Bighorn sheep and the Salish world view| A cultural approach to the landscape

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Bighorn Sheep and the Salish World View: A Cultural Approach to the Landscape

by

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B.A., University of Montana, 1992

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Abstract

This thesis addresses the question of what caused the decline of the bighorn sheep in Western Montana, specifically in the Bitterroot Valley? Dr. Charles E. Kay, Utah State University has presented a hypothesis that American Indians decimated all big game animals within their territories. Local inhabitants of the area believe that the Indians were one of the main causes of the decline in bighorn sheep numbers, which supports Dr. Kay's hypothesis.

I plan to test Dr. Kay's hypothesis of aboriginal overkill by applying it to a specific tribe (Salish), a specific species of animal (bighorn sheep) and a specific area (Bitterroot Valley). To help find an answer to this question, the Salish world view, which determined how Salish Indians hunted and regarded bighorn sheep will be explored. The Salish bighorn sheep legend (cultural truth) will be examined for its presentation of hunting rules, and for these rules' affect on bighorn sheep populations in Montana.

Theoretically, this thesis examines how cultural realities are constructed and how the world-view, ideology, and cultural reality of a people can be studied through the legends which influence and restrict their actions. A multi-discipline approach will be taken including anthropology, Native American studies, and wildlife biology (bighorn sheep studies). The factors involved in this study are the environment, people and culture. This study focuses on the bighorn sheep and the Salish world-view.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As this thesis comes to a closure I can only think that one more goal of my life journey is realized. As I contemplate this portion of my journey I realize how blessed I have been along the way. Each person who has come into my life and walked with me for however short or long, has truly added depth and meaning to my life.

Special thanks to the members of my thesis committee: Dr. Katherine Weist (chairperson), Dr. Tom Poor, Dr. Rich Clow, and Dr. Carling Malouf (emeritus), for patiently guiding, challenging, and encouraging me throughout my academic career. Thank you to Dr. Malouf for spending many hours with me, sharing your stories, knowledge, and laughter.

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A very special thanks to all my family, for believing in me, seeing the best in me, encouraging me and being so patient. Especially my husband Jim, and my children, Sean and Tori, Jamie and Dan. Special recognition to my grandchildren, Thomas James and Kaelen McKenzie, who bring so much delight and joy to my life and by their very existence teach me the priorities and wonders of life.
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For My Dad,

The Late Thomas Edward Pablo

......You are the wind beneath my wings
Chapter I. Introduction

Research Questions and Objectives

Conservation strategy, or I should say the lack of, is central to Kay’s argument of aboriginal overkill (1994a, 1994b). Kay and other writers (Martin 1978:154-65; Ray 1974: 117-23) present the argument that lack of conservation by American Indian tribes caused game depletion. Conservation strategy is used in these cases as if the term has “a universally agreed-upon and culture-free definition” (Berkes 1987:3).

There are assumptions behind conservation strategy based on the philosophy of Thomas Hobbes. Hobbes stated that the natural inclination of man was to accumulate resources and the selfish ambitions of others was the only obstacle to this end. In Hobbes estimation the only way to control exploitation of resources was to have a strong government system that could regulate the behavior of people through laws (Stocks 1987).

Stock asserts that most professional resource managers agree with Hobbes does. Their goal is to maintain a sustainable yield by controlling the resources, through laws and regulations (1997). Many Indian tribes, including the Cree, believe that the animals make the decisions based on hunters actions. "Any management system claiming to maximize productivity by manipulating the animals is considered arrogant" (Berkes 1987:84). Berkes (1987) makes his point stating: ‘thus, not only does the Cree ideology differ from Western Scientific management, but it also opposes it’ (ibid).
In contrast John Locke believed that a natural society was self-regulating:

The basis for tenure in material resources is the labor that each person invests in nature. Without labor, resources are maintained and recognized as part of the common stock. Each person naturally labors only for the things that he can use, and there is thus no basis for wanton killing or hoarding. (Stocks 1987:109)

Stocks states that "anthropologists are starting to recognize other types of human/ecological relationships besides sheer greed and chaos, or means to ends reasoning, backed by a coercive state" (ibid). He further states that ritual behavior, birth control, and other sociocultural practices may also serve to regulate human relations with their environments (ibid).

The bighorn sheep in Bitterroot Mountain range of Montana were one of the many resources in the pre-reservation Salish landscape. The main question of this thesis is: did the Salish Indians eliminate the bighorn sheep herds in the Bitterroot Valley?

Charles E. Kay states in "Aboriginal Overkill" (1994a), that Indians' religious beliefs actually contributed to over-exploitation of animal resources, often causing a depletion of a species. He notes that Native American preferences for prime age females runs counter to any conservation strategy. He goes on to state that writers such as Speck (1939) and R.K. Nelson (1983), consider Native American's religious belief systems would prevent these peoples from over-utilizing their resources. He also quotes Feit (1988) who says that Indian people tended to view wildlife as their spiritual kin with success in the hunt obtained by following prescribed rituals and atonement after the kill. Kay (1994) argues
that the Native Americans did not view a decrease in game or failure in the hunt as having biological or ecological basis, but as a spiritual repercussion of social events or situation. He also states that if Native Americans did not make the connection between their hunting practices and "game numbers, their system of religious beliefs actually fostered the over-exploitation of ungulate populations" (p.3). He further adds, "If a Native American could not find any game, it was not because his people had over harvested the resource, but because he had done something to displease his gods". He concludes: "Religious respect for animals does not equal conservation" (1994a:3). Likewise, Calvin Martin theorizes that when Indian tribes acquired European technology in the form of weapons, they waged a holy war of extermination of the animals that had once frightened them (Martin, 1978:109).

In relation to the idea that Indians have been the source of biggame depletion, statements by "old-timers" in Montana attribute the elimination of some bighorn sheep herds by Indians and people traveling through the area on the railroad (Krepps 1973:11).

My hypothesis is that resource management is a culturally based premise and is embedded within American Indian cultural stories and practices. I also believe that the Indian philosophy of land use or resource use would be closer to that of John Locke. If this is true then game management practices for the bighorn sheep will be revealed within cultural belief systems as exemplified by the Salish Mountain Sheep Boy legend. The specific instructions to the hunter will be scrutinized to determine what
the impacts to the bighorn sheep herd would be. Other historic factors that could have led to the decrease of bighorn sheep herds in western Montana and economic uses the Salish had for these animals will also be examined.

Problems

Some drawbacks to finding answers to the proposed questions is that the Salish no longer live in the Bitterroot Valley. Elders that would have hunted the bighorn sheep before contact are no longer with us and can not be interviewed. Thus, we can not go "back" in time and view Salish bighorn sheep hunting practices and relationships first hand.

Also, as the settler population increased in the Bitterroot Valley, the Salish experienced increasingly limited access to resources. We know that the buffalo became increasingly scarce and were nearly extinct by the 1880s. It is not known how these types of changes and limitations affected their bighorn sheep hunting practices. First, these changes may have caused an intensified or decreased hunting of the sheep or a change in the relationship between hunter and game. We know today that the Salish culture is alive and ongoing, but there is no way to measure the differences between the Salish culture of the 1700s and the Salish culture today. No culture is static: a culture is continually adapting to environmental and technological changes.

Second, it is very simplistic to state that action, the self, or emotion is formed by culture. No individual internalizes the entire elements of any culture, only partial aspects to varying
degrees. Different individuals internalize different parts of the same culture in different ways, and much of every culture is idealized or labeled the "ideal culture". That is, most individuals visualize their "ideal" culture as they want or believe it to be, (D'Andrade 1992:41). The argument is that motivation is one factor in the link between culture and action and that the psychological constructs of schema and action offer a better understanding of the role culture plays in shaping action. To ignore the psychological, intangible element of culture in theoretical formation is a big mistake (ibid).

I have deliberately chosen not to interview our elders of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai tribes for the reason that they often share stories and beliefs that I would not want to exploit in any way. I have chosen to use documents and historical materials already in print. It is sometimes said that our elders were not always truthful in the accounts they related to anthropologists. I have considered this and after reviewing the material and making inquiries with certain tribal members, I do not believe the materials that I have used falls into this category. I also have the greatest confidence in our elders of today and yesterday. They are masters at avoiding what they do not want to answer by being silent, ignoring the question, changing the subject, or feigning ignorance. I believe if there is or was information that they did not want to share, it was simply withheld. As I said they are masters, in control of the situation at all times.

I had wanted to incorporate all the documents that had been
written by Father DeSmet, the first Jesuit to live among the
Salish. According to archivists at Gonzaga University, Spokane,
Washington I discovered that many of the original documents are in
French, and many are located in St. Louis, Missouri. Since I can
not read French and did not have the funds or the time to travel to
St. Louis, I have used translated materials that were easier to
access.

The nomenclature used for the Salish tribes can be confusing.
Often the term Flathead is used for the Bitterroot Salish and also
for the Confederated Salish tribes residing on the Flathead
Reservation today. I will try to mention the specific Salish tribe
referred to, such as Pend d’Oreilles or Bitterroot Salish. If the
historic document uses the term Flathead, I will use that term in
the context it was written. Writers often lumped all the Salish
tribes together under the label "Flathead".

Research Material

Applying Charles Kay’s hypothesis of aboriginal overkill,
raised several questions that needed to be researched. To answer
these questions, the early historical accounts written by fur
trappers, explorers, and priests have been examined. Contemporary
works have also been searched, including archaeological studies,
particularly the works of Carling Malouf, and wildlife biology
studies. My research includes personal interviews with Dr. Malouf
who worked with Salish tribal elders who had passed away before I
knew them. Data from modern wildlife studies of bighorn sheep
behavior and seasonal movements are incorporated along with
historical accounts to verify their past existence in the Bitterroot Mountain Range. I believe that the Mountain Sheep Boy legend holds the answer to the relationship of the Salish hunter to the bighorn sheep. This legend is culturally constructed and embedded with the values and ideology of the Salish culture. Within this legend I will look for hunting "rules" that the hunter was to observe. If these rules exist, they would not allow the hunter to over-exploit the bighorn sheep of the Bitterroot Valley.

This thesis is a study of the interrelationship of bighorn sheep, the people, the environment, history, and culture. Central to the combined theory approach in this thesis is the theory of cultural anthropology with the basic idea that culture is the means people use to provide order in their universe (Ohnuki-Teirney 1981:451). Intertwined throughout the combination of theories is Julian Steward's cultural ecological theory that all aspects of culture are interrelated and functionally interdependent to each other. Steward, emphasized that he was interested in the "resources" an environment offered and the technology a culture developed to make these resources usable and accessible (1977:25). The "values" placed on specific resources themselves are a cultural construct as are the behavior patterns, and the technology involved in utilizing them. These cultural tools enable the culture to adapt to a specific environment, with its specific resources and geography.

Cognitive and symbolic anthropology are also applied with a "pro-psychology" position which views motivation as the causal link
between culture and action as well as Loretta Fowler's theory on symbols (1987). Both theories incorporate interaction and interrelatedness of culture, the environment and people.

Loretta Fowler bases her symbolic approach on the works of Clifford Geertz, who states that cultural and social processes are independent variables but are mutually interdependent. To reiterate: these variables can be viewed independently, but they are interrelated. That is, cultural and social process can be viewed individually but are continually interacting with and dependent on one another. Also culture refers to a set of established meanings embodied in symbols (Fowler 1987:9). Each culture is saturated with symbols. Individuals within any given culture will recognize these symbols and their meaning without a word being uttered. For instance the American flag, a dollar bill, a stop sign, or a cross are symbols readily recognized in this society. A symbol such as the bald eagle has various meanings attached to it. It is a national symbol for the U.S.A. and also has special cultural value to many Indian tribes.

Through this model of social reality, people make sense of their society and evaluate their place in it. This is the model that people use in reinterpreting and reevaluating social realities, thereby shaping attitudes and actions. It is in terms of these structures of meaning that behaviors are produced, perceived, and interpreted. Thus, meanings are socially established. We gain access to them by inspecting events (Fowler 1987). An individual will behave according to how he sees his role
in his society. By studying behavior and events we can discover the meanings and values that motivate this behavior.

This approach does not differentiate between symbols and meaning, but rather seeks relationships between them. This approach is unlike the structural functionalist approach which separates symbolic (psychological) structures, including religion, art, ritual, myth (cultural truths) from the material structures such as economics, kinship, politics or everyday life (Dolgin, Kemnitzer and Schneider 1977:3-44).

The symbolic stance is that a culture's ideology shapes the individual's everyday life and reality. Thus, a person's actions express his/her ideology, world view and reality. A symbol can be used in either of two ways, to impel and direct action or to determine how one's world is understood, imagined, and expressed. This complex unity of thought, action and intention of an actor or group of people is summed up in one word--"Praxis" (Dolgin, Kemnitzer, and Schneider 1977). In this thesis, the Mountain Sheep Boy legend will be viewed as a symbol, in which a culture's ideology is imbedded. This literary tradition would then do both, impel and direct (or restrict, which is a form of direction) the action, of the hunter and also determine how one's world is understood, imagined, and expressed.
Chapter II.

Historical Background of the Pend d'Oreille
Kootenai and Bitterroot Salish (Flathead) Tribes

There is some disagreement among the anthropologists as to the origins of the tribes that make up the Confederated Salish and Kootenai tribes of the Flathead Reservation. The Confederated tribes include the Pend d'Oreille, Bitterroot Salish or Flathead, (the Pend d'Oreille and Bitterroot Salish are both Salishian) and the Kootenai people. The name Flathead is a term that was misapplied to the Bitterroot Salish by the Euro-American trappers, traders and settlers that came into western Montana. The Salish did not flatten the heads of their children as did some tribes to the West. In sign language the sign for the Bitterroot Salish was enacted by placing both hands to each side of the head, meaning the tribe that resides between the mountains. It is thought that this sign was misinterpreted and the name came to be used to identify all the Salish bands of the Salish and Kootenai tribes and also became the official name of their reservation. A brief recount of the origin theories will be presented for each of the three tribes, including the two debatable origin theories for the Bitterroot Salish.

Pend d'Oreille:

Stevens (1901:79) reported that the Pend d'Oreille consisted of the Upper and Lower bands. According to Swanton (1952:399), before
the reservation was established, the Upper Kalispel or Upper Pend d'Oreille inhabited northwestern Montana from the Flathead River to Thompson Falls on the Clark Fork River, from the Little Bitterroot southward to near Missoula. Northward they ranged to the Canadian border, with bands at Flathead Lake, from Columbia Falls to Kalispell, to Dayton and Polson. Some wintered on the Bitterroot River, and a large band was located at St. Ignatius (Swanton 1952:399) The Upper Pend d'Oreille lived on the Horse Plains and in the Jocko area and the Lower Pend d'Oreilles lived on the Clark Fork River.

Kootenai:

According to Malouf (1974:32-34), the Kootenai were comprised of two large groups occupying the Kootenai Lake and River region, the Upper Columbia River in British Columbia and northwestern part of Montana and northern Idaho. The region around Kalispel, Somers, and Dayton, Montana was the permanent homeland to the Kootenai people. One band was also known to reside east of the Rockies in Alberta, possibly as far east as the Sun River in Montana.

Teit (1927-28:317-319) also mentions three related but distinct groups of Kootenai people. He mentions that the band east of the Rocky Mountain range extended east to the Sweet Grass Hills, and included almost all the present Blood Reserve in Alberta and all of the Blackfeet Reservation in Montana. This last group consisted of two bands with individual chiefs. Both bands lived in close proximity at Browning, Montana on the present Blackfeet or South Piegan Reserve. This area was considered their territory.
Tuna’xa. There is a great confusion generated by the name Tuna’xa, because he also states that the Tuna’xa band became extinct due to disease or warfare. In his writings, Teit explained this confusion. It seems that there were two bands called Tuna’xa, one Salish and the other Kootenai (p. 306). He writes:

‘t seems strange that the Flathead should call a Salish tribe by the same name as the Kutenai give to a Kutenai tribe, and there may possibly be some confusion among Flathead informants respecting the tribal names.....To prevent confusion I have named this tribe Kutenai-Tuna’xe, and the Tuna’xe of the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles informants, Salish-Tuna’xe (1927:306-07)

It is the Salish-Tuna’xe who became extinct. At one time, according to Teit’s informants, this band of Salish had at least four main divisions. The largest band lived along the Sun River, near present day Fort Shaw, an area considered the central homeland. Other bands made their camps near Great Falls, and in the foothills of the Rockies, along some small lakes. The people of the last band intermingled with the Kootenai, and it is not known if they were properly Kootenai or Salish Tuna’xe (Teit 1927:28). This last fact gives rise to the confusion surrounding the origin of the name Tuna’xe. Some of the informants may have listed or included them with the Salish and others with the Kootenai. The fact is the Kootenai Tuna’xe did not become extinct and descendants of this band are part of the present Kootenai tribe of the Flathead Reservation.

Bitterroot Salish:

Salish were originally Plains Indians who had been forced west by increasing intertribal warfare and pressure.

Teit and Boas documented information told by Flathead and Pend d'Oreille informants, that long ago the Flathead lived east of the Rocky Mountains, where they occupied a large sections of country (1927-23:303). They consisted of several large bands that covered the territory between the Big Belt Range, north to Helena, and between the Rockies and the Little Belt Mountains. This area would include nearly all of the present counties of Deer Lodge, Silver Bow, Beaverhead, Madison, Gallatin, Jefferson, and Broadwater, and parts of Park, Meagher, and Lewis and Clark (Teit 1927:28). The Bitterroot Salish wintered in the Rockies, the western boundary of their territory. When the northern tribes acquired the horse, buffalo hunting became a main source of subsistence. According to Teit's theory, as the Blackfeet and other tribes were displaced, they moved southward and westward increasing warfare with the tribes occupying the area, such as the Salish and Shoshoni. Eventually, the Bitterroot Salish moved west of the Rocky Mountains making the Bitterroot Valley the base of their hunting and social activities.

The theory that the Bitterroot Salish were originally east of the Rocky Mountains is refuted by other ethnographers such as Harry H. Turney-High (1937), Verne F. Ray (1942), Alan P. Merriam (1957), and Ellsworth Howard Brown (1975).

Brown (1975) reports that thirty years after Teit, when Turney-High discussed the question of origin with Salish and
Kootenai informants, they were surprised or amused by the idea that their ancestors came from the east. Brown suggests that Teit's earlier informants may have been holding a resentment towards the Blackfeet and were possibly making a claim on the plains land.

Origin theories may not coincide, but one thing on which all the researchers agree, in terms of linguistic and cultural findings, is that the Bitterroot Salish belong to Plateau, rather than Plains culture. As Malouf states and I agree, the Salish and Kootenai tribes are intermountain. This means that their territory encompassed the western mountains and the eastern plains. The Salish and Kootenai tribes developed a culture that was unique to this region, especially in areas of social and ceremonial structure (1952:8).

The Bitterroot Valley is the known homeland of the Bitterroot Salish. They spent their winters and summers, with the main winter camp near Stevensville, Montana. Bands of Pend d'Oreille often joined their Salish cousins in the Bitterroot Valley at the winter or summer camps (Malouf 1974).

After the Salish people acquired the horse in the mid-1700s, they increased their trips to the Plains to attain the buffalo. The Bitterroot Salish, Pend d'Oreille and some bands of Kootenai were closely allied on their annual bison hunts. The Bitterroot Valley was one of the main passage routes between the west and the buffalo plains to the east. Because of this natural corridor, the Salish were often joined on their trips to the Plains by other northwest tribes, such as the Nez Perce, Colville, and Shoshoni. "By perhaps
tribes, such as the Nez Perce, Colville, and Shoshoni. "By perhaps
1700 A.D. the Flatheads' gateway position between the Plains tribes
and those of the plateau enhanced use of Salish as a common tongue"
(Fahey 1974:8). Fahey notes that by knowing the Salish language,
one could converse from the United States to the Willamette valley
without the need for an interpreter. He also states that many of
the Crow, Blackfeet, and Cree also knew the Salish language (1974).

Despite the fact that in 1805 Meriwether Lewis and William
Clark are noted as the first white men seen by the Bitterroot
Salish tribe, the geographer-explorer David Thompson described the
vast territory of the Bitterroot Salish, Pend d'Oreilles and
Kutenai and Shoshoni as early as 1787. In 1809 David Thompson of
the North West Company expanded the fur trade by building trading
posts within the Rocky Mountains. He built Kulyspell [sic] House
at Lake Pend d'Oreille, and Salish House on the Clark Fork River,
at the mouth of Prospect Creek, between Eddy and Belknap, Montana
(Henry 1799-1814:672-673). James McMillan, also of the North West
Company, had a trading post at the confluence of the Missoula
(Clark Fork) and the Flathead Rivers.

Traveling with some of these early explorers were Iroquois
Indians from upper New York who were employed by the fur companies
as trappers. These Iroquois had been instructed by the Jesuits at
Caughnawaga Mission located at La Chine, just above the rapids from
Montreal on the St. Lawrence River (Forbis 1950). They may have
been survivors of an independent hunting party that had been
annihilated about 1799 by Gros Ventres who were highly offended by
their so-called superior attitudes (Fahey 1974).

The Iroquois often left their employment with the fur companies and settled among the tribes of the west, including the Bitterroot and Pend d'Oreilles Salish. One of the Iroquois, Ignace Lamousse also known as both Ignace the Large and Old Ignace, was extremely active in teaching the Bitterroot Salish about the Catholic faith and the "Black Robes". The Salish, especially the elders, spent many hours in Ignace's tent learning about God, baptism and eternal life (Lothrop 1977). It is important to note that even as late as 1855, baptism was given a special place in the beliefs of the Salish. The reason for this is the belief that after they were baptized, they could conquer any enemy (Forbis 1950). Forbis (1950:43-45) also states that Father DeSmet believed the Salish wanted the "Black Robes" because they thought that all imaginable blessings would come with them, such as courage to fight, and every type of remedy to ward off illness. This is really not hard to understand since smallpox epidemics had killed many of their people, as well as the loss of life in the battles to maintain access to the plains and the buffalo. Here was the answer to death—eternal life. One important point to remember is that they wanted to add this power to their already established cosmology, not replace it.

The Bitterroot Salish sent four delegations to St. Louis to request the "Black Robes" to come to teach them. In the spring of 1830, a group, including three Nez Perce and four "Flathead," reached Independence, Missouri. All became ill and only two
Louis did not leave until 1635. During the interim several missionaries from other denominations visited the Salish, including Jason Lee and his nephew Daniel Lee, who were sent by the New England Conference of the Wesleyan church. Dr. Marcus Whitman and the Reverend Samuel Parker, a Presbyterian, also met the Nez Perce and the Salish in 1835 (Schaeffer 1934).

The Catholic Iroquois played a large part in keeping the Bitterroot Salish focused on acquiring the Black Robes and not accepting substitutes. In 1835 a second delegation led by Old Ignace volunteered to go to St Louis to ask Catholic priests to come to the Bitterroot Valley. Ignace and his two sons, Charles and Francis, reached their destination late in 1835. They met with Father Helias d'Huggeghem, a Belgian Jesuit. Ignace told the priest that he had worked for the Jesuits at Caughnawaga mission and that he had traveled westward between 1812 and 1820. He said he represented the Flatheads, Nez Perce, Spokane, Kutenais, Cayuses and two tribes the priest could not identify. Ignace went back to the Bitterroot Valley sure that the Jesuits would follow shortly. When they did not arrive by 1837, Old Ignace set out eastward again accompanied by three Salish, one Nez Perce, and in the company of W. H. Gray, a Methodist layman missionary, who was traveling east. On the North Platte River, near Ash Hollow, Nebraska, Sioux killed the Indian members of the party, thinking they were Snakes. Gray was spared (Fahey 1974).

In 1839 the Salish sent two young French-speaking Iroquois, Pierre Casaveta (Gauche) and Young Ignace, to St. Louis to bring
back the priests. They traveled on the American Fur Company boat, perhaps to avoid the Blackfeet (Fahey 1974). The two young men reached St. Joseph Mission at Council Bluffs. There among the Potawatomies they met the Jesuit Father Peter John DeSmet. The delegation proceeded to St. Louis to seek the consent of Bishop Rosati. The Jesuit superior, Father Peter J. Verhaegen, promised to send two priests the following spring. Young Ignace stayed at Fort Leavenworth to act as guide for the missionaries the next spring.

Father DeSmet expressed his desire to go to the Rocky Mountains and was selected. Father DeSmet raised enough donations for one person to make the journey and left for the Bitterroot on March 27, 1840. Since they were on the Plains where there was always danger of an encounter with the Blackfeet, DeSmet's party was met by an escort of Flathead on the Green River (Forbis 1950). This advance group was under the direction of a powerful man Chalax, who could foretell the time and size of a Blackfeet attack through prayer. The meeting of Chalax and DeSmet is ironic—here are two spiritual leaders from two different cultures. Chalax's role is to keep the Salish and the Jesuit safe in the physical world and DeSmet's role is to save them in the next. Little did Chalax realize that there was not room for him in the cosmology of the Jesuit.

They traveled further and joined the main camp of Flathead, approximately 1600, at the foot of the Tetons in the valley of Pierre's Hole (Lothrop 1977). DeSmet stayed with the Bitterroot
Pierre's Hole (Lothrop 1977). DeSmet stayed with the Bitterroot Salish in the Bitterroot Valley for two months, then returned to St. Louis where he reported to the Bishop. He planned to return to the Bitterroot Valley the next spring with more missionaries.

DeSmet did return the next year accompanied by Father Nicholas Point (artist), Father Gregory Mengarini (language expert, musician and trained in medicines who acted as pharmacist and physician), Brother William Claessens (blacksmith), Brother Charles Huet (carpenter), and Brother Joseph Specht (tinnier). With the combined talent of these missionaries and the various seeds they brought with them, DeSmet planned teach not only Catholicism to the Bitterroot Salish, but also European agriculture.

The Jesuits arrived in the Bitterroot Valley on September 4, 1841. Most of the Bitterroot Salish were gone on their early fall buffalo hunt. The missionaries established St. Mary's mission near the center of the valley, between present day Stevensville and the site of Fort Owen. St. Mary's was considered to be the first Euro-American settlement in this region of Montana, at that time part of the Washington Territory (Lothrop 1977). When Father DeSmet met the Salish and Kootenai people, their leaders were Bear Looking Up (Bitterroot Salish), whom DeSmet renamed Big Face, and Walking Bear. (Bear Looking Up was the father of Chief Victor and grandfather to Chief Charlo [Charlot]). Formost of the Kootenai was Ignace, an Iroquois from New York, and leader of the Pend d'Oreilles was Loyola, as the Jesuits named him (Fahey 1974).

St. Mary's mission operated from 1841 to 1849. Slowly over the
Bitterroot Salish. There have been several reasons presented for the declining relationship between the priests and the Salish and for the eventual closure of the Mission.

A large majority of the Salish people accepted and embraced the Catholic faith. Others were said to have been influenced by the trappers and traders that traveled through the Salish territory. These men spoke against the missionaries because they did not want the tribes to stop trapping or hunting. Angus McDonald, who established Fort Connah in the Mission Valley in 1847, was one of the outspoken traders. He had no special affiliation with any certain religion, but was an avid supporter of the Indians' world view. He viewed the two philosophies essentially the same since they both appealed to a force higher than man. He dissuaded the tribes from rejecting their beliefs and totally embracing the Catholic faith (Forbis 1950).

A second factor that may have contributed to the decline of the mission was the priests' intrusion into Salish cultural practices. For the first few years, the priests were busy eliminating aspects of the Bitterroot Salish culture that they found offensive to Catholic doctrine. Some examples were polygamy, public whipping by the chief for wrongdoing, the practice of surrounding a deceased man with his goods, slaughtering his horses and the occasional wife suicide (Fahey 1974). A good example is the abolishment of public whipping. This was a form of social control maintained by the leaders. When the whipping ended, the young people stopped listening to the chiefs. Ironically, the
priests later chided the chiefs for their loss of control over the younger people.

It is documented that in the early years of the 1840s the priests accompanied the tribes on their annual buffalo hunts. The hunts were from April to May and from August to November. Together these hunts took the people away from the Bitterroot Valley for as long as six months. During the spring hunt only bulls were taken, the cows at this time were considered lean and extremely poor (Palladiino 1922). It should also be noted that in the spring, the cows would be pregnant or calving and it would be to the benefit of the Indians to let the herds increase, which is also game conservation. The winter hunt was considered the most important because the buffalo's coat was at its prime and made the best robe. During the winter hunt, as many tribal members went as were physically able.

At first the priests insisted on accompanying the hunting expeditions to the Plains. They had several reasons for wanting to go along. First, they did not want the people away from Christian instruction for any length of time. Second, the priest could tend to the sick or dying; and third, the presence of a priest might prevent the people from being tempted toward bad influences or excesses (Palladino 1922). The priests did not realize that their presence and influence could be a negative one. The hunting grounds of the Plains often became a battleground. The priests and the Salish did not hold the same ideals of conduct in battle. When the Salish tribes and their allies captured prisoners, the priest
would demand mercy and freedom for the captives. This conflict of ideals would eventually jeopardize the respected position the priests held with the Bitterroot Salish. Palladino documented one such occasion:

The first time Father Point accompanied the Indians on the hunt, during the winter of 1941-42, on which occasion he came near freezing to death, the party he [was] sent with consisting of sixty warriors, encountered on the way a small band of Blackfeet, numbering seventeen, whom they soon surrounded, leaving them no chance whatever of escape. In this plight, the poor fellows appealed to the Black Robe for mercy, and he, in turn, insisted with the Flat Heads (sic) to spare them. They did so, but most reluctantly, and became highly incensed against the Father for his meddling in the matter (1922:52)

Father Mengarini also participated in a buffalo hunt. As they were proceeding, a traveler named Mongravier from Fort Benton warned the Flathead that 600 Blackfeet warriors were waiting in ambush for them. As they approached the area where the Blackfeet were reportedly waiting, two men approached them, the first was the Chief of the Blackfeet and the other a Creole. They signed that they wanted to parley and smoke the pipe of peace with the Salish at their camp. The Bitterroot Salish shot the chief and the battle began. When it was over 25 Blackfeet had been killed and three from the Salish group. The Salish warriors returned to their camp where they had left the women and Father Mengarini. The above mentioned Creole arrived at their camp, asking the priest to come to the Blackfeet camp as the Blackfeet wanted to hear his teaching. Father Mengarini was willing to go, but the Salish stopped him,
saying that if he went they would have to go with him and fight till they all were dead. They were angry with the priest for not allowing them to renew the fight, and threatened to leave him behind (Palladino 1922).

Another reason for the anger toward the priest was that the Salish people believed that the Black Robes wielded a special power of eternal life. They believed that this power helped them in battle. It is obvious from other writings that the Blackfeet thought this also: "The Blackfeet fought no more that winter, believing the Flatheads, Pend Oreilles, and Nez Perces divinely protected by the medicine of the blackrobes" (Fahey 1974:76). So it is not surprising that the Blackfeet would ask the priest to come to their camp and teach them. Furthermore, when the priest showed willingness to go to the enemy camp of the Blackfeet and share with them this special power, it would have looked like treason to the Salish. After several such clashes, the priests realized that they were threatening their status and relationship with the Bitterroot Salish and no longer followed them to the buffalo plains.

Father DeSmet left St. Mary's in late 1845 to solicit more money and recruit more priests. Father Mengarini was left in charge of the mission and in 1846 when the Salish returned from the August-November hunt, the Jesuits noticed a marked difference in the people. The Bitterroot Salish rarely visited the mission and were very solemn and detached. Father Ravalli explained that the priests were bewildered when the Bitterroot Salish camped away from
priests were bewildered when the Bitterroot Salish camped away from their (the priests') village. He explained that they were very cold and formal in their greeting to the priests and unwillingly sold them only a small portion and poorest quality of their dried meat. Furthermore, the Salish seemed to be reverting to their old customs and behaviors (Forbis 1950).

Forbis explores the reasons for the decided change and disillusionment the Salish exhibited toward the priests. The power associated with baptism was of central importance to the Flathead. They believed that baptism would make their warriors invincible in battle and that baptism gave one life after death, as the Iroquois had taught. Father DeSmet betrayed this power held by the Flathead over the Blackfeet, by visiting the Blackfeet on his journey back east prior to 1846. He inquired about Christianizing the Blackfeet and even baptized some of them on this visit.

By performing this single act, which was in the [Salish] Indian's eyes the source of power, he destroyed the spiritual balance of power that had given the Flathead their superiority over the Blackfeet (Forbis 1950:70)

As stated earlier in the social realm, the priests made many changes without thinking about or realizing the consequences. The Salish had a form of public flogging to keep social order. The leader would hold a session every few weeks so people could express their grievances or confess some wrongdoing. The Chief would then determine the number of lashes a person would receive for the crime. Elimination of public flogging was one of the first changes the Jesuits made. Later they complained that the Chief had lost
his control of the people and that the young people no longer listened to or obeyed their elders.

The priests, especially DeSmet, discouraged the Flathead from using the whip. This was an important means by which the chiefs kept their followers under control. Owen pointed to the result when he wrote that the old Chiefs can do nothing with them. The young men are growing heedless and will not listen to the Council of their sages (Forbis 1950:72).

The second social impact was the banishing of polygamy and replacing this form of marriage with monogamy. The status of an Indian man was reflected in the number of wives he had. If he could support more than one wife, he was considered a great provider and a successful hunter. "Men could generally provide more buffalo than one woman could prepare, it was also an economic asset to have enough wives so that they could prepare hides and food to barter with the traders" (Forbis 1950:71). Warfare also took its toll on the male population, often leaving women and children without a provider. Polygamy was the social insurance that these women and children would be provided for, monogamy left them without a means of support.

The expectations that both cultures placed on each other were too great; neither group truly understood the other. The Salish had expected the priests' baptism to make them invincible warriors with life after death. Father Palladino of the St. Ignatius mission told the story that after he had received the news of the death of Father Vercruysse in California they held a mass "and the Indians participated in Communion. One Indian was amazed. When Palladino asked the reason for his surprise, he found that the
Indian thought the Black Robes did not die” (Forbis:75). When questioned why, it was explained: "Because you can keep for yourselves the good medicine which holds death away from you, whereas to us poor Indians you give the medicine that is itenimus (worthless) and lets us die" (ibid).

The misunderstanding between the Jesuits and the Salish is also evident in the epidemic of 1847. What is thought to have been a smallpox epidemic caused the death of eighty-six Flathead. The disease struck shortly after a group left for the buffalo hunt, killing everyone with the exception of fifteen children who were not infected with the disease (Lothrop 1977). The priests regarded this a sign of God's displeasure with the Flatheads for so many of them turning away from the mission. The Salish could have viewed this incident as the priests withholding their good medicine.

The increasing contact with the Anglo people dispelled many of the misconceptions the Indians had about the Euro-Americans. The power attributed to the dominant culture, both spiritual and medicinal, was starting to be considered harmful by the tribes to their people. Throughout the history it is documented that the missionaries tried to keep the Indian people isolated from the influence of the settlers, trappers and traders, due to well founded concerns:

In any comparison, at least of the moral life of the two groups, the Indians could not fail to notice their superiority. At the last Easter ceremony which the Catholics held in St. Mary's, the Indians simply stated, You told us the religion of the whites would make us better men, yet the whites we see are worse than we are (Forbis 1950:77)
The deterioration of the relationship between the Jesuits and the Bitterroot Salish, the continual raids by the Blackfeet on the Bitterroot and the mission, the decrease in funds to the missions, due to the political unrest in France and the depression spreading across Europe, all contributed to the closure of St. Mary's in 1850. Father Joset sold the mission to John Owen for two hundred and fifty dollars with the agreement that if the mission were reopened by 1852, the Jesuits could buy it back (Fahey 1974).

In 1853 Major Isaac I. Stevens, the new governor of Washington Territory, met a supply train at Fort Owen (formerly St. Mary's). The supply train had come east from the Columbia with provisions for Stevens. Lieutenant Rufus Saxton, head of the supply unit met Major John Owen and his brother in the mountains of Idaho. Owen had left the Bitterroot Valley with plans never to return, on account of the Blackfeet raids. Owen returned to the valley with Saxton, reassured that the presence of the military would deter the raids.

Isaac Stevens had definite plans to fulfill on his trip to the Pacific coast and back. While mapping a northern route for the transcontinental railroad, he met with the tribes of the area to determine if they would be amenable to relinquishing their lands to the U.S. government. He planned to draft treaties with these tribes if they seemed willing to share their land.

Before leaving the Bitterroot, Stevens established a survey party under Lieutenant John Mullan, to survey the mountain passes and take meteorological readings. This survey team built
Cantonment Stevens, a small group of huts on the Bitterroot River, fourteen miles from Fort Owen, where they wintered in 1853-54.

Governor Stevens set about securing Indian lands for the United States. He sectioned the territory into separate areas appointing agents and public employees to the tribes. On the Flathead section he appointed Gabriel Prudhomme, a mixed blood trapper living with the Salish as interpreter. He appointed Thomas Adams, an assistant artist with the Stevens Survey, as agent to the Bitterroot Salish, Kootenais and Pend d'Oreilles. He then sent men ahead of him to schedule a succession of treaty councils to be held across the territory on his way east from the Pacific coast. Lieutenant Mullan approached the Kootenai, Pend Orielle and Bitterroot Salish with the plan for a treaty council, adding that Governor Stevens ordered a lasting peace with the Blackfeet and henceforth promised protection from Blackfeet aggression (Fahey 1974).

As directed by government policy, the Governor's strategy called for cession of large tracts of aboriginal lands, placing the tribes on reservations, and paying them with annual shipments of goods and annuities. This practice was not new; it had been part of Indian policy of the United States since the conception of the original colonies. The treaties to be signed were not to be created by mutual consent of the parties present. All of Steven's treaties were drafted prior to the councils and were only slightly changed if the Indian tribes objected to specific conditions (Fahey 1974).

At this time Fathers Mutual and Hoecken were reestablishing
the St. Ignatius Mission in its present location, near a popular travel route used by all the tribes in the area. The location of St. Ignatius Mission was a strong factor in the selection of this area as a reservation. Governor Stevens recognized the influence that the Black Robes possessed with the tribes in the area and requested their assistance and involvement in the treaty councils:

Father Hoecken would attend the council scheduled for Hellgate in Flathead country; Father Ravalli was to suggest to the Coeur D'Alenes that they accept a reservation jointly with the Flatheads, Kutenais, and Pend Oreilles; and Father Mutual would arrange to have the Flatheads meet Stevens at St. Ignatius for the Hellgate negotiations (Fahey 1974:93)

Stevens and his party met with the Bitterroot Salish, Kootenai, and Pend d'Oreilles on July 7, 1855 at Council Grove along the Clark Fork River in the Missoula Valley. Victor was head man of the Bitterroot Salish, Alexander leader of the Pend d'Oreilles, and Michel leader of the Kootenai. Based on their earlier discussions with Mullan, Victor and the other men assumed that the main objective of the council was to establish peace with the Blackfeet (Fahey 1974). The negotiations went on for eight days as Governor Stevens tried to convince the tribes to agree on one reservation for all three tribes. It is important to note that there were language barriers, and it is not known how well all parties understood each other.

The Pend d'Oreille and Kootenai preferred to stay in the Flathead Valley and the Bitterroot Salish preferred the Bitterroot Valley, with Victor being very firm about this. Stevens resorted
to threats, promises and humiliation of the head chiefs to achieve the land cessions he sought. The council proceeded with Victor consistently refusing to move; at one point Stevens humiliated Victor. Fahey (1974) quotes from Father Hoeckens's diary: "Un jour une tragedie dans la comedie, Vistor etant appelle une vielle femme une chien par le Governor. De moins parler interprete, laisse la place et retourne dans la loge". With this insult, Victor left the council and Alexander fired back at Stevens that he was "a double old bitch". After two days the council resumed and the tribes agreed that they would cede their lands, residing on reservations. Victor still refused to move and Stevens said that the President would survey the two valleys and decide which would be the best reservation for the Bitterroot Salish. With this promise in place, all three chiefs and several subchiefs signed the Hellgate or Stevens Treaty of 1855. There was no doubt in Victor's mind that the U.S. President would agree with him and that the Bitterroot Salish would be allowed to remain in the Bitterroot Valley. Article 11 of the 1855 treaty states that the Bitterroot Valley would be surveyed below the Lolo Creek:

It is, moreover, provided that the Bitter Root Valley, above the Loo-lo Fork, shall be carefully surveyed and examined, and if it shall prove, in the judgment of the President, to be better adapted to the wants of the Flathead tribe than the general reservation provided for in this treaty, then such portions of it as may be necessary shall be set apart as a separate reservation for the said tribe. No portion of the Bitter Root Valley, above the Loo-lo Fork, shall be opened to settlement until such examination is had and the decision of the President made known. (Article 11, 1855 Treaty)
The survey was never completed and this was interpreted by the Bitterroot Salish that they could remain in the Bitterroot. As time passed more and more settlers moved into the Bitterroot Valley. With them came more cattle, fences, and agriculture, directly interfering with the Salish hunting and gathering of roots and plants in the valley. In 1871, settlers exerted pressure on territorial and federal officials for the removal of the Salish from the Bitterroot to the Jocko reservation. Legislators, such as W H. Clagett, with support from the Montana Superintendent of Indian Affairs Jasper A. Viall, the Territorial Governor, Benjamin F. Potts, played an active role in accomplishing this task. This sentiment was reflected in an article in the Missoula Pioneer dated July 27, 1871:

Flatheads, Kootenais and Pen d' Oreilles are just returning from their spring and summer buffalo hunt. We have not as yet interviewed them, and cannot report their success. The Flathead had the serenity of their number by a [illegible] band of Sioux. The latter, concealing themselves in ambush, sent out a number of their braves [illegible] to surround and capture a large number of the Flatheads' horses. This freedom of appropriation the latter florid gentlemen proposed to contest, and eighteen of them boldly gave chase. The Sioux [illegible]ing to the horses and drew their pursuers into the ambuscade, when the en[illegible] number were murdered outright. The Flatheads then pursued the Sioux force, recaptured nearly all their animals, and killed some three of the enemy. Judging by the intimations from official officers, we hope soon to chronicle the removal of the Flatheads to their reservation on the Jocko. This effected, the Bitter Root Valley is at once subject to settlement in every part.

Since 1855 the settlers continued to establish residence in
the Bitteroot Valley, not only along the river, but along the tributary creeks as well. By 1865 the settlers operated two schools for their children. The white settlers began writing petitions demanding the removal of the Salish and sending these papers to Washington. There the territorial delegation circulated them through the Indian service, Congress, and the Presidential staff. One of these petitions is known to have reached President Johnson (Fahey 1974).

By 1869, the political pressure increased with Montana Governor Potts, the Montana superintendent for the Indians, Jasper A. Viall, and Congressman William H. Clagett writing letters to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the removal of the Salish from the Bitterroot.

As a result of the political pressure President Grant issued an executive order on November 14, 1871, for the relocation of the Flatheads on the Jocko reservation. In June of 1872 Congress finally ordered a survey of the Bitterroot above the Lolo Fork, that any Indian head of a family could receive a patent for 160 acres, if he renounced his tribal relations (Fahey 1974).

General James A. Garfield was appointed special commissioner to carry out the order and to negotiate a second treaty. Garfield met with the Bitterroot Salish on August 22, 1872. With him were Wilbur F. Sanders, Governor Potts, Viall, and Clagett. The Salish again reiterated the terms of the 1855 treaty, that the Flatheads could stay in the Bitterroot. Charlo, "as evidence showed Garfield the copy of the Stevens treaty his father had given him" (Fahey
1974:163). They made it clear to Garfield that the Bitterroot Valley was their home and they were not willing to leave. Later Garfield wrote to the Commissioner that he had almost failed because of the stipulation in the 1855 Stevens treaty that a survey was to have been conducted and that for seventeen years nothing had been done in this regard, and the Bitterroot Salish had considered the silence of the government, on this subject, an admission that the valley was to be their permanent home (Fahey 1974). Garfield, Viall and Clagett wrote the second agreement with the Bitterroot Salish: Adolph and Arlee signed the document, but Charlo refused. Garfield, Viall, and Clagett as well as Adolph and Arlee assumed Charlo would agree to the terms after he saw them carried out. When the document was printed in Washington D.C., Charlo's mark had been forged on the document as if he had signed the original.

In 1877, when news of the Nez Perce war reached the Bitterroot Valley, some settlers thought Charlo would join the Nez Perce and great fear spread among the settlers. Fahey relates the view of Father D'Aste of St Mary's Mission:

As it happens on such occasions, timid people began to frighten the others by their conversation and suggestions of dangers. The idea that the Flathead, who had been so much abused and were dissatisfied with the Sen. Garfield treaties might avail themselves of the chance to revenge themselves....excited greatly the minds of the settlers. They were watching closely these Flatheads; neither powder nor ammunition was sold to them although they needed them badly to kill some game, and what was worse, in the little village of Stevensville these suspicions were freely discussed in the presence of [a] halfbreed, who would report these conversations to the Indians. There were
therefore bad feelings and mutual fears between the two races (1974:188-89).

When Charlo was questioned by Agent Peter Ronan as to his intentions of joining the war with the Nez Perce, he replied that his father (Victor) often boasted "that the blood of the white man never reddened the hand of a single Indian of the Flathead tribe. My father died with that boast on his lips. I am my father's son and will leave that same boast to my children" (Fahey 1974:190). Charlo wanted to stay neutral in this fight and when the Nez Perce sent runners, Charlo urged them to go north through Kootenai territory to Canada and to avoid the white settlements in the Bitterroot Valley (Fahey 1974).

Charlo and his band stayed in the Bitterroot long after Adolph and Arlee moved to the Flathead reservation. In 1887 Congress passed the General Allotment Act, also known as the Dawes Act. This act allowed for issuing trust, then fee patents to Indians for small tracts of their reservation land and giving U.S. citizenship to those Indians who accepted the patents.

In 1889 General Henry Carrington was selected to remove Charlo and the last band of Salish to the Flathead reservation. After several long discussions Charlo finally agreed to go to the Jocko Valley. The fact that Arlee had died earlier that year may also have been a factor in Charlo's decision, in fact one of his terms was that Arlee's reservation farm be allotted to him. Charlo was angry at Arlee for signing the 1872 treaty and also called him an upstart.

In October 1891 Carrington returned to the Bitterroot to
supervise Charlo's exile to the Flathead reservation. Charlo called his people together for prayer, and told them it was time to go. He also requested that no military soldiers ride with them. On October 17, 1891, the last band of Bitterroot Salish left their ancestral homeland.

Present Time

Today the Pend d'Oreille, Bitterroot Salish and the Kootenai make up the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes of the Flathead Reservation. The Pend d'Oreille and Bitterroot Salish both speak the Salish language with a slight dialectical variation which is understood by both groups. In contemporary language classes, these differences are recognized and when variations occur, both versions are taught to the students. The Kootenai language is an independent language and is considered an isolated language family. All three tribes have been influenced by Plains culture traits but are considered Plateau cultures. Another important factor is that the three tribes have culturally influenced each other.

It is important to note that whatever origin theories are presented by the anthropologists, all Indian tribes have their own origin theories and stories. The creation stories may include many episodes where a cultural hero prepares the land for the people. These stories state that the tribes have been in their aboriginal territories since time began.

The Bitterroot Salish still visit their homeland, the Bitterroot Valley several times a year. They visit graves, sacred sites and traditional areas to gather plants or roots for medicines
or foods. They may not live in the valley any longer, but it is a landscape that is still a part of the culture in the heart and memory of the tribe.
Figure 1. Bighorn sheep on the West Fork of the Bitterroot
Chapter III
Bighorn Sheep Behavior and Economic Uses

As mentioned earlier, Julian Steward's theory of cultural ecology is intertwined throughout the basis of this study. Steward's fundamental concepts of the interrelationship between culture and the environment is a cornerstone of understanding the Salish relationship to their landscape. The three basic concepts are the relationship between technology and the environment, the behavior patterns that guide the extraction of resources from a particular area, and how these behavior patterns affect other aspects of culture. Technology and the environment impose specific limitations about how certain things must be done if they are to be done at all (Bohannan and Glazer 1988:321-332).

The Salish people had a deep expert knowledge of their environment and moved through their landscape harvesting the resources that became available with the seasons. The people knew which signs to watch for that alerted them when a certain root, plant or berry would be ready for gathering or digging. For example they knew that in the spring when a certain bush blooms on the mountain side that it is time to go to the valleys and dig bitterroot. The hunters also knew when and where they would find game animals, and their behavior patterns. This would be true for the buffalo, elk, deer or bighorn sheep of the Bitterroot Mountains. The people fished throughout the year, traveling to the Lochsa River for the salmon, or fishing the Bitterroot and Clark Fork rivers for bull trout. The Salish dug and gathered roots and
plants from early spring into the fall. The plants made up about 65% of the Salish diet according to Malouf (interview 1995) "The importance of plant foods to hunters is often overlooked by scholars," states Malouf, "and may even be attenuated in recognition by the natives themselves" (1969:19). Early winter and early summer were the two seasons when the hunters and their wives traveled to the Plains to hunt the buffalo. The old and very young stayed behind in the Bitterroot Valley unable to make the difficult trek.

The hunters most likely hunted the bighorn sheep in spring, while the women dug camas or other roots and gathered plants at higher elevations. The bighorn sheep would be migrating back to their spring/summer range and the rams and ewes would be in separate groups because the ewes would be lambing.

The historic bighorn sheep population in the Bitterroot Mountains, Montana within the Selway/Bitterroot Wilderness and the Salish-bighorn sheep relationship will be the focus of the behavioral study. Sheep have been a part of the Bitterroot range long before Lewis and Clark who observed them on their trip through the Bitterroot Valley in 1806. "Lewis and Clark were told by the Indians that there were large numbers of Bighorn sheep present in the Bitterroot Mountains, with the greatest density along the main divide" (Beuchner 1960:25).

The bighorn sheep highlighted in this thesis are one of the last indigenous bands left in the Bitterroot Mountains. Wildlife biologists claim the sheep that remain in the area today are just
a small remnant of a population which once occupied the entire
Bitterroot Range (Buechner 1960). The sheep populations that exist
today, explains Jack Hogg, wildlife biologist and bighorn sheep
expert with the Craighead Wildlife/Wilderness Institute, (personal
conversation) are 2% of the original numbers that once inhabited
the Northwest.
Salish Subsistence Cycle

*Fishing and hunting of other animals occurred periodically throughout the year.

Figure 2.
The bighorn sheep population in the West Fork of the Bitterroot have a summer/fall and winter/spring home territory. The winter/spring ranges are occupied from December through May and the summer/fall ranges are occupied from June through November. The winter/spring range is along the Selway River, from Indian Creek to Stewart Creek, and to Green Mountain. The summer/fall range is a much larger area with boundaries spanning Castle Rock to Fales Flat in the south to Boulder Peak and Bare Peak in the north and to Watchtower Peak and Indian Hill in the west. The distance between the winter and summer ranges fluctuates between ten and twenty miles (Klaver 1978). The sheep have a migration route from the Selway River winter range to the summer range. Klaver has charted their route:

They leave the upper portion of Sheep Creek, Idaho, in late May and follow the south-facing slope of Schofield Creek to the Bitterroot Divide. The sheep cross the divide at Watchtower Pass and follow the Divide to the head of the North Fork of Sheephead Creek, which they follow down to the Nez Perce Fork of the Bitterroot River. They cross the Bitterroot River and journey to Castle Rock and to the head of Fales Creek. (1978:50)

Ewes arrive later than the rams on the wintering areas and leave sooner. They stay most of the winter in the home area they inhabit in the fall. In early spring the ewes move to their lambing areas. Geist explains that a ewe's typical yearly cycle differs from the rams. "Hence a ewe may have a winter home range, a spring range, a lambing range, and a summer range" (1971:63).

"Mountain sheep are very loyal to their home ranges; their movements between seasonal home ranges are orderly and predictable"
Geist found that even though the entire herd will move to and from the two seasonal territories, the rams and ewes live on separate ranges within those territories for most of the year (1971). In his study Geist (1971) observed that mountain sheep rams form bachelor herds. Bachelor herds are composed of individuals that range in age from 18 months to over 10 years, thus varying greatly in body and horn size. Size differences determine hierarchy structure and rams most often follow the largest-horned (and therefore oldest) ram. "Following various large rams during the yearly cycle the young ram presumably establishes a home range of his own" (Geist 1971). Rams are members of not one but several seasonal home range groups. "The rams appear to inherit their various home ranges from the different older rams they happened to be following during their age of home range fixation" (Geist 1971:90). If a young ram fails to appear where he was seen the previous year, it is because he most likely followed an old ram elsewhere (Geist 1971). Because of this behavior, rams have variable home ranges, a ram's typical yearly migration cycle is outlined by Geist:

Sometime in late September rams appear on their fall, or pre-rut, home ranges. They gather in large bands, stay 2-5 weeks, then disband and disperse to different rutting grounds, where they remain till the end of December. Thereafter some rams return to winter on their pre-rut home range, some rams and a few old ones remain with the females on the rutting area, the latter being a wintering area of the ewes. (1971:63)

Geist goes on to say that "large rams and ewes tend to stay on separate wintering areas and if they do winter together may prefer
different parts of the same area" (1971:71). From mid-March on, the rams form a massive spring concentration, then disperse to salt licks and to the summer ranges. A ram may occupy up to six different ranges in one yearly migration cycle (Geist 1971).

Closely related ewes form home territory groups, and the home ranges of the mother are adopted by the daughters (Geist 1971:107). Tagging studies, in which one band of ewes were tagged and other ewe bands in the area were not, show that very seldom does a young female leave her maternal band. Even with other ewe bands in close proximity, never was a tagged ewe found outside her maternal band (Geist 1971).

The pregnant ewes separate and hide to have their lambs. They seek locations on very steep high cliffs which provide protection from predators. In general, when the maternal band is feeding, the sheep stay within close access to cliff areas for protection. In the Sheep River herd in Canada, ewes with six-month-old lambs were observed leaving cliffs early each morning, spending the day on the grass slopes, and returning to the cliffs just before dusk. Therefore, using the same trails twice a day (Hogg, personal conversation).

The ewe-lamb ratio for the Bitterroot/Selway herd was 65 lambs per 100 ewes. As the year proceeds we find that during the rut the ratio dropped to 52 lambs per 100 ewes. There is a steady decrease of lambs throughout the winter months. A regression analysis demonstrated a significant decrease in the number of lambs (p<0.025), with 50% of the lamb crop dying between December 1 and
May 30 (Klaver 1978). The surviving lambs are weaned and have been independent for 7-8 weeks before the birth of their new sibling. They are totally on their own 2-5 weeks before their first year of life. In sheep the separation of mother and lamb is very gradual and starts a few weeks after they are born. The ewes do not chase their offspring away at lambing time, they just ignore them. The yearlings tend to follow any adult in the area, usually clustering after an old barren ewe, but will also follow sub-adults or rams.

A few barren females adopted groups of yearling lambs. Not infrequently they bounced and frolicked with the youngsters over the snow-free slopes, behavior not engaged in by pregnant females. One old female licked and nuzzled the heads of a few yearling lambs, and one called after some yearling lambs that were deserting her. (Geist 1971:104)

When the rams are just over two years old they leave their maternal natal group and join one of several male groups. "The changeover from female to male company is a gradual process which takes years to complete, since rams up to 6 years of age still show more tendency to be in female company than older rams do" (Geist 1971:109). Usually by their third year rams are acting more like the older rams, moving away from their maternal band by following older males or wandering off by themselves for a short time. Females stay within their maternal band, usually for life (Geist 1971).

The group size of the sheep herds varies from two animals to groups of 20-30 throughout their annual cycle. The size of groups declines steadily from the rut in December to the lambing season in May. By June the size of the herd is at its peak, with moderate
group size during July through September and during the fall months of October and November, the groups are intermediate prior to the rutting season.

When sheep are startled they will bunch up and run toward safety, but when they are traveling during their normal migration patterns, they walk in single file, behind the lead sheep. It is common behavior for the lead sheep (rams and ewes) to maintain its position. If intruders try to pass they are met with a side-ways butt or the leader runs forward, blocking the advance. This behavior is characteristic of any sheep in the procession directed at those trying to pass. This conduct establishes an orderly single file march, because "the attempts to discourage passing appear to be effective and lasting" (Geist 1971:114). V. Geist goes on to say that during a snow storm "sheep may pour in single file from several directions into a sheltering basin or broken mountain face (1971:95).

One question that needed to be answered was the night-time activity of bighorn sheep. In the Mountain Sheep Boy legend, there is an important directive that pertains to night activity. In my research of biological studies, I could not find any studies on night behavior. I presented the question to Jack Hogg, and his reply was extremely insightful. Jack has studied bighorn sheep at night during the rutting season, and stated that the rams are very
Locations of seasonal ranges.

- Winter range, December through March
- Spring range, April through May (includes winter range)
- Early summer range, June
- Summer-fall range, July through November (includes early summer range)

Figure 3. Bighorn sheep seasonal ranges in the West Fork of the Bitterroot.
active during the night when following a ewe in estrus. When asked about night travel, Jack assured me that bighorn sheep would be very capable of night travel, especially if they were traveling from one seasonal territory to another and had not reached their destination by nightfall. They would very likely keep traveling until they reached their accustomed territory, rather than bed down in unfamiliar terrain.

The habitat selection of bighorn sheep herds shifts from one area of availability to another throughout the yearly season. "Bunchgrass and savanna types are used more during spring. Rock outcrop and scree types are used less in the spring than winter. In the spring, Douglas fir/pinegrass-bluebunch wheatgrass is being used at random but no use was seen during winter months" (Klaver 1978:76).

Klaver found that sheep generally selected vegetation types with little forest overstory and a predominantly grass understory. Areas with high forest and shrub canopy coverage were avoided. The sheep also preferred cliffs and rocky south-facing slopes.

The major food for sheep include grasses, forbs and shrubs. Some of the common names for the grasses are bluebunch wheatgrass, cheatgrass, Idaho Fescue, June grass, and bluegrasses in general. Common names for the forbs include: Buckwheat, yarrow, pussytoes, forbs from the sunflower and parsley family. The shrubs are greenbrush, Rocky Mountain maple, curl leaf mountain mahogany, service berry, choke cherry and currents. For a more complete list see Klaver 1978:69-79.
Economic uses of Bighorn Sheep

It is common knowledge that the Salish people traveled to the plains to hunt the buffalo even though there were abundant resources within their territories. One of the main reasons for the buffalo hunts was the amount of return for the effort. One buffalo bull can average 9-10 feet from head to insert of tail, stand 5 feet eight inches to 5 feet 5 inches at the hump and at 8 years old (full potential) weighs 1880 pounds. A buffalo cow averages 6.5 feet long is 4.5 feet high and weighs 700-800 pounds (Authur 1974:5).

The bighorn sheep ram, in contrast, weighs an average of 250-300 pounds and 55% can be dressed out for meat, 10% of the weight is due to the horns. This data is from a 1958-59 Bison Range study and the rams had large full curl horns (Hogg, personal conversation). Ewes tend to be smaller, 125-175 pounds, and would not have the full curl horns. Why then would the Salish bother to hunt the bighorn sheep? As Dr. Malouf has pointed out in many of our conversations, "people like variety in their diet". Also, after the advent of the horse, shorter bows were needed for hunting from horseback. The bighorn sheep bow proved to be the ideal weapon, especially for hunting buffalo.

Father Gregory Mengarini mentions in his writings that a large portion of the Flathead people's subsistence was derived from hunting the sheep, goat, elk, and deer indigenous to their own area before they acquired the horse in the 1700s (Lothrop 1977). Malouf writes that other than the buffalo, "both species of deer [mule and
white-tail] as well as elk were the most important game species sought" (1974:52). He added:

Elk were hunted along the high ridges of the Swan range, which lies east of Swan Lake; along the mountains on both flanks of Lolo creek and across the dividing ridge into eastern Idaho; and in the mountains on sides of the Bitterroot Valley. Both elk and deer were hunted in the region around Seely Lake, and in the Bitterroot Valley after the summer buffalo hunt had ended. In post-horse times buffalo were as important as deer to Flathead subsistence (Malouf 1974:53).

Malouf is quick to point out that the elk was originally a Plains animal, that later migrated to the mountains. Caribou, states Malouf, were indigenous to the northwest, the last one was sighted near Alberton in the 1870s by Eneas Conko, a member of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes (personal conversation). Malouf (1974) described some of the uses the Salish had for the mountain sheep other than food. He explains that the "skins were highly desired for women's dresses because they were so soft and durable...the horns were very useful for making compound bows, and spoons" (p.26). He also said that after the Jesuits started St. Mary's Mission, the priests preferred the tallow of the mountain sheep for making candles for the church (personal communication 1994). He could not find any data to support that this candle use increased hunting of bighorn sheep. The interesting question is why not use beeswax as was common elsewhere in Europe and the U.S. Were there no honey bees in the Bitterroot Valley at that time? In Catholicism the young unblemished ram represents Jesus Christ, this may have been the reason for using the mountain
Figure 4 con't.
Figure 4. Bighorn Sheep Spoons
sheep tallow. The priests were in the Bitterroot long before there were any domestic sheep in the valley.

In Alexander Henry's 1799-1814 journals, he documented that the Salish Indians made three kinds of bows: the horn, the red cedar, and the plain wooden bow. The horn bow was made from a ram's horn. He goes on to explain how they were made:

The outside is left undressed, but over laid with several successive layers of sinew glued to the thickness of 1/3 of an inch, and then covered with rattlesnake skin. The inside is smoothly polished and displays the several ridges of horn. These neat bows are about 3 ft. long, and throw an arrow an amazing distance. These people make the handsomest bows I have ever seen, always preferred by the other Indians including the Piegan. (Vol 3:713)

Reginald Laubin (1980), who has made a lifetime study of Indian bows, states that of all the bows in America, the most beautiful are the horn bows, which are found on the northern Plains and the Plateau. These bows were made from elk antler, buffalo horn and mountain sheep horn; some were reported to have been made from the ribs of the buffalo. He believes that the horn bows came into prominence after the horse had been introduced. The reason being that a short powerful bow would have been a necessity when riding and with the exception of the Paiutes, the Indians who used the horn bows were horsemen.

The horn bow was never a plentiful commodity and though they are often mentioned in historic documents, they were never as abundant as wooden bows. It was a sign of status and prestige for an individual to own a horn bow (Laubin 1980). Also in the Salish
world view it was an act of power to successfully hunt the bighorn sheep. They may have been documented in historic accounts due to the fact that they were a status symbol, scarce, beautiful and therefore noteworthy. Laubin (1980) believes that horn bows were scarce because acquiring the horns would have been a feat for the most experienced hunter. Consequently, these horn bows were valuable and "would bring as much as two horses in trade, which also meant that it required prestige to own one (p.74).

Bow Construction:

Sheep horn bows are made by cutting strips from the very center of the two horns, then soaking and boiling them in water till they are as pliable as heavy rubber. As the horns dry they tend to curve to their natural curl, so they have to be secured to a straight form and allowed to dry for several days. The two horns are then joined together at the center with glue and sinew. The bow is cut and shaped and a heavy coating of sinew is glued to the entire back side (Laubin 1980). He adds:

The few Indian bow of mountain-sheep horn I have been privileged to examine definitely had the outside of the horn as the face, or outside surface of the belly. The heavy ridges in the native horn had been carefully cut, scraped, and sanded away to a nice smooth surface, but it was still evident that it was the outside of the horn. (Laubin 1980:83)

Laubin (1980) states that cutting the horns with stone tools would have been extremely difficult, if not impossible, and suggests that the horn bow came into existence with the arrival of the horse and trade goods, such as iron hatchets. He also cites the fact that no horn bows have been found in prehistoric
archaeological sites as proof that they were a later invention.

You have to be careful of ethnocentrism. The modern world is full of technology that makes life less work intensive. Life without these conveniences could seem impossible. First, very seldom are atlatls or bows of any type found in archaeological sites. Second, there were many seemingly impossible tasks that were accomplished by indigenous peoples all over the world, without the help of modern technology. For example, the pyramids, the mounds in the northeast, the figures on Easter Island, Stone Henge, Mayan and Incan architecture, pictographs, and the production of stone tools, the list goes on.

Laubin (1980) used a trophy-size set of bighorn sheep horns to make a bow and when completed the bow measured forty-five inches long. One Nez Perce mountain sheep bow was thirty-six inches long and the largest mountain sheep bow Laubin (1980) saw was one that was made of one single horn and the bow measured thirty-eight inches long.

The Salish bows that are mentioned in the Journals of Alexander Henry (1897:713) were said to measure three feet or thirty-six inches long. Compared to the trophy-size horn bow of forty-five inches or the record single horn bow that measured thirty-eight inches, the size of the Salish bow would have been rated as "average to small". This means the hunters were not taking the largest ram of the herd. We know that the largest ram is followed by the younger rams and that they travel in groups from two to 20.
C.C. Hass (1983) explains that rams and ewes live on separate ranges for part of the year and that rams form bachelor herds. The bachelor herds are comprised of males ranging in age from about 2 years to ten years. These males vary greatly in body and horn size. If the hunter is to take the last ram in the line, this would mean this animal would be a younger ram with a smaller horn size than the leader. The size of the group and the random association are variables that would play a large role in determining the age and size of the last sheep in line which would also be directly correlated with his horn size.

Bart O'Gara, biologist who is retired from the Fish and Wildlife Service, explained that bighorn sheep may form several different bachelor herds and they may be formed into age grades. This means that one herd may contain rams ages two, three, four, and five, another herd may contain rams ages seven, eight and nine and the last may be ten, eleven and twelve. These bachelor herds vary in number, the younger ram groups will be larger in number than the older groups. The older rams are either solitary or are found in groups of two or three. He also stated that because of the dominance behavior of mounting the ram in front of them, the younger rams may be in the lead, with the older rams following them (personal conversation).

This information conflicts with V. Geist's (1971) study that suggests that bachelor herds are composed of rams ages 18 months to 10 years and that the younger rams will follow the older rams. This may be because the behavior of the different herds studied are
not identical or the behavior of the rams changes throughout the year. Mr. O'Gara mentioned that the ram groups are often kinship groups and when they move into a different age group, two or three usually break off the younger group. The rams are also known to travel alone, sometimes long distances, these are often two-year-olds. This is consistent with Geist (1971), who states that rams often circulate far from their natal ranges, and may belong to several different bachelor herds in their lifetime.

When asked about a ram moving into a new bachelor group and if the others would accept him right away, Mr. O'Gara said the ram would probably be shouldered away from the good feeding area or salt lick for awhile, and that it may hang back for a short time until it established a niche in the new group. The same question was presented to Jack Hogg. In his study of the rutting behavior, Hogg explained that new males coming into an area will be challenged, but this passes quickly because the males are more interested in the estrus females. He went on to state that if males approached new male groups outside the rutting season the challenge to the new ram could last longer. He added that the study of this ram behavior outside the rutting season has not been conducted.

O'Gara's and Hogg's information provides the same variables, but each in a different structure. The fact is that random selection would still be in effect. The last ram in the line most likely will not be related to the others, and the size of the horns would depend on the bachelor herd encountered.

According to Geist's 1971 study, if the number of rams in a
group was large, then it would be assumed that the last sheep in line would be younger and the horn size would be smaller. If the horn size was too small to be used to make a bow, it might be made into a spoon. According to O'Gara if the bachelor herd was older there would only be a few rams in the line behind the leader and there would be a greater possibility that ram would be older, therefore the horn size would be larger. Also if the older ram is in the rear of the line because of the dominance hierarchy, the horns may also be large enough for a bighorn bow. Either way the selection would be random, always dependent on which group the hunter encountered.

J. Hogg pointed out that taking the ram at the end of the line would ensure that age numbers were maintained. "If you keep hunting for rams that are a certain age", he explained, "you will no longer have large individuals." "The random selection would maintain age numbers and this would maintain cohort groups", he added. Hogg further elaborated that cohort effects of small age cohort groups is a concern to biologists. Random selection, Hogg clarified, would maintain all age groups.

Rams would maintain random placement in a line or group as long as they did not feel threatened by a predator. When they sense danger the older rams shoulder to the front of the line, farthest away from the threat (Hogg). The rams would not feel they were in danger if the hunter was waiting for them such as the Indians did in hunting pits or blinds. In this case the random order would be maintained (Hogg).
In the next chapter the Mountain Boy Sheep legend is presented and within it are established rules of behavior for the Salish hunter. One of these state that the hunter is to take the ram bringing up the end of the line. Thus, the hunting "rules", that the hunter take the ram at the end of the line and shoot only one ram per hunting excursion, correlates with the end product or bow which reflects the size of ram taken and the limited number of bows provided. If the ram bringing up the rear is usually younger, therefore smaller, then this would account for the small size and scarcity of Salish bows. This illustrates the tie between empirical sheep knowledge and the Salish conceptual philosophical traditions.
Chapter IV
Literary Tradition

I will not use the term myth when referring to cultural stories and teachings. The word myth is saturated with Euro-centric values which regulate the cultural stories and legends into fairytales and fiction. American Indian stories and legends are teachings with lessons to impart to the listener. They hold important messages that help guide the people from generation to generation on all aspects of their life path, thus, they are cultural truths based on past activity.

Leslie Davis (1963) reviewed the several works available on the Pend d'Oreille including the ethno-literary works on Coyote stories. He added to these documents the oral history accounts he acquired from Pete Beaverhead. The earlier studies were collected in the Boasian era where the researcher was concerned with description and distribution of languages among the northwest tribes. Davis states:

folklore, as an analytical vehicle of language, was amenable as a convenient, readily abstracted, culturally circumscribed artifact within which the grammatical and phonological components of language could be studied. Consequently, barring the obvious linguistic advantages of phonetic transcription and interlinear translation, the resultant narratives were printed generally devoid of data explaining the attendant position of the narration complex in the life of the peoples studied (1963: VIII).

There are limitations in trying to exercise any form of analytical correlations between the literature and the behavior of the Salish people, the Pend d'Oreille specifically. Through
intercultural and intracultural effects, Davis believes that the Pend d'Oreille have lost their cultural identity. He quotes Dusenberry (1959), that the Pend d'Oreille have lost their identity through intermarriage and are now known only as the Flathead. He also explains that Malouf and Phillips had trouble "tracing genealogies along clear ethnic lines in modern times" (p.VIII). He goes on to state that others also have "recorded numerous instances of social change and acculturation among the closely related Flathead" (p.VIII).

While I agree that acculturation has occurred in one form or another, there is also a revitalization movement of the Salish and Kootenai culture on the Flathead Reservation. The Bitterroot Salish and Pend d'Oreille may have combined many of their customs and stories, yet, there is still an acknowledgement of family lineage. A person knows whether his ancestors were from the Bitterroot Valley or north along the Clark Fork and Flathead Rivers or along Flathead Lake. There is much intermarriage, especially among the Salish bands. In these cases there would be more confusion sorting out who was from where, but the elders do a good job of knowing a person's family origins. From the point of view of the dominant society, this may not be as clear, because in the external political issues confronting Indian people, the tribes make a conscious effort to present a united front, working on these issues together as one. This single front has evolved through time when dealing with assimilation issues and the United States government. It is not U. S. government policy to mention each tribe by name, in
any Federal documents, but to make blanket statements such as "Indian policy." This can be seen in the official name for the tribes—the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes. When the Flathead Reservation was established, the individual Salish tribes were combined into the "Confederated Salish," today, often the term "Flathead" will be used to identify all the tribes, referring to the reservation, not ethnic identity.

Another limitation presented in the 1963 Davis thesis is a statement from Forbis (1950) in regards to Indian culture on the reservation. Forbis's statement is that the mythology has been influenced by the dominant society through information and teaching and that without a foundation to hold them together, the cultural truths no longer apply to any standards. One example cited by Boas (1917) is that common folktales can be found among different tribes. There are common literary themes among the various tribes, but the interpretation of this would depend on one's perspective. If we look worldwide we will find commonalities among beliefs and religions. Examples include the female goddess of fertility, good verses evil personified in deities, or culture heros. Does this mean that these stories no longer hold any value, or no longer conform to any standard? Or does it mean that there are common elements of human behavior that we can recognize in other cultures, including the similarities of American Indian stories and legends that are found among northwest tribes.

When comparing the literature style of several of the northwest tribes, Davis (1963) found that the Kalispel, Flathead,
Nez Perce, Coeur d'Alene and the Kootenai in that order were most similar to the Pend d'Oreille in content identities. When comparing Pend d'Oreille and Kalispel narratives, researched by Hans Vogt, Davis found:

their thematic contiguity is manifest in identical elements, motifs, character and role definition and, more importantly, in the pronounced parallel in plot motivation and development. The probability of rather intense diffusing suffices to rationalize what may otherwise be considered a common property....it can be seen that the process of folklore trait exchange, largely by content shifts and selective dubbing, and other alterations predictable between geographically proximal and culturally similar peoples has been operative. (1963:XV)

The narratives of the Pend d'Oreille and the Kalispell (both Salish tribes) share identical elements, motifs, character, role definition, plot motivation and development. Due to geographical proximity and cultural similarities, the narratives of legends between the Pend d'Oreille and the Bitterroot Salish would also be very similar. Taking this into consideration along with the fact that the Pend d'Oreille spent a considerable amount of time in the Bitterroot Valley, including time spent hunting bighorn sheep, the bighorn sheep stories that directed the proper rules of hunting would have been similar for both tribes. Therefore throughout, this thesis the focus will be on the Pend d'Oreille Mountain Sheep Boy legend.

George F. Weisel made the statement that "myths reveal the remarkable familiarity Indians had with animals" (n.d.:1). He goes on to say that the animals that the Salish relied on for hunting
and fishing naturally served as the main characters of their folklore and knowing their habits was a necessity. Their stories also included animals that were not used for food or other purposes and this indicated how well the habits, behavior and appearance of these animals were known.

Stories and cultural truths provide an insight into a people's world view or world philosophy. They are a blueprint of how a certain group of people approach their landscape and interact with "all creation" within that landscape. This is true whether the stories are from the Bible or oral traditions. In oral traditions the story establishes or reveals the type of relationship that exists or should exist between the human and the central characters in the narrative. In most American Indian stories, the animals can change into human form and back again. Often the animal, in human form, marries one of the members of the tribe and they have a family. The offspring of this union then are relatives of that tribe. Indicating that social relationships are possible because of this bond.

The implication is that family ties have been established, not just by marriage, but also by blood ties. In tribal communities nothing is a stronger bond than family. Family bonds carry responsibilities and demands, certain types of behavior and reciprocity are expected. If you know that you are related to certain individuals, when you approach them, you will conduct yourself accordingly. Thus, when the stories reveal family ties to certain species of the animal world, the hunter is also well aware
of the responsibilities and demands expected of him. The stories usually also reveal the punishment or consequences if the rules of behavior are not followed or respected.

The narrative related here is Pend d'Oreille and was told to Leslie Davis, in the winters of 1959 and 1960, by Mr. Peter Beaverhead (Piedh Kalowakn), who was born in 1899. His parents were of the Upper and Lower Pend d'Oreille bands of Salish. Mr. Beaverhead was Leslie Davis's primary narrator and informant. Mr. Beaverhead was asked to relate only those stories that he thought originated before his grandparents' generation and in locations that would have been familiar to the Upper Pend d'Oreille. (Davis 1963: 29)

Mountain Sheep Boy

Long ago, a man and his family lived high in mountain sheep country. Every day the man hunted mountain sheep and his wife gathered wild roots. Their son played around in the rocks. After several weeks there the man had to hunt and hunt to find any game. The sheep weren't coming down the nearby trail they had always followed from place to place. His wife was finding fewer and fewer roots. They were eating less and less and they were becoming very hungry. One evening their son stopped playing earlier than usual. He came back to the teepee, sat before his parents, and asked, "Why is it that you can kill no sheep and can get no roots? I'm getting very hungry." His father told him that the sheep were still there. He saw fresh sign each morning, but he was never waiting for them at the right time. His mother told the same thing about the roots. The boy said, 'I know the time when the sheep pass and I know the time when the roots come up. The sheep pass at exactly midnight, but not before or after. That's when the roots grow, but toward morning they work themselves back underground. Only the sick ones stay above the ground.' He went on, 'My father,
tonight you will be waiting just before midnight along the sheep trail. You will soon see a large herd of sheep coming. You will kill only one. Bring it back without letting it touch the ground. Bring it through the rear of the tepee. If I'm asleep wake me.' Then he turned to his mother and said, 'mother, tonight at exactly midnight you will go to where you dig roots. Build a fire and you will see many roots there. Now I am going to bed.' So then the parents waited as they had been told. At midnight they went out. The boy's mother built a fire and was surprised to see the ground covered with roots. She began digging them up. The boy's father waited until he heard the sound of horns hitting stone. He saw many sheep coming up the trail out of their hiding place. He picked a fat one, killed it, and carried it on his back, not letting it touch the ground anywhere. When he got home his wife had already raised the back side of the tepee for him. He woke his son. The boy got up and directed his father to cut the sheep open down the middle. Then he was to remove all the tripe and was told to cut out all the fat along the backbone. He was to separate out the meat there from the backbone fat and give it to his son to eat. Then he told his parents to go ahead and eat their fill. The next evening he told his father, 'Tonight you will kill the baby sheep for me. When you skin it leave the ears, hooves, tail and everything on the hide. After that you may kill any sheep you want. Just give me the fat next to the backbone.' The boy had met a stranger who had told him when to find the sheep and roots, and to bring to him a young sheep's hide with everything on it. The boy's father killed a baby sheep. After carefully skinning it he gave the hide to his son. Time went on. Soon they had much dried meat and roots. One day Father asked his son, 'Why don't you let your mother eat some of that backfat you've been eating. Don't you think she might like to eat some, too? ' The boy listened quietly. Then he reached behind him and covered himself with the sheepskin. He made sure that his head, arms, and legs were covered and then he began to cry. His father tried to comfort him, but he tired and his wife tried to comfort her son. The parents went to sleep and left their
son there crying. Later the man got up and looked at his son. His son looked very much like a young sheep. Father called to his wife, 'Look, Look at our son. I think he has become a sheep. Jump up. Let's try to catch him. Watch the door and I'll go behind him.' Then the boy jumped up and ran around inside the tepee, his parents trying to hold him. But he escaped out the back of the tepee. They lost him in the woods. They waited week after week for him to return and his father hunted for him each day. Soon they had no more dried meat or roots and they became very hungry. They decided to go down the mountain to the village of their people. There they told what had happened in the mountains. The next spring they returned to their mountain camp. The father looked for his son without success. One night as he sat waiting for the sheep to pass he saw a big, fat sheep leading the herd. The sheep walked up to him in his hiding place and said, 'Now look at me, look at me closely. I'm your son. I'm full-grown now. I have my own father and mother in the herd behind me. The one that is following me is my brother, the next is my other brother, and the one after him is my uncle.' Then the sheep-boy told his father of his other relations on down through the herd. He told his father to shoot the last sheep because he wasn't any relation. The boy's father and mother intended to stay on the mountain until they starved to death. Each night Father was to shoot the last sheep. Then they had plenty of dried meat and roots again. One night his son came to him on the trail and said, 'My father, I would like to see my mother just as I am once more. Bring her with you tomorrow night so I may speak with her.' They waited the next night. The lead sheep stopped and said, 'Hello, Mother. I am your son although I don't look like him. This will be the last time I speak with you. But I and my herd will pass through here each year when you camp here. You, my father, always shoot the last sheep. From now on I will not speak with you. I have my own home now and I am happy. You should never worry about me. I will be fine. When you see the herd coming you will always know I am the leader. Goodbye, my father, and you, my mother.' Then his father shot the last sheep. Soon they had enough meat to last them all.
winter and they returned to their people. The next year they went back to their hunting place. After a time they had plenty of meat and roots. But one night Father decided to shoot a big, fat sheep that wasn't last in line. He shot one in the middle of the herd, and another one. He began gathering those he had killed but he couldn't find any of them. In his excitement he hadn't seen them coming to life and running away. So he went back to his wife and told her that he hadn't seen any sheep. But as they already had plenty of meat they started home. Toward the middle of the next summer they packed and headed for their hunting place. They set up their tepee and he went out to look at the game trail, expecting to see it covered with sign. But the trail was overgrown with brush and there were no tracks anywhere. He sat there all night but no game went by. His wife told him she hadn't found any roots either. Father knew, too, that he had broken the law when he shot the wrong sheep the year before. They talked it over and decided to stay there anyway until they died. So they lived on until they died without ever seeing their son again. That is all. (Shay Hoy) (Davis 1963:29)

To gain understanding of the message enveloped within this cultural truth we must try to view it from the Salish world-view and perspective. Since written literature on Salish culture is scarce and I have chosen not to interview the elders, I will be using a study of the Ojibwa culture by A.Irving Hallowell (1960) which holds many similar truths parallel to the Salish.

In the Ojibwa culture the category for person transcends the Western social/psychological concept. In Western culture the definition is limited to a human's place and the "social relations" to other people within that society. In Ojibwa world-view the term "person" and social relationships applies to "persons" other-than-human (Hallowell 1960).
In the linguistic analysis of Indian languages there is often no difference between the animate and inanimate (Malouf interview). Hallowell found this true of the Ojibwa language where the animate grammatical category also applies to inanimate objects (1960:25). Within this classification inanimate objects were attributed living characteristics. For example "stones" are grammatically animate, and Hallowell asked an old man if all the stones surrounding them were alive. The elder was quiet a long time then answered, "No! but some are" (1960:24).

There is another example from Hallowell where a white trader dug up a boulder from his potato garden. Thinking it looked similar to the stones that John Duck, an Ojibwa, used in one of his ceremonies he contacted Duck explaining he found one of his stones. John Duck addressed the stone asking it if it belonged to his lodge, the answer was negative (1960:26). The fact that the rock would be addressed in this manner indicates that there was an expectation of communication or social interaction. This clearly demonstrates that inanimate objects are addressed and viewed as "persons" in the Ojibwa world-view. "Without", Hallowell cautions, "inferring that [all] objects of this class are, for the Ojibwa, necessarily conceptualized as persons" (Ibid).

The central figure in traditional literature often displays human action, motivations and may even take human form. This does not mean that they "must" always take on anthropomorphic characteristics since the outward appearance is not a critical trait. Hallowell states it very well, "outward appearance is only
an incidental attribute of being" (1960:35).

Other-than-human persons can also manifest the power of metamorphosis, which often occurs in American Indian cultural stories. In fact, by their very nature, it is assumed that many of these "persons" can take whatever form they choose and often change back and forth throughout the story. In a culture where a social relationship with an other-than-human person is believed possible, especially when the other can come to you in many forms, the lines of division between humans and the "animate" world around them become blurred. Everything in this world-view has the potential of becoming a messenger, teacher, or guide. The outward appearance can change, but that is not important, what is important is the inner essence of being, the core, the soul, which does not change. The animals become man's equal, or in the case of the heroes in cultural literature, man's superior. I have heard Carling Malouf articulate this many times when he asks, "Did Moses talk to a burning bush? Or was it the "spirit" of God in the form of a burning bush?"

In the Ojibwa world it is imperative that one maintain the proper standards of personal and social conduct. This is important if one is to gain power, guidance or "blessings" from the other-than-human guides or "grandfathers", or your tribal elders (Hallowell 1960). Combined with the blessing, the "grandfathers" may also impose specific taboos upon the recipient. If these taboos are violated the individual may jeopardize their relationship with the "grandfathers", as well as lose the unique gift that was
bestowed. Hallowell points out:

Thus we find that the same values are implied throughout the entire range of "social interaction" that characterizes the Ojibwa world; the same standards which apply to mutual obligations between human beings are likewise implied in the reciprocal relations between human and other-than-human "persons." In his relations with "the grandfathers" the individual does not expect to receive a "blessing" for nothing. It is not a free gift; on his part there are obligations to be met. There is a principle of reciprocity implied. (1960:46)

The account related by Pete Beaverhead demonstrates that in the Salish view there was a reciprocal relationship between the hunter and the other-than-human person in the form of, first the stranger the son meets during the process of his transition, then the son (the Mountain Sheep Boy) and last the bighorn sheep. A certain set of "rules" or taboos were put in place to facilitate the reciprocal relationship between the hunter and the "grandfather". It is important to note that the hunter (the father) was not the one to establish these rules. Instead they were outlined by the other-than-human person who was bestowing the hunter with the gift of hunting success or bighorn sheep hunting power. Within the story the consequences of breaking the taboos are also provided. The bighorn sheep hunting power or success will be taken away, as well as the plant gathering power and the family will starve. These rules or taboos, because of the repercussions when they are violated, "restrict" rather than "increase" hunting. Therefore, ideology or world-view restricts the actions of the hunter to avoid negative results. The "grandfathers" or "persons"
grant their blessings or powers as well as the taboos to individuals. The individual is responsible for maintaining the "social relationship" with the other-than-human person. If the reciprocal relationship is marred by breaking the taboos, it is the individual and possibly members of his or her family who will suffer the consequences, not the entire band of Salish. Other members of the tribe may have similar powers or gifts and if they maintain the proper standard of conduct, they will retain these gifts, even if other individuals lose theirs.

The next chapter outlines how a cultural world view is developed and how game hunters also manage their resources. The Mountain Sheep legend will be compared with the sheep behavior and analyzed to determine what rules were present that would influence the behavior of the hunter. These accounts will verify how intricately the Salish knew their landscape and the bighorn sheep species within that landscape.
Chapter V
Salish Hunting Practices
in Relation to the Mountain Sheep Boy Legend

In this chapter I will begin with an explanation of how an individual's worldview is shaped by their culture. The conclusion of the chapter consists of excerpts from the Mountain Sheep Boy story (non-empirical) and how they correlate with wildlife studies (empirical) and other supporting data. The Salish hunter carried both the empirical and non-empirical knowledge with him into his culturally constructed landscape.

Cultural values and ideology are transmitted to individuals from generation to generation. This development begins in childhood and continues throughout one's life. Beliefs and values motivate and restrict an individual's actions and how they approach their world. Often we find these values imbedded in the legends and stories of specific cultures. The Mountain Sheep Boy is an example of how rules and restrictions of hunting are embedded in a cultural story. I will take sections of this legend and demonstrate the rules that restrict and direct a Salish hunters actions.

The relationships between symbols, meaning, motivation and action, of symbolic theory (as stated on pages 6 and 7) best reflects the world view and the interrelationship between the Salish hunter and the landscape. This means that within the symbol (the legend) there is meaning in the rules and guidelines for the Salish bighorn sheep hunter. This is because the hunter has internalized cultural values that recognize and identify these
rules. The rules, because they have value to the hunter, not only directs, but motivates, or restricts the hunter to certain and specific action.

The culture must be examined as a whole, including the ideology, rituals, religion, art, which are expressed in the culture's symbols and the actions of the people or individual. These, combined with the concrete aspects of culture—kinship, politics, economics—are what shapes a person's reality and his/her social position and self-image within that reality. The self-image creates a social purpose, the culture translates this social purpose into a practical productive role. Motivation to fulfill this self-image, social purpose and productive role drives the individual to action (D'Andrade 1992).

This process is internalized through "schema". A schema is the way our cognitive thought processes work to identify objects and events and organize them into recognizable patterns. It is how people organize and bring order to their world. This process or schema is a complex network of interpretive elements that is activated by even the most minute stimulus. "A schema is an interpretation which is frequent, well organized, memorable, which can be made from minimal cues, contains one or more prototypic instantiations, is resistant to change, and can function as goals, these goal-schema have motivational force" (D'Andrade 1992:29).

What this means is that when a person looks at the world or the environment, there are many objects, animals, plants, colors surrounding them. Our brain receives all this information and
organizes it into the categories that have meaning to us. We can then organize our world, bring order to our lives and form schema which gives it meaning. Without this cognitive process, we would be bombarded with stimuli and would be unable to make sense of any of it.

The point is that all people of a culture internalize different cues and schema in relationship to the values attached to them. These internal cues interact with each other and can be arranged in many different patterns, or hierarchies according to the values attributed to them. These values can evolve into goals. For example, if one values helping others and this is reaffirmed by the culture, (by family, community etc.) and is combined with additional values of self image, economic and achievement values, then one may become a doctor or be otherwise involved in the medical profession. To D'Andrade, people are motivated by goals and each person has an overall interpretive system, which constitutes and interrelates these goals (1992).

This hierarchical relationship is culturally determined. The master motives or general goals are at the top of the cognitive schema, then there are middle and lower schema. The lower schema are those that prompt almost no actions, except when they interact with higher level schema. The goals, motives and needs that are most highly valued by the culture will be at the top; those of less value are in the middle with common or mundane at the bottom. For example the schema of becoming a doctor, mentioned above, would be a much higher schema than a "standing in line" schema. The
standing in line schema would be seeing a line of people. This triggers cues that if you need some type of service at this particular place, then you need to get in line. For example, it would only prompt action if one had to renew their license, fill out paper work and pay the fee.

For a cultural system to be highly salient, it must be internalized. Goal-schema must be learned; this complex learning process starts in infancy and continues throughout a child's social and cognitive development and on into adulthood. For example, an infant begins to form a schema for "kitty" by applying the term to all small animals that are soft and furry, including puppies, hamsters, rabbits and so on. As the child's cognitive development advances, and the child is corrected by those around him, the schema narrows from general to more specific until finally the schema includes all the cues that identify one certain animal as "kitty" from all the others. Another example is the formation of the schema for "father". The child first forms a general concept of daddy, by applying the term to all adult males, as mothers have all experienced in such places as the supermarket. The child's cues at this stage form the image of father as large, loud, fun, not a mommy. As the child develops cognitively and is corrected by those around him, he gradually develops the schema that includes one particular male as father. If a child is from a culture where all of his father's brothers are also called father, it is obvious that this child's schema for father will be different from a child of the first example. The same pattern is seen when developing
schema for all other aspects of the child's environment. A Salish example would be the name for grandmother. Your mother's mother is called Yaya and your father's mother is called Qe'ne. The child and the rest of the people know exactly who the child is referring to and instantly recognize the relationship.

People see the world through schema without seeing the schema themselves. Schema are transparent and the transparency of some schema helps give them motivational force. Because the person sees the world in a particular way, it is experienced as an undeniable reality. These schema are not models of reality to the individuals, but they are reality itself (D'Andrade 1992:38). Through schema, the actor's internalized culture is expressed as social purpose and self-image through his actions, words, symbols, ritual or art all of which convey meaning.

Within schema processes the hunter has two kinds of knowledge: the non-empirical (the appropriate actions (as stated in the Mountain Sheep Boy legend), ceremonies or rituals. The empirical would consist of self-image or social role as hunter including the knowledge of the behavior, characteristics and habitat of the game he hunts. Both types of knowledge are acquired by the hunter over time through language, literature, observation, and experience. Every hunter then takes both the empirical and non-empirical knowledge with him into a unique landscape created by his cultural world view (Clow:lecture 1991).

It is important to remember that cultural constructs are the reason that diverse groups of people use, view, and value the
environment differently. A person, because of this internalized culture, sees the world in a particular way; it is experienced as an undeniable reality. One example of this would be the concept of land as a commodity, which can be bought and sold in the market place. Another example is the capitalistic idea that one is to produce goods in excess of what one needs, and this surplus sold on the market (Jorgensen, 198?). When diverse views, uses, and values (world views) come into competition with each other, conflict often arises. One example today is the forests. The wood/timber industry has a view of how these forests should be managed that is different from the environmentalists and conflict often arises between the two groups. In the history of the United States, westward expansion was fueled by the concept of land as a commodity that could be bought and sold in the market place. The indigenous people of this land held a different value and ideology of the land and conflicts arose as the two cultures and different cultural concepts of land collided.

Different world views can also be evident in the way people view and approach their environment. We can glean an idea of how people approach their world by reviewing the teachings, stories, laws, and rules of their culture. These aspects of a culture (stories, teachings, etc.) would be developed from the elements of the intangible, the beliefs, religion, ideology, and cosmology which shape our ideas and our thoughts. These ideas in turn develop and motivate action, which is visible, and the idea may even become concrete, that is, built into something we can see. A simple
example of this would be a vision or dream that is worked into a beadwork design or other type of artwork (Beck et al. 1977:61).

It is a common assumption that game hunters have little control over the resources (game species or environment) on which they depend. The belief is that people who have domesticated animals exert control over the environment because they control the distribution and reproduction of the animals they unitize. They manage their resources, which is interpreted as an expression of control (Feit 1988). Since wildlife is deemed unmanageable, unpredictable, and difficult to apprehend, hunters are viewed to be victims of chance.

The hunters may not have the same type of control over the environment, as the herdsmen, but Indian people did shape and manipulate the landscape to increase their hunting success. One of the tools they used was fire which developed desired habitat for the animals they hunted.

Indian Use of Fire

Indian people were well aware of the benefits of fire in maintaining and enhancing their resources. From coast to coast the park-like forests that greeted the early European explorers were sculpted by fire. In New England the Indian tribes burned the surrounding forest once or twice a year. These fires cleared the forests of underbrush and small trees making the forest passable and hunting easier. Burning created a forest of large, widely spaced trees, little undergrowth and an abundance of grass and other plants (Cronon 1983:49). "Here was the reason that the
southern forests were so open and park-like; not because the trees naturally grew thus, but because the Indians preferred them so (Ibid)

Selective burning by American Indians promotes the expansion of what ecologists call the "edge effect." This edge effect is the boundary between the forests and the grasslands, which is ideal habitat for a diversity of wildlife species. Not only does burning create more areas of food supply that attract the game, but it also increases the population of the species. William Cronon put this increase of species population in perspective when he reported that:

Indian burning promoted the increase of exactly those species whose abundance so impressed English colonists: elk, deer, beaver, hare, porcupine, turkey, quail, ruffed grouse, and so on. When these populations increased, so did the carnivorous eagles, hawks, lynxes, foxes, and wolves. In short, Indians who hunted game animals were not just taking the "unplanted bounties of nature"; in an important sense, they were harvesting a foodstuff which they had consciously been instrumental in creating (1983:51).

The northwest was also subject to purposeful burning, by the Indian tribes of this region. The fires were usually set in the early spring or summer and in the fall after the berry season and hunting in the area had been completed. Selected areas were burned yearly, every other year or at intervals, extending to five years. Seldom were fires ignited in mid-summer and early fall, when the forest was susceptible to devastating results (Williams 1994).

Stephen Barrett's (1979) informants told him that the Salish burned the Ninemile Valley west of Missoula each time they departed
from the area. They also stated that the West Fork of the Bitterroot River was burned annually after the traditional fall mule deer migration into Idaho from the Bitterroot Valley. This annual burning in the West Fork would also have improved the bighorn sheep habitat.

Klaver (1978) states that the bighorn sheep's "range in the Bitterroots was repeatedly burned early in this century" (p. 89). Bighorn sheep select small openings in the forest and these open areas are gradually being reclaimed by trees. These small open areas are critical to sheep survival and annual burning would keep the trees from encroaching on this habitat. Klaver (1978) goes on, "fire has played an important part in the history of the sheep's habitat" and the montane and subalpine meadows that are utilized by bighorns could be lost by fire protection and control (p.91).

Early explorers and settlers recorded fire activity in historical accounts, but often this was attributed to natural causes. Williams explains that this is a mistaken assumption:

This activity [fire] has greatly modified landscapes across the continent in many subtle ways that have often been interpreted as "natural" by the early explorers, trappers, and settlers. Even many research scientists who study presettlement forest and savannah fire evidence tend to attribute most prehistoric fires as being caused by lightning (natural) rather than humans. This problem arises because there was no systematic record keeping of these fire events. Thus the interaction of people and ecosystems is downplayed or ignored, which often leads to the conclusion that people are a problem in 'natural' ecosystems rather than the primary force in their development. (1994:2)

There are various reasons why Indian people used fire in their
their environment. Informants have shared these reasons with various authors (Barrett 1979, Williams 1994, Arno et. al. n.d., Malouf 1974) who have documented them. Informants may have stated one obvious reason for using fire, yet with each fire many objectives may have been accomplished. The Salish and Kootenai sources told Barrett (1979) that fires were often used to burn out the underbrush in the forest, to improve plant habitat, to improve grasses for big game hunting, all of which demonstrate that they were aware of the ecological benefits that fire could produce.

As Indian tribes were placed on reservations, or populations declined in number from disease, and tribal people faced mounting hostility toward their fire use. We see a reduction in fire management of forests and grasslands. This decrease in fire use has culminated in the build up of fuels in forests that are the source of the catastrophic fires of today. Contemporary fires burn so hot and furious that they kill entire stands of trees.

Indian hunters also have control over man, himself. Feit explains:

> What powers hunters have are usually analyzed in terms of how they exercise control over themselves, and how they are affected by the unintended ecological consequences of their own action. Hunters regulate the man/hunter relationship primarily by regulating man, by controlling the human population size, the human population density, the distribution of goods and services and human desire itself. (1988:75)

Contemporary wildlife management studies indicate that hunting practices do have major effects on the animals. Hunting operation
strategies effect available numbers of the species, yield, production, sex balance, and the size and health of the animal populations (Feit 1988). Theoretically, hunters can exercise some control over the reproduction and distribution of the animal species they are hunting. Thus, the hunter could be considered to manage his resources as well as himself (Feit 1988). The Mountain Sheep Boy legend demonstrates this, because rules or taboos were placed on the hunter that "restricted" his actions, if he were to avoid the fatalistic aftermath of breaking these rules.

When we apply the specifications presented in the Salish Mountain Sheep Boy legend to the behavior of bighorn sheep, it is clear that the Salish had a intimate knowledge of the behavior of the sheep and that the specifications outlined in the legend contribute to a form of wildlife management of the bighorn sheep.

I know the time when the sheep pass and I know the time when the roots come up...You will see a large herd of sheep coming...(Davis 1960:29)

As stated in the last section the bighorn sheep in the Bitterroot valley have summer/fall and winter/spring home ranges. Each year they travel to and from these ranges at predictable times: when the lambs are to be born in the spring and after the first snow (Klaver 1971). The Salish people knew the habits and behavior of these animals and would have been able to anticipate their arrival in either range.

"My father, tonight you will be waiting just before midnight along the sheep trail. You will soon see a large herd of sheep coming."
(Davis 1963:29)

As Jack Hogg pointed out, bighorn sheep would be very capable
of traveling at night, especially if they were traveling from one seasonal range to another and night fell before they had arrived. They would continue traveling to reach their familiar territory, rather then bed down in unaccustomed terrain. The bighorn sheep would also maintain a random age grade position in line as long as they did not feel threatened or pursued by a predator (Jack Hogg). The fact the hunter was waiting for them, not following or chasing them, ensures that the sheep will not bolt with the older rams moving to the front of the line farthest away from danger. This hunting method is a guarantee that random selection will be implemented.

So then the parents waited as they had been told...The boys father waited until he heard the sound of horns hitting stone. He saw many sheep coming up the trail out of their hiding place.......I and my herd will pass through here each year when you camp here. (Davis 1960: 28)

Geist (1971) states that in his study he found that sheep are also very loyal to their home ranges and that the young fixate on the route of the older sheep. This would indicate that the same general routes would be learned year after year. This would mean that the hunter could rely on the fact that the sheep would be coming back to the same areas and following the same routes. The legend states this fact: the sheep-boy knew the time when the sheep passed and indicates he knows the route they will be taking, when he tells his father where to wait for them. Later sheep-boy told his father and mother that he would be leading his herd through their camping area each year. In Klaver's (1978) study he found that the bighorn sheep
had a migration route from the Selway River winter range to the summer range and he charted their route. Giest (1971:114) says that during their normal migration patterns the bighorns walk in single file, behind the lead sheep. The leader blocks the attempted advances of those behind it and in this manner establishes an orderly single file march.

Long ago, a man and his family lived high in the mountain sheep country...They decided to go down the mountain to the village of their people. There they told what had happened in the mountains. The next spring they returned to their mountain camp. (Davis 1960:29)

The Salish bands of the Bitterroot Valley did not rely as heavily on mountain sheep and goats as they did on the elk, deer, and buffalo. Schaeffer (1934-35) states that the Salish climbed to higher elevations to hunt the mountain sheep and goat, but this was not a frequent event. Malouf agrees and writes: "Bear, mountain sheep and goat did not play as important a part in Flathead subsistence", he goes on to say. "Although these animals were killed when encountered and their meat and hides utilized, they were not specifically sought by groups of hunters as a specialization within the general hunting practices" (1974:55). These authors support the Mountain Sheep Boy story, which tells us that one family camped and hunted in the mountain sheep country, returning to village of their people for the winter. This would indicate that hunting the bighorn sheep was not conducted by large groups of hunters, but by smaller groups or by individuals who had been given bighorn sheep hunting power.

I have my own father and mother in the herd
behind me. The one that is following me is my brother, the next is my other brother, and the one after him is my uncle. Then he sheep-boy told his father of his other relations on down through the herd. (Davis 1960:29)

As Giest's (1971) study shows, female sheep usually stay in their maternal band for life and young rams seem to prefer their natal maternal bands for six years or more as they make the slow transition to all-male groups. As stated earlier the sheep also remain loyal to their home ranges. This means that the sheep of a band are related to each other, especially through the maternal line. Ewes that are closely related form home range groups, and these home ranges of the mother are adopted by the daughters (Geist 1971:107).

You will be soon see a large herd of sheep coming. You will kill only one....Then the sheep-boy told his father of his other relations on down through the herd. He told his father to shoot the last sheep because he wasn't any relation. (Davis 1960:29)

The first note of interest is that the instructions are gender specific, "he wasn't any relation". This would mean that the ewes were to be left to increase the size of the heard, therefore maintaining the resource for future generations. By taking the sheep positioned at the end of the line the hunter is practicing a type of game management and selectively reducing the herd, which means more forage would be available for the others. It would also ensure that the genes of the largest, oldest, and hardiest ram are passed on.

Data supporting the rule of shooting the last sheep is contained in the studies of Giest (1971), O'Gara, and Laubin
Bart O'Gara (1995) presented information that bighorn sheep form several different bachelor herds which are age graded. When a ram first joins a new age-graded bachelor herd, he will stay back and will be shouldered away from the best feeding areas for a while. This is compatible with Giest's study that the youngest ram is usually at the end of the line, with the younger rams following the older rams (1971). Last, Laubin's 1980 bow study shows that trophy size bows measure up to forty-five inches long and the bow made from a single horn measured thirty-eight inches long. When this is compared with the average Salish bow measuring thirty-six inches, we see that the Salish were not taking the largest rams, or the bows would have measured much longer.

The size of the horns would depend on which bachelor herd the hunter encountered and which ram was last in line (random selection). The rule of taking the last sheep in line and taking only one sheep per hunt is reflected in the smaller size of the Salish bighorn sheep bows and in the limited number of Salish bows available as mentioned in the Journals of Alexander Henery (1799:713).

Time went on. Soon they had much dried meat and roots (Davis 1963:29)

This passage from the story illustrates the success the family has when they follow the rules that were outlined by the sheep boy. This last excerpt from the Mountain Sheep Boy literature delineates the results when the hunting rules are broken.

But one night Father decided to shoot a big, fat sheep that wasn't last in line. He shot one in the middle of the herd, and another
one. He began gathering those he had killed but he couldn't find any of them. In his excitement he hadn't seen them coming to life and running away. So he went back to his wife and told her that he hadn't seen any sheep. (Davis 1960:29)

This section clearly represents the hunter breaking the taboos associated with his bighorn sheep hunting power. Therefore, by his misconduct, his reciprocal "social" relationship with the other-than-human person is terminated and he loses the "gift" that had been granted to him. It is obvious that he is aware of and regrets his actions because he lies to his wife instead of telling her of his misdeed.

When the parents returned to their usual hunting area the next year they do not see tracks, sheep or roots. The story tells us that the trails were all overgrown with brush, which means that the sheep had not passed by this area for a long time. When Father waited for the sheep, they never appeared and the Mother never found any roots. The story imparts that the Father realizes that the current situation is caused by the fact that he broke the hunting taboos the year before. The story says the parents discuss the situation and they decide to stay and die, without ever seeing their son again. The conclusion makes it very clear to the listeners that there are harsh consequences for those who break the hunting rules. The reaction of the father (hunter) also shows us that the hunter is acutely aware of the impact his wrongdoing will cause.
Chapter VI

Historical Factors and Impacts on Bighorn Sheep

As stated earlier the Indians told Lewis and Clark that there were large numbers of bighorn sheep in the Bitterroot Mountains (Beuchner, 1960). The historic documents provide many accounts of game, including bighorn sheep, within Salish and Kootenai territories. Chalfant (1974) states that Cox mentions how abundant the deer, mountain sheep, bear, wild fowl, fish, beaver, otter, marten, wolf and lynx were in the Flathead territory in the early 1830s and 1840s.

As stated previously in the chapter on Salish history, in 1872, two of the three bands of Bitterroot Salish moved to the Jocko Valley on the Flathead reservation. By 1891, when Chief Charlo and the 100 members of his band were removed to the Flathead reservation, no Bitterroot Salish bands were left in the Bitterroot Valley. The government Indian policy at that time was that Indian people were to become farmers and abandon their previous life-way. They were not allowed to leave the reservation without a permit or a military escort.

After the turn of the century the sheep in Montana were drastically reduced in numbers and their distribution radically restricted (Tilton 1977). The sheep in the Thompson Falls, Montana area were reduced to an estimated 25 sheep by the early 1940s and this decline led to their total extinction by 1948. No sheep were sighted after this date (G.W. Brown 1974).
In fifteen states historically inhabited by bighorn sheep, the same pattern of decline occurs. The bighorn sheep were populating 10% of their original habitat, reduced in number and in four of the fifteen states, the sheep were totally exterminated (Buechner 1960).

There has been much speculation as to the cause of the decline of bighorn sheep in the northwest United States. Long-time residents state that there were large numbers of bighorn sheep in the cutoff area between Paradise and St. Regis. They believe that hunting by Indians and people traveling through the area by train were the causes for the elimination of the original herd (Krepps 1973).

Scientific studies reveal that there were a number of factors contributing to the reduction and demise of the bighorn sheep in western Montana and the surrounding states. These factors include overhunting, overgrazing, domestic sheep diseases, agricultural changes to the land, and fire suppression that contributed to the encroachment of Douglas fir trees into mountain meadows, reducing sheep habitat.

Overhunting of game animals, by settlers, professional hunters, and the railroad crews and travelers, was a common phenomenon in the West. The following examples illustrate this point. It is logical to assume that the overharvest of other species of game was also the fate of the bighorn sheep. The fact is game laws limiting the number of sheep that could be harvested had to be established before they could begin to recover, and in some
cases it was too late.

As pioneers moved from the east, similar settlement patterns repeated themselves throughout the West. Money was scarce and raising domestic animals to sell at the market was one of the few opportunities available to obtain cash. This meant that wild game was highly utilized for food by the settler families. In areas like western Montana, the game was plentiful and game use by the settlers in the Bitterroot Valley is well documented.

Mr. Fred Edwards who came from Devonshire, England to Ross's Hole in 1886 explains:

There were thousands of deer in here and moose in every swamp and in the brush. The early settlers and the Indians in the valley depended on the wild game for most of their living. They sold their beef. Beef and hogs were about all the cash money they had. Up in this valley we couldn't raise a garden; it is too frosty and the season short. There used to be a lot of Mountain sheep down on Sleeping Child hills. They were the finest of all wild game and were always fat. I never saw a wild buffalo, but there were a few in the lower valley. (Bitter Root Historical Society 1982: 108)

Mr. Edwards also responded to some "tenderfeet" who published that there were no elk in the Bitterroot Valley until they were transported from the Yellowstone Park: "When I first came here [Bitterroot] there were herds of hundreds of elk in here [Ross's Hole]. In times of storms, they came down here and helped themselves at our hay stacks. He also explained that "no one here shot them or drove them away. Only if we needed fresh meat, we would kill one " (Bitter Root Historical Society 1982:108).

Another account states that three men named Wheeler, Shean and
Craig were marten trapping in the Moose Creek area (west side of the Bitterroot Valley) and wanted fresh meat for themselves, their dogs and for the traps they were setting. John Shean explained that he knew where to find elk. He explained:

I'm purty shore I know just about where we can kill all the elk we need for this winter. A couple of years ago Mace Maynard and me came down here in July and killed a hundred elk right in the licks. All we did was skin'em and sold the hides out at Hamilton for a buck apiece. We both had a pretty close call from an old she grizzly. We had killed both cubs the night before. Boy, she shore was right on our tail until I finally got a good shot and killed her. (Bitter Root Historical Society 1982:205)

The story goes on: "Shean was right. He knew where they [elk] were. They killed all the elk they figured they would need for the winter and packed them in. Part of the meat they made into jerky, part they left hanging in their cabin as it was. The rest they used for trap bait" (Bitter Root Historical Society 1982:205).

Game was just as plentiful on the east side of the Bitterroot Valley. Jim and Ed Lord trapped the East Fork for marten and other furs. "Game was plentiful in those days [1885] and on some of their trips they would see as many as a hundred mountain sheep, besides elk, deer and other game" (Bitter Root Historical Society 1982:63).

The early settlement/homestead days put increasing pressure on big game populations, sheep included. This pattern of extremely heavy hunting seasons was allowed in Montana and the surrounding states until the bighorns were on the verge of extinction (McCarthy 1986). McCarthy (1986) tells us that liberal hunting practices at the turn of the century resulted in such a decline in bighorn sheep
numbers that all hunting was closed from 1915-1953.

The first law regulating bighorn sheep hunting was passed by the territorial Legislature in 1872. This law closed the bighorn season from February 1 to August 15, but did not place any limit to the number of sheep any one person could harvest (McCarthy 1986). In 1895 the legislature placed a harvest limit of eight sheep per individual and set the season dates from September first to January first of each year. Not until 1910 was the bag limit set to one animal per hunter and the season reduced from October first to December first. By 1915 all hunting of the bighorn sheep was prohibited in order to salvage what was left of once abundant sheep populations (McCarthy 1986). By 1915 the bighorn sheep had disappeared from the Missouri Breaks, the Crazy Mountains, the Snowy Mountains, Judith Mountains, Pryors, Little Rockies, and the Bear Paws. By 1950 only 12 herds, including those in Glacier Park, remained of the once abundant species in Montana (McCarthy 1986). The sheep that remained were primarily in undeveloped areas of rugged terrain, in isolated, hard to reach areas, such as the Selway/Bitterroot wilderness. In Idaho, James Morgan found:

The decline in bighorn numbers has been steady since the arrival of the white man. By the early 1930's remnants of the once huge herds were holding on only in rough, rocky areas that were inaccessible to livestock and for that reason still harbored some pristine grassland. Road building, waterhold development and other 'range improvements' continued to lure livestock use into the last remaining areas inhabited by bighorns. As a result three of these remnant herds were known to have disappeared between 1930 and 1970 and four others were very likely beyond the point of no return at the time of this study.
Other factors impacting the bighorn sheep herds were the diseases introduced by the domestic sheep and livestock industry moving onto wild sheep range (Geist 1971). The West Fork area of the Bitterroot Valley has been grazed by domestic sheep and cattle, probably well before 1900. Earliest records show that 1,200 domestic sheep grazed there in 1927. These sheep were herded up the West Fork of the Bitterroot River through the Watchtower and Sheephead creeks region across the state line and down to the Selway River along the Cooper point-Green Mountain ridge. The last domestic sheep drive was in 1942 (Klaver 1978).

Grazing produces a side effect that also affects sheep habitat, and thus, sheep populations. Grazing of domestic herds of sheep, cattle, and sometimes horses, especially over grazing, changes the grassland to sagebrush habitat, creating nearly insolvable problems for bighorns. "The most obvious problem was lack of forage and restriction of their range to areas where the domestic livestock impact was least severe" (Morgan 1971:125). The second problem was the increase in deer population as a result of the newly created sagebrush habitat. Sagebrush is a staple deer forage. In the Idaho area of Morgan's 1970 study, the deer populations exploded, and they decimated the mountain mahogany which is not their most important food. Mountain mahogany is an essential food for bighorn sheep, it provides protein for them in the winter, and as a result the sheep suffered protein deficiency.

In some regions elk also compete with bighorn sheep for forage and range. In Banff National Park elk have taken over range areas
traditionally utilized by bighorn sheep. The sheep have divided into small bands because the range can no longer support large numbers. The bighorns do not tolerate the presence of the elk and they therefore utilize the fringes of the range (Green 1949).

In Idaho Morgan discovered that feral burros and horses were competing for the bighorn's winter range. The burros remain on the sheep's winter range year around. Competing with the sheep all winter, they then stay on this range throughout the summer after the sheep had migrated to their higher elevation pastures. This competition for grasses and forage places great stress on the habitat and the sheep (Morgan 1968:28). Green also believes that "when two species of very similar food habits compete for limited range it is noted that often the larger and more abundant form will displace the smaller and less numerous" (1949:34).

Around the turn of the century it was discovered that extensive wildfire actually contributed to increases in bighorn sheep populations (Peek et al. 1979:85). It is important to note that the fires increased the bighorn sheep populations. Prior to the turn of the century Indian tribes were known for burning off hunting areas in the early spring or late fall. Fire has an important role in maintaining bighorn sheep habitat. When Indian tribes no longer had access to their former hunting areas, the burning of these areas ceased.

In 1855 the Flathead Indian reservation was established, the Bitterroot Salish bands headed by Adolph and Arlee moved to the Joko Valley in 1872. By 1891, when Charlo and his 100 followers
were removed from the Bitterroot valley, no Indian tribes lived outside of the reservation. It became difficult and dangerous for them to travel unmolested in their former hunting territories. The military was directed to escort them when they left the reservation to hunt or gather and this could be done only after they had permission, in the form of a permit, from the Indian agent. An article from the Missoulian dated 4/14/1875 verifies this policy:

Helena Items. Lieut. W.H. Nelson arrived from Camp Baker last evening en route to the Jocko Agency, whither he goes in command of a detachment of soldiers, as an escort to a band of the Flathead Indians, now returning from the annual buffalo hunt in the Judith Basin. This is in accordance with the new policy of the Indian Department, that Indians have no business away from their reservations unless accompanied by soldiers, and if found without such escort are subject to be considered and treated as hostile.

Burning of hunting areas decreased as Indian populations were ravaged by diseases brought from Europe, and as access to their former open territories were claimed by settlers and carved up into fields with fences. Their antecedent lifeway had been severely curtailed, including their accustomed practice of burning over the hunting area to control the growth of underbrush and increase grasses and meadows for grazing.

Fire suppression was the policy of the dominant society, which directly conflicted with the traditional use of fire by Indian tribes. Fire was greatly feared by the Euro-American society because of the threat to the wooden structures that made up entire towns.

The Euro-American settlers, trappers and explorers
misunderstood Indian use of fire and viewed it as irresponsible and a form of wanton destruction. An editorial in the Missoulian dated 1/6/1874 mentions that on a buffalo hunting expedition in December, 1874 "two [Indians] were shot by the people of the international line for setting fire to the plains". The editorial identifies the members of the hunting party as Pend d'Oreille, Coeur d'Alene, Kootenai, Spokane, Colville and others who in all numbered around 600. As contemporary studies are proving, fire is a useful tool in creating and maintaining bighorn sheep habitat and is now suggested as a management practice by wildlife biologists.

If we mentally combine the historic factors that attributed to the decline of the bighorn sheep, and the cultural restraints, and taboos placed on Salish hunters, it is obvious that Charles E. Kay's "aboriginal overkill" hypothesis is invalid. The Bitterroot Salish did not decimate the bighorn sheep herds in the Bitterroot Valley and mountains.
CHAPTER VII

Summary and Conclusion

The theory entwined throughout this thesis begins with the basic theory of cultural anthropology that states that culture is the means people use to provide order in their universe (Ohnuki-Teirney 1981). I then go on to include the cognitive and symbolic theories with a pro-psychology approach that views motivation as the causal link between culture and action (D'Andrade 1992). Included is the symbolic approach of Loretta Fowler who believes that culture is also a set of meanings embodied in symbols (1987). Fowler explains that culture creates a model of social reality for people and it is used to evaluate their place in society and it also shapes peoples' attitudes and actions. This means that behavior is produced, perceived, and interpreted thus, meanings are socially established, we gain access to them by inspecting events (Fowler 1987). Basically what is behind the symbolic stance is that a culture's ideology shapes the individual's everyday life and reality. Thus, a person's actions express his/her ideology, world view, and reality.

D'Andrade (1991) expresses the same concept in a slightly different way. A schema is the way our cognitive thought processes work to identify all the elements of our world and brings order to our world. Schema have values attributed to them and can form our goals. People see the world through schema without seeing the schema themselves. Schema are transparent and this transparency of some schema helps give them motivational force. These schema make
people see the world in a particular way, which is their reality. Through schema, the actor's internalized culture is expressed as social purpose and self-image through his actions, words, symbols, ritual or art all of which convey meaning (D'Andrade 1991:38).

Based on symbolic theory a symbol can be used in two ways, to impel and direct action or to determine how one's world is understood, imagined, and expressed (Dolgin, Kemnitzer, and Schneider 1977). The Mountain Sheep Boy legend is viewed as a symbol in this thesis. It is the construct of a specific culture and contains the ideology of that culture. It can be used to impel and direct action of the Salish bighorn sheep hunter or determine how the Salish hunter's world is understood in relation to the bighorn sheep.

The question presented at the beginning of this thesis is: did the Salish eliminate the bighorn sheep in the Bitterroot Valley? Dr. Kay (1994a) believes that the Indian people did not make the connection between lack of game and their hunting practices. He says because they believed that the animals were their spiritual brothers, the lack of game was due to a transgression in spiritual rituals or ceremonies where the hunter displeased the gods. Calvin Martin (1978) believes that after the Indians acquired the gun, they eliminated game they had originally feared in a type of holy war. Old timers also believed the Indians were the cause of the depletion of sheep in the area (Krepps 1973).

As presented in the last section of this thesis, there are many historical factors contributing to the extermination of
bighorn sheep in western Montana and surrounding states. Overhunting by increasing numbers of settlers was one cause. Other variables that contributed to the decline in bighorn sheep include: overgrazing of livestock, agriculture, domestic sheep diseases, range improvement for livestock and fire suppression.

Dr. Charles Kay (1994) quoted R. K. Nelson (1983) and Speck (1939) that Indian peoples' religious belief systems prevented them from over-utilizing their resources and that Indians tended to view wildlife as their kin. Kay (1994a) argues that the Indians' religious beliefs actually contributed to the extermination of ungulate populations and that religious respect for animals does not equal conservation. He also stated that the Native Americans preferred to hunt prime age females.

The Mountain Sheep Boy legend supports Nelson (1983) and Speck (1938) because there is a social relationship between the bighorn sheep and the Salish family. This was expressed when their son became a bighorn sheep and pointed out all his relatives in the sheep band to his human father and mother. The sheep-boy also stated: "shoot the last sheep because he wasn't any relation......when you see the herd coming you will always know I am the leader" (Davis p.29).

The legend also supports the statement that the Indians' belief system prevented over-utilizing their resources. This is clearly stated in the rules the sheep-boy gave to his father: "You will soon see a large herd coming. You will kill only one" (Davis p.29). The sheep-boy told his father on several occasions: "You,
my father, always shoot the last sheep” (p.29). This discredits Kay’s statement that the Indians' belief system actually contributed to the extermination of game (1994).

If we look at Kay's (1994) statement that Indian people preferred to hunt female animals and compare this to the legend it is clear that Dr. Kay is mistaken in this instance. The sheep-boy instructed his father several times to shoot only the last sheep in line. In this quote the sheep-boy states: "shoot the last sheep because HE wasn't any relation” (p.29). It is also interesting that when the sheep-boy introduces his family he mentions his mother, but points out all his brothers, father and uncle, not his sisters and aunts. This would indicate that to the hunter the males of the bighorn sheep will be hunted and not the females. The hunter is also instructed to take only the ram at the end of the line. The wildlife studies and the interview with O'Gara and Hogg, indicate that these instructions would establish random selection of bighorn rams. It is justifiable to conclude that random selection was incorporated into the legend and that Salish hunters who followed these instructions practiced wildlife management.

Dr. Kay makes a large error by not examining the individual legends or teachings of specific tribes for the hunting rules that would motivate and direct the Indian hunter to specific actions or restrictions of his behavior. It is evident that the Mountain Sheep Boy Legend commands specific behavior of the Salish hunter. The directives of the legend are sound wildlife management
practices. This management maintained the large numbers of bighorn sheep that Lewis and Clark and other explorers and settlers noted in their journals.

As stated in the beginning of this thesis, it is not known how much or if local Indian tribes increased their hunting of bighorn sheep when their access to other resources was denied. I also stated there is no checklist in existence to show the changes of the Salish culture from pre-contact to contemporary times. As a result, we must try to reconstruct the hunting practices of the earlier decade by relying on historical documents, previous studies, and oral tradition.

There are many other questions and directions that one could associate with this topic. This thesis is not a comparative study of how the Salish hunting practices relates to hunting practices of other tribal groups, but this is one possibility for a future study. Also there is the question of how Salish or tribal hunting practices are related to ecology. This is not the central theme of this thesis but the topic was touched on lightly. It could be greatly expanded upon. If one is interested in relating hunting practices to symbolism, I would suggest the works of Adrian Tanner, *Bring Home Animals* 1979; Bruce Alden Cox, *Native People, Native Lands*; Ed Bruner's work on the Mandan Hidatsa. Also I would suggest Loretta Fowler's (1987) work on symbols. The relationship of hunters and gatherers is another topic that was not addressed here. It is interesting to note that in the legend the hunter broke the rules, but this also had an adverse impact on the plant
gathering.

The subject of combining cognitive and symbolic theory is discussed at length in several articles in the *American Ethnologist* 1981, Vol. 8, #3. These include, Benjamin N. Colby et. al. (1981); Dougherty and Fernandez, introduction (1981); and Omiko Ohnuki-Tierney (1981). I am sure we have not heard the last on this topic.

As stated throughout this thesis a person's actions express their ideology, world view and reality which is shaped by their culture (symbolic theory). Each of us sees the same streams, trees, mountains, sky; the environment around us. But as individuals view their world through their cultural "glasses", each culture paints a different landscape. This landscape is approached, valued, and used as culturally directed. This is why cultures are still colliding today as they have in the past. This is another study in itself, a lifetime study for each of us...
APPENDIX A

HELLGATE TREATY 1855
1855 Treaty of Hell Gate

Articles of agreement and convention made and concluded at the treaty ground at Hell Gate, in the Bitter Root Valley, this sixteenth day of July, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-five, by and between Isaac I. Stevens, governor and superintendent of Indian affairs for the Territory of Washington, on the part of the United States, and the undersigned chiefs, head-men and delegates of the confederated tribes of the Flathead, Kootenay and Upper Pend d’Oreilles Indians, on behalf of and acting for said confederated tribes, and being duly authorized thereunto by them. It being understood and agreed that the said confederated tribes do hereby constitute a nation, and that the several chiefs, headmen, and delegates, whose names are signed to this treaty, do hereby, in behalf of their respective tribes, recognize Victor and said head chief.

Article 1
The said confederated tribes of Indians hereby cede, relinquish, and convey to the United States all their right, title, and interest in and to the country occupied or claimed by them, bounded and described as follows, to wit:

Commencing on the main ridge of the Rocky Mountains at the forty-ninth parallel of latitude, thence westwardly on that parallel to the divide between the Balsam and Bitter Root Rivers, the divide being thence southerly and southeasterly along said divide to the one hundred and fifteenth degree of longitude, and then southeasterly and southerly along said divide to the one hundred and fifteen degree of latitude, 115 degrees, thence in a southwesterly direction to the divide between the sources of the St. Regis and the Clark’s Fork, thence southeasterly and southerly along the main ridge of the Bitter Root Mountains to the divide between the headwaters of the Kootoos-kkee River and of the southwestern fork of the Bitter Root River, thence easterly along the divide separating the waters of the several tributaries of the Bitter Root River from the waters flowing into the Salmon and Snake Rivers to the main ridge of the Rocky Mountains, and thence northerly along said main ridge to the place of beginning.

Article 2
There is, however, reserved from the lands above ceded, for the use and occupations of the said confederated tribes, and as a general Indian reservation, upon which may be placed other friendly tribes and bands of Indians of the Territory of Washing-ton, who may agree to be consolidated with the tribes parties to this treaty, under the common designation of the Flashead Nation, with Victor, head chief of the Flashead tribe, as the head chief of the nation, the tract of land included within the ceded, and which he may be compelled to abandon in consequence of this treaty, shall be valued under the direction of the President of the United States, and payment made therefore by him, until their value in money or improvements of an equal value shall be furnished him as aforesaid.

Article 3
And provided, that if necessary for the public convenience roads may be run through said reservation; and, on the other hand, the right of way with free access from the same to the nearest public highway is secured to them, as also the right in common with citizens of the United States to travel upon all public highways. The exclusive right of taking fish in all the streams running through or bordering said reservation is further secured to said Indians, as also the right of taking fish at all usual and accustomed places, in common with citizens of the Territory, and of erecting temporary buildings for similar purposes together with the privilege of hunting, gathering roots and berries, and pasturing their horses and cattle upon open and unclaimed land.

Articles
In consideration of the above cession, the United States agree to pay to the said confederated tribes of Indians, in addition to the goods and provisions distributed to them as the time of signing this treaty the sum of one hundred and twenty thousand dollars, to be expended under the direction of the President, in providing for their removal to the reservation, breaking up and fencing farms, building houses for them and for such other objects as he may deem necessary. For the next four years, six thousand dollars each year; for the next five years, four thousand dollars each year; and for the next five years, three thousand dollars each year.

All which said sums of money shall be applied to the use and benefit of the said Indians, under the direction of the President of the United States, who may from time to time determine, at his discretion, upon what beneficial objects to expend the same for them, and the superintendent of Indian affairs, or other proper officer, shall each year inform the President of the wishes of the Indians in relation thereto.

Article 5
The United States further agree to establish at suitable points within said reservation, within one year after the ratification hereof, an agricultural and industrial school, erecting the necessary buildings, keeping the same in repair, and providing it with furniture, books and stationery, to be located at the agency, and to be free to the children of the said tribes, and to employ a suitable instructor or instructors. To furnish one blacksmith shop, to which shall be attached a gun and gun shop, one carpenter’s shop, one wagon and plough maker’s shop, and to keep the same in repair, and furnished with the necessary tools. To employ two farmers, one blacksmith, one tanner, one gunsmith, one carpenter, one wagon and plough maker, for the instruction of the Indians in trades, and to assist them in the same. To erect one saw-mill and one flouring mill, keeping the same in repair and furnished with the necessary tools and fixtures, and to employ two millers. To erect a hospital, keeping the same in repair, and pro-
vided with the necessary medicines and furniture, and to employ a physi­cian, and to erect, keep in repair, and provide the necessary furniture the buildings required for the accommoda­tion of said employees. The said buildings and establishments to be maintained and kept in repair as aforesaid, and the employees to be kept in service for the period of twenty years.

And in view of the fact that the chief heads of the said confederated tribes of Indians are expected and will be called upon to perform many services of a public character, occupying much of their time, the United States further agree to pay to each of the Flathead, Kootenay and Upper Pend d'Oreilles tribes five hundred dollars per year, for the term of twenty years after the ratification hereof, as a salary for such persons as the said confederated tribes may select to be their head chiefs, and so build for them a suitable house on the reservation a comfortable house, and properly furnish the same, and so plough and fence for each of them ten acres of land. The salary to be paid to, and the said houses to be occupied by, such head chiefs so long as they may be elected to that position by their tribes, and no longer.

And all the expenditures and expenses contemplated in this article of this treaty shall be defrayed by the United States, and shall not be deducted from the annuities agreed to be paid to said tribes. Nor shall the cost of transporting the goods for the annuity payments be a charge upon the annuities, but shall be paid by the United States.

Article 6
The President may from time to time, at his discretion, cause the whole, or such portion of such reservation as he may think proper to be surveyed into lots, and assign the same to such individuals or families of the said confederated tribes as are willing to avail themselves of the privilege, and will locate on the same eminent out of the annuities. Nor will they make war on any other tribe except in self-defense, but will submit all matters of difference between them and other Indians to the Government of the United States, and promise to be friendly with all citizens thereof, and pledge themselves to commit no depredations upon the property of such citizens. And should any one or more of them violate this pledge, and the fact be satisfactorily proved before the agent, the property taken shall be returned, or, in default thereof, or if injured or destroyed, compensation may be made by the Government of the United States, or its agents, for any depredations against citizens.

Article 7
The annuities of the aforesaid confederated tribes of Indians shall not be taken to pay the debts of individuals.

Article 8
The aforesaid confederated tribes of Indians acknowledge their depend­ence upon the Government of the United States, and promise to be friendly with all citizens thereof, and the presence of the aforesaid tribes shall at all times be deemed a guarantee of their friendship with the United States.

And all the expenditures and expenses contemplated in this article of this treaty shall be defrayed by the United States, and shall not be deducted from the annuities agreed to be paid to said tribes.

Article 9
The said confederated tribes desire to exclude from their reservation the use of ardent spirits, and to prevent their people from drinking the same; and therefore it is provided that any Indian belonging to said confederated tribes of Indians who is guilty of bringing liquor into said reservation or who drinks liquor may have his or her proportion of the annuities withheld from him or her for such time as the President may determine.

Article 10
The United States further agree to guaranty the exclusive use of the reservation provided for in this treaty, as against any claims which may be urged by the Hudson Bay Company or in consequence of the occupation of a trading post on the Puy-o-e River by the representatives of that company.

Article 11
It is, moreover, provided that the Bitter Root Valley, above the Loo-lo Fork, shall be carefully surveyed and examined, and if it shall prove, in the judgment of the President, to be better adapted to the wants of the Flathead tribe than the general reservation provided for in this treaty, then such portion of it as may be necessary shall be set apart as a separate reserva­tion for the said tribe. No portion of the Bitter Root Valley, above the Loo-lo Fork, shall be opened to set­tlement until such examination is had and the decision of the President made known.

Article 12
This treaty shall be obligatory upon the contracting parties as soon as the same shall be ratified by the President and Senate of the United States.

In testimony whereof, the said Isaac I. Stevens, governor and super­intendent of Indian affairs for the Territory of Washington, and the undersigned head chiefs, chiefs and principal men of the Flathead, Kootenay, and Upper Pend d'Oreilles tribes of Indians, have hereunto set their hands and seals, at the place and on the day and year hereinafore written.

Issac I. Stevens,
Governor and Superintendent Indian Affairs W

Victor, head chief of the Flathead Nation, his x mark.
Alexander, Chief of the Upper Pend d'Oreilles, his x mark.
Michelle, chief of the Kootenays, his x mark.
Ambrose, his x mark.
Pah-soh, his x mark.
Bear Track, his x mark.
Adolphe, his x mark.
Thudder, his x mark.
James Dory, secretary.
R.H. Lansdale, Indian Agent.
W.H. Tappan, sub Indian Agent.
Big Canoe, his x mark.
Kootel Chah, his x mark.
Paul, his x mark.
Andrew, his x mark.
Michelle, his x mark.
Battiste, his x mark.
Kootenai.
Gun Flint, his x mark.
Little Michelle, his x mark.
Paul See, his x mark.
Moses, his x mark.
Henry R. Crosire, interpreter.
A. J. Hoecken, sp. mis.
William Graie.
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