino, L. B., op. cit., page 1.

28. Wissler, Clark, Indians of the United States, Doubleday, Doran & Company, New York, 1940, page 102

plains, the Salish lodges were set up in one large circle, and for purposes of mutual protection the lodges were pitched as close together as possible.²⁹ Pitching the lodges was a task easily accomplished by one woman in about fifteen minutes, and each family or related groups of households were assigned their position in the circle by the subchief.³⁰

The war chief had assumed command of the entire tribe during the hunting trip. He served just in their hunting excursions and in battle in the place of the great chief whose authority over the whole nation was hereditary, and he was selected year by year as the warrior who had displayed through the year the greatest endurance, bravery, and prudence. The war chief was placed in charge of the hunt at this time because of the number of war parties which were abroad during the summer months.³¹ The danger of conflict was ever present, both to the hunters and to their families in the Bitterroot Valley, and although the Salish always knew war, tradition says that it was neither so bloody or so serious prior to the introduction of the horse and the

29. Turney-High, op. cit., page 104

30. Ibid., page 101

31. Palladino, op. cit., page 7.

excursions into the bison country.

The rivers were high at this period of the year because of the melting snow in the mountains. When it was necessary to cross them, a raft was made by filling a lodge-cover with brush, and this was pulled across by horses. The Missouri River was crossed in this manner. Father Mengarini gives a description of one such crossing:

The Missouri at the place where we were to cross it was about one mile wide. The Indian men plunged boldly in, driving the horses before them. Every two horses supported a bundle between them, and whenever they showed wigns of fatigue the men raised the war cry to stir up in the animals all the energy that still remained. Women clad in their dresses swam to the other side. Children too young to brave the current were placed on top of the folded skins of a wigwam and towed over by a horse or two. As I could not swim, I had to imitate the ways of childhood, and getting down on my hands and knees, I passed over on one of the bundles. The passage was very tedious, and occupied more than an hour, for the current was strong and carried us far down the stream before we could gain the other side. But we met no mishap, and having lighted large fires and dried ourselves and our clothing, we formed our party once more and started in search of buffaloes. 33

The summer hunt was short and was soon over. A supply of summer hides, fat and meat of the bison was obtained, and the hides procured at this season were used

32. Turney-High, op. cit., page 7.

33. Partoll, A. J., Mengarini's Narrative of the Rockies, Montana State University, Missoula, Montana, 1938, pages 16-17.

for lodge-covers, parfleche bags and saddle blankets. The hunters were once again united with their largely unprotected families on the other side of the mountains, and now the horses would be given further conditioning and rest before the time for the arduous winter hunt.³⁴

The late summer activities of both men and women were of a more leisurely nature. The men cared for the horses, attended their fish traps, and hunted the deer and elk for hides and fresh meat. At the same time the women tanned and made up the summer bison hides into lodge-covers, saddle-pads and bags. They gathered the different varieties of berries as they ripened, drying and storing the surplus. With the gathering of the service berries, the summer season came to a close. "Soon the elk began to trumpet in the hills. The foliage of the tamarack trees gradually changed to a deep yellow. Wild fowl could be seen flying southward. The clouds seemed heavy and to lie close to the ground. Suddenly the first snow appears on the top of the ranges. It is succeeded by others which gradually extend farther down the mountain slopes, until the fourth or fifth snowfall covers the valley floor.

34. Schaeffer, Unpublished Manuscript.

Now the time for departure on the winter hunt had arrived."³⁵

October-March

Except for those who remained behind to winter the spare horses, the entire tribe, consisting of seventy or eighty lodges, moved eastward to the bison range. Frequently they were joined by other of the western peoples--³⁶ Pend d'Oreilles, Spokan, or Kootenai. War dances were held before the departure to hearten the young men in case the Salish were attacked by enemies. They had numerous ceremonies and dances connected with war, including several kinds of war dances, meeting dances, scalp dances and victory dances. Thus it seems that there was a dance in anticipation of war, another before going to war, one before going on a raid, one before making an attack, and one when expecting to be attacked. Each of these was slightly different in meaning and character from the others. They also had several kinds of horse and foot parades.³⁷

It required more time to reach the plains for the winter hunt, and since the days were shorter, no stop was

35. Loc. cit.

36. Coues, Elliott, New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest, Vol. II, Francis P. Harper, New York, 1897, page 707.

37. Teit, James A., The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateau, Forty-fifth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, 1930, page 295

made at noon for rest and food. Joe Meek who accompanied the Sælish on one of their hunts, describes the journey as follows:

We started off slow; nobody war allowed to go ahead of camp. In this manner we caused the buffalo to move on before us, but not to be alarmed. We war eight or ten day traveling from the Beaver-head to Missouri Lake, and by the time we got thar, the whole plain around the lake war crowded with buffalo, and it war a splendid sight!

And then he describes the surround:

That war a sight to make a man's blood warm! A thousand men, all trained hunters, on horseback, carrying their guns and with their horses painted in the height of Indians's fashion. We advanced until within about half a mile of the herd; then the chief ordered us to deploy to the right and left, until the wings of the column extended a long way, and advance again.

And then the kill:

By this time the buffalo war all moving, and we had come to within a hundred yards of them. Kow-e-so-te then gave us the word and away we went, pell-mell. Heavens, what a charge! What a rushing and roaring--men shooting, buffalo bellowing and trampling until the earth shook under them!

And finally the aftermath:

It war the work of half an hour to slay two thousand or maybe three thousand animals. When the work was over, we took a view of the field. Here and there and everywhere, laid the slain buffalo. Occasionally a horse with a broken leg was seen; or a man with a broken arm; or maybe he had fared worse, and had a broken head. 38

38. Victor, F. F., The River of the West, R. W. Bliss & Company, Hartford, Conn., 1870, page 248

There were also other activities besides hunting buffalo going on during this season of the year. Most of the work was forced inside the lodge when the cold weather set in, but here the older men fashioned such articles as horn drinking-cups, meat pounders of stone, ropes of bison-hair, and toys for the children. Many of the younger men set out to raid enemy camps for horses, and there were various ceremonies and dances to be held in connection with their departure and return. Besides the ordinary household tasks, the women were occupied with drying meat or working with hides or making clothing. When not helping the older people in various ways, the children spent most of their time in playing games or setting snares for birds and small animals. Some trade might be carried on with the Crow or Blackfoot if friendly relations existed between these tribes. Bitterroot and camas were traded to the Plains Indians in exchange for decorated robes and clothing. And so the yearly routine of living continued through the winter months.

The ecology of the food plants and animals in the Northwest greatly influenced the relations of the Salish with their neighbors. The camas and bitterroot do not

39. Schaeffer, Unpublished Manuscript.

grow on the semi-arid plains, and the bison were exceedingly scarce in the mountain valleys. Thus the Plains people sometimes sought treaties enabling them to enter the valleys and gather the plants in exchange for the privilege of entering the eastern grass lands in search of buffalo granted to the Salish. And although treaties of this sort were some times made to the apparent benefit of both parties, conflict generally resulted, and these treaties were rarely long in force.⁴⁰

In and around the Bitterroot Valley those Salish who were too old to accompany the hunting party to the bison range remained during the winter. A number of young men had been left behind also to look after the old people and care for the spare horses during the winter period. Their food consisted of a supply of dried buffalo meat, together with the deer and elk killed from time to time, and if game became too scarce, the men sometimes resorted to fishing through the ice. Until spring the people left behind would pasture the horses at those sites where the snow was seldom deep and the grass abundant in the Bitterroot and Jocko valleys. When the month of March finally came, they could be found camping near the site of the present

40. Turney-High, H. H., "Cooking Camas and Bitter Root", The Scientific Monthly, 36:262, June, 1933

city of Missoula, awaiting the arrival of scouts from the hunting party. As soon as the scouts arrived, the fresh horses were taken out to meet the returning hunting party, and then they all moved westward once again to prepare for the gathering season.⁴¹

⁴¹. Schaeffer, loc. cit.

CHAPTER III

DAILY PATTERN OF SALISH LIVING

Although the Salish moved with the seasons from the plains to the plateau and back again to the plains and varied their activities with the locality, their daily pattern of living changed only slightly throughout the year. There were of course small differences between living on the plains and in the mountain valleys, and as the general pattern is described the most important of these differences will be pointed out.

At a very early hour in the morning the camp began to stir, especially on the bison range east of the Divide, for the people were accustomed to early rising. At about the hour of the false dawn, the chief or his crier, who was a messenger of the chief, made the rounds of the camp to arouse the people. If it was the crier who performed this duty, he shouted out the orders and advice of the chief as he rode about the village or camp. This herald, while not held to an exact presentation of the chief's words, was expected to express their general thought¹ freely and effectively.

1. Ray, Verne F., Cultural Relations in the Plateau of Northwestern America, Los Angeles, 1939, page 24.

If it was the chief himself who rode through the camp, his voice was heard calling to the people, "Arise, my children, day is breaking and at any time we may be attacked by our enemies." The hour of the dawn was the hour of greatest danger from war-parties which were frequently roaming the plains.²

An excellent picture of this early morning scene in the Salish camp is contained in the words of Father De Smet. He says, "Every morning at day break, the old chief was the first to rise; then mounting a horse, he rode up and down to harangue his people..! 'Come, courage, my children, open your eyes. Address your first thoughts and words to the Great Spirit. Tell him that you love him and ask him to take pity on you. Courage, for the sun is about to appear, it is time you went to the river to wash yourselves, etc.' Then he would administer fatherly rebukes for anything he and the other chiefs had observed that was out of order in their conduct the day before. At the voice of this old man, whom all love and respect like a tender father, they would hasten to arise; all would be in motion in the village, and in a few minutes the banks of the river would be covered with people."³

2. Schaeffer, Claude, Unpublished Manuscript.

3. Chittenden, Hiram M., and Richardson, Alfred T., Life, Letters, and Travels of Father Pierre de Smet, Vol. I, Francis P. Harper, New York, 1905, page 225

The chief was highly respected and explicitly obeyed by the people of the tribe, and it is doubtful if disobedience to him was known in these days. The conditioning of the children from infancy was probably such that respect and obedience to the chief were deeply ingrained habits very early in life, and thus the chief required no definitely formulated sanctions to uphold his power. In practice then, "the chief's power was extremely clear in the minds of his people, his authority real, their obedience unquestioned without regard to formal sanctions."⁴

In respect for the chief's commands then, the woman of the household got up, rekindled the camp fire and then aroused her husband. Together the husband and wife walked down to the river for their bath, and upon returning to the lodge they awakened the children and sent them out to bathe in the river also. When the children came back, they got warm by crawling beneath the bed robes for a short time once again. They were, however, never permitted to warm themselves before the fire after bathing, for this was considered as dangerous to the health of the child. After a short time in the beds they were told to get up and dress.

The first task of the morning for the men and boys was the grazing of the horses. During the night and when

4. Turney-High, H. H., The Flathead Indians of Montana, American Anthropological Association, Menasha, Wis., 1937, page 50

5. Schaeffer, loc. cit.

not grazing, the band's herd, or secondary horses were kept in the fenced camp ring. Each man's prized hunting horse, or the primary horses, were not let this much out of sight. They were tethered by a foreleg to the front of the owner's lodge where they could be closely watched day and night. One man from each lodge was usually responsible for the grazing of the secondary horses, and they were usually the boys and young men of the tribe or sometimes old men. This mass manner of herding was not satisfactory for the primary horses. Each able-bodied warrior personally took care of the grazing of his own mount. He would stand patiently by the grazing animal until the sun rose, and then after the horse had grazed for an hour or more, he would descend from the hill pasture to his lodge with his horse where his wife laid out his breakfast for him.⁶

The work of pasturing the horses, the easiest and most pleasant task of the day, was performed exclusively by the men. Since the horse was the band's main guarantee of bison meat and protection in case of war, it was not unusual that this job fell to the males. An animal of such overwhelming economic importance must surely be under the protection of the hunters and warriors while it grazed.⁷

6. Turney-High, op. cit., pages 108-109

7. Loc. cit.

By the time the sun rose the women of the household, assisted by some of the younger girls, had prepared the morning meal. It generally consisted of dried meat, camas, bitterroot and berries. If fresh meat was available, some of it might be boiled or roasted. Before each person a portion of the food was placed on some leaves or grass, and he ate where ever he happened to be seated. The husband and wife often ate together from a large pine-knot food bowl.⁸ After eating, their hair, which was always long and dishevelled,⁹ served as a towel for wiping their hands.

The cooking utensils were put away immediately after the meal without being washed, and then the family completed their dressing, and finally they put on their moccasins. An interesting example of the tenacity of this aboriginal trait is evident even today. Few Salish at the present time put on their moccasins or comb their hair until after they have eaten breakfast.¹⁰ Their clothes were generally tattered,¹¹ and stiff and shining with dust and grease.

After they were dressed, the man of the household would rub dry, powdered paint, a composition of red and

8. Schaeffer, op. cit.

9. Thwaites, Reuben Gold, Early Western Travels, Vol. 27, The Arthur H. Clark Company, Cleveland, Ohio, 1906, page 300.

10. Schaeffer, op. cit.

11. Thwaites, loc. cit.

brown earth mixed with fish oil, first upon the faces of his wife and children, and then upon his own, according to the directions given him by his guardian spirit. Their faces, after this ceremony of decoration, appeared very dirty, and their hands and feet were black and stiff with dirt.¹²

The completion of this rite must necessarily be completed as early in the morning as possible. It did "not look good" if the camp were attacked and any of the Salish killed before their faces had been decorated after the completion of the morning meal. These practices would appear to be elements of the general warfare pattern.¹³

Soon after sunrise the activities of the day began, and if hunting was to be the order of the day, the men were soon preparing for the chase. Joe Meek put it like this:

In the morning the old chief harangued the men of his village, and ordered us all to get ready for the surround. About nine o'clock every man was mounted, and we began to move. ¹⁴

Or sometimes the younger men were sent out first to locate the buffalo herds, and sometimes before noon they would

12. Loc. cit.

13. Schaeffer, loc. cit.

14. Victor, F. F., The River of the West, R. W. Bliss & Company, Hartford, Conn., 1870, page 248.

return with the information, and then the hunters set out for the day's hunt. Of course, the men did not hunt bison every day during the winter, and quite often they could be found in camp caring for the horses, repairing weapons and riding gear or merely gathering and talking or smoking together.¹⁵

The old people worked busily around the camp at such tasks as they were capable of performing. The men would braid bison-hair ropes or make drinking horns and stone pounders or toys for the children, while the women looked after the children or assisted in tending the meat as it dried on the smoke racks. To the younger women fell most of the harder work of preparing dried meat, first slicing and then pounding it for long periods. They also scraped and smoked bison-hides, which would later be made into lodge-covers, robes and other articles.¹⁶

Most of the harder work fell to the women, although they were less subjected to slavish labor than the women of some of the plains tribes. When moving from one place to another they were obliged to carry all the household belongings or to row the canoe when traveling on the rivers.

15. Schaeffer, op. cit.

16. Loc. cit.

In the camp they gathered most of the wood and fetched the water. They prepared all the meals, gathered the roots and berries of the season, and if any time was left, it was spent in making mats, baskets and hats of bull-rushes.¹⁷ Women did all the embroidery, dressed the skins, made nearly all the clothing, painted all the bags, parfleches, etc. and made the tents and erected them. Finally they even helped the men with the horses and in other ways at times.¹⁸

Specialization by craft was not in existence, although some people were considered especially clever at some particular task. While the old men created most of the material objects, such jobs as making mats and lodge covers was considered "women's work".¹⁹ The younger men made all the weapons and most of the tools. They painted robes, shields, weapons, and any object connected with their guardian spirit. They made the feather bonnets and certain articles of clothing.²⁰ In one of his letters De Smet wrote, "What must appear rather singular is, that the men more frequently handle the needle than the squaws." However, then he goes on to say also that their chief occupations are hunting

17. Thwaites, loc. cit.

18. Teit, James A., The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateau, Forty-fifth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, 1930, page 330

19. Turney-High, op. cit., page 129

20. Thwaites, loc. cit.

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and fishing, fighting and looking after the horses.

The young girls of the lodge, needless to say, were a great help to their mother in caring for the younger children. If there was a baby in the family, it was removed from the cradle-board before breakfast and placed on a soft robe where it was left to thrash its limbs about and obtain the exercise denied by the board. After breakfast the infant was bathed and powdered and replaced in the cradle board, where the mother or one of the young girls played with it and sang to it until it fell asleep. The infant in the board was then placed against a lodge pole until it awoke and demanded²² care.

One of the girls would then sweep the floor of the lodge and fold up the bed robes and store them in the proper place. Another would gather the firewood needed for the day, and one of the younger boys went to the river and hauled sufficient water for the day's needs. There was always a plentiful supply of dried meat at hand²³ if anyone became hungry.

The Salish possessed some slaves who were always war captives. Although their lot was not an enviable one,

21. Thwaites, loc. cit.

22. Turney-High, op. cit., page 70.

23. Schaeffer, op. cit.

no actual slave group as distinct from the free group arose since the children born to a female slave took the social position of its free father.²⁴ Female slaves were of considerable economic value since most of the work of the camp was tasks reserved for the women, and they were strongly guarded. Male slaves on the other hand, were of little value in the camp, although they sometimes performed menial tasks usually assigned to women, and their guarding occasioned much inconvenience. Actually few male slaves were available since war captives were usually killed.²⁵

Toward evening the hunt was completed, and the men began to return to the camp with the meat that they had obtained. It entailed considerable work to bring in the meat after the kill. Here is Joe Meek's description:

Now came out the women of the village to help us butcher and pack up the meat. It was a big job; but we were not long about it. By night the camp was full of meat, and everybody merry.

And on that occasion:

Bridger's camp which was passing that way, traded with the village for fifteen hundred buffalo tongues-- the tongue being reckoned a choice part of the animal.

24. Herskovits, Melville J., The Economic Life of Primitive Peoples, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1940, pages 344-345.

25. Turney-High, op. cit., pages 130-131

26. Victor, op. cit., page 249

The other cuts of bison flesh were brought into the camp by the hunters, who threw it in front of the lodges from their horses, and then these animals were turned out to graze. The older men would then sojourn for a sweat bath,²⁷ and the younger men went down to the river for a dip.

The women immediately started to slice the meat that had been killed that day and to prepare it for drying. The fresh slices were hung in the sun or over specially built fires on wooden racks for the drying process. The special fires were kept burning throughout the night if the smoked meat was to be ready to be pounded and put away in the parfleche bags by the next morning. In the meantime the women interrupted their work with the meat to prepare an evening meal just before sunset that differed in no way from the morning meal, and after it was eaten,²⁸ they resumed their task of preparing the dried meat.

Most of the younger children spent much of the day in playing outside the lodge circle, and sometimes they were taken care of during their play by a sort of group nurse, who kept them in order while their parents worked. The guardian of the children was appointed by the chief,

27. Schaeffer, loc. cit.

28. Schaeffer, op. cit.

and he was usually an adult of any age known for his kindness and affection for children. His task was to keep the children out from under the feet of workers, away from sacred objects or places, and in time of danger, close to camp. The parents preferred to have their children shout and play away from camp during the day, but as evening approached they were brought into the camp circle. At nightfall the children were told to stop their play and to come inside the lodge. Soon after they were made ready for bed.²⁹

The Salish are reported to have treated their children very well, although this does not mean that they allowed them to run wild. If a father's patience was exhausted, he simply barked out, "Stop it!", and the nuisance generally ceased immediately. The Salish had no scruple about spanking children, but it was not considered wise to whip small children as it was supposed to produce an evil disposition in them. Older children did not have this immunity since they considered that the character of the child was formed around eight years of age. Actual physical punishment was not too common, however, since

29. Turney-High, op. cit., page 76

misbehaving children were more often controlled by threats of supernatural punishments rather than corporal punishments. Inside the lodge no loud laghter or scuffling was permitted, particularly around the tripod which held the man's medicine bundle and weapons.³⁰

In the evening people visited in the lodges of their friends and discussed the happenings of the day and made plans for the morrow. The Salish people were extremely fond of visiting, and even the stranger was received as a friend; every lodge was open to him, and the one which he preferred was considered the most honored. When a stranger visited one of the lodges, he was impressed with the gaiety of the Salish disposition which added immeasurably to the charm of their company. Among themselves they were always very "neighborly", and if anyone happened to fall into trouble, he could depend upon his neighbors to hasten to his aid.³¹

The Salish were excessively fond of game of chance, and their favorite method of gambling was the "stick game", in which they sometimes risked everything that they possessed.³² The best nightly entertainment, however was

30. Turney-High, op. cit., page 75

31. Thwaites, op. cit., page 174

giving and attending parties, and those families which gave the superior and most frequent parties were highly esteemed by the other members of the tribe.³³

Before it was very late the older people would return to their lodges for the night, but many of the young men remained awake until a very late hour, looking after the horses and guarding the camp. Both the men and women of the lodge slept either to the right or left of the lodge entrance, with the children sleeping toward the rear. The men removed their leggings and moccasins and slept in their shirts. The women and children removed only their moccasins.³⁴

33. Turney-High, op. cit., page 54.

34. Schaeffer, op. cit.

CHAPTER IV

BEFORE THE WHITE MAN

The dynamic aspects of Salish culture are indicated in some detail in the preceding chapters dealing with the Salish patterns of living. For the purpose of further and more systematically studying Salish society, it is now necessary to investigate more thoroughly some of the general culture patterns which this society possesses in common with other cultures. A functional configuration of culture pattern possessing a degree of permanence and satisfying fundamental social needs is known as a social institution.¹ Such an institution offers opportunity to study Salish culture in terms of generalized patterns, for these patterns are most obvious in the more or less permanent social organizations of a society. Although constant change is taking place in all institutional patterns and their relationships in the total society, the change is usually slow, and the relative rigidity of primitive institutions makes it

1. Gillin, J. L., and Gillin, J. P., An Introduction to Sociology, The MacMillan Company, New York, 1945, page 318.

possible to gain a static view of a primitive society, if its social institutions are examined in this light.

The preceding chapters, likewise, have dealt to a considerable extent with the economic institutions of the Salish, centered around their quest for food. The basic relationship of economic institutions to the other main institutional groupings--domestic, religious, governmental and educational institutions--can hardly be questioned. However, in this chapter consideration of them will be omitted, except as they are incidentally concerned in the discussion of the other institutional patterns. This seems to be justified in view of the separate consideration previously given them. War, which was primarily an economic institution with the Salish, however, will be given brief consideration here because of the important role it played in the lives of the people, particularly after the introduction of the horse. Finally, language will receive special consideration since it is the primary interest of this study.

Marriage and the Family

Early white visitors--explorers, fur traders, and missionaries--with the Salish have consistently vouched for the fine character and morality of the tribe. Father de Smet was so impressed with their excellent character that he wrote:

The Flat Heads are disinterested, generous, devoted to their brethren and friends; irreproachable, and even exemplary, as regards probity and morality. Among them, dissensions, quarrels, injuries and enmities are unknown. During my stay in the tribe last year, I have never remarked any thing that was contrary to modesty and decorum in the manners and conversation of the men and women. It is true that the children, whilst very young, are entirely without covering, but this is a general custom among the Indians, and seems to have no bad effects upon them. 2

Then he noted that he was determined to abolish this custom as soon as he was able to do it.

Ross Cox was impressed with the hospitality and cleanliness of the Salish, and briefly described their lodgings:

We were quite charmed with their frank and hospitable reception, and their superiority in cleanliness over any of the tribes we had hitherto seen. Their lodges were conical, but very spacious and were formed by a number of buffalo and moose skins thrown over long poles in such a manner as to keep them quite dry. The fire was placed in the centre, and the ground all around it was covered with mats and clean skins. . .3

This, it would appear, was a typical Salish home, but these material traits were only the physical equipment of the Salish family, accompanying the traditional folkways and mores of marriage and the family.

2. Thwaites, Reuben Gold, Early Western Travels, Vol. 27, The Arthur H. Clark Company, Cleveland, Ohio, 1906, pages 287-288

3. Cos, Ross, Adventures on the Columbia River, J. & J. Harper, New York, 1832, page 102

The courtship period for the girls and young men of the tribe began after puberty and continued until marriage. Night was the favorite time for love-making, and although a girl's parents exercised every precaution to see that their daughter remained chaste, the young men were perfectly free to use every means open to them to see that her parents failed. Turney-High summarizes the Salish mores by saying that, "premarital sexual activity was tolerated, but it had to be indulged in concealment, which was not hard."⁴ However, it is true that overt public decencies had to be observed, and it was not considered modest or even moral for a young man to talk or walk or otherwise associate with a girl publicly without her parent's consent.⁵

The incest tabus were not strictly enforced by the Salish regarding relations between an adolescent girl and her brothers, although they were not allowed to romp and play together after they reached puberty. No severe penalty was imposed on the participants in brother-sister cohabitation, but they did show their incest abhorrence by subjecting the few known guilty parties to a considerable

4. Turney-High, H. H., The Flathead Indians of Montana, American Anthropological Association, Menasha, Wis., 1937, page 82

5. Loc. cit.

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degree of disgrace.

The Salish recognized three forms of marriage rites including: (1) wedding by public acknowledgment of cohabitation; (2) wedding by parental exhortation; and (3) wedding by the marriage song and dance. These are listed in ascending degree of formality.⁷ After the relationship between bride and bridegroom had been established by meeting one of the above requirements, the parents-in-law ceremonially asserted their new status to each other, which was done by exchanging mutual gifts of substantial quantities of foods. Marriage among the Salish was regarded as a contract between groups rather than individuals. Accordingly, it established an intimate relationship between the respective families of the young couple.⁸

The primary functions of reproduction and child care were exclusively reserved to the family, and there were many tabus regarding pregnancy falling upon both husband and wife. A mother was not expected to pamper herself, but was forbidden to do really heavy work. She was expected

6. Ibid., pages 79-80

7. Ibid., page 90

8. Schaeffer, Claude, "The First Jesuit Mission to the Flathead, 1840-1850: A Study in Culture Conflicts", Pacific Northwest Quarterly, 28:244, July, 1937

to perform her duties briskly and well, or else it was believed that the delivery of the child would be slow,⁹ and that he or she would be an idle and worthless child.

The delivery was in charge of a midwife who was noted for her knowledge of parturitional lore and often acted as a general doctor. Preferred was a woman who was known to have -- easy births herself and who was elderly and experienced.

The midwife, although receiving no fixed fee, expected to be paid as handsomely as possible in food, blankets, shawls and other valuables. Either the family of the husband or the wife,¹⁰ or both jointly gave the midwife whatever they pleased.

If the mother died during child birth and before the child was born, no attempt was made to save the infant. They considered the mother's death as a sign that the child had also died. If the birth was successful, the mother was given two days, or an absolute limit of three days, to lie about and feel sorry for herself.¹¹

Customarily the newborn child was the recipient of lavish gifts from relatives and friends of the parents. It was particularly the duty of the grandparents to be generous. The most valued gift of all for the baby was a young colt about the same age as the child.¹²

9. Turney-High, op. cit., page 66

10. Ibid., page 67

11. Ibid., page 69

The infants were breast-fed until they were at least three years old, and so-called spoiled children might not even be weaned at that time, but it seems that they had no idea that the prolongation of lactation prevented subsequent pregnancy. Since orphaned children were not uncommon in a warrior tribe, these children were usually cared for and nursed by a woman who was similarly caring for her own child.¹³

A daughter did not marry out of her family, but through kinship ties belonged with her children to the family into which she had been born. Thus to this extent descent in the Salish families was matrilinear.¹⁴

The Salish normally practiced the levirate and the sororate. In the former practice, the next younger brother had a clear-cut right to marry his brother's widow if he desired to do so, but he was not saddled with the obligation. The latter practice might be limited to some extent during the life of the older sister, but it seems that a man was definitely invested with the right to marry his wife's younger sisters as they came of age.¹⁶

13. Ibid., page 72

14. Ibid., page 92

15. Ibid., page 93

16. Ibid., pages 93-94

Polygamy was permitted, but due to the usual economic check to the practice, the Salish were ordinarily monogamous. If a man was wealthy, skillful, and fortunate, he could easily support more than one woman. If he could likewise convince some girl's parents that he could support their daughter polygamously better than a younger man could take care of her exclusively, the result was a polygamous marriage, because of its superior economic advantages for both the parents and the wife.¹⁷

The dissolution of marriage seems to have been quite common and at the will of either party, although the husband's right in this matter, as well as most others, seems to have been superior to those of his wife. The principal causes of divorce, according to Schaeffer, were "the failure of a man to provide for his family, a woman's neglect of her household, and adultery."¹⁸ Should the wife's family learn that their daughter was being abused by her husband, they were entitled to take

17. Ibid., page 94

18. Schaeffer, op. cit., pages 246-247

her away, but they were not very tolerant of her action if she deserted her husband. Her case would have to be very good if she expected to be reaccepted into her old family circle. A husband on the other hand was much freer to desert his wife, and he might do this simply because he was tired of her. The children, being considered a part of the mother's family, naturally went with her back to her parent's lodge.¹⁹

Religion and Medicine

After spending a winter with the Salish, Ross Cox wrote the following description of their religion:

The Flat-heads believe in the existence of a good and evil spirit, and consequently in a future state of rewards and punishments. They hold, that after death the good Indian goes to a country in which there will be perpetual summer; that he will meet his wife and children; that the rivers will abound with fish, and the plains with the much-loved buffalo; and that he will spend his time in hunting and fishing, free from the terrors of war, or the apprehensions of cold or famine. The bad man, they believe, will go to a place covered by eternal snow; that he will always be shivering with cold, and will see fires at a distance which he cannot enjoy; water which he cannot procure to quench his thirst, and buffalo and deer which he cannot kill to appease his hunger. 20

19. Turney-High, op. cit., page 96.

20. Cox, op. cit., page 126.

The code of morals which separated the good from the bad, "although short, is comprehensive", according to Cox. "They say that honesty, bravery, love of truth, attention to parents, obedience to their chief, and affection for their wives and children, are the principal virtues which entitle them to the place of happiness, while the opposite vices condemn them to that of misery."²¹

Granville Stuart, who arrived among the Salish after the missionaries, reports that before embracing the Catholic faith, the Salish were sun worshippers. He recites an instance, which he says is common, of an Indian trying to convince him of his honesty by pointing to the sun and saying, "The Great Spirit, the sun knows I do not lie." Stuart also mentions that in all their legends "the sun in the Great Spirit and is given power over all other spirits."²²

Another view of the Salish religious beliefs is contained in the following quotation from Mengarini:

While engaged in writing down their story, I asked one of the chiefs what they thought when they saw sun and moon at the same time. A new idea seemed

21. Ibid., page 127

22. Stuart, Granville, Forty Years on the Frontier, Vol. II, (Paul C. Phillips, Editor), The Arthur H. Clark Company, Cleveland, Ohio, 1925, page 51.

to strike him, for, clapping his hand to his mouth, he could only answer: "We never thought of that." They admitted three creations. The first destroyed by water; the second by fire; the third, though also wicked, was saved only by the entreaties of Skomeltem, the mother of Amotkan, who promised that the people would do better. They knew of no redeemer, all of their traditions referring to events similar to those in the Old Testament. Their version of a race of giants that once inhabited the globe is that they were wicked and were destroyed by the prairie-wolf sent by Amotkan. These giants were called Natliskelikutin (people killers), and were changed into stones; so that in passing large overhanging rocks, pagan parents were accustomed to bid their children hide their faces lest the Natliskelikutin should see them. 23

In some elements of their religious beliefs such as sun worship the Salish seem to be attached to the plains culture. It is likely that since the tribe spent much time east of the mountains, they carried home some of the traits²⁴ which fitted most easily into their culture.

It is quite possible that some of the varied reports on the Salish religion were the outcome of the attempts of the tribe to please their white visitors. Undoubtedly in their attempts to gain favor with the whites, they often told them what they wanted to hear. Each of the

23. Partoll, A. J., Mengarini's Narrative of the Rockies, Montana State University, Missoula, Montana, 1938, page 10.

24. Ray, Verne F., Cultural Relations in the Plateau of Northwestern America, Los Angeles, 1939, page 53.

individual listeners, it seems probable, also only believed what he wanted to hear, and interpreted what he heard in the light of what he believed. It is probably impossible to understand and explain the supernatural beliefs in terms of a white man's religion, and that is what most of the early writers attempted to do.²⁵

In dealing with medicine which was primarily a religious practice with the Salish the information is somewhat more dependable Mengarini gives this information:

Let no one suppose that medicine among the Indians was, as among ourselves, a lawful product of human skill and science, or that it was a mere deception, and medicine men were deceivers. Medicine was of two kinds: medicine against disease, and medicines against the accidents and misfortunes of life. These were to be remedied or averted by the intervention of their tutelary genius. The methods of obtaining medicine was the following: When an Indian had arrived at the age of manhood, he departed alone to the mountains, and there tasted neither food nor drink for six or eight days. Dancing was necessary for obtaining medicine. When all was over, his genius appeared to him under the form of some bird or beast, and taught him how to procure the medicine. Each Indian kept the nature of his medicine a profound secret, used it only for himself and family in sickness, and carried it about his person in battle, to charm away the arrows of his enemies. Medicine against sickness was oftentimes a real natural remedy, and such as a wise physician would have prescribed had he been there. But this apparent good served only as an excuse for the superstitious use of it against the evils and dangers of life. 26

25. Interview with Pierre Pichette, April 1, 1948

26. Partoll, op. cit., page 10

This use of medicine to indicate the particular power obtained in the manner described in the quotation has been objected to because the Salish had a naturalistic pharmacopeia which is not thought of as magical. In its place is suggested an approximation of the Salishan term to indicate the power. This term, the sumesh, embraces the special power received by the individual as well as the bundle in which the object representing the power is kept. Since the secret of the sumesh is closely guarded, definite information even today is impossible to obtain.²⁷

Treatment of injuries and contrusion are described in part by Ross Cox in the following quotation:

The Flat-heads are a healthy tribe, and subject to few diseases. Common fractures, caused by an occasional pitch off a horse, or a fall down a declivity in the ardour of hunting, are cured by tight bandages and pieces of wood like staves placed longitudinally around the part, to which they are secured by leathern throngs. For contusions they generally bleed, either in the temples, arms, wrists, or ankles, with pieces of sharp flint or heads of arrows: they however preferred being bled with the lancet, and frequently brought us patients, who were much pleased with that mode of operation. 28

The shaman or medicine man was much in demand in such cases, however, and in contrast to the physical treatment explained

27. Turney-High, op. cit., pages 27-28

28. Cox, op. cit., page 125

in the quotation, they confined themselves to purely
29
magical practices.

Treatment for accidents and illness then could be either natural or supernatural. Both the shaman and the common person versed in herb lore were respected in their own respective spheres. The latter usually treated a person until the point of death and was paid a regular fee. If, however, the treatment of the naturalistic physician failed, the shaman were called in. The work of these two different types of practitioners was supplementary rather than antagonistic.³⁰ Burial of the dead was delayed as long as possible, and during this period the body was prepared for burial. It was wrapped in its own best blankets or bison robes, and along with its valuables and contributions from relatives and friends, the body was placed in a carefully prepared grave. They invariably selected a spot that was obscure and not easily found by enemies who would have disinterred and rifled the remains. If a more open location had to be used, horses were tethered on top of the fresh grave to remove all indications of the burial, and they naturally did not use grave markers.

29. Turney-High, op. cit., page 30

30. Ibid., page 140

31. Ray, op. cit., pages 61-62

In the early 1830's the Salish were observed along with some of their adjacent tribes performing religious ceremonies combining both pagan and Christian³² forms.

The explanation for these ceremonies can probably be found in the arrival of Iroquois under the leadership of Ignace Lamousse between the years 1820-1825. These Iroquois were Catholics, and after being well received by the Salish, intermarried and became members of the tribe. It seems quite likely that they taught the Salish some of the simpler elements of Christian religion.³³

Social Control

Early visitors to the Salish likewise noted the political institutions of the tribe and recorded some of their observations. Father De Smet wrote the following of their government:

The government of the nation is confined to chiefs, who have merited this title by their experience and exploits, and who possess more or less influence, according to the degree of wisdom and courage they have displayed in council or battle. The chief does not command, but seeks to persuade;

32. Schaeffer, op. cit., pages 229-230

33. Teit, James A., The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateau, Forty-fifth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, 1930, page 324.

no tribute is paid to him, but, on the contrary, it is one of the appendages of his dignity to contribute more than any other to the public expense. He is generally one of the poorest in the village, in consequence of giving away his goods for the relief of his indigent brethren, or for the general interests of his tribe. Although his power has nothing imperious in it, his authority is not the less absolute; and it may, without exaggeration, be asserted that his wishes are complied with as soon as known. Should any mutinous individual be deaf to his personal command, the public voice would soon call him to account for his obstinacy. I know not of any government where so much personal liberty is united with greater subordination and devotedness. 34

The Head Chief was considered hereditary by the Salish except under extraordinary conditions, while the war or sub-chiefs were usually elected. In addition there was a council composed of subordinate leaders who acted merely as an advisory body to the Head Chief. These leaders made up the main instruments of government for the tribe. 35

The functions of the heads of government were limited by the informal social controls that operated in the tribe, and only in cases of violation of these controls was the government required to act. Their code of morality was more depended upon to maintain order than the actions of their leaders.

34. Thwaites, op. cit., Vol. 27, pages 173-174

35. Turney-High, op. cit., pages 49-52

De Smet offers this illustration:

On the other hand they are scrupulously honest in buying and selling. They have never been accused of stealing. Whenever any lost article is found, it is immediately given to the chief, who informs the tribe of the fact, and restores it to the lawful owner. Detraction is a vice unknown even amongst the women; and falsehood is particularly odious to them. A forked-tongued (a liar) they say, is the scourge of a people. 36

He goes on to say, however, that quarrels and violent anger are severely punished.

Turney-High wrote, "Ridicule was and is undoubtedly the strongest informal means of social control. The mirrored self is to the Flathead the most important self. Industry, bravery, and like virtues were rewarded with wealth and prestige. Their reverse gained only opprobrium."³⁷ It is doubtful, however, that this means of control was as strong as is indicated, and, in fact, there is some evidence to indicate that ridicule was little used, and that it would actually have been opposed for this purpose. Punishment of discordant members of the tribe was imposed by the leaders after they had got together and determined the guilt and the punishment which the violation required. The punishment was usually whipping. This form

36. Thwaites, op. cit., Vol. 27, pages 173-174

37. Turney-High, op. cit., page 44

of punishment seems to be more rational than ridicule which would rely too heavily on the desire of the members of the group to conform to the mores of the group.³⁸

In a most solemn manner the chiefs and head men of the tribe conducted a "kind of general assizes of open court" in the presence of the whole tribe. At this assembly it was not uncommon for offenders against the mores of the group to come forward of their own free will, even before any accusation had been placed against them, and they would confess their wrong-doing and ask for the proper punishment. Others were brought before the court by the accusing person or proper authorities. In any case the chief decided the matter then and there, and his sentence was immediately carried out.³⁹

The custom of whipping probably existed among the Salish before the whip was introduced by the white man, and before that time a heavy switch was probably used for the purpose.⁴⁰ Cases brought before the court were probably mainly those that could not be settled by the law

38. Interview with Pierre Pichette, April 24, 1948.

39. Palladino, L. B., Indian and White in the Northwest, Wickersham Publishing Company, Lancaster, Pa., 1922, page 100.

40. Partoll, op. cit., page 10

of vengeance. Such grave offenses as wife-abduction and murder were settled by the kinsmen of the injured party taking revenge on the culprit. It is likely the chief preferred to handle such cases and mete out public punishment, but he was too limited in powers to remove individual revenge from the list of socially approved mores.⁴¹ The complex of social control included also the right of the injured party to demand property payments for the injuries he received from the guilty party. In making such payments the criminal might be aided by his relatives although they were not bound to help him. This practice, however, only satisfied the injuries of the aggrieved persons, and the group interest might require further satisfaction, and "the chief did not abdicate his power of whipping simply because the injured man or the avengers of blood had been⁴² satisfied."

Another form of control exercised frequently by the chief before the assembled tribe was the judicial reprimand. If an individual was guilty of a crime of minor importance and not sufficient to merit the whip, he was called before the assembly and made to feel the

41. Turney-High, op. cit., page 45.

42. Ibid., page 46.

judicial disapproval of his action. He was forced to kneel on a rod while the chief would reprimand him in lengthy oratory.⁴³

It seems likely that the formal controls were sufficiently strong that a threat of their convocation was ordinarily enough to convince the refractory, and that general peace and order were not difficult to maintain. It is also likely that the informal controls were based more on the implied threat than social disapproval.

Education

The early training of the Salish children was mainly by example and emulation of their parents. The boys were likely to receive a certain amount of desultory economic instruction from their father, as the girls did from their mother, but this prepubertal education was not taken seriously. The father's main job was to provide sufficiently for his offspring, and his wife was responsible for conditioning the children to the tribal mores, but that was the limit of their responsibility to their children. They urged their children to be receptive to advice from their parents and the older and wiser men of the tribe, and⁴⁴ they encouraged them to be helpful around the lodge.

43. Ibid., page 48.

44. Ibid., page 76.

When he reached adolescence, the Salish boy's training began in earnest. His parents and his uncles now took him in charge, and he was given more severe economic training than he knew before. He was warned against laziness and urged to be brisk in his behavior. He was given careful instruction in the care and riding of the horse, the care and use of weapons, hunting, and all of the usual manly arts and duties. This training continued for any number of years, as there was no definite duration for the boy's training.⁴⁵

The desultory education of precept and example for the Salish girl also came to an end when she reached puberty. It was now time for her to take seriously the instruction of her female relatives and the old women in the arts of cooking, the curing of meat, the preparation of hides, etc. This instruction continued constantly for several years, as the adolescent period was considered one of serious training for adult life. As a child she was ready to do a wife's job.⁴⁶

45. Ibid., page 81.

46. Ibid., pages 80-81.

War

Examining briefly the war complex it is immediately apparent that it was intimately bound up with the horse complex. After the Salish obtained the horse it was possible for them to travel to the plains to hunt the bison, and intercourse with the tribes of the plains was obviously stimulated. Also intercourse in local areas was greatly amplified, thus breaking down village isolation, and local problems were dwarfed by regional problems, especially such problems as warfare and defense. And, therefore, warfare itself was greatly expanded in frequency and scale.

There has been frequent mention of the interrelation of the horse and war complexes in the writings of early visitors to the Salish. The following reference is from the diary of Alexander Henry:

The numerous Saleeish, or Flat Head Indians dwell further S., . . . where the open country permits the use of horses, of which they have great numbers. Buffalo are numerous upon the plains toward the S., which quarter they frequent at particular seasons to make provisions. There they generally encounter the Piegans, and fight desperately when attacked. They never attempt war themselves, and have the character of a brave and virtuous people, not in the least addicted to those vices so common among savages

47. Ray, op. cit., page 14.

who have had long intercourse with Europeans. 48
 This characteristic of the Salish of never fighting, except in self-defense, was also mentioned by De Smet, who also said, "But should the FlatHeads, . . . be forced to fight, their courage is as conspicuous as their love of peace; for they rush impetuously on their adversaries, whom they prevent from escaping, and generally make them pay dear for their cruel attacks."⁴⁹

The practice of counting coup and awarding war-honors was developed into a very elaborate system among the Salish. The notched coup-stick and the eagle feather were the signs of a man with war-honors, and the warriors were graded according to their valor. At public gatherings the ceremonial objects worn or carried by a person indicated his rank as a warrior.⁵⁰ If two warriors had helped each other in counting some special coup, they sat down and smoked together, and from that time on they were war-friends. The bond between war-friends was often stronger than that between blood-brothers, and a man was expected

48. Coues, Elliott, New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest, Vol. II, Francis P. Harper, New York, 1897, page 710.

49. Thwaites, Vol. 27, op. cit., pages 170-171

50. Teit, op. cit., page 390.

to abandon his own brother in time of danger to go to the assistance of his war-friend.⁵¹

Warfare was mainly the business of the men of the tribe, although De Smet recorded the following incident in which a woman engaged in the fighting:

Even the women of the Flat-Heads mingled in the fray. One, the mother of seven children, conducted her own sons into the battlefield. Having perceived that the horse of her eldest son was breaking down in a single combat with a Crow, she threw herself between the combatants, and with a knife put the Crow to flight. 52

This was probably an unusual incident, however, for fighting was commonly reserved for the men.

After the fighting was over, the general practice was to kill all the male prisoners. Female prisoners were sometimes taken for slaves, and less frequently male prisoners received the same fate. Male prisoners, not killed or held for slaves, were unmercifully tortured until they died.⁵³ An incident of such torture is described by Ross Cox:

The man was tied to a tree; after which they heated an old barrel of a gun until it became red hot, with which they burned him on the legs, thighs, neck, cheeks, and belly. They then commenced cutting the flesh from about the nails, which they pulled out, and next separated the fingers from the hand

51. Turney-High, op. cit., page 65

52. Thwaites, Vol. 29, op. cit., page 332

53. Palladino, op. cit., page 4

joint by joint. ⁵⁴

Female prisoners were also tortured at times, and Cox notes they they were subject to even more shocking cruelties than those practiced on the males. In the torture of female prisoners, he noted sadly, "the Flat-head women assisted with more savage fury than the men."⁵⁵

Language and Speech

There is a legend among the Salish of the "foolish folk", a group of people who belonged to the tribe and spoke the Salish language. The Salish spoken by the foolish folk, however, changed frequently because these people were prone to invent new and foolish words for certain objects. These new words were used at first only when referring to the foolish folk, but some of the words as they were better understood came to make good sense, and thus they were incorporated into the Salish language.⁵⁶

There is also a tradition that a long time ago part

54. Cox, op. cit., page 118.

55. Ibid., page 119

56. Interview with Pierre Pichette, April 24, 1948

of the Salish tribe migrated to the west, and that the descendants of this group are living in a distant country and still speak the Salish language. This belief is current in several other tribes as well, and there is the remote possibility that the belief has its basis in the idea that all related tribes of every language had their origin when they broke away from some parent group and migrated here and there in search of a better food supply. Such traditions are of such ancient origin, that it is impossible to place too much faith in them.⁵⁷

Another controversy which has been much discussed is the origin of the term "Flathead", which was applied by the white man to the Salish people. As far as can be definitely known, this tribe never flattened the heads of their children. One explanation, offered by Pierre Pichette, is that the first white men misinterpreted the sign language designation for "the Salish". This sign, made by placing the palm of the right hand against the right side of the head, was thought by the whites to mean that they followed the practice of head flattening.⁵⁸ In the sign language, then, the Salish were called "flat head" or "pressed side of the head."⁵⁹

57. Teit, op. cit., page 322

58. Interview with Pierre Pichette, April 24, 1948

59. Teit, op. cit., page 299.

Singing was quite popular among the Salish, and there were songs for all sorts of occasions. Granville Stuart remarked, "The only songs I ever heard them sing were their war songs, and a peculiar chant which they kept up while gambling, for the purpose of making them lucky at the game." But there was also undoubtedly all sorts of other songs and chants connected with the various ceremonies of the tribe.

One explanation for similarities in Indian languages in a particular region is that intermarriage with other tribes, as well as the taking of prisoners, especially women, made it possible for the speech of these outsiders to be transmitted, with traces of their native idiom, to the next generation of the various tribes. Bloomfield offers the following example:

Thus, Quilleute, Kwakiutl, and Tsimshian all have different articles for common nouns and for names, and distinguish between visibility and invisibility in demonstrative pronouns; the latter peculiarity appears also in the neighboring Chinook and Salish dialects, but not in those of the interior. 61

Members of other tribes were well received and found a welcome home with the Salish, and Lt. John Mullan reported

60. Stuart, op. cit., Vol. II, pages 51-52

61. Bloomfield, Leonard; Language, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1933, page 470

reported that with the tribe he found "a few Indians of the Iroquois, Shawnees, and Snakes, and one or two New Mexican Indians."⁶² After the advent of the horse, and the tribes of the plateau joined together for their mutual bison hunts on the plains, inter-marriage between the plateau tribes became quite frequent. The increased fighting with the plains tribes made intermarriage with them even more unlikely.⁶³

Palladino declared that the languages of the various tribes were markedly different in the plateau area, and he remarks on the difficulty this presents to the efficient work of missionaries in the area.⁶⁴ Another authority states that the Salish spoke only a slightly different dialect than the Pend d'Oreilles, at least at the present time, but this difference was formerly more pronounced.⁶⁵ It seems likely that both the Spokans and Pend d'Oreilles speak the same language as the Salish with a different accent. At least the people of the Salish tribe could

62. Mullan, John, Miners' and Travelers' Guide, William M. Franklin, New York, 1865, page 19

63. Teit, op. cit., page 323.

64. Palladino, op. cit., page 175

65. Teit, op. cit., page 303

readily understand these people in a conversation. Undoubtedly some of the words varied from one language to the other, but on the whole there were many more similarities than differences.

66. Interview with Pierre Pichette, April 3, 1948

CHAPTER V

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

David Thompson crossed the Rockies in 1807, and soon after he established the first fur trading post among the Plateau Indians. His coming marked the beginning of the period of fur trading in the history of the Salish, and ended their unequal struggle with the tribes to the east over the right to the bison range. The firearms and ammunition they obtained from the traders during the following years made it possible for them to successfully conduct their hunts on the bison range for some time.¹

Ross Cox, who claims to have supplied the Salish with their first implements of war, wrote, "They were overjoyed at having an opportunity of purchasing arms and ammunition, and quickly stocked themselves with a sufficient quantity of both."²

In the summer of 1810, when the Salish, supplied with

1. Schaeffer, Claude, "The First Jesuit Mission to the Flathead, 1840-1850: A Study in Culture Conflicts", Pacific Northwest Quarterly, 28:229, July, 1937

2. Cox, Ross, Adventures on the Columbia River, J. & J. Harper, New York, 1832, page 121

knowledge of the use of their new weapons, were marching to the plains in search of bison, they administered their first severe defeat to a group of the Blackfoot, who were their traditional enemies. The meeting of the parties was sudden and unexpected and the Piegans were forced to give battle. The Salish "fought with great courage nearly all day, until the Piegans had expended their ammunition and been reduced to defend themselves with stones. A small rising of ground enabled them to come to close quarters. At last the Piegans were obliged to retreat, leaving 16 of their warriors dead upon the field." This defeat turned the Piegans against the fur traders who had supplied the plateau tribes with arms and ammunition.³

Formerly the Salish had been easy prey for the Blackfoot, who, possessing white man's weapons, either killed or drove them from the plains like sheep. The Blackfoot were always the aggressors and took great delight in war. Their war parties were continually roaming the plains, searching for their enemies, and attempting to surprise them, kill them, and ride away with their finest horses, which were the most valued plunder which they could obtain.⁴

3. Coues, Elliott, New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest, Vol.II, Francis P. Harper, New York 1897, pages 712-713

4. Ibid., page 726

In 1824 John Work made his first venture into the territory of the Salish. "He found the natives friendly and carried on a profitable trade with them."⁵ A few years later the American fur traders had begun to push their way up the Missouri River, and they were threatening the monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company in that area. The British company immediately took vigorous steps to overcome the American threat. They sent Work in 1826 with three boats loaded with merchandise up the Columbia River to the Flathead country when it was heard that the Americans were approaching. Both the Kootenai Post and the Flathead Post were ordered immediately strengthened, and this recommendation was followed through, and the latter post was moved further east to ward off the American advance. A few years later it was moved for the second time to a site near Post Creek and St. Ignatius, Montana, and named Fort Connah. This was the last Hudson's Bay post to be built within the present limits of the United States. McArthur started construction of the post, and it was completed by Angus McDonald in 1847.⁶

5. Lewis, William S., and Phillips, Paul C., The Journal of John Work, The Arthur H. Clark Company, Cleveland Ohio, 1923, page 56.

6. Ibid., page 46

Besides supplying the Indians with arms and ammunition, the fur traders began to supply them with alcohol as well. At first the Indians had trapped and traded their furs to the fur companies in sufficient quantities to keep the companies satisfied, but as alcohol took its demoralizing effect on the tribes, the Indian trade was seriously affected. Every day of drunkenness was a day lost in the woods, or it at least caused the Indian to be very inefficient. During the third and fourth decades of the 19th Century alcohol was used most extensively. It was so serious that the fur companies came to depend more and more upon white trappers or upon Indians trapping under the direction of white leaders.⁷

The Hudson's Bay Company brought into the area a group of full or mixed-blood Iroquois who were trained in trapping and the fur trade when the local inhabitants failed to meet their standards of service. These trappers were classed as "freemen", and they were brought from Canada and performed an important service for the company. They intermarried with the Salish as well as other tribes of the area, and they were furnished with traps and food from the trading post which were paid for with skins

7. Ibid., page 43

during, or at the end of, the season. These freemen spoke the French language, and their early religious contacts had been Catholic.

The arrival of Father De Smet at the Green River rendezvous in 1840 where he was met by members of the Salish tribe marked the beginning of the missionary period in Salish history. The Salish, however, were not unprepared for the coming of the black robes. They had legends to explain their anticipation of the coming of the missionaries and providing them with reason for sending members of the tribe East in quest of the black robes. One such legend, substantially as told by Pierre Pichette, is as follows:

A sub-chief was grieved over the death of his wife, and he wandered off into the Rockies. He climbed for many days up a high peak, and when he had gone a long ways, he had a vision of animals coming to him and offering him special medicine and power which he refused. He continued climbing once again and upon reaching the top of the peak he was met by someone coming out of the air from the east, who gave him food and told him to go back down the mountain and climb to the top of a small butte on the other side of the valley. When he reached this spot someone would appear to him and tell him what to do. He went to the place, and there he was met by a man who told him to go back to his tribe and announce to them that they were to wait for the arrival of men dressed in black robes, like women, who would tell them things which they were to believe. The things which they would tell them would be the truth. They would tell them that there

8. Elliott, T. C., "Religion Among the Flatheads", The Oregon Historical Quarterly, 37:5, March, 1936

is One who rules the whole world.

When the sub-chief got back to the tribe, he reported his experience to the other people. They decided to send a few members of the tribe East to ask for the black robes. While the man was in the mountains some Iroquois had arrived and told them that the black robes could be found a long way on the other side of the Rockies, and they told the Salish of the teachings of the black robes which were exactly those the sub-chief had received from the man on the butte. The Iroquois showed the Salish how to make the sign of the cross, to say prayers, and they even baptised some members of the tribe.

One of those who was baptised was a little Salish girl who was given the Christian name of Mary. Her baptism had come at a time when the tribe was gaining more and more faith in the new religion. A year or two after her baptism she became ill and near to death. After being helpless and unable to move for several days, one evening she appeared much improved. She became active and began to talk. Her parents became worried that she was delirious, and they asked her what was wrong. She replied, "Didn't you see someone come into the tepee, a woman, brightly clothed, who had a child in her arms and who brightened up the tepee. She came to my side and I felt happy and well. The woman said to me, 'Little Mary, I have come to tell you that it is time for you to go where I come from. My name is also Mary, and this is my child, and this place where you are lying is where you will die and be buried, and over this spot a house will be built and this house will be called the house of God. You must tell the people that the house will be built here, and that they are to believe whatever is told them by the men who build the house.'" Then the woman left and the child, Mary, died and was buried where the tepee had stood, and it is said today that this is the spot where many years later the black robes came and built St. Mary's Mission, the first mission among the Salish. 9

Whatever the reason may have been, however, the Salish or the Nez Perces, or both, sent four of their leading men to St. Louis in 1831 to see General Clark, whom old men of the tribe remembered as having once visited their country. There they inquired about "The Book of Heaven," as the Protestants maintain, or asked for priests, as the Catholics say, after they had accomplished their strange and interesting mission, crossed the mountains and plains in safety and reached St. Louis, where they were kindly received by General Clark. Two of the party died in St. Louis, and the remaining two started back to their own country in the spring, and they are thought to have¹⁰ died on the way back.

This long journey to the East in search of spiritual guidance by four Indians was soon made known by publication in religious papers and created the keenest interest among several denominations. The first to respond to the call was Rev. Jason Lee, who was commissioned by the Methodist denomination in 1833 to begin work among the Salish. Lee joined Wyeth's overland party, and with his nephew, Daniel Lee, and three laymen, arrived at the head

10. Schafer, Joseph, A History of the Pacific Northwest, The MacMillan Company, New York, 1918, page 117

waters of the Columbia where their provisions had been sent by the May Dacre. For various reasons they decided to let the Salish wait, and they began work among the Indians on the Willamette.¹¹ Other denominations besides the Methodist were affected by the delegation to St. Louis and in 1835 the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions sent out Dr. Samuel Parker to investigate opportunities for missions in the Rockies, but he likewise by-passed the Salish and settled in Oregon.¹²

The first Catholic missionaries also passed up the Salish for western Oregon. In 1839 the Salish sent another appeal, in the person of Ignace, a Christian Iroquois who lived among them, to St. Louis for missionaries. This call was answered by Father De Smet, who made his first journey west of the Rockies in 1840. He was met at the Green River rendezvous by the Salish, who had been informed of his coming.¹³ He immediately had an altar constructed on an elevation and "surrounded with garlands and flowers." From this he addressed the congregation in French and in English, and he also spoke to the Salish by an interpreter. "The Canadians sang hymns in French and Latin, and the

11. Ibid., pages 117-118.

12. Ibid., page 119

13. Ibid., pages 124-126

Indians in their native tongue."¹⁴

The early success of the Catholic missionaries was fostered by the circumstances of a battle with a formidable band of the Blackfoot in the summer of 1840. A small party of scarcely sixty Salish and Pend d'Oreilles were attacked by a much larger band of the Blackfoot. Before entering contest the party, "betook themselves to prayer, imploring the aid of Heaven, which alone could save them in the unequal contest." The battle continued for five days,¹⁵ but the Blackfoot were severely beaten.

They returned from the field of battle confident that the "Great Father" of the missionaries had been responsible for their success. In order to express joy for their victory, they chanted songs of triumph, accompanied with the beating of drums. The conversion of the tribe to Christianity was thus begun.¹⁶

About one-third of the Salish tribe were baptised into the Catholic faith on the third day of December, 1841, and on Christmas Day of the same year, most of the others who had taken religious instruction were received

14. Thwaites, Early Western Travels, Vol. 27, The Arthur H. Clark Company, Cleveland, Ohio, 1906, page 138

15. Thwaites, op. cit., Vol. 29, pages 326-327

16. Ibid., page 336.

into the fold. In a very short space of time, then, the Salish tribe, at that time numbering about one thousand souls, had accepted the new religion, and the fervor of their new converts was not displeasing to the missionaries.¹⁷

Although polygamy was probably the exception among the Salish, the missionaries felt the necessity of having the Indians monogamously married by the authority of the church. An explanation for doing this was given by Palladino:

The nature of the marriage contract required for its validity that the parties to it intend to bind themselves to each other for life, an intention so essential that without it there can be no marriage. Now, the Fathers found that amongst the very best of the Indians the belief prevailed that even after marriage they were still free, and justified in sending away their first wife and marrying another, at pleasure. This made it clear that the essential condition to the validity of the matrimonial contract was wanting in their marriages, and that, consequently, they were all null and void. Hence the necessity of setting the Indians right on so important a matter, and of revalidating and blessing the marriages of young and old alike. 18

On one instance Father De Smet married twenty-four of the Salish couples for this reason.

17. Ronan, Peter, Historical Sketch of the Flat-head Indian Nation, Journal Publishing Company, Helena, Montana, 1890, page 31.

18. Palladino, L. B., Indian and White in the Northwest, Wickersham Publishing Company, Lancaster, Pa., 1922, page 49.

In the spring of 1842, Father De Smet had grain brought to the Fitterroot Valley from Fort Colville, and the first crop of grain and potatoes was harvested that year. The Salish were delighted with the rich yield and for the first time learned how to till the soil and force it to bring forth produce¹⁹. The soil of the valley was good and many of the Salish began to plant crops and lead a more settled life. Stock was brought in, as well as hogs and fowl, and St. Mary's village grew up around the mission. There was water available from the rivers to supply the fields, orchards, and gardens of the vil-
lage.²⁰

Not long after a mill was built to provide flour for food and lumber for building shelter. The flour mill ground "ten or twelve bushels in a day;" and the saw mill furnished "an abundant supply of planks, posts, etc., for the public and private building of the nation settled here."²¹

With respect to the faith of his flock, De Smet wrote:

19. Ronan, op. cit., page 31

20. Thwaites, op. cit., Vol. 29, page 322

21. Ibid., pages 321-322.

Not a vestige of their former superstitions can be discovered. Their confidence in us is unlimited. They believe without any difficulty the most profound mysteries of our holy religion, as soon as they are proposed to them, and they do not even suspect that we might be deceived, or even could wish to deceive them. 22

On Sunday, it is reported, the Salish "remained quiet in the lodges, they frequently prayed, and spoke to us words of the Great Spirit to make us good." It was noted also that they never failed to pray before they ate.²³

The attempts of the missionaries to eliminate polygamy were apparently successful with good results. According to De Smet:

The reckless abandonment of the helpless infant--the capricious discarding of wife and children--the wanton effusion of human blood--are no longer known amongst them. Our feelings are not outraged by the brutal practice, heretofore so commonly witnessed, of a father considering a horse fair exchange for his daughter;--the justice of allowing the young Indian maiden to choose her future partner for life is now universally allowed;--the requisite care of their offspring is regarded in its proper light, as a Christian duty;--attention is paid to the wants of the sick,--changes of treatment, with the remedies administered according to our advice, have probably been the means, under Providence, of rescuing many from premature death. 24

He like wise reported that wars of vengence with their

22. Ibid., Vol. 27, page 288

23. Ibid., Vol. 29, page 350.

24. Ibid., pages 325-326

enemies were not so common, but that when the Salish did engage in battle, it was for the purpose of defending themselves against unjust aggression.

The intense competition over the bison range beginning at the early part of the nineteenth century continued, however, for the Salish would not soon give up their hunting trips to the plains.²⁵ The Fathers sometimes followed the hunting parties to the plains, although this practice placed them in a delicate position. In case of war with their enemies, if prisoners were taken, the Salish would appeal to the Fathers for advice as to how to deal with them. The Fathers would naturally advise mercy, a quality seldom or never shown by an Indian to his enemy, and this exhibition of humanity towards a prisoner gave the suspicion to the Salish that the Fathers were friends of their enemies. Besides, while on their hunting grounds, the wild excitement of the bison hunt reigned supreme in the camp. The lessons of the gospel were largely neglected under such circumstances. The instructing of the Indians was, therefore, largely confined to times when they could be gathered at the

25. Schaeffer, op. cit., pages 228-229

26
mission.

The missionaries made frequent attempts to end the hostilities between the Salish and the Blackfoot, but they were seldom successful. They were better able to abolish the custom of torturing the mutilated body of their enemy, and there were even some incidents of apparent conciliation between the two tribes, but there was no
27
lasting peace.

The Fathers were opposed to the supposed "corrupting influence" of the white fur traders, and, in fact, hoped to protect the Indians completely from white influence. Thus they opposed the settlement of white men in the country. De Smet gave the following warning:

Caution against all immediate intercourse with the whites, even with the workmen, whom necessity compels us to employ, for though these are not wicked, still they are far from possessing the qualities necessary to serve as models to men who are humble enough to think that they are more or less perfect, in proportion as their conduct corresponds with that of the whites. 28

Then he states that the Catholic Church will erect schools among the Indians, confine them to the use of their own

26. Ronan, Op. cit., pages 32-33.

27. Thwaites, op. cit., Vol. 29, page 417

28. Ibid., Vol. 27, Page 296

language, and teach them reading, writing, arithmetic and singing.

The missionaries were, of course, not successful in these aims for the fur companies remained active, and although they desired peace among the Indians, incidents were bound to crop up. Larpenteur reported one such incident on an occasion when a party of Salish came to Fort Benton to conduct his trading party to their country:

A band of Blackfeet, called the Little Robe, after the name of their chief, instead of following the rest of the tribe north after the trade was over, remained on the south side of the Missouri. Some of Little Robe's young men happened to have a fight with the Flatheads; someone of each party was killed and horses were stolen. So the peace was broken, and the Flatheads returned to their country as fast as they could. 29

And Larpenteur was informed by the Blackfoot in the winter of 1848-1849, that it would not be a good idea for him to proceed to the Salish country in the spring because of the war parties which would be constantly on the Missouri River at that time.³⁰

Although De Smet found much to please him in the virtues of the Salish and in their eagerness for Christian

29. Larpenteur, Charles, Forty Years A Fur Trader on the Upper Missouri, Francis P. Harper, New York, 1898, pages 259-260

30. Ibid., page 276

teaching, he must have also realized that the task of changing the tribe to fit the practices of the Christian religion would not be a light one. His establishment of a permanent Mission, calculated to strengthen and foster the work of the missionaries, was undertaken with high hopes, but not, perhaps, without some misgivings.³¹ In 1850 the closing of the Mission and its sale to Major John Owen were events indicating the failure of the Mission. There is general disagreement over the causes for the failure. Palladino wrote:

So successful were the evil tongues (of unnamed enemies of the missionaries) that the Flat Heads who heretofore had been so willing, so docile and so devoted, became estranged and suspicious, to such a degree that all the endeavors of the missionaries for their spiritual welfare went unheeded. 32

Ronan blamed the traders and trappers:

Those men. . . looked with jealous eyes upon the missionaries' teachings of Christianity and virtue, and in the councils of the Indians began to sow the seed of discontent against the missionaries for the new order of things, which deprived the christianized Indian from as many wives as he chose to take and in prohibiting debauchery of the Indian women by those lewd camp followers. 33

31. Davis, W. J., "Peter John De Smet", Pacific Northwest Quarterly, 35:123, April, 1944

32. Palladino, op. cit., page 66.

33. Ronan, op. cit., page 35

A much more likely explanation, it seems, is that offered by Schaeffer:

As a result of the missionary zeal, Flathead culture was threatened by a series of sweeping changes, changes sufficiently profound, if carried through, as to disrupt entirely the basic pattern of native life. As substitutes for their own socially-significant techniques and practices, the Indians were presented unfamiliar and for them, meaningless traits of European culture. Unable to assimilate these foreign elements into their cultural background and faced with the loss of the former way of life, the Flathead rejected the entire missionary complex. 3

This view certainly has much more validity as a cultural explanation.

The desire for peace among the Indians was no stronger anywhere than with Governor Stevens of Washington Territory. It was the one great ambition of I. I. Stevens to bring the hitherto intractable Blackfoot to an agreement for a permanent truce with their western neighbors. After gaining the support of the Nez Perces and the Salish for such a truce, he prevailed upon the Blackfoot and gained their agreement to a temporary peace. Accompanied by a force of the western Indians, Stevens met the Blackfoot at the mouth of the Judith on October 7, 1855. After days of powwowing and parleying here, a satisfactory agreement was reached by which the Blackfoot were to

34. Schaeffer, op. cit., page 238.

receive provisions from the government in return for allowing their old enemies to enter the bison country. The peace was fairly well kept, although the Indians continued to cause trouble until they were placed on reservations.³⁵

The first attempts to place the Salish on a reservation were prompted by the settlement of the Bitterroot Valley by the surging white population. As the western movement went on apace, little respect was shown for the claims of the Salish to their traditional land, and finally Garfield came west in 1872 to induce the Salish to give up their homeland and move to a government reservation. An agreement giving the government permission to move the tribe on to a reservation was signed by the second and third chiefs, Arlee and Adolf, but Charlot, the head chief, refused to sign. The evidence supporting this fact is very convincing:

Everyone in the assembly was an eye-witness to his refusal; his signature is not on the original on file in the Department of the Interior; neither did it appear on the duplicate left with the Indians. We have besides, General Garfield's own explicit attestation in his official report: "Arlee and Adolf, the second and third chiefs, signed the contract, but Charlot refused to sign," they are

35. Trexler, H. A., "The Buffalo Range of the Northwest", Mississippi Valley Historical Review, 7:359, March, 1921.

his words; we simply italicize them.

The government, however, proceeded to go ahead and carry out the treaty just as if it had been signed. This procedure was naturally viewed by Charlot and his followers to be a deliberate attempt to rob them of their homes by falsehood and fraud.³⁷

The tribe was broken up, and the rights of Charlot as head chief were ignored, and Arlee was put in his place. Apparently the government felt that this arbitrary action would induce Charlot to give up the valley when the whites began to hem his followers in, and they became weak from hunger. Actually it had the opposite effect. It added to his determination not to move to the Jocko Reservation, and made him more suspicious of the government and all its agents. Later Charlot was called to Washington in the hope that a personal interview could lead to more satisfactory results. He was offered generous priveleges if he and his adherents would move over to the Jocko, but nothing could shake his determination.³⁸

Arlee and a few families moved to the reservation in 1874, and the following years found other families moving

37. Ibid., page 88

38. Ibid., pages 88-89

to the Jocko, but it was not until 1891 that Chief Charlot and the few remaining families, reduced to starvation, decided that they could not "hold out" any longer. The exodus from the Bitterroot country was completed when they moved north to the Flathead Valley.³⁹ "After years of determined and, at times, defiant, struggle against the inroads of white settlement, the stern and embittered chief yielded to the inevitable and with the little remnant of his people turned his back upon the valleys which had been his ancestral home and marched to the place allotted to him on the Jocko reservation."⁴⁰

39. Wright, C. C., General Information about the Flathead Indian Reservation in Western Montana, Unpublished Manuscript, page 6.

40. Stone, Arthur L., "Charlot's Last March", Montana Margins: A State Anthology (Edited by Howard, Joseph Kinsey), Yale University Press, New Haven, 1946, page 8.

CHAPTER VI

SOCIAL ECONOMY

As has been seen farming was introduced to the Salish by the first missionaries. They were encouraged to settle on the land and taught to raise crops, but the attempt was unsuccessful for the most part. Agriculture, as introduced by the Jesuits, lacked a body of ceremonial practices appropriate for the expression of such social values as the Salish wished to express. On the other hand, the observances closely connected with hunting, warfare, and other aspects of culture provided an excellent outlet¹ for the expression of these social ideals.

Most of the Indians preferred their native economy as long as the preferred native foods could be obtained. The former economic cycle, including the trips to the plains for the bison hunt and the resulting warfare with the plains Indians, were interrelated with religious and social practices which gave it real social significance. It was only after intermarriage with the whites had become

1. Schaeffer, Claude, "The First Jesuit Mission to the Flathead, 1840-1850: A Study in Culture Conflicts", Pacific Northwest Quarterly, 28:243, July, 1937

well advanced, that some families, the mixed blood families,² began to accept partially the settled farm.

As early as 1890, it is reported that there were 20,000 head of cattle being run by the Indians on the reservation. Of course, the large proportion of these cattle were in the hands of a few mixed blood families; some full bloods, however, had built up adequate herds to support their families. The character of the cowboy life fitted the interests and temperamnet of the Salish best. They liked to work on horseback, and it gave them periods of time in which other activities could be pursued as well as periods of intensive labor. The Salish could have made a very good adjustment to the economic life on a reservation through their cattle, but like most other things of value in their lives, this new economy was broken down by the establishment of allotments and the opening of surplus lands to settlers. The disintegration of the cattle business waited upon the increase in the number of white homesteads and the subsequent fencing of³ the lands.

2. Ibid., page 238

3. Macgregor, Gordon, "The Social Aspects of the Economy of the Flathead Reservation", Unpublished Manuscript page 13

As the native supply of food decreased, the Indians were forced by necessity to attempt farming on their allotments. An irrigation system was started in 1907, and in an effort to help them produce their own food supply and a product which could be sold, they were encouraged to use the water freely on the irrigable lands. However, the cost of operation and maintenance later imposed upon them, brought discouragement, and most of the untrained and predominantly Indian element of the reservation abandoned farming.⁴

The subdividing of land holdings through inheritance, and the sale of Indian lands to whites were the greatest drawbacks to the development of both farming and stock-raising. From these causes land passed out of use for the members of the tribe, although recently irrigation charges have been waived for those unable to pay. The new generation is now growing up without allotments, or with worthless allotments in the tribal forests lands. Today approximately one-third of the population of the reservation has no land, and still another third has holdings of unusable land, either because of its impractical size or its location.⁵

4. Loc. cit.

5. Ibid., page 14

The total result has been the failure of the Indians to gain the maximum available resources from the reservation, and they have also been unable to utilize the land which they do control to any extent. This is shown in the table below:

TABLE I
USE OF INDIAN LANDS

	Total acres operated by Indians	Per Cent
Cultivated dry farm	9,840	32
Cultivated irrigated farm	1,661	16
Grazed land	143,026	46
Timber	600	23
Fenced farm land	3,047	12
Leased grazing land	1,135	6
	Total acres operated by non-Indians	Per Cent
Cultivated dry farm	20,973	68
Cultivated irrigated farm	8,173	84
Grazed land	162,173	54
Timber	1,950	77
Fenced farm land	20,973	88
Leased grazing land	17,326	94

Source: Macgregor, Gordon, "The Social Aspects of the Economy of the Flathead Reservation", Unpublished Manuscript, page 14.

Even the proportion of Indian land operated by the whites does not give the full picture of the total available land resources. There is also much land standing idle or undeveloped; for example, added to the 9,173 acres of leased irrigated acres are 2,4000 acres capable of being irrigated.⁶

A fuller understanding of the economy of the Salish can be gained if their population is classified into sociological groups. Such a classification can be made on the basis of Indian blood, because the degree of assimilation into white life is closely correlated with the degree of white blood. Following Macgregor's classification the following sociological groups can be distinguished:

The first is the sociological full blood group comprising all persons of $\frac{4}{4}$, $\frac{7}{8}$, and $\frac{3}{4}$ Indian blood; the second is the mixed blood group, comprised of all persons of $\frac{5}{8}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{3}{8}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ Indian blood; and the third the White-Indians all those of $\frac{1}{8}$ or less Indian blood, at present fractionated as far as 128's. The last group would form part of the White population if they were not designated as Indian by the government and did not distinguish themselves as such because of advantages derived from tribal membership. 7

For the purposes of this study, these groups will be referred to in the future as "full-blood", "mixed-blood"

6. Loc. cit.

7. Ibid., page 11

and "1/8 blood and less", although these designations are sociological and cultural rather than racial.

The table indicates the number in each classification for the whole reservation:

TABLE II
RESIDENT INDIVIDUALS AND FAMILIES BY SOCIOLOGICAL
CLASSIFICATIONS

	Individuals		
	Male	Female	Total
Full Blood Group	387	329	716
Mixed Blood Group	626	550	1,176
1/8 and Less Group	<u>302</u>	<u>277</u>	<u>579</u>
Total on Jurisdiction			2,417

	Families		
	Indian Heads	Male White Heads	Total
Full Blood Group	155	4	159
Mixed Blood Group	216	100	316
1/8 and Less Group	<u>43</u>	<u>52</u>	<u>95</u>
Total on Jurisdiction	414	156	570

Source; Macgregor, Gordon, "The Social Aspects of the Economy of the Flathead Reservation", Unpublished Manuscript, page 11. The figures on family classes excluded individuals living alone and families eligible for Social Security pensions.

The component parts of the population have been changing very rapidly recently, and they will probably continue to do so. It is estimated that the increase in all mixed bloods was 46 per cent from 1903 to 1935. In the same period the full bloods have shown a decrease of 56 per cent. This sociological group, composed of those who act and think in terms of their Indian culture, will probably remain a strong minority group on the reservation for some time, however.

There is an even balance of the age groups among the full blood group, while the mixed bloods are distributed with an unbalanced proportion in the lower age groups--48 per cent of the group being below twenty years of age. The rapid increase of hybridization will probably continue, and the eventual result will be the complete cultural as well as physical assimilation with the white population. This is indicated by a study of the figures on the increase of Indian-white marriages since the beginning of this century. In 1903 about 8 per cent of all marriages were with whites, but by 1938 marriages with whites had risen to 47 per cent of the total. The

8. Loc. cit.

9. Ibid., page 12.

full blood group, however, has retained a strong preference for marriages among themselves, while the opposite trend has been evident among the mixed bloods, who have been more readily acceptable to the whites.⁹

The following table gives the figures on Indian-White marriages in 1938:

TABLE III
PERCENTAGE OF INDIAN-WHITE MARRIAGES ON RECORD, 1938

	Per Cent
All Indian Groups	47
Full Blood Group	5
Mixed Blood Group	47
1/8 and Less Group	77

Source: Macgregor, Gordon, "The Social Aspects of the Economy of the Flathead Reservation", Unpublished Manuscript page 12.

While the statistics presented in Tables I, II, and III are for the whole reservation, they are probably fairly accurate for the Salish group, and they are at least indicative of the general trends. The only real division between the tribal groups on the reservation is geographical. The remnants of the four tribal groups are concentrat

9. Ibid., page 12.

in the regions in which they first settled. The Salish occupy the Jocko Valley around the town of Arlee, the Pend d'Oreille and some Spokane Indians are settled on the western bench lands around Camas Prairie, and the Kutenai are located in the northwest around Dayton, Elmo and Lone Pine. Although their lands are scattered they recognize their tribal affiliation. The main cluster of the mixed blood group can be found in the fertile lands of the Mission Valley where the main towns of the reservation have developed, and smaller clusters are found in the irrigated areas of the Jocko Valley and Camas Prairie. The areas in which the mixed bloods are concentrated show a checker-board of Indian and white farms.

Between the years 1904 and 1934 a total of more than 610,000 acres of the reservation land passed out of Indian ownership. This included most of the best land in the valley, and left only the mountain sides and some of the grazing and farm lands. The land under Indian operation today and its use gives statistical evidence of the present Indian participation in the agricultural economy of the reservation. The following table indicates the participation of the sociological groups in agriculture:

10. Loc. cit.

11. Wright C. C., General Information about the Flathead Indian Reservation in Western Montana, Unpublished Manuscript, page 6

TABLE IV
PARTICIPATION OF INDIAN POPULATION IN AGRICULTURE

	Total Farming		Percentage of Participants in Sociological Groups	
	Number	Per Cent	Per Cent	Class Total
Full Blood Group	41	19	26	155
Mixed Blood Group	83	38	34	216
1/8 or Less Group	11	5	25	43
White Men with Indian Wives	59	27	30	156
Group Data Not Available	25	11		
Total Heads of Families Farming	219		38	570
Total Indian Heads of Families Farming	160		38	414

Source: Macgregor, Gordon, "The Social Aspects of the Economy of the Flathead Reservation", Unpublished Manuscript page 15.

Engaged in commercial farming, the raising of crops for sale or for feeding cattle in stock enterprises, are 110, or 50 per cent of the total farming families:

TABLE V
PARTICIPATION IN COMMERCIAL FARMING

	Total		Percentage of Participants in Sociological Groups		Class Total
	Number	Per Cent	Per Cent		
Full Blood Group	19	17	12		155
Mixed Blood Group	46	42	21		216
1/8 or Less Group	11	10	40		216
White Men with Indian Wives	34	31	21		156
Commercial Farmers among Total Farming Heads	110		50		219
Commercial Farmers among Total Heads	110		19		570
Commercial Indian Farmers among Total Indian Heads	76		18		414

Source: Macgregor, Gordon, "The Social Aspects of the Economy of the Flathead Reservation", Unpublished Manuscript page 16.

A total of 139, or 63 per cent, of the 219 heads of families included in these statistics on farming activities have dairy cows for use at home or for sale of cream to cooperative dairies. This is probably the most profitable and secure type of agricultural enterprise on the reservation:

TABLE VI
PARTICIPATION IN DAIRYING

	Total Dairymen		Percentage of Participants in Sociological Groups		Class Total
	Number	Per Cent	Per Cent		
Full Blood Group	19	14	12		155
Mixed Blood Group	60	43	28		216
1/8 or Less Group	12	8	27		43
White Men with Indian Wives	48	35	30		156
Dairy Farmers among Total Farming Heads	139		63		219
Dairy Farmers among Total Heads in Dairying	139		24		570
Indian Dairy Farmers among Total Indian Heads	91		22		414

Source: Macgregor, Gordon, "The Social Aspects of the Economy of the Flathead Reservation", Unpublished Manuscript, page 17.

The following table shows that 126 heads, or 22 per cent, of families own 3,132 beef cattle:

TABLE VII
CATTLE OWNERSHIP AND OPERATIONS

	No. of Persons or Families	No. of Cattle	Average Herd	Maximum Indian Herd	Percentage of Participants in Social Groups		Class Total
					Per Cent		
Full Blood Group	30	251	8	38	19	115	
Mixed Blood Group	54	1,750	32	26 ¹ / ₄	25	216	
1/8 or Less Group	9	237	26	92	20	43	
White Men with Indian Wives	25	751	30	141	15	156	
Blood Quantum not Available	8	143					
Cattle Owning Farmers among Total Farming Heads	126				57	219	
Cattle Owning Indian Farmers among Total Indian Heads	101				24	414	

Source: Macgregor, Gordon, "The Social Aspects of the Economy of the Flathead Reservation", Unpublished Manuscript, page 17.

These figures show that less than one-quarter of the families on the reservation own cattle, and that the distribution of cattle is greatly in favor of the mixed blood group, who own over one-half of the cattle and have herds¹² four times as large as those of the full blood group.

12. MacGregor, op. cit., page 17

The following table indicates the amount of participation of sociological groups in cattle associations:

TABLE VIII
PARTICIPATION IN CATTLE ASSOCIATIONS

	Total Members		Percentage of Participants in Sociological Groups		Class Total
	Number	Per Cent	Per Cent		
Full Blood Group	3	9	2		155
Mixed Blood Group	12	34	5		216
1/8 or Less Group	8	23	18		43
Whites Married to Indian Women	12	34	7		156
Cattle Association Members among Total Farming Heads	35		16		219
Cattle Association Members among Total Heads	35		6		570
Indian Members of Cattle Associations among Indian Heads	23		5		414

Source: Macgregor, Gordon, "The Social Aspects of the Economy of the Flathead Reservation", Unpublished Manuscript, page 17.

From these tables Macgregor has pointed out the following significant facts:

The first outstanding fact which these tables present is that less than two-fifths of the families of the Flathead are occupied in any agricultural activity, whereas agriculture provides the best economic security and only type of general economy for the population.

Second, less than one-fifth of all Flathead families are in any form of commercial crop farming, and less than one-fourth in cattle raising or dairying.

Third, the operation of cattle is carried on by the mixed blood group rather than by Whites or those of less than 1/4 Indian blood. The ownership of cattle is too limited among full blood group and among the total Indian population.

Fourth, the proportion of sociological groups participating in commercial farming and dairying is higher, as expected, among the groups with little Indian blood and White men with Indian wives. Numerically, the mixed bloods from one-fourth to five-eighths comprised the largest group of farmers, but this is because their sociological group is excessively larger than the others. 13

It is evident then that there is a tendency on the part of some of the mixed blood group gradually to better their economic position, and at the same time it is also probably true that the full blood group is worse off economically, as well as physically, than the same group was in years past.¹⁴ The full blood group having many of the older people in the population has not been as physically able to care for their land, and often they were unable to sell or lease it.¹⁵

13. Ibid., page 18

14. Ketcham, William H., Conditions on the Flathead and Fort Peck Indian Reservations, Washington, D. C., 1915, page 29

15. Ibid., page 24

At any rate, it is apparent that the full blood group has shown the least participation in agriculture.

Interest in agriculture was lacking in their native culture and they possessed no life interests or cultural values to which agriculture would be attached. Farming has been primarily an individual enterprise based on private ownership of property, whereas all their past economy was on an organized group basis and property was held by the community. This fact is probably a much greater barrier to their interest in farming than the early attitude that it was woman's work. As far as decreasing resources have permitted, they have continued hunting, except bison, wild root gathering and berrying and the sharing of food up to the present. These activities have provided them with a food supply which they otherwise would have had to raise or purchase.¹⁶

Those Salish who do not operate farms have for the most part, turned to wage work which has become the chief means of earning a living, since the allotment system was started. The white fur traders first introduced the idea of the trapping of animals for exchange, although money was not used at that time. In 1883 they began work on

16. Interview with Pierre Pichette, May 15, 1948

the Northern Pacific Railroad which was building across the reservation, and they also helped build the irrigation system which was developed over a large portion of the valley lands. During the late 20's, work was offered by the logging companies which were cutting tribal timber. The construction of the Polson Dam in the 30's by a state power company offered employment to over 200 Indian laborers. There has also been seasonal work as cowboys, harvesters and general farm hands, both on and off the reservation, throughout the entire period of white settlement in western Montana. Some of the full blood families have been able to put their native custom of picking huckleberries on a commercial basis for fruit distributors.¹⁷

Farm jobs were no longer available during the depression, although work on the dam continued until 1938. There was very little in savings to fall back on, and those who owned land had neither the means or the equipment to put it in cultivation. Even those who could do so, in spite of the dire necessity, showed little disposition to return to farming. Agency work and relief, which was dreadfully inadequate,¹⁸ were the only alternatives left.

In this emergency some help was given by the W.P.A.

17. Macgregor, op. cit., page 19

and the C.C.C., but these agencies were not particularly effective, it seems, in relieving the situation, especially among the full blood group. The Indian Division of the C.C.C. employed a total of 146 men of the reservation in 1938. They worked an average of about six months during the year. Eleven per cent of the full blood group, twelve per cent of the mixed blood group, and eight per cent of the 1/8 or less Indian blood group were employed under this program, and the full blood group were helped in this way for the longest time.¹⁹

Another source of income was obtained from the payments of lumber companies which contracted to cut in the tribal forests. The annual payments were distributed on a per capita basis, which were at one time as high as \$100 a year, but at present are much smaller. With some seasonal work, however, these payments made it possible for some families to get by. Many of the people leased their lands for periods of one to five years both before and after the depression years, thus providing themselves with some income, and if they could fee patent their allotments, particularly of irrigable land, they received sudden payments of thousands of dollars. "With complete

19. Ibid., page 20.

lack of foresight," however, "lands bringing good prices became something to be disposed of rather than a permanent source of income."²⁰

The large proportion of the population who found farming difficult and at times far from profitable were satisfied with this unearned income plus occasional employment. In recent years the stoppage of land sales, cessation of lumbering and tribal income, and collapse of all employment have combined to bring the Salish face to face with the fact that their sole means of self support²¹ lies in land utilization.

It seems likely that lack of proper training has been a highly influential factor in deterring the Indians from agricultural enterprises. The early education of Salish boys at the Mission school has been described by Palladino:

The school has become a little village, and affords the Indian youth every opportunity of being formed in the habits of civilized life. Some three hours of the day are given to book learning, that is, reading, spelling, writing and ciphering; and the rest, apart from the time for religious exercises and recreation, is devoted to varied industrial occupations, farming, gardening, haying, tending and feeding stock, milking cows, shop work, etc. Thus, while some of the boys are cutting and splittir

20. Loc. cit.

21. Loc. cit.

wood, others are teaming and hauling logs. Some are helping in the grist mill, others at the saw mill, running sewing machines, or mending torn clothing, cobblers with last and awl, blacksmiths, carpenters, painters and smiths, all are to be found at work in the shops. 22

This type of education does not appear to be aimed at helping the Salish to adapt to reservations conditions, but rather at making them "white" by learning the white man's ways. 23 Palladino also describes the early education for the girls at the mission school:

The preliminary work was gradually supplemented by the common branches in English, reading, spelling, writing, and arithmetic, class-room exercises being made to go hand-in-hand with all kinds of household occupations, laundry and dairy work, baking, cooking, hand sewing, mending and making garments, quilting, darning, etc. To these were added practical gardening and such other kinds of manual labor as condition rendered necessary or useful. Thus, while some of their pupils became proficient and even expert in all manner of domestic industries and in the mysteries of the needle, in cutting and fitting garments, etc., they could likewise handle the hoe, the shovel and rake, and even swing an axe with almost the ease of a woodman. 24

Although the mission school offered farm and trade training to the boys and home economics for the girls, all this training was ended in 1919, when the education of the

21. Palladino, L. B., Indian and White in the Northwest, Wickersham Publishing Company, Lancaster, Pa., 1922, page 160.

23. Macgregor, op. cit., page 21.

24. Palladino, op. cit., page 144

Salish children was undertaken by the Montana public school system. It is only fairly recently that the public schools have offered training in agriculture and home economics.²⁵

Participation of Indians in the public school system has been summarized by Macgregor in the following table, which was compiled from the study of grades completed by 364 reservation children attending school over the last ten years:

TABLE IX
GRADES COMPLETED BY FLATHEAD CHILDREN

	Grades Completed			
	6th or less	6-8	9-11	High School Graduate
Full Blood Group	28	32	7	3
Mixed Blood Group	16	42	88	43
1/8 or Less Group	0	12	24	69

It is significantly shown in the above table that among the full blood group 40 per cent of the children did not attend school beyond the sixth grade and 85 per cent did not attend high school. Not a single biological full blood child is included in the three who graduated from high school. Among the mixed blood children 22 per cent

25. Macgregor, loc. cit.

graduated and 69 per cent had some high school training, and among the 1/8 or less Indian blood group 88 per cent attended and 65 per cent graduated.²⁶

In 1945 it was reported that out of 619 children on the reservation between the ages of 6 and 18, 469 were attending school. Of these 297 were in public schools, and 122 in mission or special schools.²⁷ The children attending the mission school apparently receive a somewhat broader education than those attending public schools. They are supported in the mission school partially by tribal funds, and the government pays tuition and in special cases subsistence, for the children in the public schools. Over 50% of the children in the Dixon schools are reservation children, and in Polson about 11% of the students are from the reservation.²⁸

School busses are now available for transporting those children to school who live some distance from town. Attendance appears to be better than that indicated by Mead among the Antlers:

26. Ibid., pages 21-22.

27. Statistical Supplement to the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, United States Department of the Interior, 1945

28. Interview with C. C. Wright, June 5, 1948

To summarize the actual school situation: Attendance at the local schools is so poor that the children learn very little, but the local schools provide an alibi against sending small children away to school. This alibi and the badly enforced truancy laws, coupled with the plea of ill health, combine to keep Indian children out of school until they are eleven or twelve. Entering school at this age, they stay only three or four years, only getting through the second or third grade. By this time they are physically mature and caught up in the reservation life. The local schools make very little impression upon the children except as they learn English from their white playmates. The government schools harden their spirits and breed resentment and dislike of white people and white ways, at the same time that they spend years in teaching the pupils techniques which will be of no use to them when they return to the reservation. 29

The attitude of Salish parents in the past has been very similiar in many respects to that of the Antlers. Some parents in the full blood group have refused to send their children to school because they were required to have their braids cut off as a prerequisite for school attendance, others were simply indifferent, and on the whole attendance was very irregular. This type of thinking has tended to decrease very recently, and attendance rules are much more strictly enforced.³⁰

The quality of the education available is another subject which Mead has criticised on the Antler reservation.

29. Mead, Margaret, The Changing Culture of an Indian Tribe, Columbia University Press, New York, 1932, pages 125-126

30. Interview with Pierre Pichette, May ., 1948

Macgregor has, likewise, criticised the Flathead situation, as follows:

Serious vocational education in the public schools that faces the economic realities of the region is limited. Reflection of the attendance at high school demonstrates that those groups of Indians who need agricultural training most are not receiving it. The predominantly Indian portions of the population have not yet seen the necessity of a prolonged institutional education, their school age is younger. In Indian terms, a boy or girl is ready for adult life at approximately the time he or she finishes the eighth grade. Moreover, at about this age, 15, education in Montana is no longer compulsory. Also opposing high school education of this group is the factor of race prejudice. At adolescence the social barriers between Indians and Whites come more strongly into play which lead to ostracizing the full blood group. Strong among this group is a feeling of distrust toward mixed bloods and feeling on their own part of inferiority to White culture, which makes them withdraw to themselves. 31

The public schools provide only limited facilities for vocational education. The boys can usually take the common manual training in high school, and for the girls there is the traditional course in home economics. This is true of the Arlee school where most of the Salish children attend, and a very limited amount of vocational agriculture in addition is available to the boys. As far as is known, the program of the elementary schools is

31. Macgregor, op. cit., page 22.

devoted to the usual academic work.³²

Other educational and recreational activities carried out on the reservation include a 4-H program. According to Macgregor, the "reservation extension staff has about 50 children in five Indian 4-H clubs, which conduct calf and garden activities for boys and sewing and foods activities for the girls." The regular county 4-H clubs are carried on by the whites primarily for whites, and those mixed blood children taking part in them are mainly from families socially identified with whites. The Farm Security Administration carries 49 clients from the reservation, but, Macgregor says, "These are men who were previously farmers. Only two young full bloods were aided in starting farms by this agency."³³

A few families have been set up in farming by the Indian Extension Service, but this has been on an individual basis and carried out slowly. They have depended mainly on credit fund loans, and the following table lists their distribution by sociological groups:

33. Ibid., pages 23-24.

TABLE X
DISTRIBUTION OF CREDIT FUNDS BY SOCIAL GROUPS

	No.	Amount	Average Loan	% Group Receiving Loans	% of Loan Fund Received
Full Blood Group	12	5,197.10	433.10	8	14
Mixed Blood Group	30	19,028.84	634.30	14	51
1/8 or Less Group	6	3,799.79	633.30	14	10
Indian Women with White Husbands	11	8,887.97	808.00	7	25

Source: Macgregor, Gordon, "The Social Aspects of the Economy of the Flathead Reservation", Unpublished Manuscript, page 24.

The above table shows that the distribution to the full blood group has been low, and high in total amount for the 1/8 blood or less group. The latter group, however, has been removed from eligibility for further loans. The 25 per cent of the loans going to white men who have Indian wives can be fairly questioned, and "if these women have married with the expectation that their husbands will support them, it does not seem just that these White men should be aided by funds to rehabilitate Indians."³⁴

34. Ibid., page 24

The reasons that the full blood group has received the least seems to be that they are given on the basis of ability to repay, and this group has shown a lack of interest in obtaining the loans. However, since this is the group most in need of the loans, it would seem wise to make the primary aim of the program rehabilitation rather than restriction in number or amount of loans.³⁵

35. Ibid., page 25

CHAPTER VII

SALISH LANGUAGE TODAY

It is apparent that under the old tribal system of living family activities were dominant in the quest for the economic means of subsistence. The relations between the sexes were controlled by a definite system of institutions and beliefs, and this system was reinforced by the power of public opinion. Although these conventions differed greatly from those of European culture, they were nevertheless effective and significant in the regulation of married life. Their complete breakdown under the impact of white culture has led to a considerable amount of disorganization in the Salish family today.¹

The early Jesuit missionaries were highly instrumental in forcing the marriage and family traditions of the whites and the Catholic church upon the Salish. Their insistence upon a monogamous; life-time marriage contract for all the families of the tribe threatened disastrous consequences for all of the older and more meaningful institutions and beliefs concerning the family. Evidence of the disorganization which was taking place in the family

1. Schaeffer, Claude, "The First Jesuit Mission to the Flathead, 1840-1850: A study in Culture Conflicts", Pacific Northwest Quarterly, 28:244, July, 1937

in the form of "common law marriages",² desertion, and separation, was immediately apparent.

A rationalization for some of these evidences of disorganization is given by Father Palladino in the quotation following:

It is true that some grievous offences against life and morals have been committed on the reservation since Christianity was established among the Indians. But, then, it is also true that the offenses, without exception, were due to one or the other of the following causes; first, liquor dealt out to the Indians by greedy and unscrupulous whites; secondly, remissness and miscarriage of justice by allowing criminals to go scot free; thirdly, the villainy of outlaws from other tribes, who were never brought under the influence of religion and abused the hospitality given them within the reservation; lastly, atrocious murders of peaceful and innocent Indians by white people, which provoked retaliation at the hands of some relative of the victims. 3

While these single and individual causes of disorganization may be of some slight importance, it is apparent that they ignore the cultural conflict.

Moving from causation to a description of the disorganization in the modern Salish family, the vehicle of language can be used for illustrative purposes. Salish children in the past were allowed an unusually great amount of freedom and parental supervision was at a minimum.

2. Loc. cit.

3. Palladino, L. B., Indian and White in the Northwest, Wickersham Publishing Company, Lancaster, Pa., 1922, page 94.

Family relations were characterized by good relations and lack of harsh discipline between parents and children. As the rapid changes have taken place in the Salish family recently, however, the children have been in the vanguard. They have been the first to assimilate the white culture, and the behavior patterns thus obtained have tended to conflict with the behavior expected from their children by the Salish parents. The result has been renewed efforts on the part of their parents to discipline them. This is reflected in the language behavior of the children.

Many Salish children who learn the Salish language at home are required to give up this language completely upon entering school and to learn English. This often results in a conflict between the Salish and English languages in the home with the parents speaking mostly Salish and the children speaking mostly English.⁴

There is much evidence to indicate that Salish children showing speech defects connected with family relations, and especially such a defect as stuttering, are much more likely to exhibit these defects in the English language than in the Salish language.

The full blood family can generally be said to

4. Interview with Pierre Pichette, April 24, 1948

consist of Salish speaking parents and Salish and English speaking children. The older full blood parents, if they know any English at all, will pick up a few words from their children, but they can at best speak only a very inadequate English. If they make any attempts at speaking English in their homes, they will tend to mix many Salish words with their English.⁵

The mixed blood family, on the other hand, usually consists of Salish and English speaking parents and English speaking children. It is not unusual, of course, for one of the parents not to speak Salish in families in which one of the parents is mixed blood and one of the parents is white, and obviously it is the white parent who does not know Salish. The children do not usually learn the Salish language before attending school because their parents speak to them only in English, and they avoid learning Salish. It is not uncommon for the young children not to understand their parents when they are addressed in Salish.⁶

It has been pointed out that the missionaries found their work made more difficult because of the necessity for

5. Interview with Pierre Pichette, April 24, 1948

6. Interview with Pierre Pichette, April 3, 1948

learning the various languages of the different tribes among which they worked. During their early work among the Salish, it was necessary for the Fathers to learn the Salish language, and Palladino illustrates this in the case of Father Mengarini:

Father G. Mengarini, co-founder of St. Mary's with Father De Smet, labored ten years among the Flat Heads, and mastered the rich, but difficult Selish or Kalispel language so thoroughly that the Indians could not tell him from one of themselves by his speech. It is said, in fact, that time and again he played on them the innocent trick of passing himself as one of their tribe without being detected. He composed a Selish Grammar, which was published in New York in 1861, as one of a series of Indian studies edited by the distinguished historian, J. Gilmary Shea. 7

Naturally, it was necessary at that time for the sermons of the Fathers to be given in Salish.

In contrast today all sermons are given in English, for the largest majority of the Salish people understand this language. Pierre Pichette reported that he knew of only one Father who knew Salish at the present time, and he had retired from active work among the Indians. He also said that many of the older full bloods still hold prayers at home in the Salish language, and that these

7. Palladino, op. cit., pages 78-79

prayers are sometimes taught to their children.

Some effort was apparently made by the Fathers to retain some of the elements of the Salish culture which they considered unblameworthy, and the following is an illustration of an effort to attach one such element to the new Catholic religion:

One of the funeral dirges which these Indians sing to this day when carrying their dead to rest is an old war song of theirs, a stirring wail of lamentation which they used to sing over their braves fallen in battle. It was set to music with Christian words by Father Mengarini, but unfortunately, though the words are the same, the original setting is no longer extant, and the present rendering of the song is far from being correct. 9

Even now it is not uncommon for some elements of Salish culture to invade the funeral of a member of the full blood group, and it is likely that both English and Salish will be used in conducting the service. 10

In contrast with the small amount of Salish language which has survived in certain aspects of the Christian religion to the present day, the full blood group has made a much more concentrated effort to sustain the use of the language now remotely related to their native religion.

8. Interview with Pierre Pichette, March 20, 1948

9. Palladino, op. cit., page 99

10. Interview with C. C. Wright, June 5, 1948

The annual summer gatherings near Arlee for recreation and dancing are only isolated attempts at preserving certain meaningful elements of native culture, but a description of some of the ceremonies is important to an understanding of the conflict between the two cultures and their languages. It is here that all the actors in the drama are collected on one stage, and action is condensed in time and space.

The Salish have tended to hold on to some of their earlier dances, and at certain times of the year to go through the actions of reliving these ceremonies, but the many lost elements of native culture and the acquired elements of white culture have distorted the ceremony until it would probably not be recognized by the Salish of past generations. Turney-High reported one such ceremony which he called the "Bluejay Dance," but Ray holds that what Turney-High reported was merely the plateau Spirit Dance, telescoped to comprise only four days of activity. Some time later Ray visited the Salish and substantiated his native testimony. Furthermore, he reported, "the dance proved to be of eight rather than four days duration.

Although Flathead Bluejay characters play a somewhat greater role than similar characters among groups to the west, their activities are restricted to the sixth and

seventh days. Thus during three-fourths the duration of the ceremony there are no distinctive features of the Bluejay complex."¹¹

This dance is based on the belief of the Indians that special powers can be obtained from certain natural objects. The young men of the tribe obtain such powers as skill as a hunter or as a warrior or protection from illness from the particular animal or other natural object as may grant him some power or sumesh. Each sumesh object is capable of granting only one specific power, and it cannot exceed that grant.¹² The main place of the ceremony is the sumesh lodge, and even today no one is permitted to wear shoes or moccasins or bring in any article of clothing or anything else which was made by the white man.¹³ This statement is denied by Pichette, however, who points out that their exclusive use of white man's clothing at present has replaced the skins and hides of an earlier day. He thinks that this is one of the few changes which have taken place in the original conduct of the dance.¹⁴

11. Ray, Verne F., Cultural Relations in the Plateau of Northwestern America, Los Angeles, 1939, page 119.

12. Interview with Pierre Pichette, April 3, 1948.

13. Turney-High, H. H., "The Bluejay Dance", American Anthropologist, 35:103, January, 1933

14. Interview with Pierre Pichette, April 3, 1948

The music of the sumesh lodge is mainly vocal, although rattles made by stringing deer hoofs on thongs are used, but not drums or flutes.¹⁵ Members of the tribe who are afflicted with disease or illness are brought before the shamans, each of whom is skilled in the curing of a certain illness, but they make no attempt to cure the lame or defective. All during the ceremony no one is permitted to talk, although it is permissible for the laity¹⁶ to do so during the day while outside of the lodge. However, under any circumstances the use of English is forbidden for young and old, and it was Pichette's opinion¹⁷ that its use would invalidate the meaning of the ceremony.

It is not unusual today for some members of the tribe under the present state of acculturation to voice great disbelief in the sumesh. This is especially true of the young people, but Turney-High also says:

Though most of the very young Salish have had their ideas rather "civilized" by Haskell, Rapid City, and the fathers and sisters of the St. Ignatius mission, belief in the potency of sumesh is far from dead. Persons of middle life may profess to disbelieve, but their actions belie them, and one suspects that they believe much more than their shame before the white man permits them

15. Turney-High, Loc. cit.

16. Ibid., pages 104-105

17. Interview with Pierre Pichette, April 3, 1948

to admit.

And few of these people will touch any of the offerings or do anything to enrage a "Bluejay."

Another dance which is still performed today by the Salish is a much modified version of their old war dance. This dance is actually an imported dance, the "Grass Dance", and is performed by the members of the tribe around the Fourth of July. The Grass Dance was introduced from the plains by the Piegans in recent times, and the Piegans had in the 1880's obtained the dance

19
from the Crows.

In the early part of the 20th Century Teit wrote the following description of this dance:

In the old style of war dance all bore weapons and the dancers advanced making motions as if looking for the enemy, looking for tracks, scanning the horizon, attacking an enemy, stabbing with spears and striking with tomahawks. The dancers dress in their best clothes and best bonnets. Some had only moccasins, breechclout, and headdress. Others wore a shirt besides. Those who had bare legs wore

18. Turney-High, op. cit., pages 106-107

19. Lowie, Robert H., "Ceremonialism in North America", American Anthropologist, 16:628, December, 1914

garter rattles and ankle rattles of deer's hoofs, and armllets and wristlets were worn by those having bare arms. 20

He goes on to describe his experiences on the event of one of the Fourth of July dances which he attended:

At the Fourth of July dances on the reserve I saw Chief Moise recount his experiences in battle with the Blackfoot and Crow. He appeared wearing only moccasins, breechclout, necklace, armllets, and headband. His whole body was painted yellow except the right leg below the calf, which was painted red. He explained that he painted this way because the deeds he narrated took place on the Yellowstone in a great battle with the Blackfoot. He held in one hand a ceremonial weapon like a spear, the blade of which he stuck into the ground. It had a large iron head and was wrapped with otter skin from the blade to the end. The butt end was bent over and formed a loop. This ceremonial weapon was a token of his bravery. Only a man who had advanced in battle to within touching distance of the enemy in the face of superior numbers was entitled to carry this kind of spear at the dances and parades. 21

There are no longer any warriors left who have counted coup on the enemy, and thus this part of the ceremony is no longer included in the dance. 22

There are special songs to be sung with each dance, but these songs are not native to the Salish, they have borrowed from other tribes. It is mainly the older full

20. Teit, James A., The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateau, Forty-fifth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, 1930, page 392.

21. Loc. cit.

22. Interview with Pierre Pichette, June 19, 1948

blood group who participate in the dances, and for these people the dances probably recall memories of past, more authentic dances. The mixed bloods often avoid participation in the dances, and some may even avoid attending the dances.²³

The cause for the changes that have taken place, changes of drastic proportions, in the dancing habits of the Salish is brought out in the following quotation:

Such a dance could not be tolerated in later years. Its barbarous demands on strength offended those who came to manage the affairs of the Indians in their own homes. There was nothing wrong with the dance in itself but it ought to be kept within reasonable limits. If the Indians wished to express their joy for, say, ten hours a day and then rest, like a factory or office worker, that would be all right. They could go on dancing for as many days as they liked on that arrangement, only they ought not to lose too much time at it. It was probably a fair arrangement because though the dance was curtailed, so was the exultation it expressed. They decided to dance while they could. Some dances had been stopped completely. 24

The main forces of white culture then have come into direct opposition to the main forces of Salish culture. While the exclusive use of English at all other social and recreational events is almost universally demanded, Salish is just holding its own at these native ceremonies against the aggression of the English language.

23. Interview with Pierre Pichette, June 19, 1948

24. McNickle, D'Arcy, The Surrounded, Dodd, Mead & Company, New York, 1936, pages 203-204

Another area of conflict of languages is apparent in the schools of the reservation. Those Indian children who attend the public schools or the mission school at St. Ignatius are forbidden to speak the Salish language in the schools. In an earlier time when all the children only knew Salish when they entered school, their first contact with English was at the school where they were taught the new language. If they were away from home most of the year, they sometimes forgot the Salish language, and it was not an uncommon situation that when they returned home they could not understand their parents, and their parents could not understand them. It is true, however, that not a few of their teachers were able to speak the Salish language, but its use was not encouraged. ²⁵

Today most of the children speak some English before entering school. They may also speak Salish, but it is more likely that they will only be able to understand this latter language. Those few children who know no English are forced to learn it from the lessons given to all the children or from the other children on the playground. No special instruction in English is given to these children. Thus they tend to be retarded in their school

25. Interview with Pierre Pichette, March 20, 1948

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 advancement.

On the playground of the schools the children usually revert to the language which is easiest for them to speak, and there is considerable mixing of English and Salish. The playground is the schoolroom for those children who must learn English upon entering school. At the present time it is most common for the children to know some English prior to entering school, and it is not uncommon for them to know little or no Salish.²⁷

Most of the full blood group are familiar with some English today, and if they have attended school, they may be very well acquainted with this language. This group is, however, the one in which the speaking of English is least known, for the mixed blood groups are generally more able in the handling of the English language. The mixed blood groups are rapidly, losing their ability to use Salish and the full blood group is perpetuating and pre-²⁸serving the use of Salish in the tribe.

The full blood group uses Salish almost exclusively when speaking to other members of their own group, except in the case of some of their children. If they are able, they speak English to all whites, the younger mixed bloods,

26. Interview with Pierre Pichette, April 10, 1948.

27. Interviews with Richard Vollin and Aloysius Nicholas, May, 17, 1948

28. Interview with Pierre Pichette, May.1, 1948

and anyone else who may not understand the Salish. This is true in both formal and informal interpersonal relations. For instance at the general store in Arlee, the white clerks are always addressed in English if it is at all possible. In times past this was not the case, since it was necessary for the clerks to speak Salish in order to work in the store. At present even the non-English speaking Indian usually learns at least to order things in English.²⁹

The mixed blood group speaks English on all occasions except when they are talking to members of the full blood group who do not understand the English language. In all their interpersonal relations with whites or other mixed bloods English is the only language used. In the informal relations with their family or members of the full blood group, they will on occasion use Salish.³⁰

In relations of an economic nature, the full blood group has been at a decided disadvantage as shown in the preceding chapter. Undoubtedly this has been due largely to their language handicap, as well as to their misunderstanding of the economic structure of white culture.

29. Interview with Pierre Pichette, March 20, 1948

30. Interview with Pierre Pichette, March 10, 1948

Ideas of economics which included the exchange of gifts of large material value between friends do not fit well into the new white culture. Misunderstandings arising from money transactions often occur among this group because of their inadequate knowledge of English. The misunderstandings often lead to the feeling among this group that they are being victimized by their white neighbors. There is a general feeling among most of these people that most white men do not deal in good faith with them in economic affairs, and that this is another way in which they are discriminated against.³¹

This attitude is extended to include the government officials with whom they are required to deal. The history of past injustices suffered by the Salish is remembered by this group, and their indignation is great. Even today the Bitterroot Valley is the subject of much emotional feeling to these people. It is a topic of frequent conversation, and many people are still hoping for their return to their native land.³² The hero of their great desire for the Valley is embodied in the memory of the former leader of their tribe, Chief Charlot. Much of their

31. Interview with Pierre Pichette, May 1, 1948

32. Interview with Peirre Pichette, April 3, 1948

feeling is exemplified in the following quotation concerning the attitude of this man:

Charlot is a sincere and practical Christian, and as such he knows well that he must be on friendly terms with all men, irrespective of race or color. Hence his friendliness toward the whites. But the ill-usage which he and his people have suffered for years at the hands of unscrupulous whites, Government officials included, has forced upon him the conviction that the ways of the white man are "bad medicine," that is to say, the cause of most baneful effects which the Indians, on account of their simple nature and helplessness cannot prevent. The white man's conduct toward his redskin neighbor has been only too often the product of heartless contempt, dishonesty and inventive rapacity. Now, Charlot, though an Indian to the core, is endowed with a remarkably keen sense of what is just, fair, honest. Can anyone wonder at his dislike of the ways and manners of the whites? It is but natural, after all, just as it is natural for a horse to scent live bear in the dead skin, and shy at it, even when it has been made into a fancy lap-robe. 33

One more incident of an expression of their attitude was given by Pierre Pichette. He was telling of attending a service in the Bitterroot Valley at St. Mary's Mission at which one of the Fathers was pointing out the mistreatment which the Salish had received when they were driven out of the Valley by their white neighbors, and he quoted the Father's words as follows:

33. Palladino, op. cit., page 86

"This service today reminds the Indians of their old church. This is their church. You know what kind of land this is. It is good land, and what have we done? We have cheated them and drove them out of this land. And do you know why the Indians have remained silent? It is because of their belief in the church." 34

Interview with Pierre Pichette, April 3, 1948

CHAPTER VIII

LANGUAGE AND ACCULTURATION

Contact with white culture has had certain definite effects on the Salish language which has changed rapidly during the past century. As the native culture of these people began to disappear, many of the words of their language began to lose their meaning and slowly pass out of use, and as elements of the new white culture were introduced, many new words have come into use.¹ Whenever a new cultural object was introduced by the white man, the Salish gave it a name based on words from their language, and the name generally described the new object. There are a very few incidences when words have been taken over intact and incorporated into the Salish language.²

The strong attachment of the full blood minority group to Salish has been, at least in part, a result of the division between this group and the mixed blood group. Identification with the mixed blood group is marked by a concentrated attempt to avoid the use of Salish, and

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1. Interview with C. C. Wright, June 5, 1948
 2. Interview with Pierre Pichette, April 3, 1948

identification with the full blood group is marked by a positive attempt to avoid the use of English. This is especially the case among the adults of the tribe. Thus the full blood group has conscientiously avoided the encroachment of English to the extent of restricting the use of English words in their native tongue. At the same time the mixed blood group, ashamed of the Salish language and the full blood group who use it, take the opposite stand. They have tended more and more to use less and less of the Salish as their feeling of shame of the full bloods³ and inferiority to the whites has increased.

In performing jobs which require frequent contacts with whites the mixed blood group will commonly hide the fact that they can speak the Indian language, and, if at all possible, they wish to hide the fact that they belong to this group so they may be taken as a member of the white group. The full blood group, on the other hand, will often hide the fact that they can speak English. The reasons for their denial are probably many, but in many cases, either their resentment against white intrusion or their desire for greater sympathy, is partially responsible.⁴

3. Interview with Pierre Pichette, April 3, 1948

4. Interview with C. C. Wright, June 5, 1948.

Salish, in common with Kutenai and other of the languages of the plateau area, contains, so far as is known, very few words of foreign origin. Much more common has been for these people to supply the foreign object with a word composed of Salish radicals or roots.⁵ Such introduced objects as radios, moving pictures, trains, rifles, and newspapers have all been treated in this manner. For instance the Salish word for the radio, translated literally, means "a place to listen to news or information," and the Salish word for the moving picture means simply "a picture that moves."⁶

An example of the introduction of a foreign element influencing the language in an interesting way is provided in the following quotation:

The coming of the horse wrought such a change in Flathead life, particularly in the military-hunting complex, that its psychological effects are hard to overestimate. For example, the verb generally used for going to war literally means stealing horses.⁷

In this case the influence of the new element was so great

5. Chamberlain, Alexander F., "Earlier and Later Kootenay Onamatology", American Anthropologist, 4:236, April, 1902.

6. Interview with Pierre Pichette, April 3, 1948.

7. Turney-High, H. H., The Flathead Indians of Montana, American Anthropological Association, Menasha, Wis., 1937, pages 61-62.

that it appears that it changed the Salish conception of war and required the application of a new Salish word to this complex.

The addition of words to the Salish language describing elements of white culture has been so rapid that it is possible to discuss almost any subject in Salish that it is possible to discuss in English. Words have been supplied to all units of white government, nations, cities and people, and politics and foreign relations would be almost as easy to argue about in Salish as in English. More difficulty would be experienced in discussing scientific subjects.⁸

The elements of French language which have filtered into the Salish are not great. This is probably explained by the type of contact which the French and Salish had, as explained by Schaeffer:

Inasmuch as relations between Indian and trader were primarily economic in character during this period, the resulting contacts were casual and intermittent enough not to disturb the integrity of native culture. The trader was interested only in the production of furs, and beyond occasional attempts to accelerate activity in trapping he

8. Interview with Pierre Pichette, April 3, 1948

9

interfered little in native life.

Although there was probably much early intermarriage of the French and Salish, there are few Salish people who have any knowledge of the language today. Since in every case of intermarriage a French male was united with a Salish female, it is probable that the influence of the mothers in teaching their children to talk was strongly dominant.¹⁰

The resistance to taking over French words was probably not as strong as the resistance to English words has been. Such objects as potatoes, tea, peas, bottles, and pigs which were probably introduced to the Salish by the French traders are now designated by words strongly influenced by the French word for them. In all cases of such adoption of French words, however, the Salish changed the pronunciation of the word to fit their phonetics. Sounds missing in the Salish phonetics but apparent in the French words were replaced with sounds familiar to the Salish.¹¹

9. Schaeffer, Claude, "The First Jesuit Mission to the Flathead, 1840-1850: A Study in Culture Conflicts", Pacific Northwest Quarterly, 28:229, July, 1937

10. Interview with Pierre Pichette, March 20, 1948

11. Interview with Pierre Pichette, May 1, 1948

Considering the much longer period of contact between the Salish and English languages, the members of the tribe have shown much more resistance to English than to French. A few of the objects which have had their Salish name taken over at least partially from the English are apples, peaches and coffee, and also the names of the larger Eastern cities and such a designation of a people as Japanese. There may be others, but these probably represent a large majority of the borrowed words, as considerable questioning was unable to reveal any others. In the case of the English words, as was the case with those from the French, the pronunciation is changed from English to Salish phonetics. For instance the lack of the f sound in Salish has made it necessary for them to change coffee to coppee.¹²

In this connection some of the objects of white culture which have been introduced very recently have not as yet been supplied with a Salish designation. Such an object as "bubble gum," for instance, which has been introduced very recently and is known mainly to the younger generation, would not be named in the Salish language, probably because it would be very infrequently used in the vocabulary of the group which is keeping

12. Interviews with Pierre Pichette, May 1, 1948 and May 15, 1948.

Salish alive. At the same time certain slang terms which are common to the English language and are used mainly by the younger members of the tribe are translated into the Salish and used occasionally by the Salish speaking group.¹³

Even in the use of proper nouns English has had little influence on the Salish. Besides the cases mentioned of some Eastern cities and Japanese, little other influence was found. All the various national peoples with whom they have come in contact such as the French, English, German, and Swedes have been given Salish names which describe some characteristic of the particular people.¹⁴

The names of the members of the tribe have probably been strongly influenced by the introduction of white culture and especially intermarriage with whites and the Christian religion. However, most of the full blood group still cling to methods of obtaining a name closed to their old culture. There are in fact three ways in which a Salish full blood can obtain a name. He may receive: (1) a christ name, given to him by the church; (2) an ancestral

13. Interview with Pierre Pichette, April 24, 1948

14. Interview with Pierre Pichette, May 1, 1948

name, given to him by his family; and (3) a medicine name, given to him by the Indian religion. Their legal name usually consists of their christian first name and their ancestral last name, which if Salish, will probably be translated into English. In translation there has been a tendency to shorten and modernize the ancestral names. No information can be obtained concerning their medicine names since they refuse even to give them to the disbelieving white man, and they certainly will not reveal how they are obtained except that they are connected with their medicine.¹⁵

The fact that this tribe has been designated by the white man as the "Flathead" is more or less a matter of indifference to most of these people. However, they always refer to themselves as Salish, and they probably prefer this name even though it has lost a great deal of its former meaning. The sign which they used to designate their tribe (placing the palm of the hand against the side of the head) has come to mean nothing more to them than a form of greeting and a means of identifying their

15. Interview with Pierre Pichette, May 1, 1948

The severity of the accent, of course, indicates the closeness of the Indian to the Salish culture and the amount of inferiority which he feels toward the English speaking individual.²⁰

It is likely that the Salish could be separated from their brothers on the reservation, the Spokans and Pend d'Oreilles and Kutenai, by the type of accent which they use in speaking English. Otherwise, today these tribes have blended into one more or less homogeneous group. There may also be some slight differences in dress still noticeable, but in both these cases the differences are more apparent than real.²¹

The overall picture shows clearly that English is gradually replacing Salish as the language of these people, although there is the small full blood minority group tenaciously holding on to their native language and resisting the onslaught of English and the white culture which it represents. Even this group is very much aware of the encroachment of English, and as Pierre Pichette put it, "Our language is melting away." Most of the younger

20. Interview with Pierre Pichette, April 3, 1948

21. Interview with Pierre Pichette, April 10, 1948

generation is finding that English is replacing Salish²² as their primary language of communication.

The shift from Salish to English results from a variety of causes some of which have already been pointed out. If the cultural determination of this change is investigated still further, it will be found that certain habits have tended to persist while others are quickly discarded. As an example:

An interesting example of the persistence of food habits is afforded by the natives' preference for such new vegetables as most nearly resembled their own wild varieties. They became very fond of potatoes, green corn, peas, beans, turnips, and carrots. 23

It seems then that elements best suited to the native culture have filtered in most rapidly, and those which were least acceptable are those most foreign to the native culture. While many exceptions could be found to this statement, it certainly indicates that the familiarity or strangeness of the introduced trait had some influence upon the rate of acceptance.

Still another factor is the passing of the older generation most closely tied to the old culture. Their

22. Interview with Pierre Pichette, March 20, 1948

23. Schaeffer, op. cit., page 235.

descendants are, because of their education and experience, more likely to accept the white culture. Another quotation illustrates this:

For with every recurring bitter root season we notice fewer and fewer tipis pitched on the flats south of the university. The culture of the Salish is passing, along with their grand old men, whose descendants are not content to be Men Without Machines. 24.

One final factor which should be mentioned here is the predominance of the white culture in all interpersonal relations between white and Indian. All of the organizations and institutions which the Indian must deal with today are controlled by the white man, and it is much more necessary today for the Indian to know English if he wishes to take advantage of the services offered. Recreation, religion, government and economic institutions, in fact all but the family, are in the hands of white men, and it is, therefore, necessary in all situations involving contact with one of these institutions to use the English language. 25

24. Turney-High, H. H., "Cooking Camas and Bitter Root", The Scientific Monthly, 36:262, June, 1933

25. Interview with Pierre Pichette, April 3, 1948

CHAPTER IX

ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL CLASSES

The Salish were not a numerous people. Palladino says, "When our missionaries arrived among them, the members did not exceed seven hundred souls." ¹ A census taken on the 12th of August, 1884, by the agent showed that in all there were 342 individuals still in the Bitterroot Valley under the chieftainship of Charlot, but this of course does not include the number of people who had moved out of the Valley and on to the reservation. This number is broken down as follows:

Married men	79
Unmarried males over 16 years	25
Boys under 16 years	68
Total number of males	172
Married women	100
Marriageable girls	4
Girls under age puberty	61
Total number of females	165

In all there were 101 families left in the Bitterroot Valley at this time. ² The statistics for 1905 to 1909

1. Palladino, L. B., Indian and White in the Northwest, Wichersham Publishing Company, Lancaster, Pa., 1922, page 1.

2. Ronan, Peter, Historical Sketch of the Flathead Indian Nation, Journal Publishing Company, Helena, Montana, 1890, page 71

are listed by Teit: 1905, 557; 1906, 615; 1907, 623; 1908, 590; and 1909, 598.³

The population of the tribe remained much the same until quite recently when there was a slight increase in number. However, it is difficult to evaluate this increase because of the racial intermixing that has been taking place within the tribe. It can be said that the number of people in the full blood group is definitely decreasing, and the new population of mixed bloods are rapidly increasing⁴ and they are the dominant element in the population today.

In practice group membership is not based on amount of Indian blood, but upon identification with one or another of the groups. It must be recognized that many of those identified with the full blood group possess less Indian blood than some of those identified with the mixed blood group. Out of the 3000 Indians on the reservation only about 300 claim that they are racially full blood Indians, and many more belong to the social group. Degree of Indian blood, of course, is one index to the division between the groups, but there are also others. Much more important

3. Teit, James A., The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateau, Forty-fifth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, 1930, page 315.

4. Macgregor, Gordon, "The Social Aspects of the Economy of the Flathead Reservation", Unpublished Manuscript, page 1.

perhaps is the number of social interpersonal relations which the individual has with each group, and finally still more important is the matter of the economic position of the individual. As pointed out in the chapter on social economy there is a definite division between the groups in the matter of material wealth.⁵

To understand these present cultural and social groups and the class structure into which they have formed themselves, it is necessary to review the historic and cultural factors which have produced the present situations.

The Full Bloods

The earliest white influence upon the Salish was the arrival of the horse from southern tribes, which provided a means to a more nomadic life. The new means of transportation enabled them to make seasonal excursions across the Rockies to the bison range where they obtained quantities of dried bison meat, as well as hides for robes and lodge covers, and to transport their supplies west for future use.⁷ The horse also gave them more frequent

5. Interview with Pierre Pichette, April 10, 1948

6. Macgregor, loc. cit.

7. Schaeffer, Claude, "The First Jesuit Mission to the Flathead, 1840-1850: A Study in Culture Conflicts", Pacific Northwest Quarterly, 28:228, July, 1937

contact with the Plains tribes, and as a result, the Salish adopted many elements of the Plains culture, particularly elements of their war complex, including the taking of scalps and the counting of coup. They also adopted the practice of generously distributing their wealth, a complex which was later a source of strong cultural conflict in the adjustments to white life.⁸

The first direct influence of white civilization was felt by the Salish in 1841 when priests established the Mission of St. Mary among them in the Bitterroot Valley. At first the mission met with much success in teaching the Indians farming which protected them against famine. Although the missionaries improved the conditions of the Indians, they suppressed many pagan activities that started a disruption of native life and an inevitable reaction.⁹

It seems likely that the change to the farming economy and the regular and extra work which it required did not fit in with the Salish ideas of obtaining subsistence. For as De Smet wrote:

8. Ibid., page 241

9. Macgregor, op. cit., pages 1-2

Also, industry or the love of labor, because idleness is the predominant vice of Indians; and even the Flat Heads, if they are not addicted to idleness, at least, manifest a striking inaptitude to manual labor, and it will be absolutely necessary to conquer this. 10

The implication is that the hunting and gathering type of economy of the Indians was not well regarded by the missionaries as the best designed to advance their work among the Salish.

The settlement around the mission began to disappear as the reaction to the changes made by the missionaries set in. Besides their ill-adaption to a sedentary farm life, they were more subject to disease under these conditions. They suffered especially from diseases of the eyes which De Smet has attempted to explain as follows:

Scarcely a cabin is to be found on Clarke river, in which there is not a blind or one eyed person, or someone laboring under some disease of the eye. This probably proceeds from two causes--first, because they are frequently on the water and exposed from morning till night to the direct and reflected rays of the sun, and next, because living in low cabins made of bull-rushes, the large fire they make in the centre fills it with smoke, which must gradually injure their eyes. 11

10. Thwaites, Reuben Gold, Early Western Travels, Vol. 27, The Arthur H. Clark Company, Cleveland, Ohio., 1906, page 296

11. Ibid., page 300

He does not mention the increased chances of infection under their stationary and less sanitary conditions of living. But there were certainly other factors which played a part in causing the mission to close. The encouragement of emigrants and the bold raid of the Blackfoot on the then sedentary Salish forced them to return to fighting their enemies and hunting the buffalo and caused the unprotected missionaries to abandon the mission.¹²

A period of treaty making followed, and despite the efforts of the government the Salish would not move on to a reservation. They thought that the government had not kept faith in not confirming the Bitterroot Valley to them, but they were not required to move to their reservation on the Jocko River until steps were taken to get them to move by the government. One small group was induced to move by promises of houses, rations and cash, and other groups followed as the whites moved into the Valley and fenced so much of the land that it was impossible for the Indians to graze their stock, and otherwise made life intolerable for them. The disappearance of the buffalo and a Governmental order for removal caused more families to move. The chief of the Salish, old Charlot, and a small

12. Macgregor, op. cit., page 2

band held out until sheer destitution contrasted with the offer of homes and rations, and his reinstatement as chief with pay, moved him to bring the last families onto the reservation in 1891.¹³

The establishment of the reservation wrought great changes upon the Salish. The treaty agreements, promising homes and food, were long delayed and never completely fulfilled. The Salish could only look with distrust upon the promises of the government, and this feeling was supported by the long chain of events following which brought an almost complete disruption of their life. The extinction of the buffalo by white hunters not only resulted in a great loss of their food supply but also the destruction of much of their social and religious life that had been built up around the buffalo. The influx of white settlers following the discovery of gold and the pattern of life of the miners resulted in the debauch of the Indian woman, and the general looseness of morals was imitated by the younger Indian men now that their attention was no longer occupied with summer and winter hunts or enemy raids. The attacks upon all form of native life

13. Mullan, John, Miners' and Travelers' Guide, William M. Franklin, New York, 1865, pages 18-19

in order to "civilize" the Indians, led by the government agents and with the cooperation of the mission, were designed to convert the children to white life in one generation. The re-establishment of the mission at St. Ignatius by the Jesuits in 1855 and the establishment of the mission school resulted in the separation of the children from their parents for eleven months of the year. The gulf between parents and children was widened by the establishment of government boarding schools in 1878 and the agency's offer of a home and farm land to young couples who would separate from their families. While education helped the young people in changing from a disappearing hunting economy to agriculture, it was also instrumental in breaking all the social ties that were necessary for group control, and it severed the relationships that make for a happy and normal society. The educational system was accompanied by a program fostered by agency and mission of suppressing the native ceremonies and dances and destroying the social values that these activities had for the people and supplying nothing to take their place in the social life.

14. Macgregor, op. cit., pages 2-4

In order to induce all the Salish to give up hunting for a more sedentary life and to break up the villages where idleness and gambling were increasing, the agency offered to the Indians who would live on them, well separated pieces of land and lumber to build houses. Such a plan only resulted on further disorganization and release from group control.¹⁵

In place of their well ventilated, easily heated skin tipis, the Salish began to live in log or board houses which were sealed up and were either freezing cold or excessively overheated. They were not trained in keeping these homes properly clean for their mobile life formerly had made it possible to move before their camping place became contaminated. Now serious illness, such as tuberculosis, swept the population as a result of the unsanitary conditions under which they lived.¹⁶ In his report on conditions on the reservation, Ketcham made the following comments:

The crowding together in winter of several families in poorly ventilated houses is responsible for much of the tuberculosis on the reservation, according to the statement of the agency physician....¹⁷

15. Loc. cit.

16. Interview with C. C. Wright, June 5, 1948

17. Ketcham, William H., Conditions of the Flathead and Fort Peck Indian Reservations, Washington, D. C., 1915, page 32.

A single doctor with no hospital was helpless to better these conditions.

The war upon the Salish way of life went on in still other fields. The chief had gained considerable control over his people during the days of the fur traders and the treaty makers. Now efforts were made to undermine his authority and the existing forms of law and order. New laws were put in force which provided severe penalties of heavy fines, hard labor and jail, and an Indian court and police. The new code operated under the final authority of the agent, and it was intended to offset the breakdown in the social order, but this breakdown was not due to lack of power among the chiefs, but to the restlessness of the people, especially the young men whose life activities had been most seriously disrupted. The Salish had no way to combat or control such a break from the approved pattern of conduct, but neither was the new system of penalties a remedy. The greatest need was new occupations, but farming implements were slow in coming from the government, and the Indian men, moreover, were not yet fully prepared to cultivate the land. The Salish considered such work the job for women, who, in native life, gathered

the wild roots and berries.

The foregoing changes thrust the Salish into a mode of living which they did not understand and which offered them no new values to stir their desire to succeed. When the allotment system scattered the families more widely and a new influx of white settlers penetrated their life and created a discordant and conflicting group of mixed bloods, the later apathetic and hollow existency of the full bloods was destined to appear.

The Mixed Bloods

Beginning with the French-Canadian fur trappers racial intermixture with whites started slowly, but it gained momentum with the coming of the miners as well as the cattlemen and farmers. Through intermarriage and illicit relations the number of mixed bloods began to increase more rapidly. Some of the early cases of intermarriage have been listed by Teit:

About the same time Michel Camille, half French and half Shuswap, settled on the reserve. . . Other cases are Joe McDonald, son of Angus McDonald, a former Hudson Bay chief; Billy Irvine, son of another Bay .

18. Macgregor, op. cit., pages 4-5

19. Ibid., page 7

20. Teit, op. cit., page 324

man, an interpreter at Mission; John Grant, whose mother was Kalispel and whose father was a Hudson Bay man. It is said that John Grant lived at one time in a roundhouse of six rooms near Missoula, and kept his six wives, one in each room. Each wife was of a different tribe. . . Another case was that of Jack Demers, of French descent, who married a sister of Michel Revais, and at one time had a business in French Town. 20

These cases represent only a few examples, and it was not until the settlement of the Bitterroot Valley that the intermixture began in earnest.

By 1870 over a thousand farms had been established in the Bitterroot Valley and many marriages with the Salish had taken place. White laborers working on the railroad which was laid across the reservation in 1883 provided more men of marriageable age. By 1900 about one-half of the population of the reservation was composed of mixed bloods and still another tide of white settlers was to come with the homesteading of surplus reservation lands in 1909.²¹

Almost immediately the mixed blood children and Indian wives of white men attained a pre-eminent position because of their knowledge of elements of white culture and the acquisition of material wealth. The goals and values of white life were transmitted from generation to

20. Teit, op. cit., page 324

21. Macgregor, op. cit., page 8

generation, concomitant with a striving for the superior²² white civilization and social equality with the whites.

Open conflict, born of cultural differences, began early and was emphasized when the full blood group erroneously blamed the mixed bloods for opening the reservation to give white settlers range lands. The mixed blood families took advantage of the agent's offer of homes and farm tracts while the full bloods were unwilling to abandon their summer period of hunting. Realizing the value of fertile lands and settled homes in the white economy, they were able to acquire most of the best land on the reservation. When a system of allotments was proposed the mixed blood group favored it in opposition to the full blood group because it would insure the permanence of their original holdings and it provided a means of securing more²³ arable land.

The mixed blood group, because of their better understanding of white political, economic and financial affairs, have assumed leadership of the reservation. Naturally their interest have tended to be with their own

22. Ibid., pages 8-9

23. Ibid., page 9.

group, and they have consistently looked mainly to their own profit in handling the affairs of the Indians. They have held a majority of the positions in the self-governing council of the reservation and thus the interest of the full blood group have been neglected. Most of the mixed blood group are not intimately associated with the full blood group and do not understand their way of doing things or appreciate the causes which have brought them to their present position. Because of the failure of the mixed blood group to understand the forces of full blood conflict and inability to adjust to white life, they have assumed the white attitudes toward the inability and helplessness of the full bloods. The assumption of such attitudes has served to elevate socially many of the mixed bloods in their own minds.²⁴

The mixed bloods now form approximately 70 per cent of the population, and they have been able to dominate the full blood group both in numbers and in giving voice to their wishes and demands. They have tended to consider themselves as the total population and their needs as those of the entire reservation population. This tendency

24. Interview with Pierre Pichette, April 3, 1948

is favored by the formation of the administrative, economic and social organization of the reservation as a single unit without regard to tribal affiliations or group differences.²⁵

The 1/8 or Less Bloods

For all practical purposes these Indians have been assimilated into white life and would be better classified racially as whites with a small amount of Indian blood, than as mixed blood Indians. They have embraced the white culture to the complete exclusion of the Salish culture, and they are socially accepted and identified with the white group or very nearly so. The government has considered dropping them from administrative attention, and they are least in need of assistance or supervision. Actually their only purpose in maintaining their names on the rolls of the reservation is to be eligible for unearned income from tribal owned lands which is available to all who can prove any degree of Indian blood.²⁶

25. Macgregor, op. cit., page 10

26. Ibid., pages 26-27.

The 1/8 or less bloods show the most participation in agriculture which represents the best means of subsistence on the reservation. They receive more education than the other Indian groups, and as a result better opportunities for jobs and success in the White community. They own a disproportionate percentage of the material resources of the reservation, and they are classified according to their social and economic position in the community rather than any degree of Indian blood.²⁷

This group tends to assume a superior position in their own minds to both the full and mixed blood groups because of their very close association with white culture. Their success in rising economically and socially above these groups has caused them to think of themselves as inherently superior people, and that they are thus justified in exploiting their inferiors.²⁸

The Whites

The white society is predominantly that of the western rural farm and village economy. There are no great cultural or economic variations from the usually

27. Loc. cit.

28. Interview with Pierre Pichette, April 3, 1948

understood pattern, and it is, therefore, unnecessary to describe this type of white society at this time. With a large minority group of Indians living in the same area, the attitudes of the majority group are that of superiority and dominance with resulting exploitation of the minority group.

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSIONS

The central problem of this study was stated in the first chapter as, "How, if at all, may the linguistic behavior of members of the bilingual minority group be related to other aspects of their social behavior?" In the preceding chapters the bilingual minority group has been considered historically and culturally, certain linguistic behavior patterns have been described, and an attempt has been made to analyze the social behavior of this group. It is now necessary to relate their linguistic behavior with social behavior, if at all possible. In order to do this it is convenient to reconsider the hypotheses suggested by Barker in the light of what is known¹ of the Salish.

Barker's first hypothesis, "that the logical outcome of the division of functions for language is that for individuals both inside and outside of the ethnic group, and its cultural background," appears to be substantiated by the evidence obtained of the Salish. The full blood

1. Barker, George C., "Social Functions of Language in a Mexican-American Community", Acta Americana, 5:185-202, July, 1947.

group tends to be identified as a group because of their almost exclusive use of Salish in certain social situations. The maintainance of their culture patterns has been bolstered and group solidarity has been fostered by the exclusive use of the primary language in all primary group relationships. The only exception to the use of Salish in the family and social relations of the full bloods has been the use of English by children who are in school, and who have been indoctrinated with white language habits.

The division of linguistic functions leads to Barker's second hypothesis, "that the individual's skill in using the language of a second or adopted culture comes to symbolize his status in the new society." Again the evidence from the Salish group supports this statement, and considerable emphasis has been placed on the fact that the ability to use English improves as the degree of Indian blood decreases, and likewise, that degree of Indian blood is negatively correlated with status in the new society. The full blood group has been ascribed a very low status, and they possess the least ability in the use of English. Just above them in status and ability to use English is the mixed blood group, and in turn, just above the mixed blood group in status and ability to use English is the 1/8 or less blood group. Finally at the

~~top of the heap is the white group with the highest status~~
and the best ability in the use of English.

The evidence from the Salish groups also verifies Barker's third hypothesis. It can be stated as follows: "In a bilingual minority group in process of cultural change, the functions originally performed by the ancestral language are divided between two or more languages, with the result that each language comes to be identified with certain fields of interpersonal relations."

In the field of intimate or familiar relations, Salish is almost universally used by the full blood group. For this group it is the common language of early childhood, and almost without exception, it is the language used by full blood parents to their children. By extension, the informal Salish of the home is used in close friendships, group social life, and the ceremonial dances of the tribe. The Salish language has thus come to be identified with family background and minority group membership.

In the field of informal relations among the full bloods, a field in which most of the social life of the young Salish takes place, there is a shifting commonly from one language to another. This is the case on the school play ground and in neighborhood groups in which

in which full blood children participate. It generally seems that the mixing of the two languages is indicative of the younger full bloods' participation in social relations with the younger white group on the reservation.

In the field of formal relations among bilinguals--which includes many types of economic relations and some formal social relation--English is widely used. The substitution of English for the primary language is probably due to the fact that the full blood child after learning Salish in the home is taught English upon entering school and is expected to use English in his first experience with the formal relations of the school. For many children then English comes to be identified with most types of formal relations.

In relations between whites and full bloods, English is the standard language. Even if the white to whom the Indian is talking is known to speak Salish, he will nearly always be addressed in English. The speaking of Salish is so closely identified with participation in the Salish culture that some bilinguals who wish to improve their relations with whites will even deny that they speak Salish.

It follows that the languages spoken by the bilingual individual take on different symbolic values varying according to his social experience. And as Barker concludes:

"The character of this experience, in turn, depends on, first, the position of the minority group in the general community; second, the relation of the individual to the general community, or, in short, to the above-described fields of interpersonal relations."

Salish cultural interests are dominant in the field of familial and intimate relations, while in the field of white-Salish relations the influence of white culture is more important. These fields represent a kind of continuum for individuals of the full blood group. At one end are the intimate relations with others of the group, while at the other end are the purely formal and informal relations with mixed bloods outside of the family circle.

Paralleling this continuum in fields of interpersonal relations is another continuum in language usage, and differences in interpersonal relations are reflected by corresponding variations in linguistic behavior. At one end of the linguistic continuum Salish is dominant and at the other end English is dominant, and in between is a mixture of the two languages. Carrying this comparison one step further, it will be observed that the individual's position on the cultural continuum is nearly parallel to his position on the linguistic continuum.

The basic conditions of acculturation can now be correlated with linguistic behavior patterns. Analysis

of the linguistic patterns of the bilingual minority group on the reservation indicates that the Indian population is subordinated in the white community. This is indicated by the reticence of the Salish to speak Salish with and in the presence of whites, the identification of the term "Indian" or "breed" with lower status, and the lack of informal relations between Indians and whites.

A second basic condition of acculturation is the cultural and physical segregation of the full blood group. This is indicated on the reservation by the inability of many of the Indians to free themselves of an "Indian accent" in speaking English, the inability of many full blood children to speak English upon entering school, the dependence upon Salish in family life and close friendships for the full blood group, and the concentration of the full blood groups in certain areas on the reservation.

Another basic condition of acculturation is the divergent types of cultural orientation, and the corresponding divergent social goals of the Salish group. On the one hand the full blood group idealizes the Indian life and culture, and on the other the mixed blood groups idealize the white life and culture. Thus the full blood group

is concerned with the preserving of their native culture, and the mixed blood group is interested in seeing the native culture eliminated.

Besides the parallel positions of the individual on the cultural and linguistic continuua, there is also a parallel in cultural classes and degree of acculturation as was pointed out in an earlier chapter. It is plain then that the placing of the individual in one of the cultural classes will not only indicate his degree of acculturation, but also tend to determine his linguistic behavior.

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