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AGNES VANDERBURG: A WOMAN'S LIFE IN THE FLATHEAD CULTURE

By

Barbara Springer Beck

B.A., University of Montana, 1978

Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

UNIVERSITY OF MONTANA

1982

Approved by:

Chairman: Board of Examiners

Dean, Graduate School

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ABSTRACT

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Agnes Vanderburg: A Woman's Life in the Flathead Culture (107 pp.)

Director: Carling I. Malouf

The primary purpose of this study has been twofold; to record the life history of a Flathead woman, and to analyze her narrative and determine whether she has retained a traditional Flathead's value system. Acculturation studies have shown that usually a culture's material aspects change more rapidly than social organization and belief systems. The informant has already changed a significant amount of her traditional material culture. Information on Mrs. Agnes Vanderburg's life was obtained through observation of her and personal interviews with her over a period of two years.

The thesis presents background material for placing the life history in context. Chapters on Native American women, Flathead culture, Flathead history and the Salish and Kootenai Reservation today serve the purpose of providing a cultural framework. A brief statement to familiarize the reader with Mrs. Vanderburg preceeds her narrative. The narrative covers such subjects as growing up, learning traditional ways, courtship and marriage, pregnancy, childbirth, farming, religion, medicine, traveling and Mrs. Vanderburg's thoughts on being an Indian.

Criteria set forth on real and ideal Flathead personality characteristics were used to judge the subject's divergence from or adherence to the Flathead traditional values. From the stories and actions of the subject it was concluded that Agnes Vanderburg had retained traditional values, and actively worked with younger tribal members to pass these values and practices on.

The study contributes to Flathead ethnology and personality works, and also to works on Native American women. It is hoped that the thesis will stimulate more research with Flathead women to build data for future comparative studies.

C. Malouf

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express sincere gratitude to my advisors for the guidance and encouragement they have given me. Dr. Carling Malouf, Dr. Katherine Weist and Luana Ross each provided important information and a valuable perspective. I must also thank Mrs. Agnes Vanderburg for allowing me to work with her and making my research such a positive experience.

CHAPTER I

This paper presents the life history of an 81 year old Flathead Indian woman. The purpose of my thesis is the simultaneous presentation of the cultural context, and the life story from which it comes. In the first part of my thesis I hope to give the reader an adequate background in Flathead history and culture so the story of this woman will be understood in context of a cultural milieu. The Flathead culture however; must in turn not be perceived as an isolate, but as a segment of the larger American culture of which it is undeniably a part. Each individual is greatly affected by the cultural framework in which they operate, and my subject is no exception. The life history she gives ties her to both her Native American culture and the surrounding American one.

The first chapter of this thesis presents my hypothesis and the factors I will examine in an attempt to prove or disprove it. Chapter II contains a literature review of biographical work done on Native American women to give the reader some insight into the field. Chapter III briefly outlines traditional Flathead practices and organization. In Chapter IV the history of the Flathead tribe is discussed in detail, incorporating federal Indian policy and the direct affects it has had on the Flathead. Chapter V describes the present Salish and Kootenai Reservation physically and demographically. Agnes tells her story in Chapter VI and my conclusions follow in Chapter VII. Appendixed are genealogies of the Adams and Vanderburg families and a map locating place names mentioned by Agnes in her story.

I chose Agnes Vanderburg as the subject of this biography for many reasons. Agnes has been a leading cultural figure in her tribe for many years.

She is well known, respected and well liked among the Flathead as well as by many non-Indians in the region. Agnes learned the traditional ways of her tribe during childhood and is considered an expert source of information on many of the old practices. Mrs. Vanderburg's willingness to participate in the project has necessarily been a large factor in the selection of her as my informant. She has lived during a time of great change for the Flathead and their lifestyle, and has played many roles among her people. Agnes was at this writing or had been, a wife, mother, grandmother, teacher, counselor, leader, tribal representative and a woman. She continues to be a very productive member of the Flathead Tribe. Although a scientist strives to be objective, my admiration for Agnes grew as I worked with her. I am relating her story exactly as it was told to me, having done only minor editing with a concern for chronology, clarity and transition. I have decided to relate the biographical information given me by Mrs. Vanderburg with her permission, in her own speech. My intention is to allow the text to retain the flavor and personality of the speaker. No correction of her speech was necessary for comprehension, she is a fluent speaker of both English and Salishan, which is her native language.

Before speaking with Agnes about her life I conducted a literature survey. The areas of concern were Flathead history and culture, collecting and writing life histories and works done on Native American women. Having some prior knowledge of the Flathead culture was important in establishing a rapport and an understanding of the information I was receiving and attempting to elicit. My primary research tool was the personal interview. A total of nine hours of interviews with Agnes were

tape recorded and took place either at her home near Arlee or at her summer camp. Supplementing the interviews I had the opportunity to observe Mrs. Vanderburg several times at the Community Center in St. Igantius, in Helena while she was participating in a conference and at her camp at Valley Creek.

It is not my intention here to discuss the Flathead acculturation process; however the changes in attitudes, practices and lifestyles of the tribe and its people is of concern to me. I felt the life of Agnes Vanderburg needed to be recorded, and I hypothesize that given the fact Agnes has accepted many material aspects of another culture, she still has retained her identity as a Flathead Indian and continues to believe in and carry out many traditional practices. In seeking to prove or disprove this hypothesis I will evaluate Agnes's narration with respect to personality characteristics perceived as desirable for a traditional Flathead, which will appear in the discussion to follow. I will also examine what if any traditional practices Mrs. Vanderburg still carries out and look for any concern indicating the importance to Agnes of traditional ways.

To better understand the effects of cultural change in one Indian woman's life I read several selections on Flathead personality and Indian identity. As a result I was able to establish many attitudes and characteristics as representative of traditional Native American people, and more specifically the Flathead. Traditional Indian values are frequently compatible with those of our non-Indian society; examples of this are the democracy of Indian groups, the high value placed on strong family ties and a belief in individuality despite the importance of the group (Levine

1968:5-6). To establish traditional Flathead personality norms I drew on two works of Robert Bigart titled "Patterns of Culture in a Salish Flathead Community" (1971) and "The Ideal Personality as Seen in Ten Animal Tales of the Salish Flathead Indians of Montana" (1972). In these two articles Bigart brings out many traditional themes in Flathead personality, both ideal and real. These are, personal independence, "being" versus "doing," a "present" orientation and subsequent lack of long term goals, a "man-with-nature" framework, a lack of revenge or aggression except under very specific circumstances, a strong sense of duty, a high value placed on generosity with a low value on property, respect for elders, a closeness of extended family and recognition of the importance of the tribe or group. Bigart's work on Flathead personality is based both on myth interpretation and quantitative psychological testing.

Hallowell has shown with Rorschach tests that Native Americans still retain a persistant core of traits so that while Indians may "appear as whites" there has not necessarily been a simultaneous change in their psychological orientation (Hallowell 1955:351). Samuel Lang found this to be true with the Flathead,

> The acculturation process with specific reference to the Flathead is felt by some to be complete, an observation that is probably quite factual in relation to their material culture. Evidences suggest, however, that from a psychological view the Flathead still identify with their past cultural norms and traditions (Lang 1965:7).

Bigart suggested that the rapid technological change which the Indians have undergone may not have had as great an affect on the other aspects

of their cultures as we assume (1971:230). He stated, discussing change, identity and orientation;

> Before any concept of culture change can be considered acceptable, it will have to deal effectively with what seems to be a surprising ability for Indian psychological traits to continue in communities which have almost completely changed their technology (1971:237).

Bigart also explained the mechanism by which the tribe and individuals, often with a low percentage of Indian blood, retain their Indianess. The factors are effective socialization by the tribe of all children with Indian blood and the fact that whites who do marry into the tribe have value systems similar to those of the Flathead (Bigart 1971:235).

Change in traditional Native American cultures was discussed at length in The American Indian Today, edited by Stuart Levine and Nancy Lurie. In the forward, entitled "The Survival of Indian Identity," Levine touched upon factors which have allowed Indians to retain their identity, and maintain congruence in their basic orientation. He stated, referring to Native Americans,

> Their societies can be altered quite radically without losing their essential Indian structure and flavor (1968:5) ... To retain Indian identity, they have to retain group feeling (1968:20).

He explained that adjustment for Indian cultures does not mean all modern culture must be rejected or accepted, but it does mean,

> ... retaining those cultural patterns which give Indian life meaning, and adapting them to contemporary economic and technological facts (1968:12).

Levine felt that Indians in general want to retain their Indianess, and that Native American cultures absorb what they choose to from the dominant culture as a way of enriching their own culture by drawing on the other culture as a resource. Thus Indian cultures today still contain many traditional elements as well as those assimilated from non-Indian culture.

Continuous first hand contact between the Flathead and non-Indian cultures has been occurring for over a century. The Flathead culture has been in a constant state of change, selectively accepting new elements while simultaneously disseminating others. In the sphere of material culture, utility and compatability with preexisting cultural elements has been high, incentives for change strong and thus the change has been rapid.

CHAPTER II

In 1927 Co-ge-we-a, by Mourning Dove, was published. The book consists of stories told by an Indian woman who had lived on the Flathead Reservation. Considerably later, in 1981, The Life of Emma Magee in the Rocky Mountain West, 1866-1950 by Ida S. Patterson was published. This is the only published biographical work existing on a Flathead woman; Emma was also of Shoshoni and white descent. She received an allotment on the Flathead Reservation and her life overlapped 50 years with Agnes's life. Dr. Carling Malouf has gathered information on several of Agnes's contemporaries however this material remains unpublished. No other biographical work has been published on Flathead women.

Biographies which have Native American women as their subjects are not new. Substantial work with native women has been going on since the turn of the century and continues today as ethnic variety is recognized and accepted. The majority of native women's life stories gathered have had as their subjects women living in cultures undergoing radical change. Subsistence methods of hunting and gathering which had proven successful for generations became inadequate due to externally induced change. Iron Teeth reported,

> We old people never knew any other way of obtaining food except by hunting (Limbaugh 1973:24).

Change in subsistence technologies facilitated and at times forced compatible change in social organization. New cultural elements were added, and certain preexisting elements were eliminated. While each native culture had its own unique set of circumstances to deal with, common experiences and attitudes can be seen in the women's stories.

I examined biographies of women among the Eskimo, Flathead, Cheyenne, Northern Cheyenne, Crow, Winnebago, Pueblo, Yaqui and Pomo groups and found in them many common situations and orientations. With the exception of Iron Teeth, a Cheyenne who was born in 1834, all the women were born after 1850 and most were born by or around 1900. Agnes Vanderburg was born in 1901. Almost all the women had been either directly or out of necessity forced to learn a second language; for most it was English, for some it was Spanish. All but one woman expressed deep concern about alcohol abuse or the threat of alcohol abuse among her people. Most of the women had lost one child or baby and several women had lost up to three. About half of the women attended boarding or some other type of school, but few had passed the fifth grade. Also approximately half the women spoke of some serious illness in their own life resulting from white contact. Pretty Shield had smallpox, Sophie Martinez the measles and Agnes had tuberculosis. Most of the women had come to embrace a Christian religion as well as traditional beliefs. Peyote as an important part of religion played a role in the lives of Mountain Wolf Woman and Belle Highwalking. Agnes, Maria and the three Pomo women Sophie Martinez, Ellen Wood and Jane Adams all embraced Catholicism.

Two styles of story telling emerged from these women's biographies, and the attitudes of the women toward past times became apparent. For some of the women, value judgements about the superiority of the past over the present were frequent and significant. Pretty Shield, a Crow woman says of her childhood.

> That was a happy time on a happy world. There was always fat meat and glad singing ... Men and women were happier, too, I feel sure (Linderman 1932:86,130).

Pretty Shield continued,

> Then when my children came I believed that I had everything that was good on this world. There was always so many, many buffalo, plenty of good meat for everybody (248).

She felt that her people had become lazy and soft and got sick frequently. She believed that people were never lazy before. Belle Highwalking, a Northern Cheyenne commented,

> It was a good life, eating what you gathered and eating dried meat ... No one got discouraged or lazy and we did not see hard times ... No one drank or fought one another in those days. I think in those days life was better (Weist 1979:25).

Later Belle commented,

> ... the old times were good times when everyone lived on their own places. Life is so different at this time. We live bunched in towns ... No one wants to live in the country anymore (Weist 1979:53).

Maria Campbell in Halfbreed reminisced,

> I hurt because in my childhood I saw glimpses of a proud and happy people. Our whole lives and those of our people started to go downhill. We had always been poor, but we'd had love and laughter and warmth to share with each other. We didn't have even that anymore and we were poorer than ever (Campbell 1973:13,67).

Emma Magee, a Flathead and Shoshoni woman said,

> It is true, the descendants of the red race walk the village street. They have little knowledge however of the ancient traditions of their forefathers. Their efforts are directed towards fashioning their lives to fit the pattern designed for them by their white brethren (Patterson 1981:98).

Maria, the Pueblo potter observed the young men and married men leaving the Pueblo, families splitting up and drinking problems. When people started leaving to find work and drinking began to get heavy she stated, then things began to break down (Marriot 1948:190). Pueblo religious ceremonies needed men for specific roles and began to suffer as a result of the men's absence. Maria also moved to Santa Fe to be with her husband but missed the Pueblo and the way of life there and eventually moved back to it.

One subject mentioned frequently by the women I studied with glorified views of the past, was health. Pitseolak who appears more realistic in her assessment of the past than several of the others said,

> ... in the old days, before all these things happened, we were always healthy. I was never sick, not even with all the children I had. Now that we all live in one place, we get sick a lot (Eber 1971).

Pretty Shield explained that her people had accepted death and dying as a result of fighting but,

> ... until the bad sickness came to our world my people were scarcely ever sick ... Now my people wear gloves

and too many clothes. We are soft as mud (Linderman 1932:45,84).

Belle Highwalking mentioned the subject of health and said,

> No one ever caught colds at that time and the kids never got sick (Weist 1979:26).

There can be no doubt that the Indians suffered from an increase in disease and illness with white contact; however some of these statements may have been unconscious exaggerations about previous states of good health.

A second style found in the Indian women's narratives was a very matter of fact relation of events. Reasoning and emotions about past events were frequently omitted. Mountain Wolf Woman's story is an example of this type of factual and fatalistic presentation. Jane Kelley, author of Yaqui Women commented that,

> ... all informants demonstrated fatalism at some point, but Chepa was the most fatalistic of all the women (1978:30).

Ruth Underhill in "Autobiography of a Papago Woman" found similar situations with respect to her informants,

> Motives were never explained and the writer has found even the Indians at a loss to interpret them in the older myths (1936:3).

She also commented that her Papago subject, Maria Chona, took her emotional states for granted although when asked specifics would expound on them. Agnes has told her story primarily in this unembelished style. Her reporting of events was largely matter of fact without specific reference to emotions. Pitseolak, the Eskimo woman, spoke in much the same way that Agnes did.

Change as a process was not talked about by native women in their stories. Change was recognized through the fact that certain events or practices are different than they were in the "old times." Mountain Wolf Woman noticed change in attitudes toward older people and commented,

> The old people were supposed to be respected. That is what we used to do. We respected the old people, but today they do not respect the old people (Lurie 1961:17).

Pitseolak saw the change in young people's attitudes and said,

> A long time ago when I was bringing up my children they would do what you told them to do. Now all that is changed (Eber 1971).

Pretty Shield brought up the fact that marriages had been arranged in the past, and ties between families were emphasized. She believed that the previous method of mate selection was better than the present one of personal choice. She said, speaking of change,

> There are too many new things, too few who follow the old customs ... I am trying to live a life I don't understand. Young people know nothing about our old customs, and even if they wished to learn there is nobody now to teach them (Linderman 1932:24,132).

Belle Highwalking said simply,

> I know that things in life change and now life is different (Weist 1979:28).

She spoke of women who participated in dances that were previously only for men. Agnes also mentioned changes in dancing,

> Womens don't (did not used to) drum, but now the womens and everybody drum, dance and sing. They had that Round

> Dance, that's where all the womens danced, but now they're mixed, men and womens dancin'. We never us'ta do that.

The phenomenon of blaming non-Indians for the problems of their people did not occur in these women's stories even though their cultures had undergone great changes. Iron Teeth who lived during a time of severe physical conflict and loss of life said,

> I used to hate all white people, especially their soldiers. But my heart has now changed to softer feelings. Some of the white people are good, maybe as good as the Indians (Limbaugh 1973:26).

Pretty Shield said of her feelings,

> I do not hate anybody, not even the white man. But he changed everything for us, did many bad deeds before we got used to him ... We began to be whipped by our own weak foolishness (Linderman 1932:249,251).

Belle lamented that her people had become too dependent on the tribal council and welfare or "old lady's money" and will not work. There were drinking problems and people became too impersonal never stopping to visit as they did in the old times. Pitseolak said commenting on old and new, yet not placing the blame outside her own culture,

> I think the new ways would be better than the old, except that nowadays the young people make so much trouble. They don't listen at all. People get worse when they all live in one place. The young people are always in trouble, if they were out of trouble, it would be much better the new way (Eber 1971).

Maria Campbell, a Cree related her disillusionment,

> I am not bitter. I have passed that stage. I only want to say: this is what it was like: this is what it is still like. I know that poverty is not ours alone (Campbell 1973:13).

Agnes expressed concern that people are not taking care of the old ways and things and said,

> They want to buy everything ... They try to be like white people.

Most of these native women of changing times have continued to carry on as many of the traditional ways as are still practical. Agnes still gathers traditional foods and medicines, camps out in the woods, beads, makes tepees, cradleboards and teaches the old ways. She has accepted a responsibility to pass on as much of her knowledge as possible. Many of the women commented on their concern over a loss of traditional ways, but according to the information available only Agnes is taking such an active role in her culture to prevent this loss. Iron Teeth, into old age continued to gather berries and dry meat and vegetables. Pretty Shield stated that she was planning to move back into her tepee and would never be able to eat meals on a regular schedule as the white man does. Belle continued to have give-aways and took much responsibility in the raising of her grandchildren, as did Pretty Shield, Mountain Wolf Woman; and Agnes still does. Mountain Wolf Woman continued to pick berries into old age and stressed that her people were always taught to be doing something useful. Pitseolak commented that,

> I like the white man's food but I think the old food was better for the Eskimos ... This was the old Eskimo way of

life; you couldn't give up because it was the only way. Today I like living in a house that is always warm but, sometimes, I want to move and go to the camps where I have been. The old life was a hard life but it was good. It was happy (Eber 1971).

Many of the women's stories did not malign current practices but merely reminisced about old ways. Several of the women admitted appreciating material aspects of their changed lives. Emma Magee commented that sometimes necessities had been scarce and how her people take modern comforts for granted. Maria Chona, a Papago moved into the city of Tucson and began eating white man's food which caused her to become fat. She enjoyed things such as shoes but always preferred her traditional corn flour to white flour (Underhill 1936:55). Belle objected to cars rather than horses, not simply because she did not like cars, but because they were so impersonal. In the past people riding by on horseback would stop to visit, but people in cars drove right by without stopping. She also claimed that eating white people's food caused her people to loose their teeth. Maria, the potter commented about the social change brought on by the increased availability of cash for certain people. She explained that in the past everyone in the pueblo aided those less fortunate than themselves. This changed and because of the presence of money some of the less fortunate became too proud to accept help.

Exact chronology, dates and times were often unimportant to the native women, many of whom explained that they marked events in time by moons or snows, or did not keep track of ages. The only mention of future concerns by any of the women was made in reference to their grandchildren. Belle, Pretty Shield, Mountain Wolf Woman and Agnes lived or live in close prox-

imity to their grandchildren, and they have taken an active role in their upbringing. Mountain Wolf Woman gave insight into her people's time orientation and said of the Indians,

> They looked into the present insofar as they had enough to sustain themselves (Lurie 1961:5).

Agnes often spoke of past events in the present tense. Because I do not know for certain how much correction was made on the other women's speech by their biographers, it is impossible to hypothesize how this verb usage may have indicated temporal attitudes.

CHAPTER III

By the time of the arrival of whites in the area, the Flathead were at home in the Bitterroot Valley. In this valley they had some security, and food for themselves and their horses; however the Flathead still moved regularly across the divide to obtain subsistence. The Flathead's life-style at the time of contact was semimigratory. To the east, the Great Plains provided bison while in the western mountains there were other large game animals and fish, plus berries, roots and an ample supply of water. Occasionally small numbers of bison were stalked and ambushed in some of the intermountain valleys as well.

Summer activities were diversified. During the months of May through September, the women collected and prepared wild vegetable foods in the western valleys while the men hunted and fished. With fall the tribe would move east of the Rockies for the winter hunt. During the winter, the Flathead lived on dried roots and berries from the summer, and on meat. Any surplus meat was dried and saved to be eaten in the spring (Malan 1948:36). Travel to the plains for hunting often involved conflict with Blackfeet neighbors. Hunting parties would travel east along the Blackfoot River over Lewis and Clark Pass and along the Sun River, or over Gibbons Pass into the Big Hole Valley (Fahey 1974:19). The Flathead felt the country was theirs, but the Blackfeet also believed the bison and the territory belonged to them. The hunting Flathead were considered to be trespassers and there were many bloody encounters between the two groups. These encounters were often dominated by the Blackfeet, and many men lost their lives in these early skirmishes (Smead 1905:55,57).

In the early days the Crow and the Flathead were enemies; however they became friendly towards each other around the turn of the century. Also

hunting along with the Flathead often were groups of Nez Perce and Pend d'Oreille. Different alliances existed between the Salish and the Kootenai, Nez Perce, Pend d'Oreille, Coeur d'Alene and Shoshoni for going on hunts in large parties (Teit 1928:319). Curtis reported in 1911 that the Yakima and Spokan were also friendly with the Flathead. He stated that because of their numerous horses, the Flathead were often harrassed by the Shoshoni, Bannock, Apsaroke, Piegan, Sioux and sometimes the Coeur d'Alene and Kootenai.

In the winter bison cows were hunted and bulls were hunted in the early spring. On the eastward hunting trek the first bison ceremony was held. The bison and its meat were highly respected and it was believed that disrespect could cause a meat shortage. One example of a bison shamaniscitc ritual was the Bison Calling Ceremony in which the shaman would lead the people in song and dance, the object being to cause a blizzard behind the herd driving them to the waiting hunters. This ceremony was held if there was any fear of an inadequate meat supply (Turney-High 1937: 37).

Between 1710 and 1720 the Flathead obtained horses from their neighbors to the south, the Shoshoni (Haines 1938:435). The horses were obtained as compensation for Flathead kin who had been killed. Flathead horse related technology showed the influence of the Shoshoni in horse and saddle decoration and equipment (Turney-High 1937:108). The acquisition of the horse affected a dramatic change in the Flathead way of life, in many ways it became easier. Hunters could travel in greater numbers, and their range of mobility was increased and it allowed twice yearly hunting trips east of the mountains. Large game other than bison became relatively less important, while bison hunting techniques grew in number and sophistication

(Teit 1928:346). Surplus products from successful hunts also encouraged contacts and trade with other groups, especially the Nez Perce to the west who valued the bison meat and by-products.

Horses allowed better hunting and they also became prestige symbols. Men with many horses were able to own and transport much food and many possessions. Horses reserved for use only as hunting and war horses were considered primary horses and kept outside the tepee of the owner to prevent theft. Horses were used for amusement as well as hunting and travel. Horse racing was common and tricks were performed to show their skill in handling.

Because of the horse, the Salish had increased contact with Plains tribes. This led to the adoption by the Flathead of some traits regarded as those belonging to Plains culture (Malan 1948:177). Before the Flathead received horses their material culture more closely resembled that of the Plateau tribes.

The Flathead traded goods with several other tribes. Items frequently traded included horses, clothing, ornaments, saddles, robes, skins, pemmican, pipes and shells from the west. They traded extensively with the Nez Perce to the west, also with the Spokan, Shoshoni, Coeur d'Alene and possibly received goods from as far away as California. To the east most of the trade was with the Crow. The Flathead intermarried with several other groups, most often the Nez Perce, Pend d'Oreille and Spokan. Less frequently, spouses came from the Kootenai, Shoshoni and Blackfeet tribes.

FAMILY, SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The basic social unit of the Flathead is and has been the extended family. Parents, children, grandparents, cousins, aunts and uncles all

worked in close cooperation. Familial groupings included both blood and affinal relatives of several generations. Family members used the same hunting, fishing and berrying spots. Cooperation was always desirable and sometimes required depending on the subsistence activity engaged in (Malouf 1952a:53,57).

Premarital sex occurred among the traditional Flathead but was covert. This activity was disapproved of but not strongly reprimanded. When boys came of the age that they could provide, usually around twenty, they would marry. Girls would marry approximately four years after they reached puberty and after they possessed the economic skills necessary to become a wife (Turney-High 1937:86).

Traditionally, living and sleeping together informally signified a marriage. Acceptance of the arrangement then took place in one of several ways. There could be a simple public acknowledgement of cohabitation with no gift exchange. Parental exhortation also took place, whereby the girl's parents accepted the arrangement and the new couple moved in with them until the band relocated. The third method of marriage was when there was singing and dancing and a lecture by the chief. After the festivity a gift exchange of food and clothing took place between the two families of the couple cementing them into a reciprocal relationship (Turney-High 1937:90). Without parental or group acknowledgement of a marriage, most couples would give up their attempts, however some couples did elope. Elopement was sometimes legitimized by gifts and feasting. No contraception was used and abortion was condemned, however illegally conceived children were always cared for. A limited amount of sexual contact occurred after white contact between white males and Flathead women (Turney-High 1937:85).

Limited polygamy occurred among the Flathead usually in the form of sorroral polygyny with the first wife holding the position of household head. The levirate practice also occurred after an appropriate period of mourning with the oldest brother having first claim to the widow (Ray 1942:212-213). Marriage to distant kin was approved of. Father DeSmet reported in 1846 that the missionaries had been able to eradicate polygamy and encourage monogamy among the Flathead (Chittenden 1969:572).

The Flathead lacked exogamous unilinear kin groups such as clans, phratries and secret societies, and practiced bilateral descent (Teit 1928:373). Patrilocal or patri-neolocal residence was most common, but bilocal or neolocal residences were not unknown (Murdock 1949:228-229).

Divorce did occur; however a reason or excuse was necessary. Adultery, maltreatment or incompatibility were among the accepted reasons for divorce. A Flathead man who wanted a divorce would tie a horse at his wife's door to give her the message and she would then be free to leave (Niethammer 97). The wife was encouraged to leave an unsatisfactory situation, but desertion by the husband was not allowed (cf:Ray 1942, Niethammer 1977).

RELIGION

Salish individuals of both sexes sought guardian spirits which were often ancestral. The guardian would teach a person a song or songs and give the individual an object to be placed in their bundle to be with them until their death. The spirit taught the person how to call on them in times of need. The Salish word for power is "sumesh." Sumesh denotes to the Indian a personal power thought of as property. The property right of sumesh can be transferred as a gift. The transfer involves the person

possessing the power telling about the power and teaching the special song to another person. After this passage of story and song, the original possessor can no longer use the power (Turney-High 1937:27-28).

Flathead shamans were often specialists. These shamans performed functions by invoking their personal guardians. Their powers, however, were not spoken of in order to protect the shaman from possible destruction by the power. Costumes, songs, paraphernalia, and possibly masks were used during the shaman's ceremonies. In "traditional" rites, nothing of white origin was allowed to be present. Seers and foretellers were among the most common specialists. Seers could envision battles, game, and lost articles, but their powers however were limited to the present. Foretellers though, did not have this limitation. A major duty of the shaman was to cure the sick, this was done by either sucking or blowing on, or rubbing the afflicted area. No pay was taken by the shaman for these services (Turney-High 1937:28). The Salish also had shamans concerned primarily with the hunt or warring.

Ceremonial life revolved around the seasons with a major ceremony held during each season. The subjects of these ceremonies were often plants. Even more religious concern also centered around the hunt. Other ceremonies were organized when deemed necessary.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Among the traditional Salish the office of chief was a very stable position, and he had specific functions. The Salish word for chief "Ilimigum" had a paternal reference. Chiefs would gain their position by exploit and experience, however the amount of influence they retained was based on the people's faith in their courage and wisdom (Thwaites 1966:172).

Subchiefs of which there were usually at least three, carried out the chief's wishes. These positions, however, were less stable. The chief also had an advisory council to aid him.

Social control was maintained by the potential threat of ridicule or ostracism. Chiefs sought to persuade, not command, but obstinancy to the chief's wishes had to answer to the people (Thwaites 1966:172). If vengeance or antisocial acts did take place, it was the chief's duty to subdue them. Wrongdoers were called before the chief to tell their story and to be judged. If appropriate, a whipping or reprimand could take place. Fathers had the right to punish their children, and for adults, the chief's function as a disciplinarian stemmed from the tribe's view of him as a father figure (Turney-High 1937:47).

PREGNANCY AND CHILDBIRTH

When a woman became pregnant she was expected to follow certain practices. She was to bathe frequently, exercise as usual and turn often when reclining. Neither she nor her husband were to start to go out a door and come back in as this would cause a breech birth. The woman was not to be cruel to animals nor to look at anything or anyone that was ugly, crippled or dead (Ray 1942:91-192).

Before the delivery the woman stayed in her tepee and the man left. A relative or experienced older woman would assist with the birth. If there were any difficulties in the birthing a shaman would be called to help out. The woman grasped either ceiling cords or a post during the delivery and the baby was delivered on to a matt. The woman was then given an herbal tea or broth and stayed by the fire. The midwife or woman assisting would dispose of the afterbirth (Ray 1942:194-195). The

baby began breathing when air was blown into its nostrils. It was bathed in warm water and placed in a blanket to be nursed immediately. Nursing would continue for up to three years. The mother would bathe within the next two days however continuing to rest for approximately five more days at which time she would resume her normal routine (Ray 1942:197).

After several days the baby was placed in a cradleboard or laced bag. The cradleboard was made by the mother and usually decorated with quillwork. The board was carried on the mother's back. Moss, pine bark, hair, feathers or fur were used for padding and drainage. The baby received a name two weeks after birth often chosen from an ancestor or distinguished person. Charms and salves were used to give the baby certain qualities.

EDUCATION AND PUBERTY

Flathead children gained much of their education by emulation. Children were constantly being encouraged to be helpful and anxious to learn. A child's parents, maternal uncle and grandparents were those most closely involved with the child's education (Turney-High 1937:76). Boys began intensive training at the onset of puberty. They worked to become skilled with horses and weapons and proficient at hunting.

The mother of a Flathead girl approaching puberty would select an older woman to serve as a teacher and companion for her daughter. The girl and her mentor spent much time together and developed a strong close relationship. The older woman was to serve as a role model typical of the ideal Flathead woman and she encouraged the girl in skills necessary for womanhood. The girl was to work hard, bathe daily and perform certain

tasks so as not to obtain bad habits during this crucial time (Niethammer 1977:41-42).

DIVISION OF LABOR

Women, men and children all contributed to the work force of the Flathead tribe. Flathead men made certain clothing items and tools. Men cared for the horses, hunted and fought enemies to protect their families and tribe. Young boys helped tend the horses and hunted small birds.

Women made baskets, bags and matts. They butchered some animals, treated and tanned skins, sewed tepees and clothing and cooked. Women contributed to the Flathead diet by gathering roots and berries. Perhaps 50% of the Flathead diet consisted of vegetable foods. Women were also responsible for the good treatment of the plants they depended upon,

> The beginning rite of spring was the First Roots Ceremony, which was always held before any woman was allowed to gather the staple roots. In this ceremony, two respected matrons led a small party of women to a field known to be fruitful (Niethammer 1977:238).

The women then sang and prayed to the sun and earth giving thanks and asking for blessings. After this a small supply of roots was dug up and taken to camp where the chief's wives would cook it. This food was symbolic of all food to be collected in the coming year and was blessed by prayers.

On the eastward trek to the hunt women were responsible for the baggage, small children and moving the pack animals along. Once a spot for the camp was chosen the women would erect their tepees, gather firewood and cook for their families (Donnelly 1967:145).

DWELLINGS

The Flathead's most common dwelling during historic times was the conical tepee or lodge. Teit and Boas reported that a three pole foundation was preferred (332), however Agnes reported only the four pole foundation was used. The earliest lodge covering was matts. With the adoption of horses and extensive hunting on the plains this was replaced by horse and bison hide. Canvas when it became available was, and still is used to cover Flathead tepees; muslin has been used as well. Flathead tepee skins and canvas were not printed on, but left plain (Agnes). Long lodges, common before the tepee were used to house several families, visitors, or for dances and ceremonies (cf. Turney-High 1937, Teit 1928).

Women made and owned the family lodge. Women were also responsible for erecting and dismantling lodges when moving. Putting the tepee up involved erecting the poles, covering the lodge, fixing the wings to let in the proper amount of air and staking the bottom. Possessions were placed around the outside of the lodge. In the center was the fire pit and next to it the boiling pit. People slept between the fire and the edge of the tepee. During summer months matts were used as floor coverings. In winter, boughs and robes provided the needed insulation from the cold ground (Turney-High 1937:102).

Men alone or in small numbers often hunted in the mountains. According to Agnes, in cold winter months they would construct a temporary shelter of brush to protect themselves from the elements.

CHAPTER IV

There are many stories about how the Flathead received their name. One legend explains that the Flathead originally came from Oregon and possibly arrived with flattened frontal bones, but later they quit the practice. Other more plausible explanations credit the name to a misinterpreted sign. The Indian sign for the people we now call Salish was made by placing the right palm on the right side of the head and this is the explanation Agnes supports.

The basis of another explanation which comes from several sources, according to Partoll, is that the term Flathead denoted the top of a normal head, whereas the groups that practiced head deformation had "peaked heads" (1951:41). Some coastal Indians did practice skull deformation as a form of class distinction. There are no reports of the Flathead engaging in this practice. The Bureau of Ethnology explained the name as follows, they were called Flatheads,

> ... not because they artifically deformed their heads, but in contradistinction to most tribes further west, they kept them in their normal condition, flat on top (U. S. Department of the Interior Bulletin 30:22).

Pierre Adams, a Flathead farmer in the 1940's explained how he believed the Flathead had received their name. His version contends that Indians from Oregon who practiced flattening of the frontal bone were visiting the Flathead Reservation. Some whites in the area at the time saw these other Indians and incorrectly labeled the local group Flatheads. Eneas Conko and Sam Hill in their story of how the Flathead received their name included Flathead Lake. They said that in Salish the Indians called

themselves "Broadwater" Indians because they lived at the head of the lake where Polson now stands. Eneas and Sam believe that broad was misinterpreted to mean flat and because they were living at the head of the lake they were called Flathead (Hansen 1947:5). The Flathead's own name for themselves is [Sse̓litcɛn], or Salish-speaking. Variations of the word Salish include Selish, Salees, Saleesh and many more. The word Salish refers to a linguistic classification. The word Flathead refers to a Bitterroot Valley people and a nation formed by treaty.

The earliest known center of Flathead life was in the Three Forks area around the headwaters of the Missouri. The tribes ranged east to Billings and the Big Horn mountains of Wyoming and south to Yellowstone Park. The Flathead Salish were displaced from southwestern Montana over the continental divide by Shoshoni incursions. Blackfeet also aided in the displacement. At least four distinct bands of Flathead existed before 1800. They were located near present day Helena, Butte, east of Butte and in the Big Hole Valley (Teit 1928:309).

The Flathead's first contact with white men occurred in the fall of 1805 when Lewis and Clark's party approached the camp of a Flathead band. This occurred at Ross's Hole in the Bitterroot Valley. Captain Clark reported the meeting in his journal entry of September 4,

> Groun covered with Snow, we assended a mountain and took a Divideing ridge which we kept for Several Miles & fell on the head of a Creek which appeared to run the Course we wished to go, prosued our Course down to the Creek to the forks about 5 miles where we met a part(y) of the Tushepau(Flathead)nation, of 33 Lodges about 80 men

> 400 Total and at least 500 horses, those people recved us friendly, threw white robes over our Sholders & Smoked in the pipes of peace, we Encamped with them and found them friendly, The Chief harangued untill late at night, Smoked in our pipe and appeared Satisfied. I was the first white man who ever wer on the waters of this river (DeVoto 1953:233).

In 1808 the Salish Flathead began participating in the fur trade (Fahey 1974:28). They were outfitted to trap beaver and traded often with Finian McDonald, David Thompson's agent of the Hudson's Bay Company. Thompson traded guns and metal to be made into arrow points, for pelts. Fur trade in Flathead country was dominated initially by the Hudson's Bay Fur Comapny, which in 1821 merged with the Northwest Company and set up Flathead Post. This post was located on the banks of the Clark Fork River between present-day Plains and Thompson Falls (Morgan 1953:123). Flathead Post was one of the earliest in the region, it served as an outfitting advance base for expeditions into the rich Snake River country, as well as a trading post. The British ran Flathead Post and both American and Salish trappers wintered around Flathead Lake. This area was rich in beaver (Wishart 1979:129,185). The Flathead Post was described as follows,

> Like most trading houses in Indian country, Flathead Post was more imposing in its name than in the fact, a row of huts 6 in number, low, linked together under one cover, having the appearance of deserted booths, the function of which was mainly to keep the rain off trade goods and furs (Morgan 1953:133).

Flathead, Pend d'Oreille, Kootenai, and a few Nez Perce and Spokane traded at Flathead Post. The annual rendevous occurred in late fall. What follows is a description of the Flathead coming to the post to trade in 1824:

> The Flatheads came up in a body, mounted and chanting the song of peace. At a little distance from the fort, they halted and discharged their guns in salute, a compliment returned by the brass three-pounder. When the echos had died away, the head chief advanced to make a formal speech, welcoming the whites to these lands and apologizing for having so few beaver to trade.
>
> ... the women of the camp came up on horseback, leading animals laden with provisions. The trade which followed lasted til dark (Morgan 1953:134).

Flathead often accompanied parties of trappers into the neighboring country. Good relations between British traders and the Salish were an advantage to the trappers in conducting their expeditions in the area.

> The amiable Salish had been convoying trappers to and through the Blackfoot lands for years (Morgan 1953:120).

Routes from Flathead Post both to the east and west were financially important to the Hudson's Bay Company. Fort Connah later established by the Hudson's Bay Company in the Mission Valley also was a Flathead trading post.

The 1820's brought the Flathead's first exposure to Christianity. The Flathead were told about "Black Robes" by Iroquois trappers who had previously been exposed to Catholic missionaries (cf. Forbis 1950, Smead

1905). They became anxious to embrace Christianity and sent several delegations to St. Louis to find a priest who could come and teach them. Pierre Jean DeSmet, a priest who later spent much time among the Flathead, reported that four deputations were made to St. Louis. These trips occurred in 1831, 1836, 1837 and 1839 (Thwaites 1904-1907:229). Other sources report only three trips were made (cf. Malone 1976, Ronan 1965, Thwaites 1904-1907).

In 1804 the Catholics sent Father DeSmet of the Society of Jesus to the Flathead. DeSmet upon seeing the need and desire for a missionary among the Flathead returned to the east to secure funding for the work to be carried out. In the fall of 1841 DeSmet returned to the Bitterroot Valley with five assistants to establish St. Mary's Mission (cf. Chittenden 1969, Curtis 1911). In 1842 the first potatoes were planted and the first grain was sown in the Bitterroot Valley. The Indians began to produce some of the agricultural products for the mission which was and still is located by present-day Stevensville. Tools and work animals were available for the Indian's use from the mission. The mission also had a flour mill, the first in Montana, at which the Indians had their grain ground, and there was also a sawmill. Both of these mills were operated by water power.

Father Ravalli arrived at St. Mary's from Europe in 1844 bringing buhrstones from Bëlgium. He also had studied medicine there, and ministered to the Salish. As a result he became endeared to many of the Indians there.

The Catholics instituted regular worship. They also tried to get the Flathead to give up polygamy and attempted to convert the Indians

from hunters and gatherers to an agricultural people (Forbis 1950:99). By 1846 there were twelve frame houses at the mission in addition to the church building. Certain traditional ways were given up by the Indians because the Fathers were considered to be "bearers of strong medicine;" however, other ways were retained and preferred. Father DeSmet reported that the mission was visited often by other tribes from the vicinity including the Shoshonis, Nez Perces, Bannocks, and even some Blackfeet made appearances there (Chittenden 1969:572).

At this time bison hunting was becoming more difficult. The Flathead had to travel further and stay away longer. The excessive amount of time the Indians spent away from the mission hunting bison in the late 1840's contributed to a falling away from Christianity. In 1850 St. Mary's Mission in the Bitterroot Valley was disbanded and the Jesuit priests departed. According to Forbis (1950) the Flathead's willingness to accept Christianity decreased at this time. Yet, in four years the missionaries returned to the Flathead, and in 1854 Fathers Adrian Hoecken and Joseph Menetrey erected a cabin on the site of the new mission at St. Ignatius in the Flathead Valley. By 1856 the mission had a flour mill with locally made stones, and a whipsaw mill.

The Hellgate Treaty Council was held in 1855. Flathead, Kootenai and Pend d'Oreille chiefs, and the Governor of Washington Territory, Issac Stevens were in attendance. Governor Stevens had written in 1854 to the Flathead Indian Agent:

> You are already aware of the character of the Flatheads. They are the best Indians of the mountains and plains- honest, brave, and docile; they only need encouragement

> to become good citizens-they are good Christians, and we are assured they live up to the Christian code (Ronan 1965:44).

Despite the Governor's appreciation for the Flathead they lost much through the Hellgate Treaty of 1855. Chief Victor Charlot and others incorrectly believed that Stevens had come to aid them in their struggles against the Blackfeet. Stevens wished to put all three Western Montana tribes together on one reservation. After eights days of discussion by the chiefs involved the tribes agreed to being located on the same reservation. At this time the location of the reservation had not yet been decided upon. Victor was recognized as chief for the three tribes and the Flathead were allowed to stay in the Bitterroot Valley until other areas had been evaluated. At the end of eight days the Hellgate Treaty was signed. In Article 1 of the treaty, approximately 12,800,000 acres of tribal land were ceded to the U. S. Government for what turned out to be 3¢ per acre. Article 2 set aside the land for the Jocko Reservation. In Article 5 many things were promised to the Indians. Among these to be established within one year were a hospital with a doctor, and for twenty years a school, blacksmith, tinsmith and carpenter to teach the Indians, and shops and equipment for this work. Also a plow and gun shop, a sawmill and flour mill, with two millers and an agricultural and industrial school with the necessary buildings and tools to be provided and kept in repair. Each Indian was to receive $500 a year for the next twenty years. In Articles 8 and 9 of the Hellgate Treaty Indians were obliged to be friendly to other Indians and whites and not to consume alcohol or allow it on the reservation. Article 11 was very important to the Flathead who signed the treaty. It

promised evaluation of the Bitterroot Valley for its suitability as a reservation and white settlement was not to take place there until this evaluation was completed. In the meantime the Flathead were allowed to remain in the Bitterroot Valley. The Hellgate Treaty was not ratified by Congress until 1859. Because of this four year delay the Flathead assumed their desire for permanent residence in the Bitterroot had been approved.

Following the Hellgate Treaty conditions began to worsen for the Flathead. Increasing traffic and encroachment by whites caused pressure for seizure of valuable Indian lands. In 1857 Father DeSmet wrote:

> If the less well-intentioned Indians from the lower lands would keep within their own territory, and if the whites, the number of whom is daily augmenting in St. Mary's Valley could act with moderation, and conduct themselves prudently, I am convinced that soon the whole country would be at peace, and that not a single Indian would henseforward imbrue his hands in the blood of a white stranger (Chittenden 1969:1240).

In 1858 Chief Victor became ill and the Flathead approached destitution. Game was scarce and Blackfeet raiding of Flathead hunting parties became extreme.

In 1861 the Jocko Agency was established and Father De Smet's Selish Grammar was published in New York. Father Mengarini later published a Salish-English Dictionary at St. Ignatius in 1879 (Palladino 1922:79). In 1864, nine years after the Hellgate Treaty had promised a school, the Sisters of Charity arrived at St. Ignatius and opened the Ursuline Boarding school (Palladino 1922:104). The school operated until 1874 on money from public charity, at this time the government funding finally came

through. Government boarding schools were a strong factor in Indian assimilation. They sought to instill white values in Indian children and caused hardship on the basic family unit because of physical separation. Agnes reported that she was not allowed to speak Salish at school and risked punishment if she ignored this rule.

Illegal whiskey was being sold to the Flathead by the mid 1860's and 700 whites were living in the Bitterroot and Flathead Valleys (Fahey 1974:145). The Flathead were still refusing to leave the Bitterroot despite famine, and in 1866 St. Mary's Mission was reopened by Father Giorda of the Society of Jesus.

In November of 1871 an Executive Order was issued by President Grant declaring the removal of the Flathead from the Bitterroot and relocating them to the Jocko area, and in accordance, in 1872 the Flathead Reservation was set aside by an act of Congress to be located in the Flathead and Jocko Valleys. Indians wishing to remain in the Bitterroot were encouraged to take land under the Homestead Act, after notifying the Superintendant of Indian Affairs in Montana. The claims would be valid only if the claimants were to give up all relations with their tribe (H. Brown 1967-1973:246). On August 22nd through the 24th of 1872 James Garfield who had been appointed Special Commissioner to deal with the Flathead, in an effort to cause their removal, met with the Flathead chiefs and their principal men. In this council with the Flathead, General Garfield was told that Chief Charlot had not agreed to leave the Bitterroot Valley. Garfield and the chiefs then journeyed to the Jocko Reservation and again conferred. On August 24 the agreement was signed by Adolf and Arlee, the second and third chiefs. The United States Government officially recognized Arlee as the leader of the tribe. Garfield stated,

I think Carlot, the head chief will ultimately come to this arrangement (H. Brown 1967-1973:82).

At some point in the published report of this agreement, Chief Charlot's X was forged on the Garfield Agreement.

In 1877 a new Indian agent was assigned to the Flathead, his name was Peter Ronan. Ronan upon discovering the Flathead's destitute condition worked hard requesting money, food and supplies from the federal government.

The 1880's was a decade of many happenings on the reservation. The first irrigation ditches were dug, the railroad crossed the southern end of the reservation and Allard's mail and passenger line went into service.

Smallpox hit hard the Flathead holdouts in the Bitterroot Valley in 1882. Many of the people were induced to leave what they considered their homeland, for the Jocko Reservation. Chief Charlot and his followers still refused to relocate. By 1883 the reservation's population was beginning to grow and Arlee was established as a station on the Northern Pacific Railroad to serve the Jocko Agency which was located three miles to the east (Lang 1965:19).

In 1884 Chief Charlot, Peter Ronan and five Indians journeyed to Washington D. C. Their intention was to get permission to stay peaceably in the Bitterroot Valley. At this time 342 Flathead were still located there. In 1887 Congress passed the Dawes, or General Allotment Act enabling each reservation Indian to receive a plot of land through the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Allottees were to choose their own land with the U. S. Government holding the titles in trust for 25 years. Charlot seeing no alternative for his starving band finally agreed to removal from

the Bitterroot. In 1891 all of the remaining Flathead, including Agnes's relatives, had located on the Jocko Reservation.

After the arrival in 1881 of the last of the Bitterroot Flathead a meeting was held between the Flathead chiefs and Indian Service officials. It was decided that stick games and the War Dance should no longer be allowed to take place. The games and dance were considered by the officials as an inspiration for the Indians to ignore certain existing laws. Nevertheless, some ceremonies were held in secrecy for a time after this.

In the last several decades of the 1800's the United States Government and its personnel were responsible for much suffering by the Flathead, especially since many of the Indians refused to move to the reservation. Thus, whatever meagre funds were availble were denied them. The services to Indians were minimal, buildings constructed were temporary and there were few improvements. The agency was understaffed and underfunded with rapid turnover of personnel. While certain agents were nearly incompetent, others defrauded the government and cheated the tribal members out of their due goods and money, and this too depleted funds originally intended for Indians. The great distance between the Flathead and Washington, D. C., and many other problems kept the Indians from receiving what had been promised them.

In 1904 the United States Government Act for survey and allotment was approved. Reservation land was surveyed in 1907 and 1908, and alloted to tribal members in 80 or 160 acre parcels through 1909. Ground determined to be potential farmland was divided into 80 acre parcels while grazing and timber lands were assigned in 160 acre parcels. In 1908 the National Bison Range was established within the reservation's boundaries.

The tribe was meagerly compensated for the 17,000 acres needed for this project. Also in 1908 ceremonies and dancing which had been banned earlier were once again allowed. The dances had been held covertly since the 1890's. The massive Flathead Irrigation Project was authorized in 1908 against the wishes of the Indians, however work was not begun until 1910. Government appropriations for the project were small and equipment minimal (McAlear 1962:90). In 1909 more tribal land was lost to the railroads by an Appropriation Act.

During these few years the allotment of land to the 2,390 eligible members was completed. In 1909 the remaining reservation land was appraised by a commission of five. The commission was made up of two members appointed by the President of the United States, two by the tribe, and the fifth member was a Special Indian Agent. The Taft Proclamation of May 22, 1909, allowed non-Indians to bid on reservation "surplus" lands. There were 104,000 applications submitted for 6,000 available plots. In 1910 an influx of white settlers claimed some of the most valuable land on the reservation. The Indians believed the Hellgate Treaty of 1855,

> ... so states no white man will ever reside within the boundary of the Flathead Reservation unless he or she is a government employee or a representative or a trader with a permit (Char-Koosta July 1959:3).

Also in the 1910's the reservation auto stage went into operation and numerous boats were launched on Flathead Lake. Timber as a fledgling industry was booming in response to the settler needs for housing and the building of reservation towns. The Jocko School closed in 1914 and Indian children were sent to public and boarding schools. The boarding

school on the Flathead Reservation was in operation until 1962, when it became a day school. Also in 1914 the reservation hospital opened in St. Ignatius in a remodeled church building. The hospital was run by the Sisters of Charity and a government doctor. The sisters also ran the Mission boarding school. In 1916 the first electricity flowed on the reservation and the next year the Northern Pacific was operating a railroad line between Dixon and Polson.

In the 1920's, the housing situation on the reservation was improving, according to Lindquist,

... with only thirty-five one room houses left ... (338).

There were movies, dancehalls and pool rooms in the larger towns and twenty-six public schools were open on the reservation. In the 1920's two wildlife refuges were created, these being the Ninepipes and Pablo Reservoirs. Also in the 1920's the Merriam Report was published. The conclusion of this study was that the educations the Indian children were receiving at boarding schools were inadequate.

Work was begun on Kerr Dam in 1930 and was completed in 1938. In the mid 1930's several Works Progress Administration projects were initiated on the reservation. Women were involved in a sewing project and in a project to provide lunches for the school children. Simultaneously, the Civilian Conservation Corp was building roads, truck trails, horse trails, lookout towers and camping grounds. The CCC was also involved in fire suppression and in the construction of the buildings at Blue Bay Resort.

In June of 1934 President Roosevelt signed the Wheeler-Howard or Indian Reorganization Act. This act provided for the establishment of a tribal self-governing body and corporations by charter. As a result the

Indians regained some control over their lives. The Salish and Kootenai Tribes voted to adopt the provisions of the Indian Reorganization Act and incorporate.

Twice daily stage trips operated between Polson and Missoula in the 1930's. In 1935 the Bureau of Indian Affairs census listed 2,133 Confederated Tribe members. The first meeting of the newly organized Flathead Tribal Council took place in January of 1936 in Dixon at the Flathead Agency. In 1939 the Federal Power Commission issued a license for Kerr Dam and the Flathead Irrigation Project. In 1940, two more units were added to the irrigation system.

The next decade brought many improvements for Indians while John Collier served as United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1933 through 1947. During these years the Indian populations continued their upswing; more land was brought back under trust status, credit was extended, the death rate cut, and medical and educational services for Indians were bettered. In 1938 the Indians were granted the freedom to practice their traditional religions.

World War II left Indian legislation at a standstill, moreover the Bureau of Indian Affairs budget was again reduced. Assimilation, however, accelerated as Indians left their reservations to serve in the Armed Forces and to work in war related industry. Agnes reported that many Flathead had enlisted in the service, but most returned to the reservation after the war and that to her knowledge no one had left the reservation to work in factories. Subsequently several of her children and grandchildren had served in the forces. Serving in the Armed Forces aided family income and provided technical and leadership skills as well (Levine 1968:61).

In the 1940's the National Congress of American Indians was formed to help tribes effectively utilize the Indian Reorganization Act and Flathead leaders participated actively in this Congress. In 1942 tribal enrollment was reopened and all eligible individuals, including Anges's children, born between 1921 and 1942 were enrolled as new members. After the new enrollment was completed the Flathead rolls totaled 2,544 (Char-Koosta November 1958:3). Also in the 1940's it was estimated that only half of all tribal members were still living on the reservation. Lack of employment opportunities there played a large role in causing the situation. In 1946 the Indian Claims Commission was established, giving Indians the right to file suit against the federal government and the Confederated Tribes succeeded in winning some of these suits.

The 1950's brought threats of termination for all American Indian tribes. The Termination Act was passed in 1953, and the tribal self-confidence of all tribes was undermined as the government began termination of certain reservations (Ross 1982:10). The Flathead was among those reservations scheduled to be dissolved. The Inter-Tribal Policy Board containing representatives from the seven Montana Indian reservations and the landless Indians of the state began meeting to fight termination and work for positive action. Walter McDonald of the Flathead Tribe served as president. In part because of their efforts, and also due to action taken by Senator Mike Mansfield the reservation survived termination threats. *In 1953, Ordinance 18A was approved and later became law. The ordinance set the blood quantum at a minimum of ¼ Salish and Kootenai for tribal membership. Indians were allowed to drink legally in 1954.

The 1950's were a time for concern with health and education. Public schools were available for all children on the reservation and it was only

necessary for children under extenuating circumstances to attend boarding schools (Char-Koosta November 1956:3). In 1957 the responsibility for Indian Health was put under the jurisdiction of the Public Health Service and by the late 1950's the health situation was improving. Sanitation and preventable disease regulations became compulsory and a dentist was hired. General health care needs were surveyed and assessed. The tribe passed a health ordinance requiring dumps and debris be cleaned up. People were vaccinated against polio, and tuberculosis was on the decline. Tribal enrollment in 1957 was stable around 4,410. Seven high schools and thirteen grade sc[illegible] Beginning in 1956 adult vocational training became available for qualifying adults on the reservation under Public Law 959 of the 84th Congress.

in 1957 was stable around 4,410. Seven high

In 1958 timber prices were down 17% and timber harvest on the reservation decreased according to the management plan, consequently per capita payments were reduced. Some of the unemployment caused by the poor demand for lumber was eased by the cutting of Christmas trees. Trappers also suffered because of a drastic decrease in the price of beaver pelts. Kerr Dam was the only stable income for the tribe in the late 1950's and the Flathead were anxious to develop more dam sites for future income. The initial agreement with the power company netted the tribes $175,000 per year in dam site rental fees. In 1977 this yearly rent was up to $950,000. During the 1950's tribal members tried to develop industry on the reservation. They hoped to attract industry which would provide stable year round employment for the Indians, recognizing that many Indians lacked job training. Primary income for the tribal members came from, and still comes from stock raising, farming, logging, sawmills, construction, irri-

gation and government jobs, the tribes and small businesses. Tribal income is generated by timber harvesting, Kerr Dam, grazing leases, gravel sales, Christmas tree sales, resort operations and tourism (Char-Koosta May 1957:1). In the late 1950's 4,410 Flathead were enrolled, with 2,500 of these people living on the reservation. Between 250 and 300 of these individuals were fullbloods. Although most of the Flathead believe in the value of education, by 1956 only 21 students had graduated from college since 1905. A loan program was established to aid those who desired a higher education.

By the 1960's Indians nationwide had coupled resistance with positive goals such as better education, community development programs, a higher standard of living for all Indians and increased communication between Indian groups (Levine 1968:187). Char-Koosta the paper of the tribes on the Flathead Reservation was first published in 1956. During the 1960's a political ideology was emerging. The National Indian Youth Council was formed to fight oppression as a part of the Indian civil rights movement. This movement took place within the broader civil rights movement of the 1960's, stressing the fact that Indians wanted different things than blacks. In 1968 the Indian Civil Rights Act passed. The act required tribal consent by majority vote before a state could assume criminal or civil jurisdiction over an Indian. Requirements for tribal enrollment became a controversial issue in the 1960's.

Five thousand tribal members were on the roles in 1960 and figures in 1961 showed that only 250 fullbloods were still living. The reservation at time time had seven high schools and fifteen grade schools in operation, and in 1963 the Holy Family Hospital was completed in St. Ignatius.

The 1960's also saw the death of Father Taelman, a Catholic priest who had been preaching to the Flathead in their native language for decades.

The American Indian Movement, more commonly known as AIM was formed in 1969. It united many Indians with a goal of preserving pride and dignity, and the right of Indians to retain their own values. Hostility and militancy by many Indians errupted at this time. In 1973 the Trail of Broken Treaties march took place in Washington D. C. with several Flathead youth participating. It was motivated by statistics on the Indian's lower life expectancy, lower average income, higher unemployment rate, substandard housing, high infant mortality rate, educational situation and enormous female youth suicide rate. During the 1970's legislation was enacted to assist the Indian and improve his or her life. It began in 1974 with the Indian Financing Act and continued with the Indian Self-determination and Education Assistance Act in 1975, the Indian Health Care Improvement Act in 1976, the Food Stamp Act in 1977, the Child Welfare Act in 1978 and the Indian Religious Freedom Act also in 1978.

The early 1980's may prove retrospectively harsh on the Indian-federal government relationship. Bureau of Indian Affairs money is being slashed as are many programs for Indians and non-Indians alike. The all Indian Kicking Horse Job Corp on the Flathead Reservation will undoubtedly suffer a loss of funding. In the 1980's revenue obtained from resource development on some reservations may help offset the loss of federal funding. Tribes have recently been allowed the right by a Supreme Court ruling on January 25, 1982, to levy a severance tax on oil and gas removed from their lands. Should the Confederated Tribes choose to develop their resources this may be an important ruling for their future.

CHAPTER V

The current reservation of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes is approximately forty miles by sixty miles and contains 625,986 acres. Land types on the reservation include grazing, agricultural and mountainous. The reservation has three major lakes, McDonald, St. Mary's and Flathead Lakes. The tribes own water rights and shoreline around the south half of Flathead Lake. Reservation land reaches into Missoula, Lake and Sanders counties. Average valley elevation on the reservation is 3,000 feet. Higher elevations receive seasonally heavy snowfall and lower elevations are milder. Pacific temperature and moisture moderate climatic extremes.

Lake County contains the towns with the largest numbers of Indian residents. The largest town on the reservation, based on Indian population, is St. Ignatius or "Mission" with an Indian population of 892. The town of Ronan has the second largest Indian population and is centrally located on the reservation. The town of Arlee around which the Flathead people are located is on the south end of the reservation and has an Indian population of 630. Sanders County has two towns with Indian populations between 100 and 200, they are Hot Springs and Dixon. No urban areas exist on the reservation and the population is either rural and scattered or located in and around the small towns.

Numerous religions are represented by churches on the reservation. There are many Christian churches including Catholic, Lutheran, Methodist, Episcopal, Baptist and Presbyterian. Other groups formally represented on the reservation are Jehovah's Witnesses, Seventh Day Adventists and Latter Day Saints. There are three hospitals located within the reservation boundaries, they operate in St. Ignatius, Polson and Ronan. Nursing

homes are located in conjunction with the Polson and Ronan hospitals and the town of Hot Springs also has a nursing home.

Secondary education is available at the Salish Kootenai Community College in Pablo and Elmo. Head Start programs are operating in Ronan and Pablo. The reservation has several high schools, middle schools and elementary schools including Two Eagle River School which is run by the tribes.

Several papers are circulated on the reservation. The local papers are almost exclusively weeklies, they are the Mission Valley News, the Ronan Pioneer, the Flathead Courier and the Charlo Star. Char-Koosta the tribal paper is published monthly. The Daily Interlake is published in Polson and other daily papers are available to reservation residents from nearby Kalispel and Missoula.

Tribal government consists of a tribal council with ten members. These members serve four year terms with half the seats coming up for reelection every two years. There are eight districts on the reservation represented in the council. The Flathead claim they were the first Indians to ratify their tribal charter of incorporation. Provisions included in the charter are for the tribe to buy and sell property; exchange water, land and mineral rights; lease land, water, mineral and timber rights for up to ten years; borrow from the Indian Credit Fund; make and perform contracts and agreements; deposit corporate funds, and to sue and be sued. The Confederated Tribes are the largest single employer on the reservation. They accomplish this by utilizing federal grant money as well as tribal assets and income (Shirley December 27:5).

The natural resources of the Flathead Reservation are plentiful and varied. Reservation resources include such things as timber, water, water

power, minerals, fish and game, agricultural and grazing lands and possibly oil and gas. There is currently increasing pressure on Indians of all tribes to develop their natural resources.

> These forgotten enclaves of land and marketable materials are among the few left with resources in large enough quantities to be worth exploiting (Eggert 1977:10).

Indian law can be both prohibitive and attractive to outside developers. The tribes are free to deal with outside interests without complying with stipulations necessary for use of public land. Environmental Impact Statements are not required by the federal government for private development on Indian lands, yet they are required for development on public lands.

> On the Flathead, the tribal council has taken on the nature of a corporate board of directors rather than a governmental body, and the wheeling and dealing is hot and heavy (Eggert 1977:10).

The Flathead Reservation has trace amounts of lead, zinc, silver and platinum. None of these metals exist in marketable quantities. There is current interest in possible oil and gas reserves on the reservation. The tribes had a mineral exploration study conducted during the years 1974-1977. The results of this study have been kept confidential, as well as the results of a forestry study which included assessment of cultural and wildlife resources.

The forest and forest industries are economically important on the Flathead Reservation. Their forests provide not only much marketable timber, but also grazing land. Fir, larch and ponderosa pine are the basis of the Flathead forest products industry.

Logging on the reservation began before 1900, although the first sawmill was in operation at St. Ignatius in 1856 by the Jesuit Fathers. In 1861, the United States Government built a more modern mill at the Jocko Agency. Another government mill opened near Ronan in 1890. The first privately owned sawmill opened near Polson in 1904. Within the next decade many private mills went into production to accommodate the great demand for lumber. The reservation was opened for white settlement and the reservation towns were built (McAlear 1962:131).

Currently the reservation forestry industry includes post and pole production and the selling of Christmas trees, as well as timber harvest. Harvest practices have been reevaluated in response to concerns about excessive cutting and long term management. Timber harvesting brings in an excess of four million dollars annually for the tribe (Shirley 26 December:1).

Flathead lands support several crops as well as providing pasture for grazing. Wheat, hay, alfalfa, oats, barley, corn, potatoes and sugar beets are grown in the reservation valleys. Many residents, Indian and non-Indian, keep bees. Hereford, Aberdeen Angus and Shorthorn are the predominant types of beef cattle raised on the reservation. Sheep and dairy cattle are also raised (McAlear 1962:127).

CHAPTER VI

In Agnes's time a whole way of life has changed. A people who once hunted and gathered for their subsistence making journeys to collect and utilize resources, are now sedentary. The traditional Flathead foraging has given way to farming, ranching and logging for a living as well as income derived from leasing land, government payments and tribal per capita payments. The 20th century has included fencing of the reservation and a loss of many traditional food resources. Game is less plentiful on the reservation and many native plant resources have been displaced or become inaccessible. Utilization of game resources is now strictly controlled by laws even on the reservation. One study showed that only ten families relied regularly on the hunt for subsistence, others however did some hunting. Although for many of the older Indians food preferences have remained traditional, the availability of these foods has been reduced. The current Flathead diet still includes wild items as well as domestic. Eneas Conko said, we have new,

> ... food, for which they had no words because there were no such foods in their day (Hansen 1947:8).

Material aspects of traditional culture have shown much change from 1900 to the 1980's. Very few Flathead still dress regularly in traditional clothing. Sophie Moiese, even in 1947, expressed concern saying she was one of the few left who dressed the old way, wearing beads, earrings and moccasins. She commented that all the girls wanted lipsticks, silk stockings, shoes and curls in their hair (Hansen 1947:63). Flathead Indians on and off the reservation dress with comfort, function and style in mind. Traditional garb is brought out for dances and special occasions. For everyday use, buckskin and canvas have been replaced by Levis.

Tools and equipment for farming have also changed. Eneas Conko spoke about this in the Montana Study Group with Bert Hansen, he said,

> We have new tools such as axes, lawn mowers, rakes and new inventions like cars and airplanes and highways ... Now our ways and customs are altogether different (8).

The white American mental set of mutually exclusive categories does not necessarily apply to the Flathead way of thinking. Examples of religion, medicine, education and language can be used to demonstrate this point. Christianity as the predominant American religion believes in only one God, all others are considered to be false. Many Flathead Indians are Christians, but not to the exclusion of traditional ways. Sophie Moeise said that the Christian religion has been good for the Indians, they embraced it and always went to church. She also commented that the Flathead medicine man was still important (Hansen 1947:33-34).

Medicines are another example of how the Indians have utilized both traditional and modern knowledge. Doctors are visited or called upon for medical problems, while perhaps the patient is simultaneously drinking an herbal tea believed to have curing powers. Agnes spoke of a woman who was told she had terminal cancer and was feeling poorly. A tea was made of a plant the Flathead call "bear ears" and given to the woman, it appeared to help the woman feel better.

All Flathead children now receive a standard American education, however, this education does not completely replace a traditional one. Parents and especially grandparents are concerned with passing on old ways to the young. Agnes is proud to say that all of her children speak Salishan and that her grandchildren are learning the language. Salishan is just now

being taught in reservation schools. She also teaches her granddaughter skills such as beading and tepee making. The cultural commission and individual Flathead like Agnes are working to ensure that Louis Coomb's prediction does not come true, in 1947 he said, "In years to come the Flathead language will melt away (Hansen 69)." Both the English and Salish languages are currently used on the reservation.

Although there is valid reason for concern among the Flathead about loss of their culture, most believe outside schooling is necessary. Pete Beaverhead and Pierre Pichette felt proud of the Flathead's educated young people and encouraged youths to attend college.

In the 20th century the tribe has emerged as a powerful entity. C. C. Wright a former Indian Agent tells of three elections which have led to the present situation, all of these took place in Agnes's lifetime. After the Wheeler-Howard Act of 1935, the tribe voted to adopt the provisions and incorporate. In the second election a constitution and bylaws were adopted, and in the third tribal members voted on the tribal charter which gave powers to the councilmen (Hansen 1947:15-17). These councilmen are extremely important today in decision and policy making, but the system has rendered the old chieftanship obsolete.

Liquor has become an undeniable part of many Indian's lives. Concern over negative aspects of alcohol consumption was voiced by several adult Flathead in the Montana Study Group in 1947. Alcohol consumption did not become legal for Indians until 1954, but illegal consumption up to this time had been heavy.

Agnes Vanderburg has extensive knowledge of the traditional ways of the Flathead culture and a willingness and desire to share this informa-

tion. She is a competent speaker of both English and Salish. She has lived through and adjusted to times of great change for her tribe and people and continues to be an active educator in traditional ways. Agnes is the subject of this biography because of her dynamic personality, the reasons stated above and the fact that she represents a generation almost gone. I hope to present insight into how one woman has learned to operate successfully in both the Indian and the white worlds, and show Agnes in the context of her own cultural milieu.

Agnes is a Flathead Salish woman who was educated in the traditional ways of her tribe. Her culture has had and continues to have constant contact with the dominant American culture. Agnes has grown up during times of great change for her tribe. She is now 81 years old and lives on the Flathead Reservation three miles south of Arlee, Montana. Her home is located on land that was originally part of her husband Jerome's parent's allotment. Their children live on adjacent land. Agnes, her siblings, and parents (the Adams) resided at Valley Creek, and in Arlee during her childhood. She has spent all her life residing in this region.

Mrs. Vanderburg is active in the tribe as a teacher of traditional ways. She currently teaches classes at the Community Center in St. Ignatius on "just about everything, you name it." She also spends several months a year at a camp where she encourages cultural awareness and people come to learn. Agnes participates in group therapy as a cultural consultant as well. The group addresses such issues as suicide, parenting, family violence, communication, education, assertiveness, and cultural identity. Gathering of groups has long been important to the Flathead traditional way of life so group discussion as a method of problem solv-

ing is harmonious with cultural tradition. The group tries to recognize and utilize their cultural characteristics and differences (Flemming 1981: 16-18). Agnes has worked with many people researching and demonstrating old methods of food gathering and preparation. She has identified in Salishan different plants and camping sites. Agnes also travels regularly to represent her tribe at conferences and get-togethers.

The interaction during my meetings with Agnes followed a definite pattern. Upon my arrival at Agnes's house I was greeted warmly after which we would chat for several minutes. She asked general questions about my well being and I reciprocated. We would then settle down on her sofa and or an adjacent chair. Our arrangement was sometimes dictated by proximity to an electrical outlet for my tape recorder. Once the recorder was turned on the discussion became more businesslike and Agnes much less frequently initiated conversation. In most cases she would address a general question of mine either briefly or at some length then pause until asked another. Because of this mode of operation, I was forced to take a larger role than I had anticipated in directing her narrative. During our discussions Agnes would often bead and at intervals light up a cigarette. She always wore her glasses, a print dress with shoes and stockings and a scarf over her hair. Her grey braids were long and tied together behind the neck which allowed them to fall gracefully over her shoulders. Her quiet yet warm way put me at ease immediately.

FAMILY

We're from Valla (Valley) Creek. That's where I's born, in Valla Creek. Our huntin' ground is Seeley Lake, then over past. My dad find out he can lease his land and he leased it and we came down to Arlee. We

stayed with my grandma. We farm and all that. He had that place where I's born leased to some people; how much money they get for a year I don't know.

My mom was Adelle, Adelle Kaltomee. She had sisters Katherine, Cecil, Agthaa, Louise and Ann. Then she had one brother Baptiste. None of 'ems livin', they're all gone. My dad was Adams, Eneas Adams. I think my dad was born in Stevensville, my mother was born there too. Jerome was born in Stevensville.

Mary Kaltomee was my grandma, my mother's mother. They didn't have no last names before she got married. She lived for a hundred and eleven I think, but she couldn't walk. She had all her teeth but they were just small. She can see and she can hear pretty good. She had her own tepee 'cause she had three kids and her husband died, but they took care of her like her wood and grub. My grandma did live in the Bitterroot. I'm full-blood 'cause all my relatives comes from Stevensville.

Never knew my dad's parents. When I was comin', my mother was still packin' me, my grandpa died. He was Abel Adams. I don't even know his wife either. It was when they first got married she died. I didn' get to know them. I had a picture of the first Adams, Abel Adams. There's a picture, a bunch of 'em standin' and sittin' down. He was laying in front.

I just got one brother and one sister (still living). My sister lives in Valla Creek. My brother, he and his kids lives by Jocko church. His boy's got eight kids, that's the brother that stayed in Valla Creek. Another Adams he's in Ronan, he's just got one boy. Then the girls, they were Adams (Agnes's nieces) you know their maiden name. They each

got, I don't know how many kids. There's one in Camas Prarie. I had (sisters) Harriet, Adeline, Felicity, Susie, Mary, they're all gone except Harriet. Then two brothers, well one is gone and one is around, Loomie Adams and Louie Adams.

I got Eneas and Joe and Annie and Vic and Lucy (Agnes's children). That's their school pictures on the wall. Vic ain' got no kids, he's not married. Joe went into the Navy. Vic went in the Army. Eneas' daughter she went in the Air Force, she's married; she's got one little girl. Alice, that's Eneas's woman, she's got three boys of her own and the four of 'em live in Valla Creek. She's still workin' there. He's stayin here takin' care of the cows but he goes to see his old lady in Valla Creek.

Annie stays way up on that hillside (to the west). She's got a man but she don' want to get married. It's their business whatever they want to do. If she's not happy she's got a chance to leave him. Lucy lives right over here. She's workin', teachin' over in St. Ignatius, shorthand, 'cause she took that. There's hardly anybody got that shorthand. I'm a great grandmother, I got two great grandchildren, two girls. The rest of 'em (grandchildren) are still going to school.

Jerome's mother and dad lived right down here, further than Lucy's house. See they us'ta farm this place, plow and put the grain in and fall come they cut it. They us'ta have that thrashin' machine they fed it with wood, a big pile 'a wood out there and somebody feedin' the engine, some guys stackin', and two guys throwin' the bales in there. Us'ta be a lot a men workin' just on that thrashin' machine. See all that straw fallin' can't go anywhere so there's a guy movin' straw. If they let it stack up that pipe'll get filled.

There's one Vanderburg here, right next house (see map). That's Jerome's brother Alek. Right here by Lake County Lane a house right in the middle by that corner that's Jerome's sister Louise. There's jus' three of 'em, was jus' three of 'em. Now there's jus' two, Alek and Louise. This whole side, that's Alek Vanderburg and my boy Joe Vanderburg. This corner way over there, that's George Vanderburg, Lake County Lane, first lane to your left as you come in. This one belongs to Eneas and Vic.

Jerome's mother and dad, that's how we got this land. I got mine in Valla Creek, I trade mine, I sold mine. I bought this piece for all my kids. It goes just here to Finley Creek. Jerome's dad's house was right here in the field. There was a few houses here and there, all government houses.

VANDERBURG NAME

The old ladies said nobody's white, it's just that Father gave 'em each last name. Then some people say, "Oh, you're German." I us'ta tell 'em no I'm not! It's just a name. That's what happened, 'cause they was gon' get baptized. Sack Woman and Jerome's dad's sister was tellin' us how it happened, 'cause they were there. She says we didn't know what two names mean (first and last names). They didn't have no (last) name. Like Bear Tracks, that was his really name. When he was out there, (you say) hey Bear Track! that was him. Now, later after they got baptized, (you say) hey Louie Vanderburg! That's where Vanderburg came from was that priest. That's why that Vanderburg his name was Bear Track, his name wasn't Louie. They (the Indians) know everybody (by their Indian name). My grandfather, my dad'd dad, his beard was red and that's what they call

him, he didn't have no name like Abel Adams. That's all they called him, was just by his beard. So that priest was the one that gave 'em all those names, like Abel Adams.

SCHOOL

I went to school here at Jocko for two years. We'd leave to school about around 4:00 I guess; I don't even remember the time. We had to walk down and back to the camp. We was camped down by the river then. My folks didn't believe in it, that's why I ain't got much school. That's why I had all my kids finish school 'cause I didn't. Some folks didn' really push 'em for school, if they want to go they go, if they don' want to go they don' go. If they lived too far, 'bout two or three miles they don't go.

The first work was say my A B C's. Then after that I guess the next day, I never really took care of that, had to start countin'. We us'ta do 25, that's as far as we us'ta go. Thought we was right there then (really good). Then we start in on our A B C's, then I guess when we got a little better we'd start spelling, cat and all that, dog. Then we'd start in our 50's countin', went to hundred, boy we sure knew what we's talkin' 'bout.

The nuns they were supposta be nice, but (they weren't always nice). I liked it, but it's only just that they wouldn't let us talk Indian. When we'd get together that's all there was. So when we'd get together we'd all sneak away and get to talkin', but if we get caught, they sure hit you!

SICKNESS AND CURING

The next fall they took us to St. Ignatius (1915), we had to stay

there. That's when I got sick and they made me quit. I never went back. The kids, they stay there September til June, they really made us stay. I think that's why a lot of them parents didn' want to see their kids leave. Once in a while not often, parents would visit. We had no vacation like Thanksgivin' and Christmas and all that. Now they have all kinds of 'em. My mom would drop us off in September and not pick up up till June.

I was 'bout eleven when I was goin' to school in St. Ignatius, Charity Sisters. Remember them havin' them swing boards; they're like this, they go like this kinda small. We were goin' like that, somebody pushed me down. I don' know, I was sick for I don't know how many years. I spent my sick months in St. Pats (St. Patricks Hospital in Missoula). They couldn't help me there; they said I had TB from that.

My folks brought me home and went to the Indian doctor. He couldn't do it. I stayed home one fall, must've been this time of year (Fall). One old man went back with my dad. I was layin' there, he says "What's the matter?" My dad says the doctors says she's got TB. This old man says "I'll get her medicine tomorrow." He was from Washington. He says you get my horse early in the mornin', just breakin' daylight. I'm goin' to this canyon over here. He says you give me a flour sack. You know that's all they us'ta have was flour sacks; you wash 'em. He says just give me one of those and I'll get her some medicine. Early in the mornin' before I was awake that guy was gone. I found out he was gone when I woke up. I waited for him to come. Must be 'bout 10 or 11:00 he got back on horseback. So then he told my mother to have water, hot water. They us'ta have a kettle sittin' on the stove. Soon as he got back he

tell my mother he wanted one of them pots, you know tin pots. It started boilin', boy was I in a hurry to drink, it smelled real good. He stood there and my mother tried to tell him, you'd better eat. He says no, when she drinks then I'll eat. He stood there and watched the pot. He took two cups pour some in, start goin' pourin', try to make it get cold right away. So he tasted it, a little too hot and he poured it back and poured it back in (back and forth between the two cups). Now you taste it now he said, so I take it and it was just red, a really nice color. He took it and then he told me pray and make sign of the cross, so I did. So I drank almost half the cup. He told me now I can eat. He told my dad in 'bout three days she'll be up. They have to lift me up and I coughed and coughed and lay down again. So in three days I get up and go to the bathroom. We didn't have no bathroom in the house, so I have to walk. My mother'd be holdin' me. I told her I think I can make it, you don't have to help me.

So he says I'm going back to Washington. My mom gave him a blanket. He says what's that for? My mother says I'm givin' it to you, so he took it. So they walked to Arlee, us'ta be a train going down (to Spokane) 4:00 in the afternoon. So they got to the depot and my dad got him a ticket. He says what's that for? My dad says because we're friends. He said I thought you was payin' me. He says no, we're friends. I don't know how long then I was back on my feet. I had pictures, I was just a skeleton.

LEARNING OLD WAYS

I jus' follow my mother. Whatever she does, that's what I'd learn. I was lucky, had my mother then. That's how I learned all these things,

all kind of work, berries, roots and medicine.

Like quill work, I'd have to sit there by my mother. She says now you do this. Then she flattens the quill and she puts it on. See them quills got no needle, got no thread. It's just a quill. So she'd tack the end, you watch it. She'd tack it over here then she bends it, tack it over here. Then she goes so far and says now you know what I'm doin'? I think so. She says just watch me again. She get another quill, she puts 'em in like the other and it gets a little bit longer. Then she goes and tacks it down goin' zigzag, you know. She makes all kind of outfit, makes buckskin and leather. Quills were the first beads, didn't have no beads, cheap beads. I like the big quills.

Somedays Vic gets a porcupine. A lot of 'em (people) pick huge ones (quills), pick one and try to pull it off. You hit it with a blanket (to get the quills in the blanket) then I go like this, pick about four of them. It's easy to pick 'em off. Just like you pull right out, pull it, cut it.

My grandma didn't bead. By that time she's gettin' old, my mother did. I just put beads on another needle, then I have my tack needle and tack it down. You can try it on anything (any kind of fabric). There's some a little bit thicker I like. I'm makin' a vest, I got this far to go and then the back. If I just sit here and work on it, it doesn't take long.

I told 'em anybody wants to learn just do it. Doug Allard always says it's Agnes's word, do it. I say sure, do it! If you don't do it you're never gon' learn. I says thats the way my mother us'ta tell me, do it, finish it. They quit and I says do it. Take a small project not

a great one. I says after you get good then you start on a big one. Some men just got started. Guess they thought it was fun watchin' their women, jus' started beadin'. Some of 'em really can bead too. Like this loom work, it's a different kind of tackin', so I showed him how to bead. You take four beads and come out on two then put four again, looks like they're both tacked. This nurse she had two needles. I says just use one needle, so she like it. They have something for theirself.

We have sweat house up there (at camp). At home down there where that little shack is, is another one. Whenever you have the time in the evenin' (you sweat). If you have nothin' to do in the evenin', like sometimes you have to go someplace or you have something to do in the house, you forget about the sweat house. Then if you have nothin' to do, (you say) oh I'm gon' build a sweat. So that's what they been doin' (at camp). They're sweatin' every night, I told 'em not me yet, it's a little too cold (outside in early May). Got two sweat houses (at camp), one here and one way over there, a big one over there. It could hold a dozen I guess. That's the mens.

FARMING

Well since I remember I was over there at Arlee. See my dad us'ta farm all down there where they call it Indian Village on the other sid'a Arlee, where all them houses are across the highway. My dad started farmn' all that place into Arlee. What I remember, like we had a house down on the other side of Arlee. Our house was down by the river. He has one room kinda put a partition in there and fills it with grain, 'cause they have pigs and chickens. Then people go over there, they wanted some for their chickens and whatever they had. He'd go and fill their sack. Pretty

soon there was a big hole where you get wheat for other people.

We had a log house. After they, my grandma and my dad died, and it was just my grandma and her boy and my mother and me, they tore it down. They just tore it down, said a log house'll get really rotten. But if somebody stay (had stayed) there, see we were all scattered, all got married, so that's why. That's what went bum, it really did. You can't even trace where the house us'ta be. My grandma sold the land to the tribe. That's why all them houses are there.

We had some pigs down where Jocko Store is, that Jocko Store down on the river. He had a bunch of pigs there and cows and chickens (Agnes's father). We had chickens you know them Bantams, them big gray ones. We had pigs they were all down in there where Jocko store is and fenced across the road. Well there wasn't no road there. The road us'ta be on top of that, and there was cows and there us'ta be a bridge there. So they had nothin' to do with cows that's where we had all our pigs. We had cows and I don't know what to count them or not. I just seen 'em there, don' know how many we did or didn't have then. There was all kinds of pasture down across the river. When they get through in the lower pasture they'd take the horses back to Valla Creek. My dad had a place over there. There was a lot a pasture, then one day it was just gone.

My dad he just did that farm himself. He'd hire about two boys to walk and plow. Walk and plow's a pretty slow job. We'd walk and plow, didn't have no tractor then. He us'ta cover all that place, where that tepee village is. It's a land he planted and plowed. Like when my dad us'ta cut his grain you know, they us'ta bale it. Soon's he get one brother, one sister and I, and I had an auntie and a uncle. There was five

of us kids together. Soon as my dad would turn his back on us, we'd go over there and go into shocks and he'd get mad at us. He says you unpile it.

We baled the hay you know. My dad says go stand it up just enough for a load. He'd go over there and see there's three loads. He says to me stand 'em up alone. He didn't like that. We were suppos'ta have 'em in bunches. We just stand 'em up as far as we could, we'd pile it just as long as we could. So they'd stop their wagon and load it on. They us'ta thrash you know. The thrashin' machine takes a lot a men to run. They take care of the straw, take care of the grain. There was just a lot of them. A guy'd be runnin' the engine feedin' it with water and wood, only that to make it run. It had a long belt, because that belt was goin', the long one to the thrashin' machine and to the motor. Then guess everybody's busy, we have to try to run through that big belt. It was jus' wide. After, later I used to think of that.

When he gets done thrashing he hauled his grain to DeMers and St. Ignatius. He us'ta go in and get this flour. He'd go in and like they'd trade, sack of wheat for a sack of flour, I don' know how it goes. He comes back with a load of flour. That makes us go through all winter. We didn' have to buy flour. In them days you didn't have to go to the store everyday, long as you got meat and flour. My dad us'ta bring his grain into Mission (St. Ignatius) and get flour. Then we'd have a big stack of flour. People would go over there and trade my mother for flour.

Even when we was camped down there (by the river) my dad had nine milk cows. So the rest of the camp has to have milk. We'd have to, us kids, drive our cows back to the corral and milk. So they's waitin',

'cause when one (person) would come with a bucket, pretty soon it's all gone. When my kids growed up I us'ta have milk cows. I tell 'em try and milk. They'd milk, jus' like a thread comin' out. I'd get tired 'a standin' there watchin'. I got a stool, I'd sit there with both hands, it's easy to milk, they said we can't.

See mom us'ta have this really good garden. The biggest thing we put in was potatoes and carrots and onions, lettuce, radish, stuff like corn. We had one old Indian got sick from them turnips, them white ones. We us'ta cut the top off and scratch it, makes it kinda damp for you to eat. We kept givin' him some, we gave him too much he got sick, that night he heaved. He got all right. When you scrape it it's kind of juicy and sweet, but you just take it and bite it, it don't taste too good. We always have to cut the top and we start scrapin'. She (mother) us'ta never can corn. When the corn was fresh, she braids them and hangs them up. Then later she takes a knife and cuts it off. Then she sticks 'em in sacks just like beans. I never did see her can corn.

JEROME AND AGNES'S FARM

When we first got married we didn't do nothin'. Jerome didn' do nothin'. Later he started plowin', grain in there and all over. This was all grain across on the other side of Lucy's. I don't know how many years then he quit. Got tired, just puts it up for hay. Like Eneas, he's out now. That's the way Jerome was, goes out, comes back for a meal, goes out workin' on the farm. He didn't hunt that much. Jus' once in a while they, some of his friends get together and go out. Go out for about three days, then they start'd workin' on these trails and had horses. See we had eight pack horses and his saddle horse, so he moves the group all over you know.

Jerome was with that guy when they appraised the reservation. He said he was seventeen so he was a help packin' lot'a stuff. When he got really old and I was tellin' him about the Jocko, I said they move our land, it's way on this side. He was kinda shakin' and he says I wish I could get there I'd show'em where the line was, the reservation line.

ALLOTMENT

I remember, but didn' know what year my parents got their land. My dad he got on the horse, saddle, and went to Agency (Jocko) and then went over there and they pick out the land where they want to live. That's how we ended up in Valla Creek. He put me there and my brother and my sisters there and him and my mother. See up on the flat it's so many acres, then if it's uphill you get 160 acres. When gets flat ground like you can farm then you get 80.

They us'ta do that (allot for new babies). I don' know for how many years, but they quit that. It kind'a ends right there. Like anybody gets a kid they don' get, well they're enrolled but they don' get any land anymore. Well they can't anyway, it's all taken. This is all Vanderburg land. See it started over there by Finley Creek. That's where the first old man Vanderburg lived. That's why this is all Vanderburg place. They pick out where they want' to live. So sometimes kids didn' pick out theirs, so their folks did. They're the ones that's in timber. They were the ones that got a chance to get a little money off 'a their timber. Their folks didn't know that timber was gon' be good price so they put the kids (land) up high.

HUNTING

Huntin', that's what his sport was (Agnes's father). Every fall we'd

go way over past Seeley Lake on that pass. I don't know what they call it now, had all Indian names. Like two years ago we went through here and named every campin' ground. They all got different names, Indian names. We'd stay there 'til after Thanksgivin', pretty close to Christmas, then we'd come home. Every year I could just barely remember us goin' every year. I don't even know what month. Sometimes if he don't get done thrashin', he'd stay home and us, our bunch would go ahead of him 'til he gets done. It's been like that since before he start on the farm.

We'd go, my mother's got baby, it didn' bother her (to travel). They us'ta make me sit down and hold the baby while they're puttin' the tepee up, cover me up and everything. They'd cover the poles.

CHILDHOOD, RACING

Well, when I got to be 17, 16, I started trainin' for racing. I won three races, 17, 18, and 19. I traveled for racing. Everytime they're gonna be races someplace I always come up. I was small you know, it was pretty good. When I first tried practicin' racin' it was like the wind was goin' take my breath and my dad says don't open your mouth when you're goin'. I got my mouth open when we take off, so I got to learn all that, how to ride.

Then third year we'd have relay races. We have four horses. You jump off, put your saddle on the other one, get on. One rider half a mile, each horse'd go half a mile. That's the same track we got in Missoula. If it's one mile you gotta go 'round twice. Then if it's half a mile, you go, start over there come and stop. Maybe that's why I can't hardly walk. Jump off, your cinch is hooked like that with whatever it was made. You

pull it all apart and under the stomach kind'a stretches, Put it off, throw it on your horse, reach for your cinch under your horse then hook it again and get on and go. I always make it, I never got beat once, even on a tepee race.

We'd have tepee race right there in Missoula. They us'ta shoot for starter. They'd shoot, we'd start right in front of the grandstand. See you have your horse, put some poles on the side of the horse, then the tepee canvas was on top of the saddle. We'd drop our poles and take the canvas off. Somebody takes our horse away 'cause the poles are just bendin' like that, hit somebody, just too bad. Then we'd tie three or four poles together, put it up. Put some more poles tie the canvas on to another pole, put it up, cover it and pin it, chest pins. So we had paper and grass to start our fire. So we get done (erecting their tepee). Then my partner'd take the paper, we was cheatin' then (by using paper). She'd burn that paper 'cause we was inside the tepee. She stuck it so smoke gets to run right out. Then she'd drop it in the middle and we'd step all over it. We went out and the grandstand just screamed and hollered. Our partner, their tepee was upside down. That's why they were all screamin'. So we got our horse back, tied the poles back. We took the tepee then we took off, we won!

Different guys say you use my horse for racin', Ok. We don't even know how the horse'll take those poles and he's got to drag them. So we tried it anyway, it worked alright. Then this one old man says "You don't have to wrap your pole in this kind of tie." He made three loops like that, way and long. I don't know whatever he did. There was a loop here, loop here and loop here. He says, "Be sure and have the other end go

through here and pull it, it's done." When we were goin' put the tepee up, our partner they left their tepee pole and they got to wrap it. This old man showed us the easy way. I never got to know how that works and now they're (the ones who knew this method) all gone.

We got three horses in our other pasture. I can't get up on their back anymore, I gotta have a ladder. If the horse was standin' there and wait for you, would be kind and let you get on. Them two they just go 'round and 'round while you got the reins, you're holdin' and they're too quick. Then these three others ain't broke.

TEPEES

My mother gave me one tepee, I start'd goin' out. I made trips into the mountains. Then later I start' makin' my own. I used to watch my mother and one old lady make. She used to tell me come over here and watch us. So that's how I learned how to make it. We had to sew by hand, spread it out and sit on the canvas. Now I got Lucy's girl. Lucy and these two girls, they know how to make tepee.

When I used to live with my folks, we used to get the fir boughs and stick them as you want to lie down. Then you put your beddin', rugs and canvas, fix your beddin'. There was my dad and my mother and me and my sister and brother, that's five. There was always about three beds. We weren't crowded, in a big tepee you can have your head towards the wall. You can't get squeezed out. You keep it open right by the fire.

You got them earflaps, it keeps wherever the wind is comin' from, you have to work the flaps. If it comes right straight for you, you have to close it. That's what them flaps are for. Air comes in the bottom.

I made one tepee, kinda short and fat, for two people, 'bout as high as the ceiling, nine-footer. You could change the pattern. The one we had at camp was a 21-footer when I cut it. It was too big. I put the poles in, put the canvas on, kinda saggy. I got the scissors and I cut it, cut about two feet. We had 31 people in that.

Just this tribe don't do no drawin' on their tepees. I don't know why, just a plain old tepee. You'd make tepees in the summer, take a coupl'a days. I didn' make 'em out of skin; canvas. Got a call from Billings about three years ago, guy wanted buckskin tepee. I had a partner she was talkin', she says, lets take that. I says no way, we're not gon' make it. Said they'll give us $2,500. I says no, it's too hard. I made three tepees this summer (1981). I didn't sew. I'd have Lucy, she cut it out. She's gettin' good. So when I'm not here, she can do it. Marsha too, she made one all by herself. I'd just sit there and show her. I take my pedal sewin' machine up there to camp. I've made a lot of tepees with that. We sure need it, lot of them want to make tepee up there for theirselves. They bring it up there, I make 'em do it.

There us'ta be poles all over where we us'ta camp. When we were gonn' move camp, they take care of our tepee poles. Everybody comes back. they go right straight to where their poles are. Now there's hardly nobody puts their tepee up. You go, you think you got tepee poles over there, you go there and somebody chopped 'em. When you're campin' you don't need to carry them. Somebody must've burned for wood. Just use lodgepole, if you can't find that you can use tamarack, boy they're heavy. They're easy to bend and sag, but lodgepole they stay straight up.

We use four poles and about fifteen more, depends on how big your tepee is. You use more if your tepee is big, but fifteen for a twelve-

footer. There's different tribe, like they use three (pole foundation). Like one in front and two in back, then they lay all the extra poles on it. Around here they always would have four. See there's two over there and two in back then they start laying up the extra poles. It don't matter, you can mix 'em (the poles) together when you take your tepee down. You don't know which one is the four. Pick out any one and tie them together. But the earpole is the one that's separate. Have a skinny one for the flap. These poles are longer in the back. Then you lay your poles here, some on the other side, then you lay another one here they all come up. You have to lay 'em like this (she puts her hands together with her fingers interlocking). Then your earpole is separate outside. It depends on how big your tepee is, nine-footer or ten-footer, can put two supporting poles on each pole, but you still got'a have the four (main poles).

Eneas us'ta trap like maybe in November. They start' goin' in Jocko. They go so far and they make tepee out of so many poles. They get all kind of cedar boughs, you know they're nice and flat. They cover their poles and they fix their beddin' like that. They make hole for the door. You just stick 'em in there. See they're flat, just stick 'em in there any way. Then they make a fire and have something for their door. That's the way they go. Then they trap, I don't know for how long, they go trap mink and marten.

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

It was all very scarey you know. He (Jerome) was raised back down here, a good ways from this place. He was married before. I didn't care much about him. He didn't seem to bother me much when I see him 'cause

he had two kids and his wife. Then after she died he had been, got in jail. I don't know what he did.

Then we was in Missoula digging bitterroot. We us'ta catch that streetcars, take you out anywhere you want to go. There us'ta be streetcars when we was camped in Missoula. One time I got in and he (Jerome) was there and after, he was goin' get off the streetcar he says "gon' take you to show." I had friend, she was from Coeur d'Alene, he had partner too. He says you both come tonight. I din't know what to say and then my partner says ya. So that evenin' we got ready and we went and met the streetcars. Got in and they came in and so they sit with us. She wanted to sit with that other guy so I sat with Jerome. After that we got to town, Missoula town, got off right in the middle of the street. Went to the show. After that, after show, we went on the streetcars. We went back to the camp. 'Bout the next day we went out came back to Missoula and eversince. Then I couldn't see him anymore. He was scared of my folks I guess. For all of summer and all August, around August he got over there. He says "I got the license, we're gonna get married." He didn' ask. So we got Mrs. Coombs and Mr. Coombs to come with us. We went to the Mission (in St. Ignatius) and got married on August 21st. My mom and dad knew. Eversince then we stayed with each other, for 53 years, the same face. That's why I always tell the kids, don't get married for just a couple days, couple weeks, couple years, that's forever.

After we got married we stayed with my uncle (mother's brother), Ray Adams for one year. We had this house leased to Bert Elridge. We got it back, we stayed here in this old house eversince 1921. Jerome's

parents were right down here about a quarter mile. See all this place here is Vanderburgs. We stayed here (new house) for two years before he (Jerome) died.

PREGNANCY AND CHILDBIRTH

You aren't supposed to eat any eggs. They said 'cause the hen just lays there and lay, lay, lay (baby will be lazy). Then you can't eat liver 'cause you'll darken up the baby. You can't eat wild chicken 'cause the baby will cry then hold their breath. Then when you're goin' out, you go out. Don't stand and look back. When you're ready to go, you go out. 'Cause if you do that you'll have a baby already backward. Then you don't use nothin' around your neck. So you don't have no bracelets, 'cause the babies hold their breath when they're born. That's how I did it. I told my kids too, just these couple things. You can take a sweat bath and a bath in cold water.

If you just mind what you're told to eat you won't have no trouble. But right now from the start these womens eat eggs and they wish for something like liver, well they eat it. That's something like they shouldn't eat, but they want to get it so they get it. And after it's over when baby comes they don't think about the liver and all that stuff, goin' out and back in, never go out. Whatever it is they just hav'ta do that, like stop at the door, see what, there's nothin' you could see outside. Then you go back in. My grandma says get out'a here, right out!

The old timers they know what you're getting jus' by lookin' at your stomach, like now we don't even look. We see somebody big we don't even know what's comin' (which sex). I don't know how they know, but they sure us'ta know.

What my folks us'ta tell us, when you see someone in a book or anything, like people that's crippled or in a book it's ugly. Says don't you ever watch that kind of stuff. You see one person all crippled up, don' watch it, just turn away. It will make you kind of scared. You see this crippled person or in a book, your baby'd come like that, just when you was start' packin 'em. So that's the way lot of 'em have their babies all different you know. I seen it on tv, some got no arms. That's jus' how it comes, from seeing something from tv or books or they seen somebody.

After the baby comes my grandma tells us not to get up and walk. I guess you don't get out of bed. She us'ta tell us, you lay there for about two or three days. You stay there. When you want to get up you ask somebody to help you. You don' just support yourself. About oh maybe eight days you're strong enough to get up. You get up by yourself and then don't wear something that you're gonna choke, just don't do that. Then just take it easy. After that then you can get up.

My grandma she was the kind of person that did come and deliver the baby. Whatever she had (going on) she goes always, (they) have her to go. She took care of a lot of babies. No matter how late at night, no matter how late in the evenin', anytime she go. She takes care of the whole thing, 'til the womens alright. Then she'd leave. She couldn't go right in the middle of her job. She has to wait there 'til everything's ok. So she us'ta take me along with her. She just told me how to do it, she'd do it at the job. She told me she said, "I'm gonna give you my medicine." I didn't want it. Maybe I could, but I haven't got the medicine. Just take 'em to the hospital, to the doctor. Everybody goes to

goes to the hospital now days. I just took care of my sister once. My grandma says a lot of 'em want to pay her, she says "No, I'm workin' my steps up here (points toward heaven)." She says maybe I'd get paid for that, I'm not workin' for pay. That's why a lot of 'em they us'ta get her, 'cause they knowed they wasn't gon' pay her. Guess everybody's cheap.

I had two babies here and two over at my mom's. It was kind'a hard. I had my grandmother to help. She died after I got Lucy. Jerome us'ta take care of the babies, he was married before. Wasn't even thinkin', thinkin' 'bout havin' a baby after you got married. After you find out you're like that (pregnant) it's too late.

I and Jerome went fishin' over Jocko. It didn't bother me when I was big you know. A lot of them I see, some of these womens can't hardly walk and can't stoop down. I knew we'd got on the horses and went fishin'. Well I don't fish I just went with him. They got back over here, we had a little log house over there. That was (when I made) my mistake, I put my leg over and I jumped. When I jump off the horse that's when I lost the baby. That evenin' I started feelin' (pain). I didn' know what was wrong with me, it was my first one. So his mom (Jerome's) came over and said "when is it supposed to be born?" I didn't know either. So she said "you must've hurt yourself." I said no we just went fishin', got back and Jerome says "she jumped off." It didn't bother me you know. That's how I lost the one. After (that), I'd know what to do then. I had to get down slow, I don't jump off.

That's why I always tell my two girls when they start packin' their's (babies). You musn't think you're sick. If you jus' lay around and do

nothin', your baby's gonn' get just big. Move around and do something. Go on outside and do something. I didn' remember a lot of 'em (women) losing babies, just when they're sick.

WEANING BABIES

As soon as they start movin' their hand, you know goin' for their mouth we give 'em some piece of hard meat, so they can work their teeth. They start eatin', suckin' on something hard. Then from now on you start feedin' 'em by little, not as much as you eat you know, just a couple a spoonfulls of something. The next day or two days you give 'em a little bit more. But the only bad thing my mother us'ta tell me when "you start feedin' your baby food, their poo's just stink." So that's why we don't hardly feed 'em right away, just when they start gettin' their teeth. If you have rice or mush or potatoes (for food) just so you know it's soft, give 'em a couple spoons. Then you don't give 'em coffee, you give 'em tea, start makin' 'em how to drink on a cup, not a bottle. I raised only one with a bottle, Lucy. Had to get up late (it was lots of bother).

CHILDREN, JEROME AND AGENS

The kids, I just let'em loose. They take care 'a theirselves. Didn' hav'ta find some babysitter, you jus' do it yourself 'til they're old enough to go to school. They go to school. They'd play outside most of the time. In winter they stay in the house, but some of them they like to be outside in the winter, on their sleigh or whatever. They played everything like sleigh, just anything they could find. Then when it's really cold they stay in and have something to do in the house.

I didn't sew that much for the kids. DeMers (Mercantile) had everything we needed. They had rubbers and shoes and pants, mostly coveralls.

You know them overalls that's what I had on my oldest boy. Now they're back in that style. There's a lot a pockets too.

We had cloth diapers, we didn't have these Pampers like now. We had to have regular diapers then wash it hang it out everyday. That's what the old timer used, now they have it easy. We us'ta buy lot'a cloth from DeMers, you know they had that mercantile. Don' matter what color or if it's a boy it's blue or it's a girl it's white or pink. We had all kinds of colors (of diapers). We'd buy the cloth and cut 'em, what shape you want and what size, bigger size. Us'ta be cheap and now they want a fortune for their diapers and they're not as good.

Jerome and I used to go to the Jumping Dance. They don' have it anymore. LIke the War Dance we don' go, we just wait for the fourth of July powwow. Womens don' (didn't used to) drum, but now the womens and everybody drum, dance and sing. They had that Round Dance, that's where all the womens danced, but now they're mixed men and womens dancin'. We us'ta never have that.

They never us'ta have that Camas Dance. They just started, I don't know who started that. Now there's all kind of ceremonies, like for the bitterroot. They have (had) a feast, but they don' dance. Some old timers they cooked the bitterroot. Not everybody goes, just certain ones. They have (had) that feast for the bitterroot, that's all. Now they're havin' ceremony for everything.

No, I didn't go hunting and fishing with Jerome. I us'ta tag along, after all the kids got big and then we'd go. It's not too long since we been. Our last, youngest boy takes me around. I never did go 'round with Jerome that much. But he'd go up about two or three days horseback, but

before that we didn't. Just when I was with my folks we'd go. Even pickin' berries, I didn' care for that.

OLDER PEOPLE, VISITING

They're busy like me, sittin' 'round got a lot'a stuff to do, sewing, a lot of things to do. The men they're out rustlin' wood, choppin' and haulin' it. Pass the time in the evenin', they're always busy.

Somedays we us'ta go visitin', like in the evenin' after you have your dinner. Got neighbors'd get on their horse or walk over. See in winter it's kind'a long night so "lets go visit," name the place. Us'ta go there, get over there they kept talkin' and talkin', pretty soon they start in on their story, like life, or regular stories. Sometimes it's a long story. They cut their story, "well next time you guys come here" (they will finish it). Sometimes they're some short ones you know like 20 minutes, half an hour. It's like that you know. They sit there and talk about alot of things. Goes on and then story comes, coyote story. That's how they passed their days. See we didn't have no radio, no tv, nothin'. Jus' have the old folks sit there and tell us stories and we all got sleepy, like was their tv and radio.

Like now nobody visits. I don't know what they mean, they're too busy. Everything's different, I don't know. I don't know if they just don't like to go or if they're just lazy. I ain't got no one story in here (her head). I jus'didn't take care of them. I always taught my kids, old people are too pitiful. They're jus' like they turn into a kid. They can't do nothin'. Somebody has to take care of them.

I says like if they could just do like we used to, the old people. They believed in everything. They don't believe in nothin' anymore.

OLD WAYS

They always say you ask Agnes anything, she's bound to tease us. We know her, she don't mean it. I says maybe I do! Like when they ask me something, "What was this?" I says well I wasn't takin' care of nothin', it's true (trying to remember old ways). Like now all everybody in their twenties and thirties, they don't. There's a lot of stuff you can take care of. Like what I see now. There's a lot 'a things nobody takes care of now. They want to buy everything. I was too young to keep track, it wasn't my business. What comes to me I just do it, that's all. I didn't take care of it. Like when I go to St. Ignatius they ask me a lot of questions. I says if I know then in my young days I'd keep track of everything. It goes in my one ear and comes out this other one.

It's comin' back just like I think a lot. Once in a while I'd be home, I'd think oh yea, I'm gonna tell Clarence (Woodcock of the Cultural Commission) this and that. That's the way you get lot'a stories from me. I told a lot of 'em like Bearhead (Swaney) I says whatever I tell you, it's not a lie, nobody tol' me to say this. I just now, just like I remember and woke up from a long sleep, I just woke up and thought about this. I'm gon' tell them. I says and it's true! You get old like me and then you know what to do. It's kind of late though.

That's what a lot of them want to do now (genealogies). They should go back to start, whatever they remember 'til now. See after a lot of these old people are gone they won't find out. It's what I told Clarence. Just while you got a chance, go through how far the relation goes.

Some of 'em (kids) I guess listen to the old timers. There isn't very many old people any more. See once in a while we get together in St. Ignatius and tell 'em about what we know. I says when I talk, or on

tv, they should have me talk, tell 'em 'bout what should be done. Now I'm talkin' there's just a crowd at the center in Mission. They had it dark and just where I was, there was light. I says like now there's somebody out there sayin' "Oh Agnes is talkin' for nothing'." I says I can feel it. There's jus' some of them they don't really listen. I says those that don' care to listen don' have to come and listen, but I want to say what I want to say.

A lot of my tribe they try to be white people, but they can't. They got their color. They're gon' keep their color til they're gone. I said they can't even speak their own Indian language. Like a lot a women's men they want, got the long hair. They can't make it (as an Indian). They have to talk Indian before they can make it. Make it look like a Indian, not just because they have long hair. Some of the kids they don't care. They want to be more like white. I says no matter what you do, try and mock the white people, but there's no way you can turn into be white. You were born Indian, you're goin' be Indian all your life. That's what I told them. That's the way I feel about this.

I always tell them when I growed up I never did get drunk. I always try to be the way I am today and I says I have fun just as good as anybody that gets drunk. They say "I'm havin' fun!" I don't think that's true. I says I see a lot of people when they drink they look ugly. No matter what they do, then after they're sober, boy! You can't touch 'em with a 15 foot pole. They're so stuck up. I says I don't want you kids to ever do that. I say it's dirty what they're doin', drinkin'. I says I can put my head up and walk around, just for one reason, 'cause I never did get drunk. So they always say, "Good for you yaya," (grandmother).

ABOUT RELIGION

There were two brothers, one believe and one don't. One just thought he was too pretty for somebody to push around. So this other one prays for help. So one day this other boy got sick, the one who don't pray. Guess he was Catholic, but don't believe in church and he don't talk, got no friends. He told his brother "I'm sorry, at least you were able to believe (in) somebody, I didn't." He says, "When I'm gone I'm gon'na be lost, but when you (die), you're gon' go right straight up." He says 'Cause I don't talk to people." He was proud of himself 'cause he thought he was too pretty to believe in anybody. He says, "But you, you're always makin' the sign of the cross, that's gonna take you up there." (heaven) He says, "It won't be too long, I'm leavin' and I'm gonna be lost." That's why everybody believe and got strong. The two brothers brought it up, it's been quite a while. We (the Flathead) were still in Stevensville.

They (the church) try and keep it back the old ways all the time. They have mass and later they have food. Like every Christmas and Easter they have that.

You can pray in the Indian way or in white, 'cause you know both of them. It's up to you. Whatever comes into your head. You don't have to be in a crowd, just be yourself.

MEDICINE

'Bout medicine, this guy came over. His wife she was in bed early this summer (1981) when I was campin'. He said doctor told her she had six weeks and she'd be gone. She's got cancer inside. I told him, not the way she is still alive. I says get some medicine give it to her. Then yesterday he said she's walkin' around tryin' to do something in the

house. He says, "But I can't find any more of that medicine." I told her I had some. I have some in the freezer. The Indian name for it is bear ears. You make a tea whenever she wants water, she could drink it. You can't give the medicine to the person who's sick. You give it to somebody else and they'll fix it for them. It's just like a doctor.

CRADLEBOARDS

I don' know what happened to them old cradleboards, from my grandma. You know they jus' chop it by hand. My grandma jus' use a knife. She really took care of it. I don' know what happened. We should'a take care of it, we didn't. I had it when I think Annie. I don't know what happened to them old ones.

Got one of them plyboards, mark it and Vic cut it out, it's done! I made one of them papoose boards when her (Lynn Vanderburg) baby came, I gave it to her. Oh she was happy. She put her baby in there. Said she seen some of them, looks like it takes care of the baby real good. Instead of pickin' it up and it's soft. That baby likes that board. She (the baby) growed out of it. When she puts her in there's about this much stickin' out. I told her to cut it in the back, then she can be in it somemore (longer) cover herself more. We call it a sleepin' bag. It's laced through. Put some pad on the back any kind of blanket. Put your baby in and it's easy to pack.

PNEUMONIA AND SURGERY

One time I went to St. Ignatius. I had kind of pneumonia I guess. They took me. I didn' want to stay. I didn' like that hospital. The next day they (her children) picked me up. Went to my doctor in Missoula, Dr. Brooks. He told me, "You go across to Community Hospital." He says,

"You go over there and I'll be over to take care of you." They brought me over there. Here in Mission (St. Ignatius) they said you pert' near got pneumonia, in Missoula they said, you got pneumonia! I thought he'd just check on me and I'd come back (home). I stayed there five days and he says, "You go home and take care of yourself." Then I showed him my pills, sleepin' pills and all kinds of pills. He says, "Agnes you get back and throw every one of 'em away." He said, "I don't want you to use them." The doctor in Mission told me to take them. Then another time he said, "I thought you had hospital and doctor over in St. Ignatius." I told him, you want me to die? (by going to that hospital and doctor).

Dr. Brooks was my doctor for over thirty years. He operated on me, he said he couldn't put me to sleep. He said, "You got weak heart, I won't put you to sleep." That's fine with me, whatever you're gon' do with me, that's fine. He said, "I'll give you a shot, a spinal shot." I didn't feel it (the surgery).

I don't know for how many years, he says, "Agnes you're doin' fine." See I have to see him before I come up to camp and when I get back down I go to see him. Says, "All your x-rays are the same, you're ok now." He tried to get me to quit smoking. He says, "One thing I want you to do Agnes, is quit smoking." Oh I says, I can't. He says ok. I been smokin' 'bout 29 years. Jerome was sittin' there smokin', it looked good, you know, doin' it. I told him let's see your cigarette. He gave it to me, I smoked it. I told him light me another one, a strong one, Luckys. Eversince then I been smokin'. When Vic was in the service, Christmas time he sent us each three cartons of German-made cigarettes. Ok with me, we smoked it all.

PAGEANTS AND TRIPS

I went with Bert Hansen. I and (Carling) Malouf and all the Indians. It must be, oh, 'bout how many years they put on that pageant. That's how long I was there. One time all the Indians got real mad and they were gonn' leave because he (Bert) said, "Get them to do this and get them to do that." Malouf kept saying, "Now you just have to do this and don't leave, don't leave." Everybody was gettin' real mad. They almost left and walked out on the whole thing. It wouldn't have been a very good pageant if everybody would've left.

Bert was kind'a mean. We had the tepee over here at the old agency. Mrs. Morgan she was gettin' dressed in her outfit and Bert Hansen took a blanket and he started walkin' towards the door. He grab that loud speaker and he just throw it, just missed Mrs. Morgan's face and boy she grabbed it and hollered at him, Bert.

We have five tepees put up. There was just the people over there thick. So we prayed too. We came out there and they danced in the open, Snake Dance. We us'ta go all over, wherever (they had pageants) we went, different Indians come from Dixon. Bert and Malouf could use all those Indians. They'd go over there and set the date. That's how they'd get all these Indians together. We had our last one (pageant) at the old agency, probably around the last part of May I think. That's the last pageant we had, when Bert was still alive.

Sure did travel. One time I was comin' from wherever I went, all different places, not just pageant. I was even in New York for a whole month. Did a show everday. People just from here. We went on the train. They brought the cars down in Arlee. Then they loaded up our stuff and

our horses. The Indians had another car (to ride in). We used to parade on that east side (of New York) and they'd have rodeos right inside. That was in the thirties, it was fifty-five years ago.

LAS VEGAS TRIP

I left here at ten after 6:00. Marsha brought me over there (up to the highway) in the car. One of them people sittin' in the bus says yeah that's her (Agnes's) road right here so the bus stopped. I come on he came off took my suitcase. I went in, gee, nothin' but faces (bus was crowded). Thirty-seven of us on Greyhound bus. So we went, it was good. He didn't have to stop the bus for bathroom, we had the bathroom right on there. All them womens that know where to go (road to Las Vegas) said, "We want to go through Salmon." But the bus driver didn't really want to go (that way). So he took these roads. Boy when we get past Medicine Tree, a little ways from there it started to snow, before we got to the pass.

When we first pulled in, in the evenin' we started eatin' 'cause there was a restaurant right there. We started eatin', I told the bunch, "I didn't come here to eat." "I come to see what's in there." It was just people like ants. So I seen this big jackpot $100. I took $10. I got it all in silver. I guess some of 'em followed me, so I put $3 in and pull that handle. Boy I could jus' hear that thing, just like fire sirens, ooooh oooooh. I thought I broke that machine. One guy came around with an apron said, "You got the jackpot it's $100." So he got a big kind'a paper pocket thing was just full. I said I don't want it, it's too heavy (coin rolls). So he reached in his pocket gave me hundred dollar bill. I just threw it in my purse, wide open. I left, I got all that money in

there. I carried it around, I went around. I seen there was another place to put the quarter so I turned around and I got (had) $8, no $7 of silver yet. I give her $2, I said give me quarters. So she gave me quarters. Put another one in there, there it goes. After when I hit the first jackpot I had to stop. You hit it, after that you want to listen 'cause it's just noisy in there, you know, everybody in there. I forget how many times I hit it. Then when I hit it again he says, "You hit it, $25 jackpot, you sign." I had to sign, he gave me the money. It was all in little packages (rolls). So he gave me $5, $10, $15. I went to start. I thought well I got all that money in here. I went around those dime machines. I pulled 40¢ and there it goes again. This guy came around again. He says, "You hit it again." I said I did? I said I thought I broke all the machines, everytime I came in. Then my bunch come around behind me and said, "Agnes you hit it again?" I said yes I made $20. So he just give up, I just kept tellin' him I don't want no silver, it's too heavy. He gave me $20 and I dropped it in there (purse) and went around.

Oh there's nickels. I went back, got a bunch of nickels. Went over there, sit there sit there oh I get around eight they're all in the pot. I had another bag. I put all the nickels in there. Changed to another machine. So I got tired of those nickels I pulled a stool and sit there. I put three nickels in and pull about three times and there it comes again. Hit five times. Yeah and then this guy came around and said, "You done it again Agnes," 'cause he knew all the money was there. But that pot under all the machines is big, $43. I wanted the big big hit. He said, "What are you gon' do?" I said just for that I'm gonna take it

home and show it to the kids. He went and got me one of those pockets. So I brought it back. My purse was, I set it in the suitcase, it was just heavy. So I sit there again go to another one. I didn't hit it anymore. I told my partner I'm goin' back to the room, our room was not that far. We stayed in the one (hotel) they call it Jackpot. My purse was just heavy. I went there and I set it under our bed. It was too heavy. I got all my bills and put them in my wallet and went back over there. All them guys was eatin'. I said you guys didn't come to eat. So I done pretty good.

PORTLAND

'Bout a month ago I got on the airplane and went to Portland. There was people from all over there, different tribes. I was listenin' to them, seems like they didn' know what they were talkin' about. That guy (leader) told them, "Say something good about your reservation." They talk about cars, I didn't even like it. So they went this way (around a circle) and they got to me. I started talkin', 'bout 15 minutes. I had my arm, watchin' like this (her watch). I didn' wan' talk too long. So I talked, everybody got up, that's the kinda word we want. Just like this guy told us, "I didn't want another one." (to talk the way they had been talking). It's gon' be on tv. Talked about the reservation, how it is now and how folks remember it. It's pretty. You can see lot a trees. Even people are different. I'm the only one who talked like this, about our timber and water. Oh, what get in my head that's what (I talked about) so I kept goin'. I wasn' gon' quit. When them other bunch get up where they were, talked on about their wages, some Indians got no job. Well that's all over I thought when I was listening to them. I thought well everybody knows.

Then my partner, my brother's boy, everything was quiet, he says, "Well what auntie (Agnes) said." He was facin' them. He says oh, he started talkin' 'bout sweat house and on, got to grizzly bear. Says, "In our reservation we got the grizzly bear and we try and protect them." I told him, protect them?, I says no shoot 'em! We want to get rid of them. There's a lot of campin' around and everybody's scared. I says shoot 'em. Everybody smiled. There used to be a lot of them wolves, but you don't hardly hear them. You don't see them too.

CHAPTER VII

> To be born a Salish Indian is to enter a unique world that is a paradox of both older Indian ways and modern American cultural norms and traditions (Lang 1965:36).

I would not suggest that Agnes Vanderburg was born into a traditional culture which had undergone no change. As a result of contact with whites the Flathead culture had been changing radically for several decades when Agnes was born in 1901. Precontact "traditional Flathead culture" never existed as a static entity; indeed no culture is static, so I have based my conclusion about Agnes's cultural orientation and identity on recurrent Flathead themes and values, those values which have been learned from previous generations and are viewed as desirable by the Flathead Indians of today. Agnes Vanderburg has acquired skills and knowledge during her lifetime which have allowed her to operate and interact successfully in both the Flathead and non-Indian cultures. She views the adoption of certain non-Indian ways as desirable, for example Agnes belongs to and attends a Catholic church, has encouraged her children and grandchildren to pursue their educations and speaks English fluently.

Acculturation studies have shown that a group's material culture is the first aspect of their culture to change while kinship, religion and value systems change more slowly. Some might argue that acceptance by Indians of certain non-Indian material culture diminishes "Indianness." In this case Agnes's adoption of non-Indian material culture is taken as fact and considered secondary to evaluation of her actions which are indicative of her psychological orientation. New ways do not automatically mean replacement of old ways and as mentioned earlier I feel Agnes does

not dichotomize to the extent individuals in our American culture do. Believing in an Indian God and belonging to the Catholic church simultaneously cause no conflict for her, she said,

> You can pray in the Indian way or in white, 'cause you know both of them. It's up to you. Whatever comes into your head.

Malouf believes that the Flathead utilize Catholicism with the hereafter in mind while traditional Indian beliefs are more helpful in the Indian's daily life situations. (Malouf, personal communication May 1982). When looking at Agnes one views a woman dressed in non-Indian clothing wearing glasses, shoes, nylon stockings, a scarf and a print dress. Her jewelry, long grey braids and fullblood face announce that she is a Flathead. Agnes lives most of the year in a house with all the modern ammenities of the 1980's. She attends the Catholic church and encourages her grandchildren with their public educations. Although she herself does not drive Agnes travels frequently by car around the reservation and by bus and plane from the reservation. These are nontraditional ways Agnes has incorporated into her life.

Let us now turn to those activities Agnes engages in currently for insight into her value orientation. Because I have known Agnes for only a period of two years, I will have to base my conclusions on what I have been able to observe in that time, and on what she has told me. Teaching others is of primary importance to Agnes. She devotes much time to this and for several months a year at her camp, she bases much of her life around teaching traditional skills. All throughout the year Agnes herself makes and teaches others to make tepees and cradleboards, and do bead

work. The teaching takes place either at the Community Center or at an individual's request, just as she freely gave her time in teaching me about Flathead ways. She also teaches Salish to her own family and answers other's questions about the language. Mrs. Vanderburg works closely with the Flathead Cultural Commission passing on knowledge about plants, medicines, food, camping grounds and old practices in general. She aids in counseling a group of women by acting as a cultural consultant and "significant other" and attempting to help the group solve problems by finding solutions harmonious with the Flathead culture (Flemming 1981: 16-18). Agnes also still collects native plant foods and medicines sharing these when others become ill. These things I have discussed along with her family are the activities and concerns which occupy Agnes's daily life at present.

The personality characteristics presented previously and seen as desirable for a Flathead should again be listed here. In evaluating the data to determine whether Agnes's identity as a Flathead is of primary importance to her I will look at her story and activities with respect to the following attributes; a present orientation and lack of long term goals, an emphasis on personal independence, a sense of duty, a high value placed on generosity and a low value on property, respect for elders, a closeness of family and group importance. Two of the characteristics I listed originally will be ommited here because of a lack of information on which to judge their applicability. They are the "being" versus "doing" orientation and the reluctance of the Flathead to take revenge.

Agnes's involvement as a teacher in her tribe is indicative of the responsibility she has taken upon herself to help educate people both

Indian and non-Indian in the Flathead ways. She lamented on several occasions about not "taking care" and remembering old ways. Agnes shows both a sense of duty and generosity in constantly giving of her time and knowledge. These two characteristics as mentioned earlier are valued in traditional Flathead culture as is the importance of the group. Agnes aids the perpetuation of the Flathead tribe by participating in the socialization of children and adults in traditional Indian ways.

Another characteristic valued traditionally has been respect for elders. Agnes has expressed regret at the fact that many young people do not listen to the older people of the tribe who have valuable information to pass on. She said,

> Like if they could just do like we used to, the old people. They believed in everything. They don't believe in nothin' anymore. There's just some of them they don't really listen (young people).

Mrs. Vanderburg maintains close ties with her family, a high priority among all Indian groups. Most of her children live on land which surrounds the house in which she and her son Vic live. Agnes said,

> I got mine (land) in Valla Creek, I trade mine, I sold mine. I bought this piece for all my kids.

The grandchildren who live near Agnes visit her constantly and receive lots of attention and instruction. Agnes spoke of her family on every occasion I met with her. They are a source of great joy and pride for her.

Often when Agnes spoke of past events she used present tense verbs. Since our purpose was to record Agnes's past we did not speak about the

future. On infrequent occasions she mentioned events upcoming in the next several days or a conference in the near future. She never spoke of any long term plans. She also did not speak about possessions.

Two last characteristics I will deal with which have been important to Flathead people over time are personal independence and a man-with-nature orientation. Agnes demonstrates her independence constantly by traveling on and off the reservation, participation as a speaker in numerous programs and conferences and her camp in the mountains. Agnes's camp also demonstrates her desire to be "with nature." She explained how she prays before gathering plants because,

> You have to tell 'em what you're goin' do. You have to pray, 'cause it's what I hear my grandmother say, Bitterroot's got a heart, they say a heart. It's a seed I guess you could call it. So if you don't take care of it right, they go back in the ground. You won't find nothin'. I says, when people believe, it's ok. I says I want to show you kids, young people now what we went through and everything was ok, berries and roots, really we had a lot of 'em to take care of for the winter. Sometimes in the summer you don't hardly get certain kind of berries. I says you know why? One little berry gets ripe and you run for it and grab it and eat it. You don't even wait for somebody to tell you do this and eat it. That's why we're losin' all our berries (greed). A lot'a you don' care, bunch of people don't believe in what we're tryin' to show should be done.

Anything, you have to pray for it, no matter what, berries, (etc.). Them wild strawberries'll be next. Take two and be sure and think about 'em, don't just say oh Agnes is talkin' for nothin'.

Agnes went on speaking about the past matter of factly and spoke on the subject of health as so many of the Native American women had. This is Agnes's recollection about past health conditions.

Long time ago, when I just kinda knowed people, when I was little, too young, I was wide awake and that's all, I was just a live person that didn't know what was going on. They had that one sickness. Chickenpox or smallpox? Smallpox, they come out like bumps. If you don't take care of it, they (the bumps) go back in and that's when they die. But you have to take care of them and they can stay out. When they get dry they're like dry scab and that means you're well. That's the time I seen those. One day they were buryin' two people. I remember really good about them, two old ones, a man and a woman. That must've been really bad that time, that's the only kind I know (illness) they just die. I don't even know how many days they were sick. My folks said that's the kind they had. My dad says they shut Evaro, that's as far as you could go, Evaro. Nobody couldn't go through Evaro to go to Missoula. Then from there they couldn't come in the reservation, 'cause on a count'a that sickness. Must'a be really bad.[1]

[1]See Malouf, Carling and Thain White, "Kutenai Calender Records. A Study in Indian Record Keeping" Montana Magazine of Western History, 3 No. 2 (Spring 1953) P. 38.

A severe smallpox epidemic was recorded just after 1900 by a Kootenai Indian named Baptiste Mathias. Agnes then went on to explain her assessment of current health states, and mentioned specifically cancer and heart disease as recent ailments among her people,

> In my time we don't see people have arthitis. You know their fingers are all bent and their hands. What is it? Is it what they eat or what they drink, what is it? Them old ladies they shrunk so small and they'd get around just really good. Jus' like they're 'bout 30 or 40. They could get on their horses and go. But now the car, they walk to the car, they don' have't walk no more. So that's what the difference is to me. I can't understand these two sicknesses, heart attack and cancer. Every time I see it on tv or anything cancer, cancer. This heart attack is what I can't figure out, and cancer. There's sure a lot'a cancer, kill a lot'a people. What is it?

Agnes spoke little about the comparison of present and past. When she did comment, most often there was no stated preference for the ways of one time period over another. However, she did make these two statements about what she felt is different now than when she was younger,

> There's a lot'a things I always tell my kids, you should'a seen it when I was young. It is different in a way (now). Like what's different to these kids of mine now. It's all this electricity and cars, that's the difference from what I went through. Like food, that's different now too. I was raised on wild game and fish and birds and now they want

everything tame. That's the difference to me I always tell 'em. In a way some things are better (now). Like the kids now they missed what I had, horses and buggies and sleighs and what we us'ta have, but now they got this snowmobiles, bikes and motorbikes.

As mentioned previously Flathead culture at the time of Agnes's birth had already undergone changes since white contact. Certain practices once unknown to the Flathead had been or were well on their way to being accepted by 1900. It would serve no purpose to compare Agnes with a precontact Flathead even if sufficient information was available. I have looked for continuities both in the Flathead culture and in Agnes's life story. Christianity, although not practiced by the Flathead before the appearance of missionaries in western Montana was the norm when Agnes grew up. Public education was becoming accepted at that time also, even though the Adams were reluctant to comply with the new laws. Agnes grew up on the Flathead Reservation after the great bison hunting days had ended. Although she traveled with her family to hunt and gather during certain seasons, her father also made his living by farming. It is with this background in mind I have evaluated Agnes's activities and characteristics with respect to the Flathead personality.

Agnes has adopted, during her lifetime many ideas and practices which originate outside her own culture. If these could be seen to directly replace previously held ideas and practices, I would view them as indicative of a loss of traditional character, however Agnes still speaks Salish, camps outside part of the year, continues to support the importance of and teach traditional skills and beliefs, prays to God in Salishan and uses

plant medicines she learned about many years ago. Her attitude that past ways are still valuable was evident after she spoke of pregnancy taboos, she commented,

> Thats how I did it. I told my kids too, just (do) these couple things. If you just mind what you've been told to eat you won't have no trouble.

She went on to explain that nowadays women often do not pay heed to the taboos and as a result have difficulties in childbirth or with their babies. Agnes does not advocate traditional ways as the only way, but encourages anyone and everyone wishing to learn the old ways.

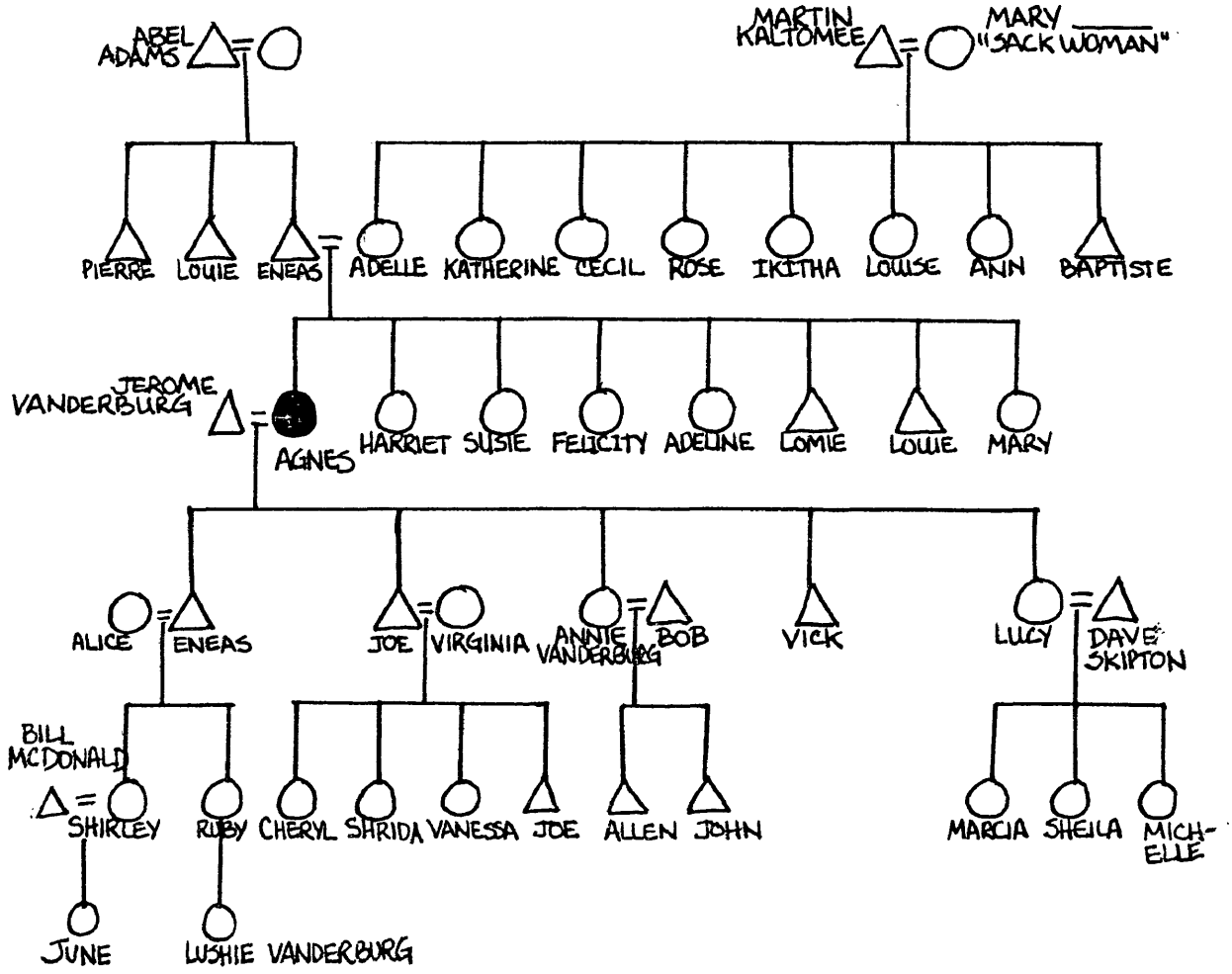
In conclusion, Agnes has undeniably adopted many practices from outside her own culture, however not at the expense of her own traditional heritage. In addition to the possession of personality characteristics identified with the Flathead culture, Agnes's activities show congruence with the conclusion that her identity as a Flathead is foremost in her life. These activities, such as aiding the Cultural Committee, teaching native skills, making traditional items, camping outside, gathering wild foods, speaking Salish, spending time with her family and having close relationships with other tribal members all indicate the importance of Agnes's Flathead culture as her primary identity reference. Judging by the criteria set forth in my hypothesis I believe Agnes Vanderburg has very much retained her Flathead "Indianess." She said,

> Some of them kids, they don't care. They want to be more like white. I says no matter what you do, try and mock the white people, but there's no way you can turn into be white. You were born Indian, you're goin' be Indian all

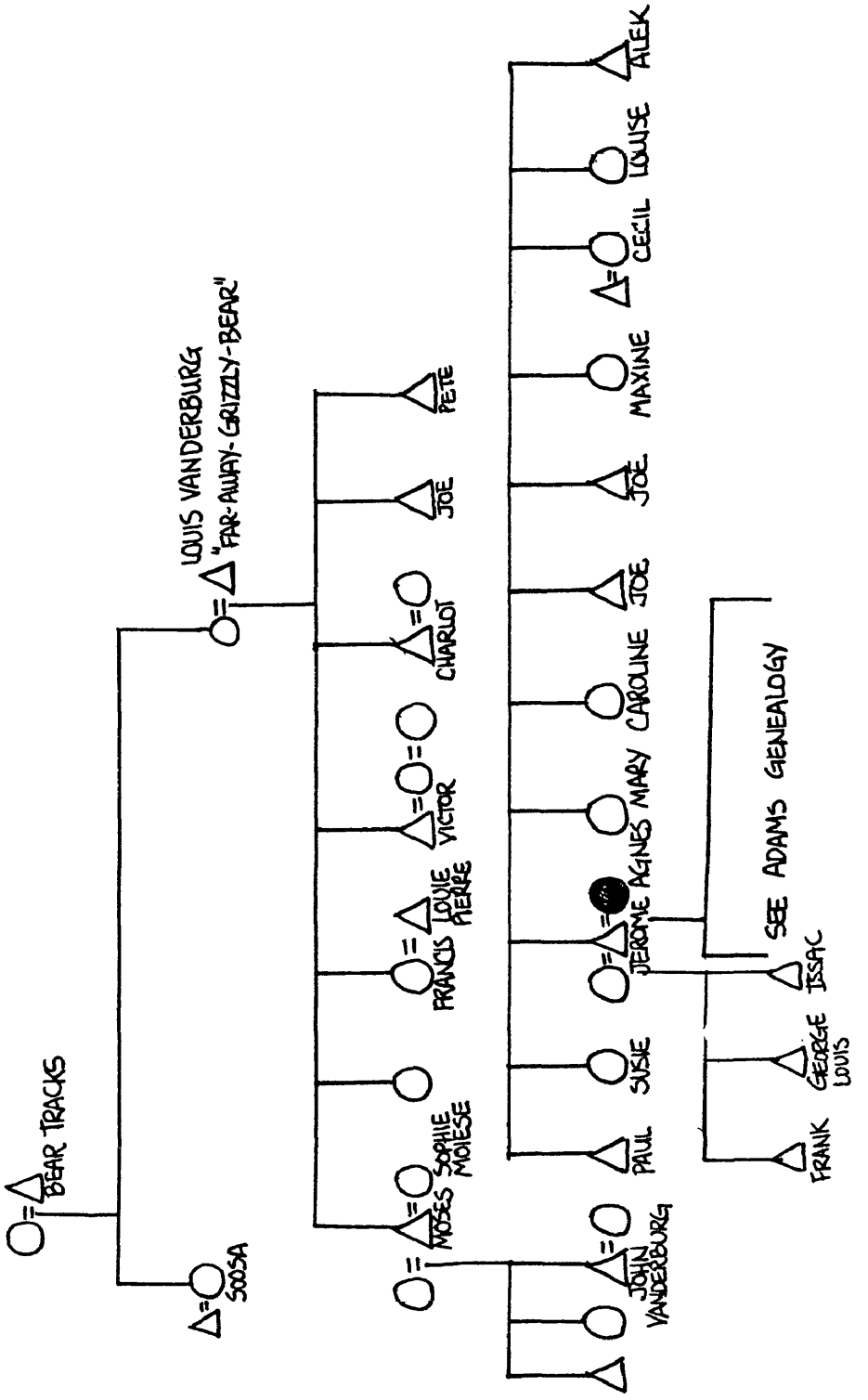
your life. That's what I told them. That's the way I feel about this.

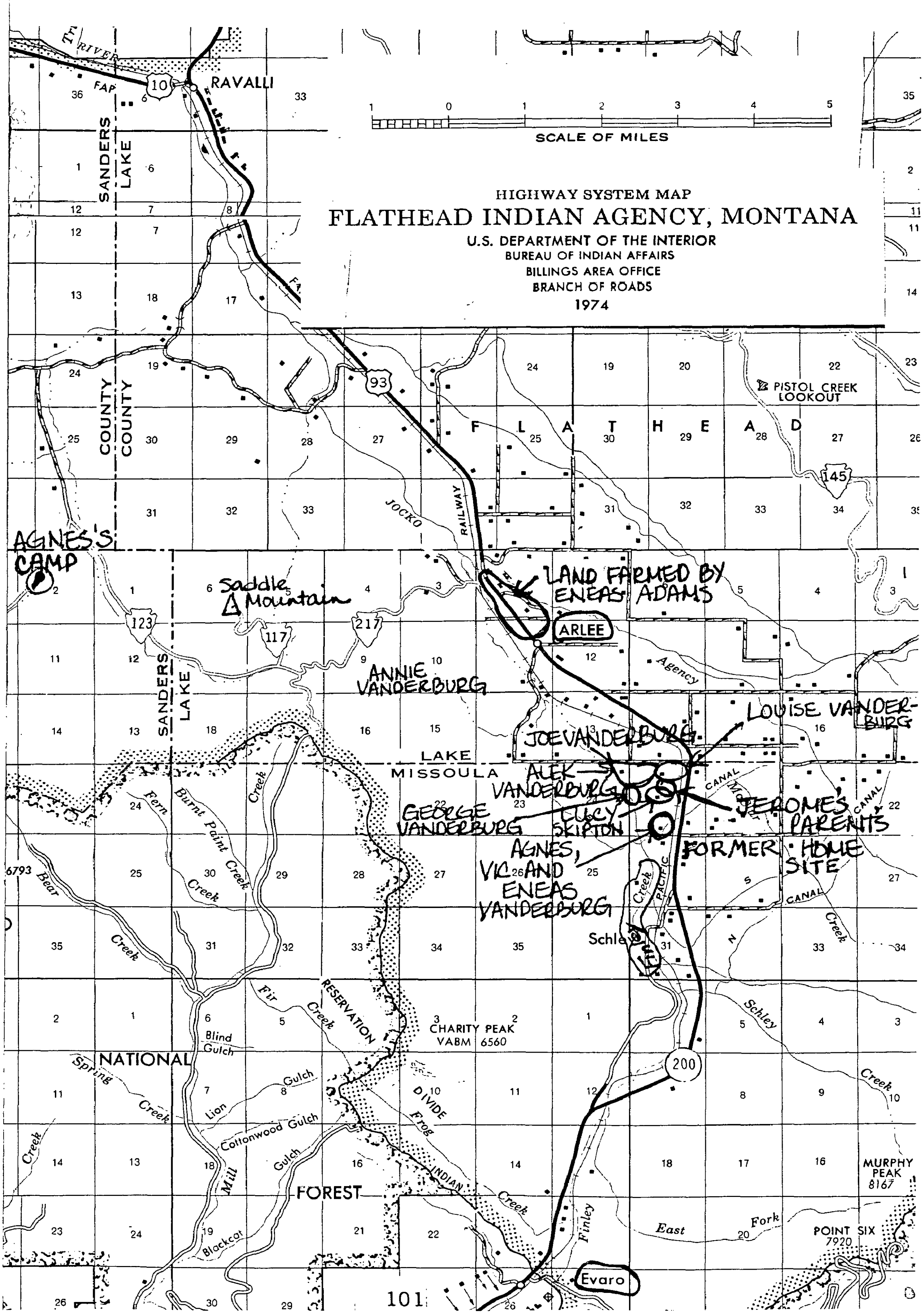
APPENDIX

ADAMS FAMILY GENEALOGY



VANDERBURG FAMILY GENEALOGY




HIGHWAY SYSTEM MAP
FLATHEAD INDIAN AGENCY, MONTANA
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS
BILLINGS AREA OFFICE
BRANCH OF ROADS
1974
SCALE OF MILES
RAVALLI
SANDERS COUNTY
LAKE COUNTY
PISTOL CREEK LOOKOUT
FLATHEAD
JOCKO
RAILWAY
AGNES'S CAMP
Saddle Mountain
LAND FARMED BY ENEAS ADAMS
ARLEE
ANNIE VANDERBURG
LOUISE VANDERBURG
JOE VANDERBURG
ALEK VANDERBURG
GEORGE VANDERBURG
LUCY SKIPTON
JEROME'S PARENTS
AGNES, VIC AND ENEAS VANDERBURG
FORMER HOME SITE
LAKE
MISSOULA
Agency
CANAL
PACIFIC
Fern
Burnt Paint Creek
Bear Creek
Fir Creek
RESERVATION
DIVIDE
CHARITY PEAK VABM 6560
Schley Creek
Blind Gulch
NATIONAL
FOREST
Spring Creek
Lion Gulch
Cottonwood Gulch
Mill Gulch
Frog
INDIAN Creek
Finley
East Fork
Blackcat
MURPHY PEAK 8167
POINT SIX 7920
Evaro

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