

SMITHSONIAN MISCELLANEOUS COLLECTIONS
VOLUME 110, NUMBER 7

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FLATHEAD AND PEND D'OREILLE
INDIANS, 1854

(WITH 22 PLATES)

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(PUBLICATION 3941)

CITY OF WASHINGTON
PUBLISHED BY THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
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Portrait taken in 1863. Courtesy of Dr. Elizabeth Sohon.

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The Lord Baltimore Press
BALTIMORE, MD., U. S. A.

GUSTAVUS SOHON'S PORTRAITS OF FLAT- HEAD AND PEND D'OREILLE INDIANS, 1854

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GUSTAVUS SOHON, ARTIST, LINGUIST, AND EXPLORER

The Flathead and Pend d'Oreille Indians, who lived in the mountain valleys of what is now the western part of the State of Montana and crossed the Continental Divide of the Rocky Mountains to hunt buffalo on the open plains, were not portrayed in the drawings and paintings of famous American and European artists who visited the Upper Missouri region in pre-reservation days. However, a private soldier in the United States Army, who was well acquainted with the Flathead and Pend d'Oreille tribes in the middle of the nineteenth century, has left a pictorial record worthy of these remarkable Indians in a series of realistic pencil portraits of his Indian friends. These portraits are signed "G. Sohon."

Gustavus Sohon was born in Tilsit, Germany, December 10, 1825. His daughter, Dr. Elizabeth Sohon, recalled that he used to speak of having attended "University," and Hazard Stevens, who knew him in 1855, called him "well-educated." When he came to America at the age of 17, to avoid compulsory service in the Prussian Army, which was distasteful to him, he spoke English, French, and German fluently. Whether Sohon ever had any formal instruction in art is not known.

Little is known of his life in Brooklyn during the decade following his arrival in this country. His daughter understood that he had made some woodcarvings for sale, and a son, the late Henry W. Sohon, wrote that "he engaged in the photograph business." However, upon his enlistment, he gave his occupation as "bookbinder."

Gustavus Sohon enlisted as a private in the United States Army in New York City, July 2, 1852, at the age of 26. Routine Army records describe him at that time as dark-complexioned, hazel-eyed,

black-haired, 5 feet 7 inches tall. He was assigned to Company K, Fourth Infantry Regiment. A few days later his Company was ordered to board the steamship *Golden West* for service on the Pacific Coast. After a brief stop at Benicia, Calif., Headquarters of the Military Department of the Pacific, Company K was ordered to the frontier military post of Fort Dalles on the Columbia River in Oregon Territory. The men arrived at Fort Dalles in September 1852.

Sohon went west at a momentous period in the development of the Western United States. For several years there had been a Nation-wide demand for a railroad to connect the growing settlements of the Pacific slope with the eastern States. However, strong rivalry existed in the East regarding the location of the route, and the choice of its eastern terminus. In 1853 Congress authorized the War Department "to ascertain the most practicable and economical route for a railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean." Three surveying expeditions were organized to explore a northern, a central, and a southern route. Governor Isaac I. Stevens of Washington Territory was placed in charge of the project to explore the northern route between the forty-seventh and forty-ninth parallels from the Mississippi River to Puget Sound.

Governor Stevens left St. Paul in early June, 1853, at the head of an exploring and surveying party moving westward across the plains to meet a second party, surveying eastward from the Pacific under his assistant, Capt. George B. McClellan. Stevens also ordered Lt. Rufus Saxton, Jr., acting assistant quartermaster and commissary of the expedition, to proceed eastward from the Pacific side and establish a depot of provisions at the Flathead Indian village of St. Mary's west of the Rockies. Lieutenant Saxton, with an escort of 18 soldiers from the Fourth Infantry, left Fort Dalles with the supply train on July 18, 1853. Gustavus Sohon was one of the enlisted men assigned to duty with this party. They traveled eastward via the Columbia River, Lewis' Fork, Clark's Fork, Flathead Lake, and up the Bitterroot Valley to St. Mary's village on the Bitterroot, then known as the St. Mary's River. En route this caravan met a party of about 100 Pend d'Oreille Indians returning from a buffalo hunt on the plains east of the Rockies with a large supply of buffalo robes and dried meat, which they planned to trade to the Indians nearer the west coast. It was Sohon's first glimpse of some of the mountain Indians whom he was later to know well.

Saxton's party also met the two Messrs. Owen, who had purchased the property of the Jesuit Mission of St. Mary's in 1850 and estab-

lished Fort Owen, a trading post, on its site. Because of continued hostile raids by Blackfoot Indians from east of the mountains, they had decided the location was no longer safe, and were on their way to the Pacific Coast. Upon seeing Saxton's armed force, they were encouraged to return to their abandoned post. Saxton's party reached Fort Owen on August 28. They found it surrounded by a considerable village of log cabins. They were surprised to find cattle, chickens, and growing crops of wheat and potatoes tended by Iroquois Indians. The Flathead Indians were absent on a buffalo hunt across the mountains.

By fall Governor Stevens was convinced that the critical problem confronting his survey was that of determining the most practical and economical route for the railway over the Rocky and Bitterroot ranges of mountains. Although the mountain region had been known to fur traders for several decades, the only mathematical data and maps available were those compiled by the explorers Lewis and Clark in their hasty travels through the area a half century earlier. There was need for more detailed scientific information. Accordingly, Stevens decided to leave a small party in the Bitterroot Valley through the winter of 1853-54 to make precise meteorological observations and to explore and survey the country between the Rocky and Bitterroot Mountains from Fort Hall northward to Flathead Lake and beyond, with particular emphasis upon the examination of the entrances to the mountain passes. On October 3, 1853, Stevens ordered Lt. John Mullan to take charge of these important investigations, and assigned 15 men to Mullan's command. Gustavus Sohon was one of this little group.

Mullan proceeded to erect a group of rude log huts 14 miles south of Fort Owen on the Bitterroot River. This little settlement, named Cantonment Stevens, served as a weather station, winter quarters, and headquarters for the party's explorations of the intermountain region.

Gustavus Sohon's services to Lieutenant Mullan in his explorations of 1853-54 were invaluable. A gifted linguist, Sohon learned to speak the Salishan languages of the Flathead and Pend d'Oreille Indians with remarkable rapidity. He became Lieutenant Mullan's interpreter and aided him in gathering important information from the Indians on the trails, mountain passes, and general geography of the region. It was probably during this period that Sohon began the compilation of the Flathead-English vocabulary which is now in the manuscript collections of the Bureau of American Ethnology. It includes some 1,500 useful words and phrases.

Sohon also accompanied Mullan on his extensive explorations of the intermountain region from Fort Hall on Snake River in the south to the Kootenay River on the north. They crossed the Continental Divide six times and measured the snowfall in the passes. Sohon made a series of excellent landscape sketches depicting the character of the country traversed, important landmarks, Cantonment Stevens, and views of the party on the march which were valuable as a record of the explorations.

In spring and early summer Sohon drew the remarkable series of pencil portraits from life of the chiefs and headmen of the Flathead and Pend d'Oreille tribes which is the subject of this paper. The dated Pend d'Oreille portraits of April 21 to May 1 were drawn in the Flathead Lake-Kootenay River region during Lieutenant Mullan's northern explorations in the spring of 1854. The portraits of Flathead and Iroquois living with that tribe, dated May 12 to June, 1854, probably were drawn in the vicinity of the Flathead village at Fort Owen in the Bitterroot Valley.

Doubtless Sohon rendered valuable service also as map maker and barometrical observer. If Sohon had had little experience in this work before, it is certain that he learned quickly. After a year of field work in the mountain valleys, Lieutenant Mullan led his little party westward to make his report to Governor Stevens. They arrived at Fort Dalles on October 14, 1854.

Governor Stevens was so favorably impressed with the work of Gustavus Sohon while under Lieutenant Mullan's command that he made a special request to Major General Wool, Commander of the Military Department of the Pacific, to have Sohon transferred to his command. On March 31, 1855, by authority of Major General Wool, Private Sohon was ordered to detached duty with Governor Stevens' expedition.

In the spring of 1855, before setting out on an important expedition to obtain additional detailed information for the railway survey and to make the first treaties between the United States and the Indian tribes of the Upper Columbia River and Northwestern Plains regions, Governor Stevens paid tribute to Private Sohon:

I also secured the services of a very intelligent, faithful, and appreciative man, Gustavus Sohon, a private of the Fourth Infantry, who was with Mr. Mullan the year previous in the Bitter Root valley, and had shown great taste as an artist, and ability to learn the Indian language, as well as facility in intercourse with the Indians. . . . Thus in the month of May, 1855, I found myself in the Walla-Walla valley, and with the means, by proper care and management of time, and a little hard work, to make a good examination of the country. My secretary, James Doty, esq., assisted me in the topography, and G. Sohon,

Nez Percé Indians preparing the records of the Walla Walla Council
June 1855



W. B. Mason
June 1855

made the barometrical observations. [Report of Explorations, etc., 1860, vol. 12, pt. 1, p. 196.]

Governor Stevens' son, who accompanied the expedition, wrote of Sohon as "the artist, barometer-carrier, and observer . . . an intelligent German, a clever sketcher, and competent to take instrumental observations." (Stevens, 1900, vol. 2, p. 68.)

In one of the largest gatherings of Indians in historic times, Governor Stevens and General Palmer, as United States Commissioners, met the Walla Walla, Cayuse, Umatilla, Yakima, and Nez Percé tribes of the Upper Columbia in late May and early June, 1855. This "Walla Walla Council" was held on Mill Creek, a tributary of the Walla Walla River, about 6 miles above the site of the ill-fated Whitman Indian Mission. The negotiations resulted in the cession to the United States of over 60,000 square miles of land, and the setting aside of three reservations for the Indians involved, one for the Walla Walla, Cayuse, and Umatilla, one for the "Yakima Nation," and one for the Nez Percé. The three separate treaties were signed June 9.

Although Sohon did not serve as an official interpreter at this Council, he apparently helped to interpret the proceedings to a group of Salishan-speaking Spokane Indians who attended the sessions. His "Records of the Walla Walla Council 30th May 1855, translated in the language of the Spokane Indians by G. Sohon," a manuscript in the collections of the Bureau of American Ethnology, is a parallel English-Spokane text of the opening speech at the Council by General Palmer.

Sohon's pencil was active during the period of the Walla Walla Council. He sketched the impressive parade of some 2,500 Nez Percé Indians arriving at the Council ground on horseback May 24, the feast given the chiefs by the Commissioners on the following day, a general view of the Council in session, and the primitive scalp dance celebrated by the Nez Percé on the day after the treaties were signed. He also made pencil portraits of the principal chiefs of the tribes that took part in the treaties. (The previously published drawings of Gustavus Sohon at the Walla Walla Council are listed in the Appendix, p. 68.) A remarkable aspect of this Council was the recording of the proceedings in the Nez Percé language by a group of young men who had been taught to read and write their own language by Presbyterian missionaries. Sohon's previously unpublished drawing of these Indian scribes at work appears as plate 1.

From the Walla Walla Council ground Governor Stevens' party of 22 persons, including 2 Indian guides, moved eastward. At a council

ground on the east bank of the Missoula River, $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles northwest of the present city of Missoula, Mont., Governor Stevens met the leaders of the Flathead, Upper Pend d'Oreille, and Kutenai tribes. The Council opened July 9 and ended July 16 in the signing of a treaty between these tribes and the United States which provided for the cession of some 25,000 square miles of Indian land. Details of this complex treaty are discussed in later pages of this paper.

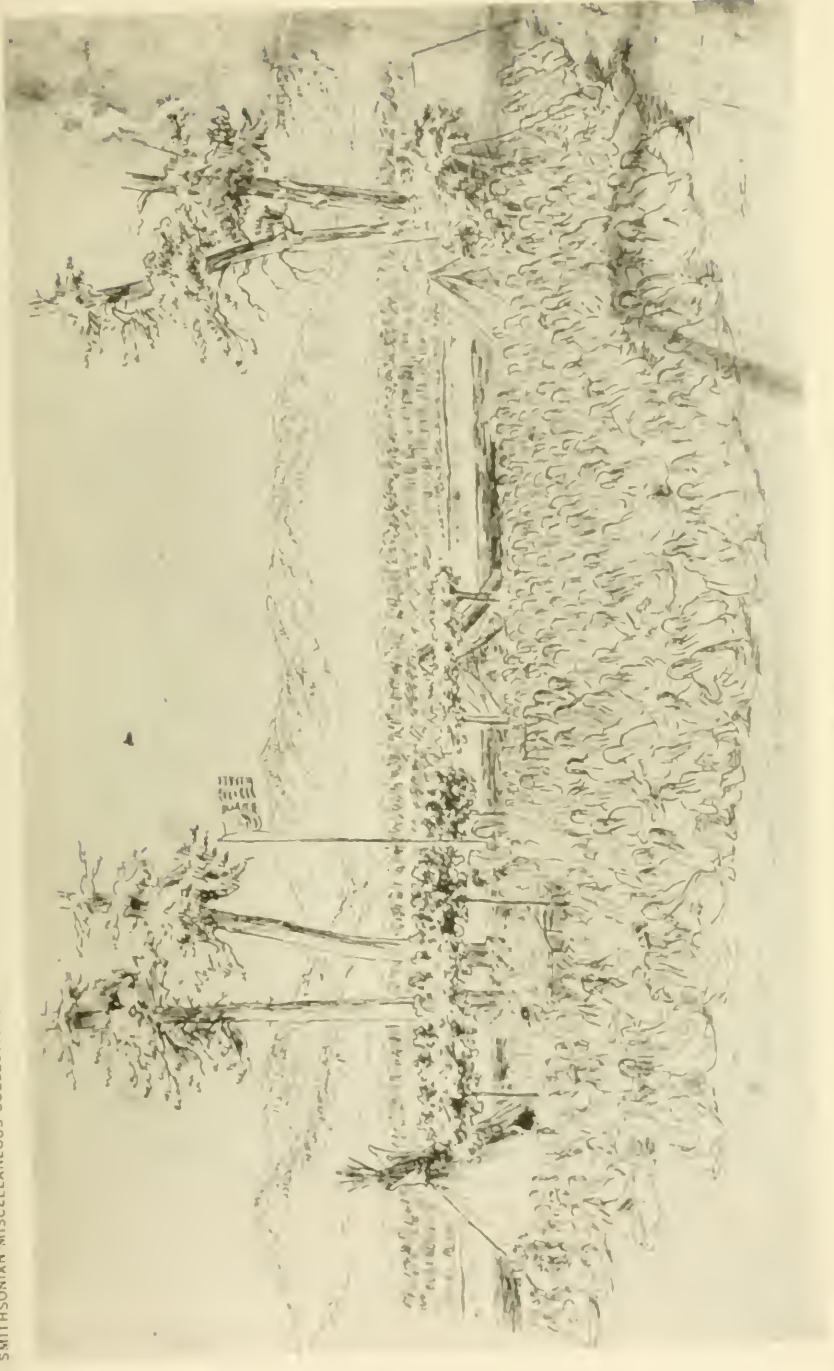
Gustavus Sohon and Ben Kiser, a half-breed Shawnee who lived with the Flathead, served as the official interpreters at this Flathead Treaty Council. The Flathead Indians still refer to the treaty site as "where the trees have no lower limbs." Sohon's sketch of the Council in session (pl. 2), the only pictorial record of the event, shows this characteristic of the locality.

From this council ground the Stevens party continued eastward to make a treaty with the Blackfoot Indians and their neighbors. En route Sohon assisted Governor Stevens in making an examination of the approaches to Cadotte's Pass over the Rockies, drew panoramic sketches of the Rocky Mountain chain as seen from the plains on the east, and took numerous barometrical observations.

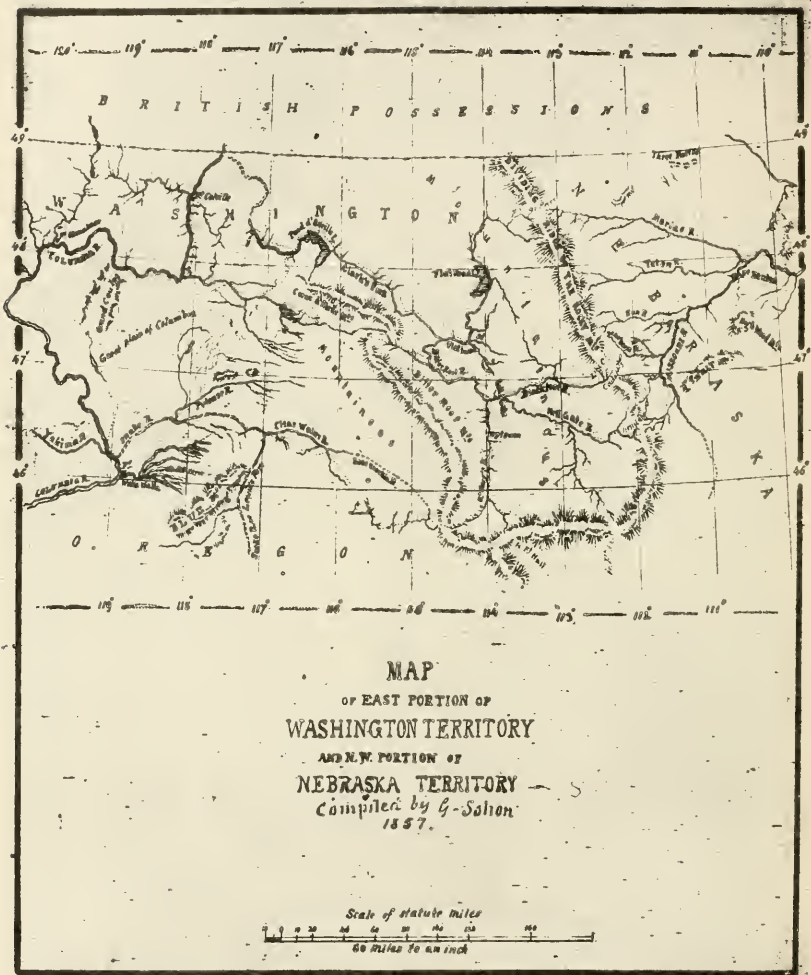
On October 16 Governor Stevens and Alfred Cumming, as United States Commissioners, met the chiefs of the three Blackfoot tribes, and the Gros Ventres, Nez Percé, Flathead, and Upper Pend d'Oreille, at a council ground near the mouth of the Judith River in the present State of Montana. Next day a treaty was signed. The treaty provided for no Indian land cessions, but it did define the boundaries of the hunting grounds of the Blackfoot tribes and of the Indian tribes from west of the Rockies who hunted buffalo on the plains.

Gustavus Sohon and Ben Kiser served as official Flathead interpreters. Sohon also made a sketch of the Council in session and a series of fine pencil portraits of both the white officials and the leading chiefs of the Blackfoot tribes who signed this first treaty between the United States and the Blackfoot. (See Appendix, p. 68, for list of published drawings made by Sohon at the Blackfoot Council.)

Governor Stevens intended to make treaties with the Spokane, Colville, and Coeur d'Alene tribes during his return journey to the west coast. However, on October 29, the day after his party left the council ground, he was met by a mounted courier from the west bearing the alarming report that some of the tribes with whom he had recently treated at Walla Walla had broken out in open war. The dispatches warned Stevens not to attempt to return through the country of the hostile Indians, but he obtained additional arms and



THE FLATHEAD TREATY COUNCIL, JULY 1855



Note all that east of the Rocky Mtn. Range which is now Montana did then belong to Nebraska

COUNTRY BETWEEN FORT BENTON ON THE MISSOURI AND
FORT WALLA WALLA ON THE COLUMBIA
Sketch map by Gustavus Sohn, 1857.

ammunition from Fort Benton and pressed on as quickly and as quietly as possible. The party crossed the Coeur d'Alene range of mountains in deep snow in late November, passed through the country of the hostiles, and reached Fort Dalles safely by the end of the year 1855.

Private Sohon remained on detached duty under Governor Stevens' command until April of 1856. During that period he may have worked over his sketches and assisted in the preparation of maps and meteorological data obtained in the previous years. When Governor Stevens' reports of his explorations and surveys of the northern railway route were published in 1860, the greater part of the colored lithographs used as illustrations were reproduced from original drawings by John Mix Stanley, the official artist of the expedition, who returned east in 1854. However, this publication also contains 10 illustrations after Gustavus Sohon's sketches, and 2 others redrawn by Stanley from Sohon's original work. The Sohon illustrations were a portion of those made during his service under Lieutenant Mullan in the valley in 1853-54, and with Governor Stevens' treaty-making expedition of 1855. (They are listed in the Appendix, p. 67.)

On April 19, 1856, Private Sohon was ordered to detached duty at Fort Steilacooms, Washington Territory. Six months later he was transferred to duty in the office of Captain Cram, of the Topographical Engineers, at the Headquarters of the Department of the Pacific, Benicia, Calif., where he served as a draughtsman in the preparation of maps of the western portion of the United States for the remainder of his period of military service. Private Sohon was honorably discharged from the Army at the expiration of his 5-year enlistment, at Fort Walla Walla, July 2, 1857.

The small-scale map, reproduced as plate 3, was drawn on tracing cloth by Gustavus Sohon in 1857. Although its original purpose is not known, it serves to indicate the knowledge of the country between Fort Benton on the Missouri River and Fort Walla Walla on the Columbia at that time. It also portrays the area in which Sohon traveled and made extensive detailed explorations and surveys during the decade 1853-62.

In March 1854 Lieutenant Mullan had been successful in taking a wagon train over the Rockies by way of Mullan Pass from Fort Benton to the Bitterroot Valley. Thus he suggested the possibility of a wagon road over the Northern Rockies. In 1855 Congress appropriated \$30,000 for the construction of a military wagon road

across the mountains from Fort Benton to Fort Walla Walla. Continued Indian unrest in the Northwest prevented work on the project. In 1858 Isaac I. Stevens was influential in obtaining an additional Congressional appropriation for this work and in the assignment of Lt. John Mullan to the position of officer in charge of the project.

Lieutenant Mullan organized a party to explore and survey the route at The Dalles, May 15, 1858. He employed Gustavus Sohon as civilian "Guide and Interpreter" to the party. They had moved eastward but a few miles when Lieutenant Mullan received word of the defeat of Colonel Steptoe's force by Spokane Indians on the Pelouse River, directly in the path of Mullan's proposed route. Realizing the impossibility of continuing the road survey, Lieutenant Mullan returned to The Dalles and disbanded his party with the exception of topographer Kolecki, guide Sohon, and a few men to care for his stock. He then offered the services of the remainder of his party to General Clarke, who assigned Mullan to the staff of Colonel Wright as topographical officer. Lieutenant Mullan also commanded the group of 33 loyal Nez Percé Indian guides and scouts attached to Colonel Wright's command. Wright marched against the hostile Indians at the head of a force of 680 soldiers. In the two battles of Four Lakes on September 1 and Spokane Plains on September 5 he decisively defeated the enemy force of Coeur d'Alene, Spokane, and Pelouse Indians.

Sohon made a sketch of the Battle of Spokane Plains on September 5, 1858 (pl. 4). It portrays the essential character of the battle. The retreating Indians had set fire to the prairie grass and under cover of the smoke, surrounded the soldiers on three sides. Colonel Wright promptly ordered the pack train to close up and surrounded it with a line of fighting men. The soldiers possessed improved long-range rifles which they used with deadly effect to beat back the sporadic attacks of the Indians who were armed only with short-range Hudson's Bay muskets, bows and arrows, and lances.

Mullan's men remained with Colonel Wright through the three peace councils with the hostiles in late September. Later Lieutenant Mullan returned to Washington to obtain further appropriations for the wagon road project.

In May 1859 Lieutenant Mullan again organized his party at The Dalles. In June he ordered Sohon to move forward in search of a possible route across the Bitterroot Mountains south of the Coeur d'Alene River—St. Regis Borgia River crossing. In his published

Battle on the Spokan plain - led by Wright in command and against
Combs's forces of the Indians, 1858.

T. S. S. S. S.



BATTLE ON THE SPOKAN PLAIN



A. F. Harvey, B. Ft. Benton

August 4, 1860

FORT BENTON ON THE UPPER MISSOURI
(Fort Harvey in background.) August 4, 1860.

report Mullan explained his choice of Sohon for this important mission:

Mr. Sohon's early connexion with my explorations in 1853 and 1854, his knowledge of the Indian language, his familiarity with the general scope of the country to be traversed, and the influence he had always so beneficially exerted over the Indians, all pointed him out as the proper person to explore the new and dangerous route. [Mullan, 1863, p. 11.]

Sohon found the Coeur d'Alene unwilling to furnish guides for the exploration of the mountain area south of the Coeur d'Alene River, and strongly opposed to the location of a wagon road in that region. He returned to Mullan's camp July 7, after an absence of more than a month alone in the country of Indians who, if not in open war, were still unfriendly to whites.

Abandoning hope of crossing to the south, Mullan pushed the road survey forward vigorously via the Coeur d'Alene Mission, and Coeur d'Alene River—St. Regis Borgia River crossing of the mountains, and down the valley of the St. Regis Borgia. Sohon, in charge of the small advance party, marked out the route and determined the location of the mountain pass over the Coeur d'Alene to be followed by the wagon road. The party wintered in a group of log huts on the St. Regis Borgia River, which they called Cantonment Jordan.

On July 1, 1860, while working in the area immediately west of the Rockies, Lieutenant Mullan received word that Major Blake with a command of 300 recruits en route to Fort Walla Walla had arrived at Fort Benton by steamboat and awaited Mullan's arrival for guidance over the mountains by the new road. Gustavus Sohon was transferred to Major Blake as guide and interpreter for his command. But before leaving Fort Benton, Sohon made a quick pencil sketch of the locality as seen from the east. The wagons in the right foreground probably are those used by Major Blake in crossing the mountains (pl. 5).

Gustavus Sohon guided the first wagon party to cross the mountains from Fort Benton to Fort Walla Walla, the first wagons to reach the Columbia River from east of the Continental Divide by a route north of the South Pass, in the present State of Wyoming. Major Blake's party left Fort Benton August 7, 1860, and arrived at Fort Walla Walla without mishap on October 4, spending 48 days in traveling and 11 resting along the way. This successful journey, which was made possible by Sohon's experienced guidance, convinced Lieutenant Mullan of the practicality of the wagon road.

Lieutenant Mullan and Sohon were again in the field in 1861. Starting once more from Walla Walla, they made extensive improve-

ments in the road, laying out new sections over better terrain or shortening the distances to be traveled, decreasing the number of necessary river crossings. When a new section of road was to be laid out, Sohon moved ahead with a small party to mark out the road and make detailed observations on the features of the country. The party wintered at Cantonment Wright at the junction of the Hell Gate and Big Blackfoot Rivers. In June 1862 Sohon was in charge of the main party which followed Lieutenant Mullan's advance party west. Lieutenant Mullan disbanded his expedition at Walla Walla in late August, 1862.

After more than 4 years of work, the wagon road was completed. It was the first road to connect the head of navigation on the Missouri with the head of navigation on the Columbia. Some 624 miles long, and from 25 to 30 feet wide, it could be traveled by lumbering wagons in 57 days, by pack animals in 35 days. Although originally intended as a military road to transport men and supplies to the posts of the far northwest, it was used primarily as a highway for travelers and settlers, and for the transport of freight to and from the northwest. "The Mullan Road," as it was commonly called, rendered important service to the settlement of the far northwest in the days before the railroads reached that section.

Mr. Sohon journeyed to Washington with Captain Mullan after the field season of 1862. In Washington he probably assisted Mullan in the preparation of data, maps, and illustrations for his official report on the project. The "Report on the Construction of a Military Road from Fort Walla Walla to Fort Benton" was published in 1863. It is illustrated by 10 colored lithographic reproductions of original drawings by Gustavus Sohon, all of which are erroneously labeled "C. Sohon." (A list of these illustrations appears in the Appendix, pp. 67-68.) Three of the large folding maps at the end of this report credit Gustavus Sohon as one of the civil engineers who contributed material to their compilation. On the two maps which show the location of the pass between the Coeur d'Alene and St. Regis Borgia Rivers, the name "Sohon Pass" is given to the location. Lieutenant Mullan named the pass in honor of Gustavus Sohon who made the first topographical map of it. Father De Smet crossed this pass in 1863, and referred to it as "Sohon Pass." (Chittenden and Richardson, 1905, vol. 3, p. 795.) However, when the railway was built over the Coeur d'Alene Mountains in 1889, it crossed the summit by another pass of nearly equal altitude, $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles northeast of Sohon Pass. The name Lookout Pass is now applied to the one followed by both the

railway and Highway No. 10 over the Coeur d'Alenes. During the 1890's the name St. Regis Pass appears to have replaced Sohon Pass on maps of the region.

Gustavus Sohon married Juliana Groh, April 29, 1863. Shortly thereafter he took his bride to San Francisco, Calif., where he established a "Photographic and Ambrotype Gallery," at 683 Market Street. Among his sitters was the famous Jesuit priest, Father De Smet, founder of the St. Mary's Mission to the Flathead Indians. An original Sohon negative of this subject is now in the collections of the Montana State Historical Society. In 1865 or 1866 Sohon gave up his photographic business and returned to Washington.

He retained his residence in Washington for the rest of his life, operating a shoe business and devoting much of his time to his growing family. Mr. Sohon was the father of eight children, five of whom lived to adulthood. His three sons attained distinction in the professions of law, medicine, and chemical research. Henry W. Sohon was a President of the Bar Association of the District of Columbia. Dr. Frederick Sohon accompanied Robert Peary as physician on three Arctic expeditions. Dr. Michael Druck Sohon isolated the chemical phenalthalein while at Johns Hopkins University. The only surviving child of Gustavus Sohon, Dr. Elizabeth Sohon, is a practicing physician in the city of Washington. Prof. Frederick W. Sohon, S.J., a grandson, is director of the world-famous Seismological Laboratory of Georgetown University.

Mr. Sohon never revisited the Northwest and the scenes of his decade of exploration between 1853-62. Nevertheless, his personal correspondence and the considerable number of copies of Government documents pertaining to relations with the Indians of the Northwest among his personal papers show that he retained an active interest in the welfare of the tribes he had known so well. His daughter recalls that members of the Flathead Indian delegation to Washington under Chief Charlot in 1884 paid a visit to Mr. Sohon at his home. The only time she saw her father smoke was when the pipe was passed around at the beginning of that meeting of old friends.

Gustavus Sohon died in Washington, D. C., September 3, 1903, at 78 years of age. He was buried in Mount Olivet Cemetery.

Three years before Mr. Sohon's death, Hazard Stevens' life of his father, Isaac I. Stevens, was published. The majority of the illustrations in this two-volume work are halftone reproductions of 22 original pencil portraits and 8 scenes drawn by Private Sohon during his service under Governor Stevens in the treaty-making operations

in the spring, summer, and fall of 1855. Hazard Stevens wrote of these illustrations :

The portraits of Indian chiefs were made by Gustavus Sohon, a private soldier of the 4th infantry, an intelligent and well educated German, who had great skill in making expressive likenesses. He also made the views of the councils and expedition. These portraits with many others taken by the same artist, were intended by Governor Stevens to be used to illustrate a complete account of his treaty operations. [Stevens, 1900, vol. 2, p. xx.]

Isaac I. Stevens was prevented from writing a history of his treaty operations by the pressure of public duties and later by his untimely death in battle in the Civil War.

Mr. Sohon's illustrations published in Hazard Stevens' book are listed in the Appendix, p. 68. They include portraits of the prominent Indian chiefs at both the Walla Walla and Blackfoot Treaty Councils. None of the prominent leaders of the Flathead and Pend d'Oreille tribes who participated in the Flathead and Blackfoot Treaties are portrayed.

In 1883 a collection of portraits of Northwestern Indians was given to the United States National Museum by Willard Jewell. It included nine pencil portraits of prominent Flathead leaders, eight portraits of chiefs and headmen of the Upper Pend d'Oreille, and three portraits of prominent Iroquois living with these tribes in the middle of the nineteenth century. The portraits were drawn by Gustavus Sohon while serving under Lieutenant Mullan the year before the Flathead Treaty. These may have been some of the "many other" portraits by Sohon, referred to by Hazard Stevens, which Isaac I. Stevens had intended to use in his proposed book on his treaty operations. Each portrait is on a separate piece of thin drawing board measuring about $7\frac{1}{2} \times 10$ inches. Each portrait bears a caption in Sohon's handwriting giving significant information on the subject of the sketch. These portraits are reproduced for the first time in this publication.

In 1947 Mr. Sohon's daughter, Dr. Elizabeth Sohon, presented to the United States National Museum 25 original drawings by her father, which were among his personal effects in her possession. Most of these drawings are scenes in the Indian country of the Northwest drawn in the years 1854-60. Several appear to have been the original field sketches in pencil which were copied at a later date in more finished form for some of Mr. Sohon's published illustrations. Others represent subjects that were never published. These drawings vary greatly in size; they probably were made on whatever paper was handy at the time of sketching. Some are on thin tracing paper in light pencil. The paper has deteriorated and the pencil lines now are

barely visible. A selection of these drawings, comprising those that have been identified and are sufficiently clear to be reproduced, has been employed in the illustration of this paper. In their present condition these drawings have scientific value, but do not constitute a fair representation of Mr. Sohon's artistic ability.¹

THE FLATHEAD INDIANS

They called themselves the Salish. However, the people of this tribe have been known to white men for more than a century as the Flathead Indians. The origin of this name is uncertain. The neighboring Pend d'Oreille have a tradition that the Flathead practiced artificial head deformation when they arrived in the Bitterroot Valley from the west, at an undetermined time centuries ago. Yet the modern Flathead deny that their ancestors deformed their heads. (Turney-High, 1937, p. 12.) Some writers have used the term "Flatheads" loosely to designate the entire group of small Salishan tribes of the Upper Columbia River drainage. In 1851 Anson Dart, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon Territory, explained the application of the name to these tribes thus: "These Indians received the name Flat Heads from the fact that their heads were not sharpened by pressure on the forehead, as the Chinooks." (Ann. Rep. Comm. Ind. Aff., 1851, p. 478.) This suggests that the "Flatheads" were so named to designate people whose heads remained in the natural condition, flat on top, to distinguish them from the tribes of the Lower Columbia, whose custom it was to deform the heads of infants by artificial pressure in cradling.

¹ Although Gustavus Sohon's drawings comprise the most extensive and authoritative pictorial series on the Indians of the Northwestern Plateau in pre-preservation days; although he possessed remarkable talent; and although some 52 of his drawings have been published, his name does not appear in any of the standard biographies of American artists. Louise Rasmussen's "Artists of the Explorations Overland, 1840-1860," devotes three short sentences to Sohon.

This biographical sketch has been prepared on the basis of the published Government reports on the Pacific Railway Explorations and Surveys and the Military Wagon Road, on material in Hazard Steven's life of his father, on information in the files of War Department and State Department Archives in the National Archives, on a typed biographical sketch written by his son, the late Henry W. Sohon, in 1918, which is now in the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, Los Angeles, and information graciously supplied by his daughter, Dr. Elizabeth Sohon, of Washington, D. C.

For valuable biographical information on the subjects of Sohon's Indian portraits, the writer is indebted to Pierre Pichette, Martina Siwahsah, and Baptiste Finley, Indians of the Flathead Reservation, Montana, interviewed in September 1947.

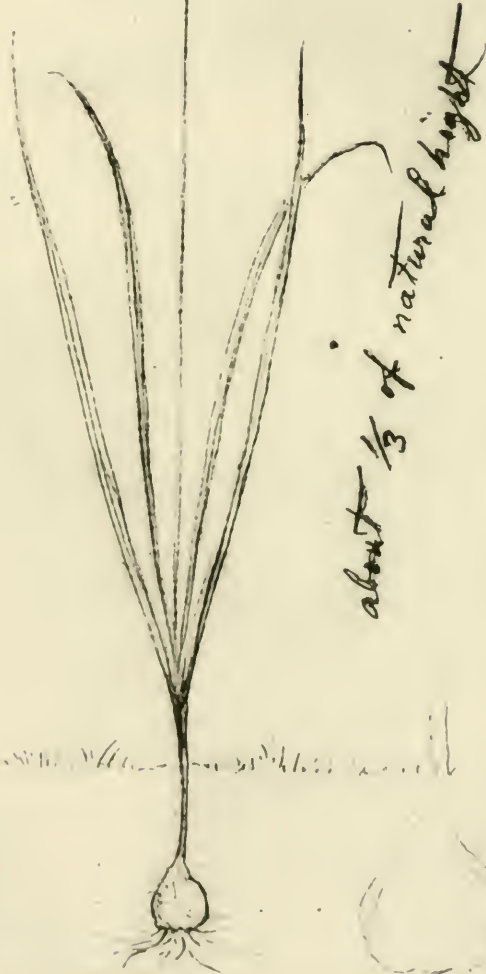
From the time of their traditional migration from the west until their final settlement on the Flathead Reservation in 1891, the true home of the Flathead tribe was the Bitterroot Valley, between the Rocky and Bitterroot Mountains in the southwestern part of the present State of Montana. This was beautiful wooded country, well stocked with deer, elk, bear, beaver, and wild fowl. Fish were plentiful in the streams. The fertile land yielded an abundance of edible wild roots and berries. The valley received its name from the bitterroot plant (*Lewisia rediviva*) which was especially plentiful there. By hunting, fishing, and collecting, the primitive Flathead gained ample subsistence in their valley home in pre-horse days.

The Flathead are believed to have obtained their first horses from Shoshonean tribes to the south during the first quarter of the eighteenth century. (Haines, 1938, p. 435.) After horses became numerous among them, the tribe made periodic journeys over the Rockies to hunt buffalo on the plains of the Upper Missouri. Regular seasonal migrations were customary in early historic times. In spring and summer the Flathead resided in the Bitterroot Valley, subsisting primarily on roots (of which the bitterroot and camas were most important), berries, small game, and fish. In June and July the men crossed the mountains on horseback for a brief summer hunt to obtain meat and buffalo hides for lodges. At the close of the berry season, in September or October, the whole tribe moved to the plains about the upper tributaries of the Missouri River to hunt buffalo. Usually they did not return to the valley until the next March or April, in time to dig the bitterroot. Fully half the year was spent on this long winter hunt.

The neighbors of the Flathead on the plains in the middle of the eighteenth century were the Pend d'Oreille and Kutenai on the north, and the Shoshoni on the north, east, and south. These friendly tribes recognized the right of the Flathead to hunt buffalo on a portion of the plains. It was as plains buffalo hunters that the Blackfoot Indians first met these people. Doubtless this accounts for the fact that the Flathead are regarded as a plains tribe in the traditions of the Blackfoot. (Thompson, 1916, pp. 327-328; Wissler, 1910, p. 17.)

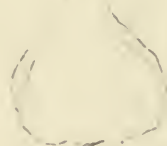
In the latter half of the eighteenth century the powerful Blackfoot tribes, with the Piegan in the lead, pushed southwestward through present-day Alberta toward the Rockies and the northern tributaries of the Missouri River. Armed with deadly firearms, obtained from white traders on the Saskatchewan, and mounted on swift horses stolen from their southern and western enemies, these aggressive

natural size



about 1/3 of natural height

Natural size



THE CAMAS, AN IMPORTANT FLATHEAD FOOD PLANT

intruders could not be repulsed by the bows and arrows, lances, and war clubs of the Flathead and their neighbors. The Blackfoot invasion gained momentum after a disastrous smallpox epidemic in 1781 greatly reduced the numbers of their enemies. The establishment of trading posts in their own country later in that decade also gave them a more plentiful supply of firearms and ammunition. By the close of the century the Blackfoot tribes dominated the western plains north of the Missouri. They forced the Kutenai, Pend d'Oreille, and Flathead to seek safety west of the Rockies, and pushed the Shoshoni southward and westward. The Blackfoot tried to deny the western tribes access to the buffalo plains by guarding the eastern exits from the most commonly used mountain passes. Occasionally they sent strong war parties over the Rockies to steal horses from the western tribes and to harass them in their own country. (Ferris, 1940, pp. 90-92; Thompson, 1916, pp. 304, 327-344; Teit, 1930, pp. 316-321.)

The Flathead and their neighbors insisted on their prior right to hunt buffalo on the plains in the present Montana. These tribes were too small to risk individual combat with the powerful Blackfoot. So they joined forces and crossed the mountains cautiously farther south on shorter hunting excursions. The expeditions of the period included the Nez Percé as well as the Flathead and neighboring Salishan tribes. In spite of their precautions these parties sometimes suffered heavy losses from attacks by the better-armed Blackfoot.

On these excursions the allied western tribes also met the Crow Indians, who had advanced westward across the plains of the Yellowstone River valley and taken over much of the territory previously held by the Shoshoni. Prior to 1805 the western allies traded horses and horn bows to the Crows for materials which the latter had obtained from the Mandan and Hidatsa villages farther east. Through these Crow middlemen the westerners obtained some articles of European manufacture, including a few brass kettles, which they cut into small pieces to ornament their hair and clothing. As yet the Flathead received no firearms. (Larocque, 1910, pp. 71-72.)

The first white men known to have met the Flathead were the members of the party of American explorers under Captains Lewis and Clark on their way overland to the Pacific. On September 4, 1805, this expedition encountered a Flathead village in what later became known as Ross's Hole, near the present town of Sula, Ravalli County, Mont. The explorers found the Flathead dressed in animal skins, living in skin-covered lodges, and subsisting at the time on roots and berries. Although interchange of ideas was complicated by the

fact that all conversation had to pass through six different languages, the Flathead managed to impress the explorers with their friendliness and hospitality by exchanging presents, willingly sharing their food, and trading horses to the whites. The expedition spent 2 days with the Indians, at the conclusion of which the Flathead set out for the Three Forks of the Missouri to join their western allies on the winter buffalo hunt. Lewis and Clark estimated the size of the Indian village at 33 lodges (Sergeant Ordway reckoned 40), in which lived about 400 persons, of whom 80 were men. Capt. Clark said these Indians called themselves "Eoote-lash-Schute." Later Indian accounts of the meeting leave no doubt that they were the Flathead. (Thwaites, 1904-5, vol. 3, pp. 52-55; Ordway, 1916, pp. 281-282; Wheeler, 1904, vol. 2, p. 65; Ronan, 1890, p. 41; Report of Explorations, etc., 1860, vol. 1, p. 325.)

Lewis and Clark estimated that the people of this village possessed over 500 horses of fine quality, an average of more than 15 horses to the lodge. Later accounts substantiate the fact that the Flathead were richer in horses than were the Indians of the Plains. (Irving, 1851, p. 117; Bradley, 1923, p. 256.) Flathead horses were sturdy, long-winded animals. A Blackfoot brave told Governor Stevens in 1853 that he "stole the first Flathead horse he came across—it was sure to be a good one." (Report of Explorations, etc., 1860, vol. 1, p. 148.) The theft of horses furnished a primary motive for Blackfoot raids on Flathead camps throughout the greater part of the nineteenth century.

When David Thompson of the Northwest Company crossed the Rockies and opened direct trade with the Flathead and Pend d'Oreille tribes in the fall of 1809, he found these Indians armed only with stone-pointed lances and arrows which broke harmlessly against the thick buffalo-hide shields of their Blackfoot enemies. These Indians clamored for firearms, ammunition, and iron arrowheads in exchange for beaver pelts. Little else interested them. (Thompson, 1916, p. 411.) During the following winter Thompson traded the Flathead more than 20 guns and several hundred iron arrowheads. Next summer the Indians were eager to try their new weapons against their old enemies. In July a party of about 150 Flathead and allied tribesmen crossed the Rockies by way of Marias Pass, determined to hunt boldly. The Piegan did attack them shortly after they reached the plains. The hardy Flathead successfully repulsed the attackers, with heavy losses to the Piegan. With the improved weapons the Flathead scored their first victory over the stronger Blackfoot.

Thompson credited the western Indians with being deadlier marksmen with their new weapons than were the Piegan. He believed this was due to the fact that they had learned to fire at smaller game from a distance, while the Blackfoot were accustomed to shoot buffalo at short range. (*Ibid.*, p. 411.)

Next year the Piegan, chastened by this defeat at the hands of their formerly impotent foes, sued for peace with the Flathead. It was a tempting offer to this small tribe that had suffered severe losses through decades of warfare with the Blackfoot. However, after long deliberation, the courageous Flathead leaders refused the peace offer. They knew that the Piegan could not speak for their Blood, North Blackfoot, and Gros Ventres allies, who remained hostile. (*Ibid.*, pp. 547-551.)

Within a few years the Flathead became well armed. The 168 Flathead men and boys who came to trade at the Hudson's Bay Company post at Horse Prairie in the fall of 1824 possessed 180 guns. (Ross, 1913, p. 387.) The Flathead were grateful to the traders whose guns and ammunition they believed had saved their little tribe from possible extermination at the hands of the merciless Blackfoot.

On the other hand, the traders were very much impressed with the character and integrity of the Flathead as compared with the Indian tribes they had known east of the Rockies and on the Pacific Coast. In the accounts of hard-boiled traders, the Flathead were extravagantly praised for their friendliness, frankness, honesty, truthfulness, industry, courage, obedience to their chiefs, cleanliness, and chastity of their women. (Cox, 1832, pp. 102, 122; Ferris, 1940, pp. 88, 325-326; Henry and Thompson, 1897, vol. 2, p. 710.) Yet the traders recognized that the Flathead had one serious failing, they were bold and inveterate gamblers. (Ferris, 1940, pp. 94-96; Thompson, 1916, pp. 411, 551; Wyeth, 1899, p. 193.)

Because of their admiration for the Flathead, many of the traders offered to aid them in their unequal struggle with the more numerous Blackfoot. Some traders, like Finan McDonald, accompanied the Flathead to the buffalo plains and fought beside them against their Indian enemies. (Cox, 1832, pp. 167-168.) Others sought to effect a peace between the warring tribes. Ross Cox, in 1813, tried to induce the Flathead to abandon their dangerous expeditions to the plains. He argued that their lands west of the mountains were well supplied with smaller game which could support them. But "they replied that their fathers had always hunted on the buffalo grounds; that they were accustomed to do the same thing from their infancy; and they would not now abandon a practice which had existed for several

generations." (Ibid., p. 121.) In the winter of 1832 Captain Bonneville tried to make peace between the western Indians and the Blackfoot. The Flathead, Nez Percé, and other western allies called a council to discuss the matter. In the end these Indians rejected Bonneville's proposal, on the logical grounds that a state of open warfare, during which everyone was constantly alerted, was preferable to the false security of peace with an enemy they could not trust. (Irving, 1851, pp. 121-122.)

While the Blackfoot waged a relentless war against American traders on the plains, the Flathead were uniformly friendly to both British and American traders. Through the fur trade their material culture was enriched with both utilitarian objects and luxuries—weapons and ammunition, metal tools, and household utensils; glass beads and garments of cloth. Aside from encouraging the Flathead to hunt valuable fur-bearing animals for the trade, and attempting to bring peace to the tribe, the fur traders were content to let the Indians live their own lives.

The appearance of Iroquois Indians among the Flathead was a by-product of the fur trade. Some time prior to 1825 a number of Iroquois men, who had been encouraged to leave their homes in the St. Lawrence Valley to hunt and trap for the fur companies in the far West, settled among the friendly Flathead. These Iroquois had received religious instruction from Catholic priests in the East, probably at the Jesuit Mission of Caughnawaga. They introduced among the Flathead some of the elements of Catholic worship as they recalled them, which were combined with elements of primitive Flathead religious ceremonials. The fur traders Wyeth and Bonneville reported the curious blend of Christian and native religious practices which they observed among the Flathead in 1833 and 1834. At that time the Flathead offered daily prayers and observed the cardinal holidays of the Roman Catholic Church. They considered Sunday a day of rest on which hunting, fishing, trading, and moving camp were forbidden, unless hunger or extreme danger from enemies prevailed. Each Sunday morning the people assembled to hear the moral teachings of their religious leader. The service was interspersed with singing and dancing in a great circle after the fashion of the older, native prophet dance. (Wyeth, 1899, pp. 193-194, 195, 196, 203; Irving, 1851, pp. 389-390; Spier, 1935, pp. 30-39.) However, these services consumed only a portion of their day of rest. The remainder of the day was celebrated as a secular holiday, in which the Indians indulged their love for gambling. Horse racing, the hand game, and



FLATHEAD INDIANS PLAYING RING, A POPULAR MEN'S GAMBLING GAME

other games involving wagers were played with fervor and keen delight. (Irving, 1851, p. 392.)

The Iroquois living with the Flathead encouraged them to sponsor a series of deputations to St. Louis during the 1830's, in quest of the "black robes," Catholic priests who could bring them the full benefits of Christianity.

In response to these persistent requests, Jesuit officials selected Father Pierre Jean De Smet, a Belgian priest, with 2 years' experience in missionary work among Indians, to visit the Flathead and determine the feasibility of missionary work among this far western tribe. He journeyed from St. Louis to Green River (in present Wyoming), where a Flathead delegation met him on June 30, 1840. They guided him to the main Flathead-Pend d'Orcille camp at Pierre's Hole. He found the Flathead hospitable and inclined to embrace the black robes' religion. De Smet baptized nearly 600 of the Indians, including the aged chiefs of both the Flathead and Upper Pend d'Orcille tribes. He assured them that a resident missionary would be sent them the following spring, and returned to St. Louis, enthusiastic over the prospects of a permanent Flathead Indian Mission.

Next spring Father De Smet headed the little party entrusted with the inauguration of the first Catholic Mission in the great Northwest. It included two other priests, Fathers Nicholas Point and Gregory Mengarini, and three lay brothers. In the fall of 1841, they established St. Mary's Mission in the Bitterroot Valley.

For 5 years St. Mary's Mission appeared to prosper. Father De Smet was not content merely to convert the pagan Flathead to Christianity. He initiated a series of fundamental changes in Flathead culture which he believed was necessary to improve the economic and social condition of the tribe.

The primitive Flathead had been accustomed to regard supernatural assistance as a powerful war medicine. Many warriors were attracted to Christianity as a source of stronger war medicine than they previously had possessed. A series of decisive victories of Flathead warriors over much larger enemy forces, following their conversion, convinced even their enemies that "the medicine of the Blackrobes was stronger than theirs." (Chittenden and Richardson, 1905, vol. 2, p. 589.) De Smet admired the courage of the Flathead, but he could not reconcile their interpretation of spiritual power as war power with the Christian ideal of universal peace. Like the fur traders before him, Father De Smet viewed the traditional Flathead-Blackfoot war-

fare as the greatest threat to the security and progress of the Indians. Primarily to prevent conflict on the buffalo plains, and secondarily to inculcate a "love of labor," which he deemed essential, among the Flathead, he attempted to "create among them a greater taste for agriculture than for hunting." He realized this would require "much time and patience." (Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 329, 366.)

To initiate this economic revolution, Father De Smet obtained seeds from Fort Colville and showed the Flathead hunters how to plant, cultivate, and harvest crops of wheat, oats, and potatoes. He also introduced cattle, hogs, and chickens from the western settlements. In 1845 the missionaries set up a flour mill to process their wheat, and a saw mill to provide lumber for permanent houses. A dozen small houses were built around the Mission as a further incentive to the Flathead to adopt a sedentary life.

De Smet recognized that until such time as the Flathead became experienced farmers, it would be necessary for them to continue their seasonal buffalo hunts. For a period a priest was sent with the hunting camp, but it soon became evident that serious religious instruction was impossible amid the savage excitement of the buffalo chase. Furthermore, the presence of a priest in the Flathead camp proved embarrassing on those occasions when battles with Blackfoot or Crow war parties on the hunting grounds could not be avoided. So the experiment of sending a priest with the hunting camp was abandoned. (Palladino, 1894, pp. 52-53.)

The changes wrought by Father De Smet in Flathead social life were profound. He aimed to eliminate those primitive Flathead social practices which appeared to be out of harmony with Christian morality.

Polygamy had been traditional with the Flathead. It was usual for a successful warrior and hunter to take more than one wife. A good hunter could provide more hides than a single woman could process. Several wives, therefore, were an economic asset to the ambitious Indian during the period of the fur trade. Furthermore, polygamy helped to provide for the excess of women in the tribe caused by heavy war casualties among vigorous, adult males. Father De Smet refused to recognize such multiple unions. He called upon each man to select one woman with whom he should appear before the priest for Christian marriage. (Chittenden and Richardson, 1905, vol. 1, p. 332.)

Flathead addiction to gambling was interpreted by Father De Smet as contrary to God's commandment, "Ye shall not covet anything

that is your neighbors." All their traditional gambling games, in which the Flathead had spent much of their leisure time, were abolished. (*Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 227.)

In premissionary times the Flathead punished individual law-breakers by flogging. The traditional symbol of authority of a Flathead chief was a stout whip possessing fire-hardened rawhide lashes, which he applied vigorously to the bare back of each offender. It was customary for the guilty party to take his punishment manfully, without resentment against the chief. This was a cruel but effective method of enforcing tribal law. Father De Smet, impressed by the brutality of the chiefly flogging, discouraged this practice. (*Ibid.*, vol. 4, pp. 1225-1226.)

Fathers De Smet and Point accompanied the Flathead to the plains in the late summer of 1846. In September of that year De Smet succeeded in arranging a peaceful meeting between the Flathead and the Blackfoot. At the Piegan camp he was able to establish, by common consent among the leaders of these tribes, what he believed would be a lasting peace between these traditional enemies. He left Father Point to spend the winter with the Piegan and to begin missionary work among them, while he himself traveled down the Missouri to St. Louis. When he left the Flathead in the fall of 1846, Father De Smet was confident that the Mission, which he had founded among them, was flourishing. Yet 4 years later the Indians and missionaries had become so estranged that it was necessary to discontinue the Mission.

Many reasons have been given for the temporary abandonment of St. Mary's Mission in the writings of the missionaries. Father De Smet was accused of having made promises to the Indians which the missionaries who remained at St. Mary's could not fulfill. This De Smet vigorously denied. (*Chittenden and Richardson*, 1905, vol. 4, p. 1480; *Garraghan*, 1938, vol. 2, pp. 377-378.) Fathers Ravalli and Mengarini, who remained at the Mission through the 4 years after De Smet's departure, also stressed the point that the best Indians of the tribe had died since the Mission was founded, leaving a predominance of undisciplined individuals whose minds were poisoned against the missionaries by both white men and Indians who were either immoral characters or prejudiced against the missionaries and their work. (*Garraghan*, 1938, vol. 2, pp. 379-382; *Palladino*, 1894, p. 50.) Finally, the continued absence of the Flathead from the Bitterroot Valley for long periods on their buffalo hunts, left the Mission unprotected against Blackfoot attacks which endangered the

lives and property of the missionaries and their faithful assistants. By the fall of 1850 Catholic officials reluctantly recognized that the possibility of effective work among the Flathead had become so remote that further maintenance of St. Mary's Mission was not justified. On November 5, 1850, the Mission property was sold to John Owen, an American trader, who founded there a trading post, Fort Owen.

Contemporary accounts of the missionaries indicate that the Flathead change of heart became evident almost immediately after they left Father De Smet in the Blackfoot country in the fall of 1846. The Flathead are said to have given themselves up to obscenity and excesses of the flesh while still on the plains. When they returned to the Bitterroot Valley, the Indians greeted the missionaries coldly, pitched their lodges at some distance from the Mission, and were reluctant even to sell the missionaries dry meat of poor quality. (Ravalli in Garraghan, 1938, vol. 2, pp. 376-377.) Throughout much of the remaining period of the existence of the Mission, the Flathead avoided the Mission and were indifferent or hostile to the efforts of the missionaries on their behalf. They indulged their passion for gambling and "indecent" dancing, and refused to sell provisions to the Mission. (Ravalli in Garraghan, vol. 2, p. 380; Accolti in same, vol. 2, p. 383.) They no longer took their sick to the missionaries, but entrusted them to the treatment of native medicine men. Because the punishment of the whip had been abolished, some of their once influential chiefs, who deplored the actions of their people, were unable to exercise their traditional authority over their tribesmen. (Accolti in Garraghan, 1938, vol. 2, p. 382.)

In sum, these actions of the Flathead majority constituted a bloodless revolt against the planned socio-economic program inaugurated by Father De Smet. After 5 years of trial, they were unable to assimilate the alien, and to them meaningless, traits of European culture introduced by the missionaries as substitutes for their time-honored primitive customs. The contemporary accounts of the missionaries suggest that during the early period of their revolt against the austere moral code imposed by the Mission, the Flathead may have indulged in excesses that would not have been tolerated by their own leaders in premissionary days. However, for the most part, the Flathead reverted to their traditional pattern of existence.

Gambling was again popular. Polygamy was no longer forbidden. Their agricultural efforts were virtually abandoned. Four years after the sale of Mission property, George Gibbs observed that the Flathead

"live altogether by the hunt, and do not manifest any disposition to agricultural pursuits or fixed residence. . . . They have at the station a village of log houses, but notwithstanding generally prefer their own lodges." (Report of Explorations, etc., 1860, vol. 1, pp. 415-416.)

In 1855 Governor Stevens found many of the Flathead still unfriendly toward Indian Missions. After the conclusion of the Flathead Treaty on July 16, 1855, he wrote to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs: "Much difficulty was experienced in bringing the Tribes onto the Reservation in consequence of the dislike of the Flatheads for Mission Establishments." (Partoll, 1938a, p. 312.) Gradually Flathead opposition subsided. In 1866, at the Indians' own request, the Catholic Mission of St. Mary's was reestablished among the Flathead.

Like most intertribal peace treaties of the pre-reservation period, Father De Smet's Flathead-Blackfoot treaty of 1846 was short-lived. Within a few months the aggressive Blackfoot were harassing the Flathead again, both on the plains and in the Bitterroot Valley. Flathead losses again mounted. When the members of the Pacific Railway Survey parties visited the Flathead in 1853, they found Blackfoot aggression was still the greatest threat to Flathead tribal welfare. Governor Stevens estimated Flathead population at 60 lodges and 350 people, but many of the lodges were said to have been inhabited by widows and their daughters. (Report of Explorations, etc., 1860, vol. 1, p. 150.) Dr. Suckley reported that "but few pure Flatheads (are) left, the race having been almost exterminated by the Blackfeet. The mass of the nation now consists of Kalispelms, Spokanes, Nez Perces, and Iroquois who have come among them, together with their descendants." (Ibid., p. 295.)

As were the traders and missionaries before him, Governor Stevens was attracted by the fine qualities of the Flathead. Doubtless he was familiar with the writings of some of the earlier fur traders and of Father De Smet. Before he had met the Flathead, he wrote of them as "the best Indians of the mountains or the plains—honest, brave, docile—they need only encouragement to become good citizens." (Ann. Rep. Comm. Ind. Aff., 1853, p. 463.) He employed the authority of his office and his personal persuasive powers in an effort to bring about Flathead-Blackfoot peace. In 1853 he exacted promises from a number of the Blackfoot chiefs to cease their attacks on the Flathead. The Flathead leaders agreed to fight only in self-defense. However, the Blackfoot chiefs were powerless to restrain

their ambitious young braves. When Stevens returned to the Flathead in the summer of 1855, he was told how Blackfoot warriors had continued to steal large numbers of horses from Flathead camps and to kill peaceful Flathead on hunting excursions. The Flathead complained bitterly that they had suffered serious losses since 1853, but had kept their promise not to retaliate.

The Blackfoot Treaty of 1855, signed by both Blackfoot and Flathead leaders, designated a portion of the plains south of the Musselshell River as a proper buffalo-hunting ground for the Flathead and their allies from west of the Rockies. The treaty also pledged all the signatory tribes to intertribal peace. This treaty failed also to end warfare in the area. The chiefs who signed it could not enforce it among their own warriors. John Owen stated in 1860, "Since the treaty of '55 the Blackfeet have made frequent predatory Excursions to the different Camps from (on) this side and have run off many horses." (Owen, 1927, vol. 2, p. 215.) Sporadic clashes between Blackfoot and Flathead continued until the end of buffalo days nearly three decades after the treaty.

When Governor Stevens called the Flathead Treaty Council in the summer of 1855, the Indians hoped he would present a plan to halt Blackfoot depredations. Instead he told them of the Government's desire to place the Flathead, Pend d'Oreille, and that portion of the Kutenai living in the United States upon a single reservation comprising a small portion of the land claimed by those tribes west of the Rockies. The Indians were disappointed. Nevertheless, after Governor Stevens explained to them the many benefits offered by the Government in exchange for the cession of their lands outside the reservation boundaries, the majority of the chiefs appeared to accept the joint reservation proposal. Trouble arose when it came to the selection of a reservation site. The Flathead leaders refused to consider any location other than their ancestral home, their beloved Bitterroot Valley. The Upper Pend d'Oreille were unwilling to leave their homeland farther north about the newly established Catholic Mission of St. Ignatius. Negotiations appeared to have bogged down completely when Victor, the Flathead head chief, suggested a compromise, which Stevens accepted, and embodied in the formal treaty, signed by leaders of these tribes, and Governor Stevens as United States Commissioner, July 16, 1855. Article XI of this treaty read:

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 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.

Governor Stevens immediately instructed R. H. Lansdale, Indian Agent, to make an examination of both localities. There exists in the National Archives, Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, correspondence, a manuscript report from Lansdale to Stevens, dated October 2, 1855, in which he expressed the opinion that the northern (Jocko) site was preferable to the Bitterroot Valley one. In reaching this opinion he considered the natural fertility and resources of the two areas. However, he acknowledged that the existence of the St. Ignatius Mission in the northern area weighed heavily in his choice of that location. This report was premature. It was made $3\frac{1}{2}$ years before the Flathead Treaty was ratified by the Senate, April 18, 1859, and therefore had no legal status as the official Government survey specified in the treaty.

Meanwhile, as they waited for action to be taken on their treaty, the friendly Flathead were disillusioned and embittered by the fact that the Blackfoot Treaty, made 3 months later than theirs, was ratified in 6 months, and the Blackfoot tribes began to receive annuities and other benefits provided by that treaty. It appeared to the Flathead that the Government was following a policy of rewarding enemies and neglecting old friends. (Agent Lansdale, *in* Ann. Rep. Comm. Ind. Aff., 1857, p. 378.)

After the ratification of their treaty the Government made no effort to force the removal of the Flathead from the Bitterroot Valley. They were a small, friendly, well-behaved tribe, and they were still unwilling to move. In the wake of the Montana gold rush of the early '60's, white settlers moved into the Bitterroot Valley. Their settlements grew in area and numbers until the lands occupied by the Indians were virtually surrounded. Still the Flathead clung tenaciously to their land. Some Indians raised food crops for market as well as for their own consumption. But, as late as 1876, three and one-half decades after Father De Smet first showed them how to till the soil, the Flathead Agent reported, "a majority still derive their sustenance from hunting, fishing, root-gathering." (Ann. Rep. Comm. Ind. Aff., 1876, p. 88.) Until the extermination of the buffalo on the southern Montana plains in 1879-80, the Flathead continued their periodic buffalo-hunting excursions over the Rockies.

On November 14, 1871, President Grant issued an Executive Order declaring that all Indians residing in the Bitterroot Valley

should remove as soon as practicable to the Jocko Reservation. The next summer James A. Garfield met the principal Flathead chiefs to expedite the movement. They insisted that Article XI of the 1855 treaty had never been carried into effect, that the Bitterroot Valley had never been "carefully surveyed and examined," and that the white settlements that had been made in the valley since the treaty had been illegal. They considered that the Government's failure to comply with Article XI, was an admission that the valley should remain the proper home of the Flathead. Nevertheless, Garfield convinced Arlee, second chief of the Flathead, that it was to the best interest of the tribe to remove to the Jocko Reservation. He prepared a formal agreement of removal which bore the names and marks of the three principal Flathead chiefs. Although Head Chief Charlot's signature appeared on this document, Garfield acknowledged that Charlot did not sign it. (*Ibid.*, 1872, pp. 110, 115.)

In 1874 Arlee and a few of his followers removed to the Jocko Reservation. He became recognized by the Government as head chief of the tribe, and he and his followers received the Government's benefits. (*Ibid.*, 1888, p. 156.) From time to time small numbers of Flathead left the Bitterroot Valley and followed Arlee to the Reservation. The majority of the tribe remained with Charlot until several years after the extermination of the buffalo on the plains. Not until October 1891 did Charlot lead the remnant of his loyal, poverty-stricken followers, numbering less than 200 souls, from their beloved Bitterroot Valley onto the Jocko Reservation. (Palladino, 1894, p. 59.)

Once on the Reservation, this disillusioned, conservative leader continued to oppose Government-sponsored innovations in Indian life. Charlot opposed the Indian court of offenses, the Indian police force paid by the Government, the adoption of civilized dress, and threatened to take the children of his band from school if their hair was cut. (*Ann. Rep. Comm. Ind. Aff.*, 1892, p. 292.)

The history of Flathead culture in the pre-reservation period (i.e., prior to 1891), is significant as a case history in American Indian acculturation. Because the Flathead were consistently friendly toward the whites, because they placed high value on a number of traits of character which white men identified as Christian virtues, because they showed an early interest in the Christian religion, the fur traders, missionaries, and early Government officials believed this tribe aspired to a civilization after the European pattern. No other western tribe

appeared to offer such potentialities for rapid conversion to the white man's way of life. Yet Flathead history is one of obstinate resistance to acculturation. Their well-meaning white friends apparently failed to understand that the Flathead cherished certain primitive practices as traditional rights. Stubbornly they clung to their insistence on their right to hunt buffalo on the plains, despite the deadly opposition of the more powerful Blackfoot, and the kindly advice of their white friends, until the buffalo were gone. Persistently they asserted their right to remain in their beloved Bitterroot Valley homeland until their own poverty forced them to leave it. With equal courage they resisted efforts to introduce among them alien economic and social practices which were antithetic to their own cultural experience. No trait was more markedly characteristic of the primitive Flathead than was their independence. As a people they passionately desired to live their own lives and to make their own decisions.

Probably no one expressed more concisely the simple objectives of primitive Flathead life than did Father Mengarini, for many years their missionary, who wrote: "Generally the prayers of our Indians consisted in asking to live a long time, to kill plenty of animals and enemies, and to steal the greatest number of (the enemies') horses possible." (Mengarini, 1871-1872, p. 87.)

GUSTAVUS SOHON'S PORTRAITS OF FLATHEAD INDIAN LEADERS

The series of nine pencil portraits of Flathead leaders, drawn by Gustavus Sohon in the Bitterroot Valley in the spring of 1854, includes the likenesses of the majority of the responsible leaders of that remarkable little tribe in the middle of the nineteenth century. Most of these men were born before their tribe met white men. All were well known to the Catholic missionaries who founded St. Mary's Mission, and many of them were mentioned prominently in the writings of Father De Smet and his colleagues. They comprised the majority of the Flathead leaders who negotiated the tribe's first and only treaty with the United States a year after Sohon drew these portraits. Many of them also signed the important Blackfoot Treaty of 1855.

In the following biographical sketches of the subjects of Mr. Sohon's portraits, the artist's own brief but informative characterizations, written in his own hand on the same sheets as the portraits, are printed in smaller type beneath the name of the subject.

VICTOR, THE PRINCIPAL FLATHEAD CHIEF (PLATE 8)

Victor—

Head Chief of the Flatheads—

Victor has been confused by some writers with a contemporary of the same Christian name who was head chief of the Lower Pend d'Oreille. Father Palladino said that the Indians called the Flathead Victor "Mitt tó" and the Pend d'Oreille one "Pitol" to distinguish them. (Palladino, 1894, p. 63.) Pierre Pichette translated Victor's Indian name "Easy to Get a Herd of Horses." (See also Teit, 1930, p. 377.)

Victor said that he had been quite a good-sized boy when Lewis and Clark passed through the Flathead country in 1805 on their way to the Pacific. His father, Three Eagles, is said to have been a chief of the Flathead camp met by Lewis and Clark. (Owen, 1927, vol. 2, p. 42; Wheeler, 1904, vol. 2, p. 65.)

Victor's early years were molded by traditional Flathead religious beliefs. Pierre Pichette said that in his youth Victor obtained rabbit power by protecting a rabbit which was chased by a hawk. Some years later while stealing horses from the Crow, Victor was thrown from a stolen horse in the midst of the enemy encampment. He ran and hid in some brush near the camp. Although the Crow searched for him all through the next day they could not find him. The following evening Victor escaped. His rabbit power is credited with having saved him.

Victor was a minor leader of the Flathead when Father De Smet and his colleagues founded St. Mary's Mission. He was among the first Indians to accept Christianity and became the leader of the men's society organized by the priests. Agnes, his wife, led the women's society. Father De Smet credited Victor's leadership in the Catholic society as an important factor in his choice by the tribe as head chief, after the death of the octogenarian, Big Face, in late 1841 or early 1842. De Smet said Victor obtained tribal leadership "for no other reason" than "for the noble qualities, both of heart and head, which they all thought he possessed."

In the summer of 1846 Victor led the Flathead buffalo hunt to the plains, during which his people, augmented by 30 lodges of Nez Percé and a dozen friendly Blackfoot, scored a signal victory in a battle with the Crow. (Chittenden and Richardson, 1905, vol. 2, pp. 576-577.)

Later that fall Victor took a prominent part in Father De Smet's negotiation of a peace between the Flathead and Blackfoot at the



Victor -

170 1000

Head Chief of the Flatheads -

VICTOR, PRINCIPAL FLATHEAD CHIEF

Piegán camp. De Smet was impressed by Victor's oratory at the meeting of the head men of the tribes in the priest's lodge:

Victor, head chief of the Flatheads, by the simplicity and smoothness of his conversation gains the good will of his hearers entirely. He begins by telling some of his warlike adventures; but as is easy to see, much less with the intention of exalting himself than to show forth the protection that the true God always grants to those who devote themselves to his service. [Ibid., p. 592.]

Among the many causes of the disaffection of the Flathead that led to the closure of St. Mary's Mission in 1850, Father Accolti mentioned the loss of influence of the chiefs following the abolishment of the punishment of the whip. (Garraghan, 1938, vol. 2, p. 382.) In the face of rising dissatisfaction with his leadership, Victor clung to his decision not to use the whip. Victor's close identification with the missionaries and his known piety also served to make him a target for abuse by the dissatisfied element. He deplored his people's change of heart, but seemed powerless to prevent it. Father Accolti wrote in the fall of 1852 that Victor had become only a nominal chief, especially since he had permitted a rival to strike him in the face without retaliating. (Ibid., p. 387.)

Governor Stevens visited Victor at Fort Owen in early October, 1853. He briefly recorded his impressions of the Flathead chief: "He appears to be simple-minded, but rather wanting in energy, which might, however, be developed in an emergency." (Report of Explorations, etc., 1860, vol. 12, pt. 1, p. 123.) Apparently that emergency was at hand the next time these two met, at the Flathead Treaty Council in the summer of 1855. When he visited Stevens 2 days before the formal Council opened, Victor complained of the failure of the Blackfoot to keep the peace promised by their chiefs 2 years earlier. He informed Stevens that 12 Flathead hunters had been killed by the Blackfoot and many horses stolen since the Blackfoot chiefs agreed to a peace. He mentioned that the Blackfoot had stolen horses seven times that spring. "Now I listen and hear what you wish me to do. Were it not for you I would have had my revenge ere this." (Partoll, 1938a, p. 286.)

It must have been a shock to Victor to find, after the Council opened, that Governor Stevens talked of land cessions and the placement of the Indians on a reservation, rather than of a solution to the pressing problem of Blackfoot depredations. Nevertheless, he retained his faith in Stevens' good intentions. "I believe you wish to assist me to help my children here so that they may have plenty to eat, and so that they may save their souls." Although Victor claimed

as his land the Flathead River country to the north occupied by the Upper Pend d'Oreille, as well as the Bitterroot Valley, he insisted that it was not a large tract. "There is a very little land here: I cannot offer you a large piece." (Ibid., p. 289.)

Victor was willing for all the tribes to go on one reservation but would not consider moving to the Flathead Valley. Alexander, the Upper Pend d'Oreille chief, preferred the northern location. In an effort to break the deadlock, Stevens expressed an opinion that the Bitterroot Valley was the better site because its climate was milder, it was nearer to camas and bitterroot, and more convenient for buffalo. But he could not convince Alexander. Hoping that time for private discussion might provide a solution to the problem, Governor Stevens declared the next day a holiday on which he feasted the Indians.

When the Council reconvened, Stevens believed majority sentiment favored the northern location. Therefore, he again described the treaty provisions and proposed a reservation within an area bounded by the Jocko River, Flathead Lake, Flathead River, and the mountains. He called on Victor to sign the treaty. Victor refused.

Then the Flathead chief, Ambrose, revealed that on the preceding day Alexander had approached Victor with an offer to move to the Bitterroot Valley, but Victor had refused to answer the Pend d'Oreille chief. After hearing this, Stevens lost patience with Victor and spoke sharply: "Does Victor want to treat? Why did he not say to Alexander yesterday, come to my place? or is not Victor a chief? Is he as one of his people has called him, an old woman? dumb as a dog? If Victor is a chief let him speak now."

Probably angry and somewhat confused, Victor replied that he had not understood Alexander's offer, that he recalled Governor Stevens had himself chosen the Bitterroot Valley as the better location. Then the lesser Flathead chiefs sought to explain Victor's silence of the previous day, stressing the variety of opinion among the Flathead, Victor's habitual thoughtfulness and slowness of speech. Probably Red Wolf stated the matter precisely when he said, "I know that if Alexander should come to the valley, his people would not follow him." Doubtless Victor had no more faith in the practicality of Alexander's offer. While the others continued to talk, Victor quietly walked out of the Council.

Governor Stevens decided to give Victor more time to consider. Next day, Saturday, Victor sent word that he had not made up his mind. The Council was postponed until Monday. (Ibid., pp. 301-308.)

Victor faced probably the most difficult problem of his life. He had agreed to the one reservation proposal. He knew, on the one hand, that Alexander's people were loath to leave the Mission and might not follow their chief if he agreed to move to the Bitterroot Valley. On the other hand, Victor knew that his own people were divided in their opinion. Moise, the Flathead second chief, was opposed to any land cession whatever. Bear Track, the powerful medicine man, refused to leave the Bitterroot Valley. Many of his people were still hostile to Missions and might refuse to follow him if he agreed to move to a reservation near St. Ignatius. His own position as chief was not strong. Should he make an unpopular decision, that position might be lost. Not only his own future but that of his tribe was at stake. Victor refused to be stampeded or shamed into a decision.

When the Council reopened on July 16, Victor offered a masterful compromise. He proposed that Governor Stevens send "this word to the Great Father our Chief—come and look at our country; perhaps you will choose that place if you look at it. When you look at Alexander's place and say this land is good, and say, come Victor—then I would go. If you think this above is good land, then Victor will say come here Alexander: then our children will be content. That is the way we will make the treaty, my father." (Ibid., p. 309.) Although the Pend d'Oreille would not accept this proposal, Governor Stevens accepted it as applicable to the Flathead only. The compromise was embodied in the Flathead Treaty as Article XI.

Victor emerged from the Council with greatly increased prestige. By the terms of the treaty he had been made head chief of the Flathead Nation, comprising all the tribes party to the treaty. His compromise, which permitted the Flathead to remain in their beloved homeland until and unless a careful survey showed that the northern locality was better land, was popular with his people.

During the remainder of the period in which the Flathead were without a Mission, Victor made periodic visits to the Pend d'Oreille Mission to fulfill his religious obligations. A number of his tribesmen went with him. When St. Mary's Mission was reestablished in the fall of 1866, it was in answer to the request of Victor, whose faith had never faltered.

For the rest of his days Victor made his home in the Bitterroot Valley, and his people did not desert him for the reservation to the north. He opposed every effort of the Government to get him to go on the reservation, even after white settlers took up land in his valley.

In 1872, after Victor's death, James A. Garfield stated that Victor had permitted, even invited, the first white settlers to live in the valley. (Ann. Rep. Comm. Ind. Aff., 1872, p. 110.) But by 1868 Victor complained to Major Owen of the white men who had located in the valley in defiance of the 1855 Treaty, which Victor said had set the area aside for the Flathead tribe. (Owen, 1927, vol. 2, p. 121.)

The Flathead Agent's report of 1869 describes the Flathead as:

. . . the wealthiest, most industrious and frugal of these confederated tribes. Many of them rely wholly on the products of their farms for subsistence, but the majority live and subsist in the fall and winter in the buffalo country. [Ann. Rep. Comm. Ind. Aff., 1869, p. 297.]

Victor himself was unable to adjust to the life of a sedentary farmer. In the years following the treaty he continued to lead his people to the plains for buffalo in the tradition of prewhite contact days. Scattered references in Major Owen's Journal refer to Victor's leadership of the summer hunt of 1856; the winter hunt of 1860-61, which occupied 7 months; the winter hunt of 1861-62, during which the tribe was absent from the valley for 9 months and many horses and some men were lost (presumably as a result of enemy action); and the summer hunts of 1865, 1867, and 1869. (Owen, 1927, vol. 1, pp. 136, 234, 253, 330; vol. 2, pp. 67, 138.)

In 1858 Victor was too ill to accompany the winter hunting party. He remained behind with three lodges of his people and was fed at Government expense. In mid-August, 1859, he was still an invalid, and Owen feared he would never recover his health. But he did. In the winter of 1867 Owen remarked at the amazing vitality of the old chief, whose hair was still black as coal and who could jump on a horse with as much agility as the youngest of his people. (Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 184-185, 193; vol. 2, p. 42.)

Victor died of sickness while on the summer hunt near the Three Buttes in 1870. He is said to be buried in the cemetery of St. Mary's Mission at Stevensville, in the Bitterroot Valley.

George E. Ford, the Flathead Agent, paid tribute to Victor in his report of September 1, 1870:

Affairs are particularly critical just now, as the confederated nation is without a chief. The Indians had full confidence in Victor and would cheerfully act according to his advice, but I know of no one in the nation that is capable of filling his place with equal ability. [Ann. Rep. Comm. Ind. Aff., 1870, p. 195.]

Father De Smet's tribute to Victor stressed his piety. Captain Mullan remembered Victor's mildness and gentleness, bravery, generosity, and his many kindnesses to the members of his exploring

Stahnum 2nd Chief of the Flatheads
had ~~no contact~~ a latent and
mostly Indian



Go. Gibson
Jan. - 1854.

130,305

Stiet-tah-lutse-so
or
The Cradling Mountain
Known among the Americans as Moise

MOISE, SECOND CHIEF OF THE FLATHEAD

expeditions. Mullan suggested that the Indian Department should erect a monument to Victor's memory "to commemorate his worth and acts, and at the same time to teach all Indians that their good deeds never die." A portrait of Victor, as a "representative of the religious element," was sought for a proposed new volume of Thomas L. McKenney's "History of the Indian Tribes of North America." (Chittenden and Richardson, 1905, vol. 4, pp. 1337-1341.) The little town of Victor, on the Bitterroot River, 12 miles north of Hamilton, Mont., bears the name of this noted chief.

Victor was head chief of the Flathead for nearly three decades during a particularly trying period in the history of that tribe. Although at times his leadership may have suffered from want of firmness in dealing with dissident elements, his sincere goodness, quiet courage, patience, and dogged determination won him wide respect in his later years. Victor's compromise offered at the Flathead Treaty Council was a statesmanlike action. His insistence on the right of his tribe to remain in the Bitterroot Valley won him the approval of his own people and the respect of Government officials. For 21 years after his death, his son and successor, Charlot, held stubbornly to Victor's policy of refusing to leave the Bitterroot Valley for the established reservation. Until the decade of the eighties this policy expressed the will of the majority of the members of the tribe.

MOISE, SECOND CHIEF OF THE FLATHEAD (PLATE 9)

Steit-tish-lutsc-so or the Crawling Mountain
Known among the Americans as Moise
2nd chief of the Flatheads, a talented and worthy Indian

Moise (French for Moses) received his Christian name on baptism by Father De Smet at St. Mary's Mission on Easter, 1846. De Smet said that he was surnamed "Bravest of the Brave." (Chittenden and Richardson, 1905, vol. 1, p. 305; vol. 2, p. 472.)

Moise told Lieutenant Mullan that he had been present in the Flathead camp in Ross' Hole when Lewis and Clark visited it in the fall of 1805. He said the explorers took what the Indians knew as the Southern Nez Percés' trail, following the Bitterroot River to its fork, after they left the Flathead village. (Report of Explorations, etc., 1860, vol. 1, p. 325.)

Moise headed the Flathead delegation that went to meet Father De Smet at Fort Hall in 1841. He sent ahead his finest horse as a gift to the priest. After their meeting De Smet described Moise as "the handsomest Indian warrior of my acquaintance" who was "dis-

tinguished by his superior skill in horsemanship, and by a large red scarf, which he wore after the fashion of the Marshals of France." (Chittenden and Richardson, 1905, vol. 1, p. 305.)

Moise remained a great favorite of Father De Smet, who called him his "adopted Indian brother" whose "exemplary conduct took pace with his renowned bravery and he was generally looked up to with esteem." As an example of Moise's moral refinement, De Smet recalled that on one occasion he and Moise had called upon a chief who had just flogged a visiting Nez Percé youth. Moise stripped off his buffalo robe, exposed his bare back, and called upon the chief to give him 25 lashes. When Father De Smet interposed, Moise explained, "Father, the Nez Percé here present was whipped because he talked foolishly to a girl. My thoughts are sometimes bewildering and vexing and I have prayed to drive them from my mind and heart." De Smet prevented the carrying out of this self-imposed punishment. (Ibid., vol. 4, pp. 1225-1226.)

De Smet told of Moise's calmness in encouraging his men before their successful battle with the Crow Indians east of the Rockies in the summer of 1846. "My friends," said Moise, "if it be the will of God, we shall conquer—if it be not his will, let us humbly submit to whatever it shall please his goodness to send us. Some of us must expect to fall in this contest: if there be any who are unprepared to die, let him retire; in the meantime let us keep Him constantly in mind." (Ibid., vol. 2, p. 576.)

In 1857 Father Menetrey named Moise among the four Flathead leaders who had never failed to follow the teachings of the missionaries after the closing of St. Mary's Mission. (Garraghan, 1938, vol. 2, p. 388.) Moise was one of the Flathead chiefs who journeyed to St. Ignatius to fulfill his religious duties in that year. (Chittenden and Richardson, 1905, vol. 4, p. 1240.) After his visit to the Flathead in 1859 De Smet termed Moise one of the greatest chieftains of the tribe, in whom real piety and true valor at war were united. (Ibid., vol. 2, p. 766.)

At the Flathead Treaty Council, Moise remained silent until he was asked to sign the treaty. He refused to sign. Then he launched a bitter denunciation of the treaty. He claimed the Flathead leaders would not have come to the council at all if Lieutenant Mullan had not assured them there would be "no talk of land," and that its purpose would be to offer help to the Flathead in their struggle against the Blackfoot. He refused to consider cession of any Flathead land. He had no faith in Governor Stevens' promise to make peace with

the Blackfoot. Although Moise was the only Flathead leader to express these ideas at the Council, and the only one to refuse to sign the treaty, it is possible he voiced the sentiments of a large segment of Flathead opinion. In the course of his remarks Moise also revealed his independence of Victor. When asked directly if Victor, who had already signed the treaty, was not his head chief, Moise replied bluntly, "Yes, but I never listen to him." (Partoll, 1938a, p. 311.)

Although Moise attended the Blackfoot Treaty Council that fall, and signed the treaty, he took no speaking part in the proceedings.

Scattered references to Moise's activities in the years following the treaties appear in Major Owen's Journal. In early April, 1857, Moise sought Owen's assistance to dissuade some of the young warriors from going to war against the Bannock and Shoshoni. During Victor's prolonged illness in 1858 Moise and Ambrose led the Flathead on their winter buffalo hunt. In March 1861 Moise brought up the rear of the Flathead camp on its return from hunting on the plains. In the winter hunt of 1862-63 he was a leader. On May 18, 1865, Moise started out with Victor and the Flathead party for the summer hunt east of the mountains but changed his mind and returned the next day in order to care for his growing crops. This is the only indication that any Flathead chief of the period was sufficiently interested in farming to permit it to interfere with his going to hunt buffalo. Apparently, even in this case, Moise had some difficulty reaching a decision in favor of tending his crops. (Owen, 1927, vol. 1, pp. 160, 190, 234, 277, 330.)

Moise died in March 1868, following a tedious year of sickness. Modern Flathead believe that he was buried in the Bitterroot Valley. At the time of his death Moise must have been over 70 years of age. Ambrose became his successor as second chief of the tribe. (Ibid., vol. 2, p. 95.) Moise, the headquarters of the National Bison Range, near Dixon, Mont., was named after Antoine Moise, a son, who was also a prominent Flathead leader.

Moise was a leader who combined the Christian virtues with the tough qualities necessary for survival on the northwestern Indian frontier in his time. He was honest, God-fearing, brave in war, and both independent and frankly outspoken in council. Later events proved that in his distrust of the possibility for a lasting peace with the Blackfoot, Moise possessed a keen and realistic insight into the military problems of the region.

AMBROSE, SUCCESSOR TO MOISE AS FLATHEAD SECOND CHIEF (PLATE 10)

Ambrose (in baptism)

Shil-che-lum-e-la, or Five Crows

A chief of the Flatheads, mentioned many times in the "Oregon Missions," for his bravery and generosity.

Father De Smet wrote Ambrose's Indian name "Sechelmeld." (Chittenden and Richardson, 1905, vol. 1, p. 320.) Father Palladino considered "Amelo or Ambrose" one of the notable men of the Flathead tribe. (Palladino, 1894, p. 63.) He is remembered by the modern Flathead by the names "Amelo" and "Five Crows."

In a battle with the Blackfoot in 1840 Ambrose counted coup by permitting an armed Blackfoot, who had mistaken him for one of his own tribe, to ride double with him, then wresting the enemy warrior's gun from him and killing him. (Chittenden and Richardson, 1905, vol. 1, p. 320. The editors state that Ambrose's own drawing of this action is among Father De Smet's papers.)

The Catholic missionaries considered Ambrose one of the Flathead leaders who remained loyal to their cause after the abandonment of the Mission. (Menetrey in Garraghan, 1938, vol. 2, p. 388; Chittenden and Richardson, 1905, vol. 2, p. 766.) Twice in 1857 he accompanied Victor to St. Ignatius to fulfill his religious obligations. Father Hoeken credited Ambrose with having played an influential part in a notable amelioration in the whole Flathead Nation in that year. Ambrose had "convened several assemblages, in order to arrange and pay off old debts, to repair wrongs, etc." (Chittenden and Richardson, vol. 4, p. 1240.)

During the Flathead Treaty Council, Ambrose revealed that Victor had refused Alexander's offer to move onto a reservation in the Bitterroot Valley, which resulted in Governor Stevens' relentless attack upon Victor. Ambrose quickly came to Victor's defense and attempted to restore calm to the proceedings by remarking, "I say to the white chief, don't get angry, maybe it will come out all right. Maybe all the people have a great many minds. Maybe they will come all right. See my chiefs are now holding down their heads thinking." (Partoll, 1938a, p. 395.)

Ambrose signed both the Flathead and Blackfoot Treaties. A year after he signed the Blackfoot "treaty of peace," his son, Louis, was killed by the Gros Ventres, a party to that treaty. (Chittenden and Richardson, 1905, vol. 4, p. 1248.)

Through the late fifties and sixties Ambrose continued to go on buffalo hunts with his tribe. During Victor's illness in 1858 he shared

Flathead



John
May 14th 1857

Ambrose (in baptism) 130305

Sit-che-hum-e-lä, or "Fier's Cross"

A chief of the Flatheads, mentioned many times
in the "Oregon Mission", for his bravery and
generosity.

AMBROSE, A FLATHEAD CHIEF

Flathead



Ge. Schomburgk
May 14th 1854.

180.505

Adolphe (in baptism)

A chief among the Flatheads, noted for his independence, and a good sense. Not much liked because he never fails to reprimand any of his tribe who may deserve it.

ADOLPHE, A FLATHEAD CHIEF

with Moise the leadership of the Flathead hunting camp. Again in 1863 Ambrose and Moise led the Flathead hunting camp on the Mus-selshell River. After the death of Moise, in the spring of 1868, Am-brose succeeded to the office of second chief of the Flathead. (Owen, 1927, vol. 1, pp. 190, 277; vol. 2, p. 101.)

The date of Ambrose's death is not recorded. However, we may assume that he died sometime between the end of March 1869 (when he was last mentioned by Owen, 1927, vol. 2, p. 133), and August 1872, at which time Arlee was recognized as second chief of the Flathead. (Ann. Rep. Comm. Ind. Aff., 1873, p. 251.)

As a leader, Ambrose exhibited admirable qualities of faith, cour-age, honesty, patience, and common sense. He showed remarkable coolness in battle and at the Flathead Treaty Council. His words of caution, offered at a crucial point in the Council proceedings, when tempers were aroused, helped to prevent a complete breakdown in negotiations.

ADOLPHE, A FLATHEAD CHIEF (PLATE 11)

Adolphe (in baptism)

A chief among the Flatheads, noted for his independence and good sense. Not much liked because he never fails to reprimand any of his tribe who may deserve it.

Pierre Pichette said Adolphe's Indian name was "Wears his Hair in Small Twists," and that he was said to have used one of these twists to spank children who misbehaved. Adolphe's peculiar hair-dress is well illustrated in Sohon's portrait.

Martina Siwahsah remembered Adolphe as a powerful medicine man. She said she was present on a winter hunt on the plains when the snow was so deep the horses were dying of starvation. One evening the people heard someone singing. It was Adolphe making his medicine to bring a chinook. In the morning the chinook struck, and before evening the snow was all gone.

Peter Ronan said that Adolphe used to lead the Flathead against their enemies as their war chief. In a battle with the Gros Ventres about the year 1840 Adolphe and Arlee led the Flathead to a decisive victory. About half the Gros Ventres force, estimated at 100 warriors, were killed. (Ronan, 1890, pp. 76-78.)

The missionaries considered Adolphe one of the Flathead leaders who retained their faith and loyalty after the closure of St. Mary's Mission in 1850. (Menetrey in Garraghan, 1938, vol. 2, p. 338; Chittenden and Richardson, 1905, vol. 2, p. 766.) He journeyed to

St. Ignatius with Victor in 1857, to fulfill his religious obligations. (Chittenden and Richardson, 1905, vol. 4, p. 1240.)

Governor Stevens mentioned Adolphe among the principal men of the tribe whom he met on his first visit to the Flathead at Fort Owen, October 1, 1853. (Report of Explorations, etc., 1860, vol. 12, pt. 1, p. 125.) Adolphe signed both the Flathead and Blackfoot Treaties of 1855, but took no other part in the proceedings. "Adolphus Kwiikweschape, or Red Feather, chief of the Flatheads" was one of the group of chiefs of the mountain tribes who accompanied Father De Smet to Fort Vancouver in the spring of 1859 to renew the treaty of peace with the Commanding General and Superintendent of Indian Affairs. (Chittenden and Richardson, 1905, vol. 2, p. 766.)

When James A. Garfield, Commissioner for the Removal of the Flathead tribe of Indians from the Bitterroot Valley to the Jocko Reservation, met the chiefs of the tribe near Fort Owen in 1872, Adolphe, as third chief of the Flathead, was one of the tribal representatives. On August 27, 1872, he signed the agreement drawn up by Garfield providing for the removal of the Flathead to the reservation. Nevertheless, he joined with head chief Charlot in refusing to leave the Bitterroot Valley. Three years later Agent Medery removed Adolphe's name from the Government payroll, because he had "failed in every particular" to comply with the provisions of the agreement. (Ann. Rep. Comm. Ind. Aff., 1872, pp. 109, 114-115; 1875, p. 305.)

Adolphe marshaled and led the young warriors at the council held at the Flathead Agency September 2, 1882, to negotiate a right-of-way for the Northern Pacific Railway. Apparently before that date he had removed from the Bitterroot Valley to the reservation. Adolphe died at the Agency in 1887, at an assumed age of 78 years. (Ronan, 1890, p. 76.)

INSULA, A FLATHEAD CHIEF (PLATE 12)

Insula—or Red Feather

Michelle (in baptism)

A Flathead chief; according to Father De Smet "a great and brave warrior." He is noted for his piety, and officiates at the burial of the dead. He is quite an old man, nearly seventy.

Michael Insula (sometimes rendered Ensyla or Insala), Red Feather, was also known as "The Little Chief," because of his small stature. (Chittenden and Richardson, 1905, vol. 4, p. 1231.) Pierre Pichette thought Insula was not a name of Flathead origin. According to Duncan McDonald, he was half Nez Percé and half Flathead, and lived part time with the Flathead and the remainder of the time



W. Jenks
Apr 26th 1854

Insula - or Red feather 130305

Mitchell in captivity

A Flathead Chief, according to Father G. Smith
a man of a fine mind, he is a very
wise, an excellent orator, and a
very good man, and a very good
man, and a very good man.

INSULA, A FLATHEAD CHIEF

with the Pend d'Oreille. (Owen, 1927, vol. 1, p. 236, footnote.) De Smet stated (1841) that the Nez Percé had offered Insula the position of head chief of their tribe. He refused the honor saying, "By the will of the Great Master of Life I was born among the Flatheads, and if such be his will, among the Flatheads I am determined to die." (Chittenden and Richardson, 1905, vol. 1, p. 323.)

In the summer of 1835 Insula journeyed to the Green River rendezvous of the fur traders, where in company with a group of Nez Percé, he met the Protestant missionaries, Rev. Samuel Parker and Dr. Marcus Whitman. The Reverend Parker recorded his conversation thus:

Next rose Insala, the most influential chief among the Flathead nation, and said, "he had heard that a man near to God was coming to visit them, and he, with some of his people, together with some white men, went out three days' journey to meet him, but failed of finding the caravan. A war party of Crow Indians came upon them in the night, and after a short battle, though no lives were lost, they took away some of their horses, and one from him which he greatly loved, but now he forgets all, his heart is made so glad to see a man close to God." [Parker, 1844, pp. 81-82.]

Many years later Father Palladino explained that Insula was not satisfied with the appearance or the message of Parker and Whitman. He observed that they wore neither black gowns nor crosses, that they married, and did not have the great prayer, and that therefore these were not the priests of whom the Iroquois had told him. Consequently, he did not encourage them to go to the Flathead country. (Palladino, 1894, pp. 16-17.)

Insula was a great favorite of the Catholic missionaries. He was one of the party of 30 warriors who accompanied Father De Smet as far as Fort Alexander on the Yellowstone in the country of the enemy Crow Indians on De Smet's return eastward in 1840. (Chittenden and Richardson, 1905, vol. 1, pp. 266-267.) In 1841 De Smet termed Insula "the most influential of the Flathead chiefs," who "as a Christian or a warrior, might stand a comparison with the most renowned character of ancient chivalry." (Ibid., p. 324.)

Father Adrian Hoeken also had a marked personal regard for Insula. In the fall of 1855 he wrote De Smet of Insula's great bravery, tender piety, and gentle manners, and added that he had "preserved all his first fervor of devotion." Again in the spring of 1857 he wrote of Insula as "always equally good, equally happy, a fervent Christian, who is daily advancing in virtue and in perfection." He added that Insula had taught his young son, Louis Michael, to call the priest papa. (Ibid., vol. 4, p. 1245.)

Father Hoeken wrote that Insula "is well known and much beloved by the whites, who have occasion to deal with him, as a man of sound judgment, strict integrity, and one on whose fidelity they can implicitly rely." The priest called Insula "a keen discerner of the characters of men" who "loved to speak of those white men who were distinguished for their fine qualities." Insula adopted Col. Robert Campbell of St. Louis and Maj. Thomas Fitzpatrick as brothers. Colonel Campbell reciprocated by sending him a fine present in the spring of 1857. (*Ibid.*, pp. 1232, 1245.)

Of Insula's numerous deeds of heroism, Father De Smet cited but two, both of which occurred before 1841. On one occasion Insula "sustained the assaults of a whole village" of the enemy. On another, a party of Bannock, estimated at 200, who had visited Insula's camp and observed the small number of the Flathead, returned to attack the Flathead the next night. Advised of their intentions, Insula assembled his warriors to meet the attack. The small Flathead force killed nine of the enemy before Insula, in the heat of the pursuit, recalled that it was Sunday and ordered his warriors back to camp for prayer. (*Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 322-324, 365-366.)

According to Duncan McDonald, Insula was killed by Cree and Assiniboine on Milk River in October 1860. At that time the old man was living with the Kutenai and Pend d'Oreille. (Owen, 1927, vol. 1, p. 236, footnote.)

Little Insula appears to have possessed the most appealing personality among the Flathead leaders of his time. Not only was he very popular with the Indians of his own and friendly tribes, but he also proved adept at winning and holding the friendship of influential white men. Apparently he found subtle flattery, such as teaching his son to call the priest papa and adopting important white men as brothers, helpful in cementing these friendships. An ardent Catholic and a courageous warrior, he epitomized the missionaries' ideal of the Christian soldier.

BEAR TRACK, FLATHEAD CHIEF AND MEDICINE MAN (PLATE 13)

Soey-te-sum-'hi or Bear Track.

A Chief, and one of the very few pure Flathead Indians in the tribe. He is said to be a very brave and daring man, and is certainly one of the best looking men in the tribe, decision is written in every line of his countenance.

Bear Track spoke at the Flathead Treaty Council on July 13, 1855, after Victor's refusal to accept Alexander's offer to move to the Bitterroot Valley. He made no reference to Victor's action. He expressed his own willingness to make a treaty but emphasized the pov-

Flathead



Soley. te. eem. 'hi, or
Bear Track.

Be. 1854
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BEAR TRACK, FLATHEAD CHIEF AND MEDICINE MAN

erty of his people and his opinion that the area around St. Ignatius Mission was not large enough for the proposed reservation. Bear Track signed both the Flathead and Blackfoot Treaties. (Partoll, 1938a, p. 306.)

Bear Track was famous as a medicine man. He was the maternal grandfather of Martina Siwahsah, who recalled some of Bear Track's remarkable feats. One spring the Indians were camped north of Hamilton in the Bitterroot Valley. A man and his wife went out hunting in the mountains. While his wife remained in the hunting camp, the man went on alone after game. She waited 3 days, but he did not return. Then she went back to the tribe and told Bear Track of her husband's disappearance. He sang, made his medicine, and said, "All I can see is the horse your husband was riding tied to a tree. I don't see the rider." He described the locality where he saw the horse. Men went to that place. They found the horse tied where Bear Track had indicated and the dead body of the hunter nearby. Apparently he had made a fire, gone to sleep, and a log rolled over and killed him.

Another time the people were hunting buffalo and could find none. Bear Track told the people to erect a long tent. He made his medicine, then told the people, "My power I received from a white buffalo calf. The buffalo are coming, and that calf will be in the lead." Next day a herd of buffalo appeared led by a white calf.

Teit also has reported Bear Track's power to find lost people and to bring the buffalo when they could not be found. He also stated that Bear Track had the power to foresee the approach of parties of enemy horse thieves and to warn his people in advance, as well as the power to foretell the results of battles. (Teit, 1930, pp. 384-385.) Turney-High found that no Flathead shamans were more highly respected than those who possessed such powers. (Turney-High, 1937, p. 29.)

Probably Bear Track was the most successful and most famous medicine man of his day among the Flathead. That he is not mentioned in the voluminous correspondence of the missionaries is understandable. It is unlikely that this medicine man of the traditional school looked with much favor upon the "magic" of the whites. Nevertheless, Martina Siwahsah said Bear Track was baptized and given the Christian name of "Alexander."

She said that Bear Track was married four times. He fathered 10 children. He lived to be a very old man, became blind, and died of sickness during the 1880's. Teit dated Bear Track's death about 1880, at over 90 years of age. (Teit, 1930, p. 384.)

PELCHIMO, A FLATHEAD CHIEF (PLATE 14)

Koilt-koi-imp-ty (Indian name)

Spoken of by Father De Smet as "Pelchimo", (by which name he is generally known,) as a good and brave Indian. He is a great favorite of all the whites who know him, for his honesty and good sense.

The modern Flathead remember him by both his Indian name and by the name "Palchina." They could not translate his Indian name exactly, because it is an obsolete form, referring to a blanket with some black on it.

Pelchimo was a brother of one of the Indians of the ill-fated third deputation (1837), the members of which were killed by the Sioux while en route to St. Louis to seek a priest. (Chittenden and Richardson, 1905, vol. 1, p. 292; Palladino, 1894, p. 30.) As "Palchinah" he signed the Blackfoot Treaty in the fall of 1855. His name does not appear among the signers of the Flathead Treaty.

Pelchimo was one of the heroes in the battle with the Blackfoot in 1840, in which Ambrose also distinguished himself. In this battle the Flathead, though greatly outnumbered, withstood their opponents for 5 days and finally forced them to retreat, leaving many killed and wounded on the battlefield. The Flathead lost but a single man, who died of wounds received in the battle. Pelchimo won honors in this fight by saving the Flathead horses from capture by the enemy. (Chittenden and Richardson, 1905, vol. 1, pp. 319-320.)

Pelchimo was a great friend of Major Owen. Owen frequently referred to him as "Palchina" in his Journals. In 1851 he accompanied Owen to Fort Loring on Snake River. They traveled together to The Dalles in the spring of 1855, and to Fort Benton in the summer of 1858. (Owen, 1927, vol. 1, p. 28-35.)

Owen considered Palchina the best veterinary in the region, and employed him to doctor his own favorite horses. He also had Palchina break his horses and permitted him to use the horses during the summer buffalo hunt in return for "getting them gentle." (Ibid., pp. 127-128.)

On April 4, 1863, Owen received a report that 70 horses had been stolen from Palchina's camp while en route home from the buffalo hunt on the plains. Two days later he was informed that Palchina had been killed by the party of Bannock horse thieves from whom Palchina sought to recover his stolen property. On hearing of Palchina's death, Owen paid high tribute to the man's character as one of the best Indians, brave when danger called, inoffensive but firm and exacting in his rights. (Ibid., pp. 278-279.)

Flathead



to Pelchimo
May 12 1854

Houit. toi. mph. ty (Indian name) notes

spoken of by Father de Smet as Pelchimo, by which name he is generally known, as a good and brave Indian. He is a great favorite of all the whites who have been in his country and good nature.

PELCHIMO, A FLATHEAD CHIEF

Flathead



Wm. Johnson
Aug 15th 1874

Pacha. 130,305

One of the chief men of the Flatheads. He is quite an old man -

Indian Name: Lull-Lulle-cha-kad-pent-

PACHA, A FLATHEAD LEADER

Thunder



Wm. Johnson
Aug 22nd 1874

130,304

"U-tul-lah", or, Thunder

Said to be one of the bravest of the Flathead Indians.

THUNDER, A FLATHEAD CHIEF

The written record appears to emphasize Pelchimo's prowess in the traditional men's occupations of the Flathead. He was a courageous fighter, a clever hunter, and a skilled trainer of horses. His talents as a horse doctor must have given him considerable prestige as a medicine man among the conservative members of his tribe. He was not mentioned by the missionaries among the Flathead leaders who remained staunchly loyal to their cause after the closure of St. Mary's Mission in 1850. Nevertheless, Sohon's testimony as to his good character is confirmed by the writings of Father De Smet and Major Owen.

THUNDER, A FLATHEAD LEADER (PLATE 15, LEFT)

Til-til-la or Thunder

Said to be one of the bravest of the Flathead Indians.

Father Palladino considered "Phidel Teltella, or Thunder," one of the notable men of the Flathead tribe. (Palladino, 1894, p. 63.) As "Thunder" he signed both the Flathead and Blackfoot Treaties in 1855, but he took no speaking part in the proceedings.

When disease in epidemic proportions raged in the Flathead camp in the summer of 1856, "Fidelis Teltilla" asked Father Menetrey to see his son who was dangerously ill. In the next year he accompanied Victor to St. Ignatius Mission to fulfill his religious duties. (Chittenden and Richardson, 1905, vol. 4, pp. 1239-1240.) Doubtless, the name "Fidelis" was given him by the missionaries in reference to his steadfastness in the Christian faith.

The modern Flathead say that Thunder died in the Bitterroot Valley before 1891.

PACHA, A FLATHEAD LEADER (PLATE 15, RIGHT)

Pacha

One of the chief men of the Flatheads—He is quite an old man.

(Indian Name) Quill-Quill-che-koil-pent.

Very little is known about this man. He was one of the principal men of the Flathead who met Governor Stevens at Fort Owen in the fall of 1853, on Stevens' first visit to the tribe. (Report of Explorations, etc., 1860, vol. 12, pt. 2, p. 125.) He may have been the Indian who signed the Flathead Treaty under the name of "Pah-soh." Doubtless he died within a few years after the treaty.

He was not remembered by any of the elderly Flathead questioned by the writer in 1947. They translated his Indian name, "Red Plume."

THE UPPER PEND D'OREILLE INDIANS

The Pend d'Oreille or Kalispel Indians lived in the region north and northwest of the Flathead in pre-reservation days. The name Pend d'Oreille ("Hanging Ears") was said to have been given them by early nineteenth-century fur traders because many of these Indians wore large shell ear ornaments at that time. Pend d'Oreille territory extended from the western base of the Rockies about Flathead Lake westward beyond Pend d'Oreille Lake into the northeastern portion of the present State of Washington. In the middle of the nineteenth century two major divisions of the tribe were recognized, the Upper Pend d'Oreille of the Flathead Lake region, and the Lower Pend d'Oreille in the neighborhood of Pend d'Oreille Lake. At that time the distinction was political as well as geographical. Each division possessed its own head chief and subchiefs. However, both groups spoke the same dialect of the Salishan language. It may be assumed that they were formerly one tribe. Teit obtained traditions from the Upper Pend d'Oreille to the effect that the Flathead Lake region was the traditional tribal homeland, and that the Lower Division was an offshoot of the Upper Pend d'Oreille. However, Dr. Suckley and Governor Stevens of the Pacific Railway Survey a half century earlier (1855) assumed that the Upper Pend d'Oreille division "had been formed at a comparatively recent period." (Teit, 1930, pp. 296, 303, 311; Report of Explorations, etc., 1860, vol. 1, pp. 149, 294.) The native name, Kalispel (meaning camas), was applied to the Pend d'Oreille in general by early fur traders. Some more recent writers have limited its application to the Lower Pend d'Oreille.

The Pend d'Oreille were more numerous than their Flathead neighbors. Anson Dart estimated Lower Pend d'Oreille population at 520, and that of the Upper Pend d'Oreille at 480, in 1851. In Major Owen's census of 1861 the Upper Pend d'Oreille totaled 184 families of 895 souls; the Flathead 90 families of 548 souls. (Ann. Rep. Comm. Ind. Aff., 1851, p. 478; Owen, 1927, vol. 2, p. 262.)

The Pend d'Oreille were mentioned less frequently by early nineteenth-century traders than were the Flathead. However, their history prior to 1840 paralleled that of the Flathead in general outline. Presumably they lived by hunting, fishing, and collecting in the area immediately west of the Rockies in pre-horse times. After they obtained horses, they crossed the mountains on seasonal buffalo-hunting excursions. Usually they hunted north of the Flathead, between the Rockies and the Sweetgrass Hills on the present International Boundary. (Partoll, 1937, p. 7.) They were driven off the plains by the

southwestward push of the Blackfoot prior to 1800. In 1811 an aged Kalispel told David Thompson that he had been a young warrior when his tribe first encountered an enemy war party with firearms. It was a Piegan force in possession of two guns. When they fired the new weapons, the Pend d'Oreille were so frightened they ran and hid in the mountains. But the Piegan sent strong war parties after them to kill men, women, and children, and to steal their horses. He acknowledged that his people had no adequate defense against the Blackfoot until Thompson traded them guns, which enabled them to regain much of their territory and to hunt buffalo on the plains again. (Thompson, 1916, p. 463.) The fact that the Pend d'Oreille were relatively rich in good horses prompted numerous Blackfoot raids on their camps through the first eight decades of the nineteenth century.

The Pend d'Oreille were hospitable to the Iroquois and their simplified Christian teachings. Some of the Iroquois married into the tribe. Many of the Upper Pend d'Oreille were baptized by Father De Smet and his colleagues at the Flathead Mission of St. Mary's prior to 1846. However, the first Catholic Mission to the Pend d'Oreille was established among the Lower Division, on the right bank of the Columbia River about 40 miles below Lake Pend d'Oreille, in 1845. This Mission was named St. Ignatius. The location proved unsatisfactory because of the severe winters and short growing season in that area. In the fall of 1854 it was moved to a more suitable site south of Flathead Lake, on what became known as Mission Creek, in the territory of the Upper Pend d'Oreille.

Father Adrian Hoeken, the first missionary to the Upper Pend d'Oreille, was very popular with the Indians. Loyalty to the Mission was an important factor in the refusal of the Upper Pend d'Oreille to accept a reservation in the Flathead country of the Bitterroot Valley some 75 miles south of their Mission. St. Ignatius Mission was situated within the area of the 1,300,000-acre Jocko Reservation established by the Treaty of 1855.

The Indians gathered about that Mission were a mixed group. Living with the Upper Pend d'Oreille in 1857 were some Iroquois, Nez Percé, Spokane, Kutenai, Coeur d'Alene, Kettle Falls Indians, Flathead, and Lower Pend d'Oreille, a few friendly Blackfoot, French half-breeds, and even several "creoles from the Creek Nation." (Chittenden and Richardson, 1905, vol. 4, pp. 1246-1247.) Father Hoeken and his colleagues encouraged the Upper Pend d'Oreille and these other Indians living with them to raise crops in the fertile soil of the

reservation by furnishing seeds, instruction, and as many agricultural tools as their limited means permitted. The Indian Agent's report for 1857 stated that they had made "very marked progress in cultivating the soil" in the 3 years since the Mission was established. Apparently some families found farming much to their liking. However, the Agents' reports during the two succeeding decades emphasized the preference of the majority for traditional economic pursuits. The 1865 Report stated that the Pend d'Oreille had made less progress in agriculture than had the Flathead. In 1869 the Agent wrote: "The greater portion of the Pend d'Oreille tribe and Kootenays still depend upon the chase for subsistence. The buffalo hunt, their main dependence, becomes each year less reliable." Yet in 1875 the Agent reported: "The greater number . . . make regular annual excursions to the east side of the Rocky Mountains on their accustomed buffalo hunts." (Ann. Rep. Comm. Ind. Aff., 1857, p. 379; 1865, p. 247; 1869, p. 295; 1875, p. 304.) As long as buffalo could be found on the plains beyond the mountains the majority of the Pend d'Oreille preferred the blood-quickenning excitement of running buffalo to the quiet, steady toil of tilling the soil.

The Indians' addiction to the seminomadic life also hampered the efforts of the missionaries to educate their children. A mission day school was established. But when Indian families moved camp to hunt, fish, gather roots or berries, they took their children with them. This continual interruption of their schooling for extended periods of time resulted in haphazard educational progress on the part of the children. (Ibid., 1865, p. 241.)

In their devotion to the traditional hunting economy, the majority of the Upper Pend d'Oreille, like the Flathead, postponed the problem of adjustment to an agricultural economy until after the buffalo were gone. In two other important respects, however, the cultural conflicts of the Upper Pend d'Oreille were more easily resolved than were those of the Flathead. The former never became estranged from their Mission, as had the Flathead in the late forties and fifties. St. Ignatius Mission has been in continuous existence since 1854. Also the Upper Pend d'Oreille were spared the frustration which the prolonged, unsuccessful struggle to retain their homeland brought to the Flathead. When Chief Charlot led his loyal little band of Flathead from the Bitterroot Valley onto the Jocko Reservation in 1891, the Upper Pend d'Oreille possessed nearly two generations of experience as reservation Indians.



Alexander (English name)
 Tahn-eh-kah-ut-ee (Indian name).

130,305

Alexander, the principal chief of the Pends d'Oreilles is not a Pends d'Oreille proper but descended on the father's side from the ^{Pend's} Mackay and on the mother's side from the Pends d'Oreilles. He was made Sachem by the Pends d'Oreilles themselves and by the Jesuit priests in 1828. He is noted for his high-toned, sterling and noble traits of character. He is a brave man. When a party of his tribe had stolen horses from Fort Benton on the Missouri in 1853, he started with only five of his men and carried them back, passing through the whole camp of the Blackfoot Indians, their most deadly enemies. He still wears the Pends d'Oreille hebe of Indian and is 48 years old.

ALEXANDER, HEAD CHIEF OF THE UPPER PEND D'OREILLE

GUSTAVUS SOHON'S PORTRAITS OF UPPER PEND D'OREILLE
LEADERS

The eight pencil portraits of Upper Pend d'Oreille leaders drawn by Gustavus Sohon in the spring of 1854 include likenesses of the three most important chiefs of the tribe during the period 1848-1890. These three, Alexander, Big Canoe, and Michelle, were signers of both the Flathead and Blackfoot Treaties of 1855. Bonaparte, a minor chief, is also included. The remaining four portraits of Choits-Kan, Pierre Nu-ah-ute-se, Louis Ramo, and Broken Leg (Kousheene), represent men of less standing in the tribe about whom no additional biographical information is available. Their portraits are not reproduced in this paper.

ALEXANDER, HEAD CHIEF OF THE UPPER PEND D'OREILLE (PLATE 16)

Alexander (English Name)

Tum-cle-hot-cut-se (Indian name)

Alexander the principal chief of the Pends-d-oreilles is not a Pend-d-Oreille proper but descended on the father's side from the Snake Indians and on the mother's from the Pends-d-Oreilles. He was made "First Chief" by the Pends-d-oreilles themselves and by the Jesuit Priests in 1848. He is noted for his high-toned, sterling and noble traits of character. He is a brave man. When a party of his tribe had stolen horses from Fort Benton on the Missouri in 1853, he started with only five of his men and carried them back, passing through the whole camp of the Blackfeet Indians, then most deadly enemies. He still rules the Pends-d-oreille tribe of Indians and is 45 years old.

Flathead Reservation Indians have translated Alexander's Indian name as "No Horses."

In addition to the return of the stolen horses, cited by Sohon above, other known exploits of Alexander testify to his courage. As a young man he volunteered to go alone to a trading post in the country of the hostile Crow Indians to obtain powder and lead which was badly needed by his tribe. Again, in the spring of 1856, after he had accompanied Major Owen to Fort Benton to obtain ammunition for his people, Alexander and two of his men set out alone on the return trip through the country of their Blackfoot enemies, killed nine buffalo on the plains, and rejoined Owen at the eastern base of the Rockies. (Ronan, 1890, pp. 73-76; Owen, 1927, vol. 1, pp. 118-121.)

Alexander succeeded Joseph as chief of his tribe. (Ronan, 1890, p. 73.) At the Flathead Treaty Council, he claimed to be chief of the Lower Pend d'Oreille as well. Governor Stevens promptly denied Alexander's claim to leadership of the Lower Pend d'Oreille or his right to speak for that group at the Council. (Partoll, 1938a, pp. 299-300.)

In the Flathead Treaty Council, Alexander clashed with Victor, the Flathead head chief, over the location of the reservation for the combined Flathead-Pend d'Oreille-Kutenai tribes. He readily agreed to Governor Stevens' proposal to place these tribes on one reservation, but he strongly favored the northern or Flathead Valley location. He argued that wild fruits and berries were plentiful there, that his crops grew well there, that it was a larger area than the Bitterroot Valley, and that the Kutenai and Lower Pend d'Oreille as well as his own people would prefer the northern location. When it became apparent that Victor would not accept this proposal, Alexander magnanimously went to Victor and offered to move to the Bitterroot Valley. But when Victor did not accept this offer immediately, Alexander withdrew it. Later Alexander offered to acknowledge Victor as his chief if Victor would accept the northern reservation. Again Victor was deaf to Alexander's proposal. Subsequently, Alexander refused Victor's compromise proposal to abide by the Government's decision as to the better location following a survey of the resources of both areas. He no longer would consider any reservation site but the northern one.

The Treaty, as finally drawn up and signed, secured to the Upper Pend d'Oreille their right to residence on a reservation in their traditional homeland. The Flathead Treaty, which was to plague Victor the rest of his life, was a complete victory of Alexander.

At the Blackfoot Treaty Council in October 1855 Alexander did not hesitate to express his dissatisfaction with both the location and the small size of the area proposed by the Commissioners as a buffalo-hunting ground for the western tribes. They had set aside a relatively limited tract east of the Rockies, west of the Crow territory, and south of the Musselshell River, as a common hunting ground in which the Blackfoot and the tribes from west of the mountains might hunt, but in which none of the tribes might establish permanent villages. Alexander vigorously championed the right of his people to hunt on the plains of present Montana, in the area the Commissioners wished to reserve to the Blackfoot. Alexander based his argument soundly on the traditional use of the area by his people, saying

A long time ago our people, our ancestors belonged in this country. The country around the Three Buttes. We had many people on this side of the mountains. . . . A long time ago our people used to hunt about the Three Buttes and the Blackfeet lived far north. When my Father was living he told me that was an old road for our people.

Alexander demanded to know why his people could not continue to cross the Rockies by the northern passes (referring probably to

the Cut Bank and Marias passes). Although Little Dog, a prominent Piegan chief, was impressed by Alexander's argument, the Commissioners remained firm in their decision that the country north of the Musselshell should be reserved for the Blackfoot tribes. The Treaty as written and signed by Alexander as well as the other Pend d'Oreille chiefs, gave the western Indians no right to hunt in the area reserved for the Blackfoot. (Partoll, 1937, pp. 7-10.)

Nevertheless, Alexander continued to hunt there. In 1860 he led his people on their winter hunt over the Rockies and across the plains of the Blackfoot country until they discovered buffalo on Milk River. After the people had thanked God for the prospect of a successful hunt, and secured their best horses for the morrow's chase, they retired for the night. While they slept, a large war party of Assiniboine and Cree Indians on foot surrounded the camp. An hour before dawn they launched a surprise attack, killed 20 of the Pend d'Oreille and wounded 25 more (5 of whom later died of their wounds). The enemy stole 290 Pend d'Oreille horses and forced the defeated camp to abandon most of their equipment, provisions, and clothing on the battlefield. Alexander led his beaten people on the 400-mile retreat homeward across the plains. Women with their children on their backs were forced to make the entire journey on foot. Major Owen met the party on its return to the Jocko Reservation. He found Alexander thirsting for revenge. Not only had his people suffered a humiliating defeat, but Alexander's son, a promising young man of 20 years of age, had been among those killed. Alexander had seen his son's scalped and mutilated body. He longed to return to the sleeping place of his son and people and to avenge their loss. (Owen, 1927, vol. 2, pp. 234-235, 239, 262.)

Alexander was deeply concerned with the problem of disciplining his people. In his first recorded speech at the Flathead Treaty Council he spoke frankly of his difficulties in managing his unruly young people. He believed that good example alone would not "make them go straight." Yet he feared the severity of the white man's laws. (Partoll, 1938a, pp. 289-290.) When Alexander accompanied Father De Smet to Fort Vancouver in the spring of 1859, he showed little interest in the white man's mechanical inventions and industrial plants he saw in the principal towns of Oregon and Washington. He was much interested in the Portland prison and the severe methods of punishment of criminals he observed there. Immediately on his return to the reservation, Alexander assembled his people. He told them of the wonders of the white man's civilization, placing particular emphasis

upon the white man's severe methods of criminal punishment, and concluded:

We have neither chains nor prisons, and for want of them, no doubt, a great number of us are wicked and have deaf ears. As chief, I am determined to do my duty; I shall take a whip to punish the wicked; let all those who have been guilty of any misdemeanor present themselves. I am ready.

The outcome of the affair was as follows:

The known guilty parties were called upon by name, many presented themselves of their own accord, and all received a proportionate correction. The whole affair terminated in a general rejoicing and feast. [Chittenden and Richardson, 1905, vol. 2, pp. 767-768.]

Alexander was a close friend of the Jesuit Missionaries. He often accompanied Father De Smet on his travels in the Rocky Mountain region. Father Hoeken credited Alexander with having selected the site for St. Ignatius Mission on its removal eastward in the fall of 1854. At the Flathead Treaty Council, Alexander declared, "The priest instructs me and this people here. I am very well content with the priest." At one point in the controversy over the location of the reservation, Alexander stated that he would agree to leave the area around the Mission and go on a reservation in the Bitterroot Valley if Governor Stevens would say that he could not go to heaven at his own place. His strong attachment to the Mission influenced his ultimate refusal to accept the southern reservation proposed by Governor Stevens. (Ibid., vol. 4, p. 1232; Partoll, 1938a, pp. 290, 300.)

Alexander died about the year 1868. (Teit, 1930, p. 377.) Thus he served as head chief of the Upper Pend d'Oreille for two decades. His leadership was courageous, aggressive, strict, and apparently just. There is no record of Alexander's position ever having been seriously challenged by a rival leader of the tribe. His chieftaincy was marked by continued friendship with the whites and sporadic warfare with the plains tribes. Alexander was an economic conservative. At the time of his death the Upper Pend d'Oreille still made periodic hunting excursions to the plains for buffalo.

MICHELE, SUCCESSOR TO ALEXANDER AS UPPER PEND D'OREILLE HEAD CHIEF
(PLATE 17)

Whe-whitth-schay (Indian name)

Michelle (English name)

Is noted for his upright and manly conduct, he was well thought of among the Jesuit Priests who gave him the name Michelle. He is remarkable for his generosity, which is the significance of his name.

Michelle's Indian name means "Plenty of Grizzly Bear." He was a minor chief of the tribe when Alexander died, and was elected head

① P. d'Orville -
 Michell



g. J. Michell
 April 27, 1854

① McKe-Whitth-schay (Indian name) 136.365
 Michell (English name)

Is noted for his upright and manly conduct, he
 was well thought of among the Jesuit Priests who gave
 him the name of Michell. He is remarkable for
 his eloquence, which is the signification of his
 Indian name.

MICHELLE, SUCCESSOR TO ALEXANDER AS UPPER PEND D'OREILLE
 HEAD CHIEF

chief after two others, André and Pierre, declined the office. (Teit, 1930, p. 377.) He was probably one of the Michelles who signed the Flathead Treaty and possibly the Michelle who signed the Blackfoot Treaty in 1855. He took no speaking part in either Council. As Pend d'Oreille head chief he represented the tribe in the Council to negotiate for the right-of-way of the Northern Pacific Railway on the reservation, September 2, 1882, and at the meeting with members of the subcommittee of the United States Senate appointed to visit the Indian tribes of northern Montana on September 7, 1882. (Ronan, 1890, pp. 54, 76.)

In his Annual Report of September 1874 Peter Whaley, the Flathead Agent, recommended that Michelle should be replaced by André, second chief of the tribe. The Agent pointed out that on their buffalo hunts east of the mountains the Pend d'Oreille were in the habit of stealing horses from friends and foes alike and refused to return the animals to their proper owners. Michelle, who at the time was physically unable to accompany his people on their hunts, was powerless to prevent the thefts or to compel restitution. André, on the other hand, had the confidence of his people and was the real leader of the tribe. (Ann. Rep. Comm. Ind. Aff., 1874, pp. 262-263.) The new Flathead Agent in 1875 reported that André was "chief in all but drawing a salary from the government." (Ibid., 1875, p. 304.) Agent Peter Ronan investigated the cause of the dissension in 1877. He found Michelle a "good-meaning" man who had to a large extent lost contact with his people. Michelle lived at the Agency while his people were located near St. Ignatius Mission some 20 miles away. When decisions needed to be made, André, who lived with the tribe, generally made them. If a case was later taken to Michelle, he generally reversed André's decision, causing further dissatisfaction. Michelle seemed well aware of the fact that he had lost contact with his people and considered moving back to live among them in order to regain his lost influence. (Ibid., 1877, p. 136.)

Michelle's popularity was not increased by his severe punishments. He whipped female adulterers, common among his people, so severely as to cause the deaths of some women. Agent Medery found it necessary to prevail upon Michelle to resort to milder punishment. (Ibid., 1876, p. 89.)

In spite of the dissatisfaction of many of his people, the opposition of André, and the recommendation of at least one Agent that he be deposed, Michelle continued in the position of head chief. He won the respect of Agent Ronan during the Nez Percé War of 1877.

Fearing that the Agency Indians might join their old allies, Ronan prepared to remove his wife and children from danger. Michelle went to the Agent and pledged that his warriors would protect Ronan's family from harm. The Pend d'Oreille remained friendly. (Clark, 1885, p. 301.)

A few years earlier, Michelle's friendship for the whites had been put to a severe test. His son had been accused of the murder of a white miner. Although the son swore his innocence, Michelle told him he could not be saved, or his death avenged, except by war with the whites, and asked the young man to sacrifice his life for the good of his people. The youth was hung by enraged whites. (Ibid.)

Michelle helped to set an example for his people in agriculture. In 1885 he had 160 acres under fence, producing 250 bushels of wheat and oats. In the spring of 1887 he purchased young fruit trees for his land 16 miles north of the Mission. (Ann. Rep. Comm. Ind. Aff., 1885, p. 127; 1887, p. 138.)

Michelle died at his home, near the present town of Ronan, about 1890. He is said to have been buried in the cemetery at St. Ignatius Mission.

Although he possessed admirable personal qualities, as a leader of his people Michelle proved a rather ineffective successor to the active and aggressive Alexander.

BIG CANOE, SECOND CHIEF OF THE UPPER PEND D'OREILLE (PLATE 18, LEFT)

In-er-cult-say

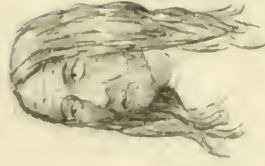
Known as the "Big Canoe."

Full-blooded Pend d'Oreille, second chief—Rather a dark Indian, about 55 or 60 years old.

Big Canoe is said to have been born in 1799. (Handbook of American Indians, etc., 1910, pt. 1, p. 146.) At the Flathead Treaty Council, he made a point of the fact that his aunt told him he was "pure Pend d' Oreille." (Partoll, 1938a, p. 293.) Pierre Pichette translates his Indian name, "Rotted Under the Belt," which probably refers to a rotten scalp carried under the belt as a trophy.

Peter Ronan stated that Big Canoe "was considered by the Indians to be one of the greatest war chiefs the tribe of the Pend d'Oreille ever had," and that "stories of battles led by him against Indian foes would fill a volume." (Ronan, 1890, p. 73.) Unfortunately, none of those deeds have been recorded in the literature.

At the Flathead Treaty Council in 1855 Big Canoe delivered a lengthy speech. He could not understand why discussion at the Council involved the problem of Indian land. To his mind no real



"The man just above
 shown as the Big Canoe"
 Tall, thin, dark hair, dark eyes, dark skin.
 (Sketch of dark hair, dark eyes, dark skin.)

BIG CANOE, SECOND CHIEF OF THE UPPER PEND D'OREILLE



Bonaparte, Thyghawane
 (Sketch of dark hair, dark eyes, dark skin.)
 The man just above
 shown as the Big Canoe"
 Tall, thin, dark hair, dark eyes, dark skin.
 (Sketch of dark hair, dark eyes, dark skin.)

BONAPARTE, A PEND D'OREILLE CHIEF

land problem existed. The whites and Indians could live peaceably side by side. He pointed with pride to the fact that his people had never spilt blood of the white man. Why then should there be a treaty? He attributed the continued friendship between his people and the whites to the fact that white traders had furnished guns and ammunition to repel their powerful enemies, and for this his people continued to be grateful. However, he resented the fact that the whites also traded these things to the Blackfoot who used their weapons against whites as well as Indians. He referred to Governor Stevens' promise to put an end to Blackfoot depredations. He pointed out that since the Blackfoot promised peace in 1853, they had broken it many times. They had stolen one of his horses the previous winter, and his own daughter had been set afoot when they stole two horses that very spring. He had kept his promise not to retaliate against the Blackfoot, not because he was afraid of them, but because the white man had asked him to keep the peace. To Big Canoe this matter of Blackfoot hostility was the only important problem for discussion at the Council.

Governor Stevens made no direct reply to Big Canoe. He guided the discussion back to the subject of the choice of a reservation for the Indians. Big Canoe remained silent through the remainder of the Council. At its conclusion he signed the Treaty. (Partoll, 1938a, pp. 291-294.)

At the Blackfoot Treaty Council, Big Canoe spoke briefly in support of Alexander's claim of the right of the Pend d'Oreille to hunt buffalo on the plains north of the Musselshell. He spoke bluntly, "I am glad now we are together. I thought our roads would be all over this country. Now you tell us different. Supposing we do stick together, and do make a peace. . . . Now you tell me not to step over that way. I had a mind to go there." Later he concurred in the expressed desire for peace of the Piegan chief, Lame Bull, saying "Don't let your war parties hide from me. Let them come to our camps as friends." (Ibid., 1937, p. 8.)

Big Canoe was a strong character. Although a war leader, he had a sincere desire for peace. To his mind peace seemed to promise unrestricted freedom of movement. He could not reconcile his idea of peaceful relationships with the whites and other Indians with the talk of separate tribal hunting grounds and restricted reservations that was current at the Councils.

Big Canoe died at the Flathead Agency in 1882 at the advanced age of 83. He was buried in the Indian Cemetery at St. Ignatius Mission (Ronan, 1890, p. 72).

BONAPARTE, A PEND D'OREILLE CHIEF (PLATE 18, RIGHT)

Bonaparte (English name)

Kols-seese-Kol-lay (Indian name)

Bonaparte a Pend-d-oreille chief is noted for his generosity and benevolence to his tribe and especially to those who are poor or needy. He is rich in horses and cattle and a person is never known to be in need without his assisting him and relieving his wants. He is a man of thirty-five years of age.

Pierre Pichette said that Bonaparte's Indian name was an obsolete form which he was unable to translate. Apparently he was a minor chief in 1855, for his name is not signed to either the Flathead or Blackfoot Treaties.

Major Owen, in May 1856, told of a half-breed named Bonaparte who attempted to arrange a horse race between his prized mount and a Nez Percé race horse. However, Bonaparte's horse, which he had obtained from the Spokan country 2 years before in exchange for six horses, bore such a reputation for speed that its owner could get no other Indians to race against it. (Owen, 1927, vol. 1, pp. 125-126.)

Indians living on the Flathead Reservation today say that Bonaparte died in the 1870's.

THE IROQUOIS AMONG THE FLATHEAD AND PEND D'OREILLE

The fact that there were Christian Iroquois living in the camps of the primitive Flathead and Pend d'Oreille before the middle of the nineteenth century has whetted the curiosity and imagination of students of Indian history. These Mohawk Iroquois were living more than 2,000 airline miles from their native villages in the vicinity of Montreal, Quebec. When and why did they make the long trek westward through the lakes and forests, across the plains and the great Continental Divide?

The first Iroquois to travel into the northwestern wilderness beyond the eastern forest belt were sturdy Mohawk canoe men employed by the fur traders who outfitted and marketed their furs in Montreal. By the late years of the eighteenth century these traders had established posts on the Saskatchewan River and its tributaries as far west as the present Province of Alberta, in the shadow of the Rockies.

As early as 1798 or 1799 a second wave of Iroquois moved westward. In company with a large number of Nepissings and Algonquians, a group of Iroquois men (and a very few women) followed the canoes of the fur traders to the headwaters of the Saskatchewan to hunt and trap independently. The number of Iroquois in this migration has been estimated at from 40 to more than 100. On the

western plains they met the Blackfoot, Gros Ventres, Sarsi, and Cree, aboriginal inhabitants of the region. The partially acculturated Iroquois who had been instructed in the Catholic religion at Caughnawaga Mission near Montreal felt themselves superior to the barbaric plains Indians, which so enraged the latter that the Blackfoot or Gros Ventres attacked the Iroquois and killed about a score of them. Friendly Cree advised the Iroquois that it would not be safe to try to revenge this defeat. (Mackenzie, 1903, vol. 2, p. 345; Thompson, 1916, pp. 311-317.)

One small colony of Iroquois, reputed to have been descendants of two brothers of this migration, still remains in Alberta, under the name of Michel's Band. This band, now under the jurisdiction of the Edmonton Agency, numbered 104 persons in 1944. (Gibbons, 1904, pp. 125-126; Census of the Indians in Canada, 1945, p. 3.) The remainder of the original group scattered after their disastrous battle with the plains tribes. Perhaps many of them returned to the East. In February 1810 David Thompson, at Saleesh House (near present Thompson's Falls, Mont.), west of the Rockies, employed six Iroquois "who had come this far to trap Beaver" to assist him in collecting birchbark for canoes. (Thompson, 1916, p. 418.) Thus it is certain that some Iroquois, possibly remnants of the large group of the 1798-99 migration, reached the country of the Flathead and Pend d'Oreille by the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century, only 5 years after the pioneer explorers Lewis and Clark. Some of the members of that early migration may have settled eventually among the friendly Flathead.

However, the group of Iroquois who were primarily responsible for giving the primitive Flathead and Pend d'Oreille their first notions of Christianity have been credited to another and somewhat later migration. Father Palladino stated that they comprised a group of 24 Iroquois under the leadership of Ignace Lamoose, who wandered westward until they reached the land of the Flathead, where they were hospitably received and decided to remain. (Palladino, 1894, pp. 9-10; Chittenden and Richardson, 1905, vol. 1, p. 20.) This explanation sounds reasonable only if we may assume that members of the party were encouraged, and perhaps even guided, by Iroquois who had been among the Flathead before that time and had returned east with flattering descriptions of the country and its people.

The date of this migration is uncertain. Father Palladino placed it between 1812 and 1820; Father De Smet, 1816, and Father Mengarini, as late as 1828. (Palladino, 1894, p. 9; Chittenden and Richardson, 1905, vol. 1, p. 29; Garraghan, 1938, vol. 2, p. 238, footnote.)

The Iroquois Ignace Lamoose, also known as Old Ignace or Big Ignace to distinguish him from a younger Ignace of the party, was the individual primarily responsible for introducing Christian religious practices among the Flathead. Father Palladino termed him the "Apostle to the Flathead." He it was who taught them to say the Lord's Prayer, make the sign of the Cross, baptize their children, and observe Sunday as a day of rest. (Palladino, 1894, pp. 9-10; Mengarini in Garraghan, 1938, vol. 2, footnotes pp. 238 and 241.)

He it was, also, who urged the Flathead to send deputations to St. Louis to seek a Catholic missionary to the tribe. He personally led two of the four deputations which traveled from the Northwest toward St. Louis in the 1830's.

Much has been written about the so-called "first deputation" of 1831, but it has never been determined satisfactorily whether the four Indians of that party who appeared in St. Louis in October 1831 were Nez Percé or Flathead, or contained one or more Indians of both tribes. There is also some question whether the deputation was motivated by religious or secular desires. It is certain that publicity resulting from the appearance of these Indians from the distant Northwest in St. Louis attributed their journey to a desire to obtain "The White man's Book of Heaven," and that this publicity led to the establishment of the first Indian Missions in the Northwest by Protestants between 1834 and 1836. These Missions were located among the tribes of the old Oregon country far to the west of the Flathead. (Chittenden and Richardson, 1905, vol. 1, pp. 21-27; Garraghan, 1938, vol. 2, pp. 237-238, 242-246.)

There is less uncertainty regarding the membership and motives of the other three deputations. All three were incited by Iroquois living among the Flathead. Two deputations were composed entirely of Iroquois; the third was led by one. Active Flathead participation was limited to the third deputation.

The second deputation was a family affair. After the Flathead chief, Michael Insula, determined that the missionaries who were sent west in 1835 were not Catholics but Protestants, he returned home and told his people of the disappointment. In the summer of 1835 Old Ignace and his two sons set out for the east. They reached St. Louis safely in the fall. The sons of Old Ignace were instructed and baptized by the Jesuits there. On baptism December 2, 1835, they were given the Christian names of Charles and Francis. Their father told Catholic officials of the western Indians' desire for a priest. He received a promise that a black robe would be sent to the Flathead

if circumstances permitted. Old Ignace and his sons returned home the following spring. (Palladino, 1894, p. 19; Chittenden and Richardson, 1905, vol. 1, pp. 28-29; Garraghan, 1938, vol. 2, p. 246.)

In 1837 a third deputation consisting of three Flathead, a Nez Percé, and Old Ignace as leader started for St. Louis. At Fort Laramie they joined a party of white men traveling eastward from Oregon. At Ash Hollow on the North Platte they were attacked by a party of Sioux. The whites were ordered to stand aside as the Sioux did not intend to molest them. Old Ignace who was dressed as a white man, was mistaken for one, and ordered to stand with the whites, but he refused to abandon his Indian companions. The Sioux then attacked the five Indians and killed them. It is possible that the Sioux mistook the Indians for Shoshoni, traditional enemies of their tribe. Thus no member of this deputation lived to reach St. Louis. (Palladino, 1894, p. 20; Chittenden and Richardson, 1905, vol. 1, p. 29; Garraghan, 1938, vol. 2, pp. 247-248.)

In the summer of 1839 two Iroquois, Pierre Gaucher and Young Ignace, volunteered to make the long trip to St. Louis in quest of a priest. Apparently they traveled down the Yellowstone and Missouri Rivers by canoe. In St. Louis, Bishop Rosati gave them assurance that a priest would be sent to their people the following spring. Pierre Gaucher set out for home alone, while Young Ignace waited at Westport to accompany Father De Smet westward in the spring. (Palladino, 1894, pp. 21-24; Chittenden and Richardson, 1905, vol. 1, pp. 29-30; Garraghan, 1938, vol. 2, pp. 248-250.)

Bishop Rosati was told by the Iroquois of this last deputation that only 4 of the 24 Iroquois who formerly emigrated from Canada to the Flathead country were still living in 1839. It is probable the Indians meant that only that number remained among the Flathead, and that in addition to others who had died since the migration, some of the Iroquois had moved on to other locations. Father Garraghan stated that a group of Catholic Iroquois emigrated from the Rocky Mountain region to the site of Kansas City and that among the first Catholic baptisms in the history of that city, February 23, 1834, two were recorded as "Iroquois-Flatheads." (Palladino, 1894, p. 28; Garraghan, 1938, vol. 2, p. 239, footnote.)

GUSTAVUS SOHON'S PORTRAITS OF IROQUOIS LIVING AMONG THE FLATHEAD

Mr. Sohon's three portraits of Iroquois living among the Flathead were drawn in the late spring of 1854, probably in the vicinity of

Fort Owen in the Bitterroot Valley. Sohon's own captions on these drawings make no mention of the religious activities of these subjects. However, the historic significance of these portraits lies primarily in the fact that the men depicted played important roles in the extension of Christian Missions to the tribes of the northern Rockies. Certainly two, and probably all, of these Iroquois were members of Indian deputations to St. Louis during the 1830's in quest of a priest. These are the only known portraits of these men.

IROQUOIS PETER (PLATE 19)

Pierre Kar-so-wa-ta

An Iroquois who came to this country thirty years ago, and settled here. He is the most industrious indian in the valley, cultivates a small farm raising wheat, oats, potatoes, etc. and owns a large band of cattle; he speaks the mountain french and english, besides several Indian languages.

Pierre Pichette said that "Kar-so-wa-ta" was not a Salishan name. Charles A. Cooke, a student of Iroquois personal names, believes this may be the Iroquois name, Gah-sa-wé-ta, meaning Lime or Chalk. An Iroquois from St. Regis, who bore that name, was said to have been in the northwest in 1818.

Of the four Iroquois said to have been living among the Flathead in 1839, only one Pierre or Peter has been identified. He was the Pierre Gaucher (or Gauche) of the 1839 deputation. This is probably a portrait of that man.

Pierre Gaucher (Left-Handed Peter) was one of the two young Iroquois who volunteered to make the long journey to St. Louis in 1839 to obtain a priest for the Flathead. Apparently they journeyed down the Yellowstone and Missouri Rivers, through hostile Indian country, in the company of fur traders returning to St. Louis. Father De Smet met them on September 18, when they passed St. Joseph Mission at Council Bluffs. He stated that these Indians had been "for twenty-three years among the nation called the Flatheads and Pierced Noses" (Nez Percé), and that "the sole object of these good Iroquois was to obtain a priest to come and finish what they had so happily commenced." He gave them letters of recommendation to the Father Superior in St. Louis. (Chittenden and Richardson, 1905, vol. 1, pp. 29-30; Palladino, 1894, p. 21.)

In St. Louis Peter and his companion, Ignace, were hospitably received by the Catholic officials who were favorably impressed by their piety and character. They found that both of the Iroquois spoke French and that one of them carried a little book printed in

Iroquois

has up it with
of gray blanket
is part of costume
or black with gray



J. Leche
Nov 16 1854

Peter Kas-so-wanta

He speaks several languages, including Seneca, Onondaga, and Delaware. He is a Christian and has been an Indian in the past. He speaks several languages, including Seneca, Onondaga, Delaware, and English. He is a Christian and has been an Indian in the past.

IROQUOIS PETER

his own language, from which the Iroquois sang a number of sacred songs. Bishop Rosati recorded in his diary that these Iroquois had reached the Flathead country in 1816 (which tallies with De Smet's statement above). (Garraghan, 1938, vol. 2, p. 238, footnote; pp. 248-250.)

After receiving assurances that a priest would be sent to the Flathead the following spring, Peter set out alone for home. He traveled through the winter and arrived in the Flathead camp the next spring, where he conveyed the welcome information that a black robe was coming. (Palladino, 1894, p. 24.)

Peter the Iroquois has been credited with the baptism of a dying Flathead girl on the site later occupied by the St. Mary's Mission. Before her death this girl called out, "Listen to the Black Robes when they come; they have the true prayer; do all they tell you. They will come and on this very spot where I die, will build the house of prayer." In later years the Flathead regarded her statement as prophetic. (Palladino, 1894, pp. 35-36; Chittenden and Richardson, 1905, vol. 1, p. 293.)

Father Mengarini named Peter, Big Ignace, and Little Ignace as the three Iroquois most influential in giving the Flathead their first knowledge of Christianity. (Garraghan, 1938, vol. 2, p. 238, footnote.) However, little is known of Peter's religious activities after the founding of St. Mary's Mission to the Flathead. He was not mentioned in the writings of the missionaries during the remainder of his lifetime.

At the time of the Pacific Railway Survey, Peter was the most successful and conscientious farmer in the Flathead country. Lieutenant Mullan stated that when he left Cantonment Stevens to explore southward to Fort Hall, October 14, 1853, Pierre the Iroquois was the only Indian at St. Mary's village. Apparently all the Flathead were hunting buffalo east of the Rockies. (Report of Explorations, etc., 1860, vol. 1, p. 319.)

Governor Stevens' estimate of Flathead population in 1853, at 60 lodges and 350 people, was based directly on a statement by Peter. (Ibid., pp. 150, 295.)

When the question of the relative fertility of the Bitterroot Valley and the region around St. Ignatius Mission was raised during the Flathead Treaty Council, Governor Stevens called upon Peter, as the most experienced farmer in the region, to render an opinion. Peter frankly replied that he did not know which area was better for farming. (Partoll, 1938a, p. 297.)

In the latter part of May, 1856, Iroquois Peter was killed in a fall from his horse while he and his wife were hunting elk. Major Owen reported his death and stated that he was an old trapper who had been a long time in the country. (Owen, 1927, vol. 1, pp. 127, 129.) Father Hoeken stated that the family of Iroquois Peter was settled at St. Ignatius Mission among the Upper Pend d'Oreille in the spring of 1857. He acknowledged that "the death of this venerable old man is a great loss to the mission." (Chittenden and Richardson, 1905, vol. 4, p. 1246.)

Apparently this migrated Mohawk, descendant of a traditionally horticultural people, set an excellent example to the Flathead in agriculture and herding after seeds and livestock were brought to the Bitterroot Valley by Father De Smet in the early forties. His example was not heeded by the majority of the Flathead. Probably much of the agricultural progress attributed to the Flathead by visitors to the Bitterroot Valley in the middle of the nineteenth century was, in fact, the fruit of the individual effort of Iroquois Peter.

IROQUOIS AENEAS (PLATE 20)

Iroquois—"Aeneas"—

Came to this country with Pierre, but has not the industry or forethought of his "comrade" Pierre. He is poor but an honest and reliable man.

The name "Aeneas" is readily recognized by present-day Indians on the Flathead Reservation as an American attempt to render the Flathead pronunciation of the French name "Ignace." Baptiste Finley, a 76-year-old mixed-blood living on that reservation, said that the Iroquois, Ignace, was his maternal grandfather. Baptiste volunteered the information that this man, known as "Ignace Chapped Lips" to the Flathead, was the Iroquois who went to St. Louis with the party that was successful in obtaining a priest for the tribe, and that he returned with the first priest. Sohon's "Aeneas," therefore, was the "Young Ignace" or "Petit Ignace" who was one of Ignace Lamoose's most influential helpers in giving the Flathead their first knowledge of Christianity; who accompanied Pierre to St. Louis in 1839 to seek a priest; who spent the winter of 1839-40 in Wesport waiting for the priest; and who accompanied Father De Smet on his first journey over the Rockies to the country of the Flathead. (Garraghan, 1938, vol. 2, p. 238, footnote; Chittenden and Richardson, 1905, vol. 1, pp. 29-30.)

Young Ignace was one of the party who journeyed to Fort Hall to meet Father De Smet on his return to the West in the spring of

Iroquois -



1854
16
1854

Aeneas -

130 9 5

Same place as with Ignace, but has not the
marks of settlement as Ignace. He is poor, but an honest and reliable man.

IROQUOIS AENEAS (IGNACE)

Hair rich and
intensely black.
Some hair on the
eye brows, (as exception
among Indians)



J. Johnson
Jan 1854

Lamuk (Indian name)
Charles (in baptism) 130,305

Charles Lamoose.

1/2 Iroquois 1/2 Pend-d'oreille
Heath England Trav. Am.
was with the Flathead

CHARLES LAMOUSE, MIXED IROQUOIS-PEND D'OREILLE

1841. "Iroquois Ignatius" also accompanied the priest on his visit to the Crow Indians in the summer of 1842. (Chittenden and Richardson, 1905, vol. 1, p. 399.)

Aeneas rendered valuable service to Lieutenant Mullan's exploration of the intermountain region in the winter of 1853-54. Mullan reported:

I learned, through an old Iroquis Indian, called Aeneas, now resident in the Bitter Root Valley, whose wanderings amid the mountains had often thrown him with parties travelling with wagons at the southward, thereby rendering him capable of judging of the requisites of a wagon road, that a line could be had through a gorge-like pass in the Coeur d'Alene mountains. Our later explorations proved this to be Sohon's Pass. [Mullan, 1863, p. 5.]

In March 1854 Lieutenant Mullan sent one of his topographers, with Aeneas as a guide, to make a special examination of the locality Aeneas had recommended. Snow prevented their reaching the pass. Five years later Gustavus Sohon made the first scientific exploration of this pass that for many years bore his name. (Ibid.)

Aeneas outlived his more ambitious comrade, Peter. Father Hoeken wrote from St. Ignatius Mission in the spring of 1857, "old Ignatius is settled here." (Chittenden and Richardson, 1905, vol. 4, p. 1246.) Baptiste Finley said that Aeneas had two children, both of whom are now dead, and that Aeneas himself died about 1880, and was buried in the old Indian cemetery near Arlee.

The record indicates the Aeneas was of a more restless disposition than his friend and fellow tribesman, Peter. He was a wanderer whose knowledge of geography proved valuable to the Government explorers.

CHARLES LAMOOSÉ, SON OF OLD IGNACE (PLATE 21)

Lamuh (Indian name)

Charles (in baptism)

Charles Lamoosé— $\frac{1}{2}$ Iroquois and $\frac{1}{2}$ Pend-d'oreille speaks English and French and lives with the Flatheads.

Charles Lamoosé was the eldest son of Old Ignace Lamoosé, the Iroquois whom Palladino termed "the Apostle to the Flatheads." As a boy he accompanied his father and younger brother on the long and perilous journey to St. Louis to seek a priest for the Flathead. He was baptized Charles by Father Helias in St. Louis on December 2, 1835. His brother received the name of Francis Xavier. Father Helias gave Charles' age as 14, his brother's as 10. He also stated that the boys were able to speak a little French, were handsome, very intelligent, and that their mother was a Flathead. (Garraghan, 1938, vol. 2, pp. 246-247.)

Charles and his brother were of the party of 10 lodges of Flathead who went to meet Father De Smet on his return to the West in July 1841. (Chittenden and Richardson, 1905, vol. 1, p. 30.)

Unless this man was the "Charles" who accompanied Father De Smet on many of his travels in the northwest as interpreter, his name was not mentioned in the later literature. Baptiste Finley said Charles Lamoose died in the Bitterroot Valley prior to 1891. His brother Francis Lamoose, also known as Francis Saxa, lived to old age among the Flathead and was a well-known and respected informant on Flathead cultural history.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SOHON PORTRAITS

The white man's penetration of the northwestern interior of our country came late. It advanced rapidly. The period of transition from first exploration to extensive white settlement, which in some sections of the country required centuries, was a matter of decades in the Northwest. The explorer, the fur trader, the missionary, the Indian agent, the gold seeker, and the farmer-settler, met and left their impress on the lives and customs of the Indians of the Northwest in a little more than a half century. Indians born into a Stone Age aboriginal culture lived to witness the extermination of the buffalo, the filling up of their land with settlers, and their confinement on reservations.

In the face of this rapid extension of white civilization, the relatively small native tribes of the Northwest struggled to retain their political, social, and economic independence. Two of those tribes were the Flathead and the Upper Pend d'Oreille. Major responsibility for working out an adjustment to the changed conditions of life and solving the many knotty problems posed by the extension of the white man's culture to their country was assumed by the elected chiefs of these tribes. Although these leaders differed markedly in their opinions of what was best for their people, they acted with such courage, sincerity, and friendliness as to win the admiration and respect of the white men with whom they dealt. Probably no group of Indian leaders in American history have been so extravagantly praised by the whites as were the Flathead and Pend d'Oreille chiefs of the middle of the nineteenth century. Mr. Sohon's portraits depict the majority of those chiefs as they appeared in the year of 1854. His portraits have given form and substance to some of the strongest Indian characters in western history.

The appearance of the subjects of Sohon's portraits illustrates the Indians' selective adaptation of traits of the white man's culture.

The long forelock, falling over the center of the forehead to the nose, was apparently an aboriginal style of hairdress among the Indians of many tribes. George Catlin and Karl Bodmer depicted it in many of their portraits and scenes among the tribes of the Northern Plains in the 1830's. (Wissler, 1910, p. 152.) Sohon illustrated it in his portraits of Cayuse, Nez Percé, and Blackfoot leaders in 1855. The style became obsolete among the Flathead before 1891. The peculiar visored trade caps, worn by many of Sohon's subjects, were a style of headgear which was in great favor among the Flathead in the mid-nineteenth century. These caps were shown in less detail in the scenes of Flathead life drawn by Father Nicholas Point a decade earlier. (De Smet, 1847, plates facing pp. 119 and 151.) They were also worn by Cayuse and Spokane Indians sketched by Sohon in 1855.

A similar cap was worn by a Red River half-breed drawn by Frank B. Mayer in 1851. (Mayer, 1932, p. 58.) The origin of these caps is not known. This distribution suggests that they may have been obtained from Hudson's Bay Company traders. Victor's tall hat and Iroquois Peter's unusual cap of gray trade cloth are other examples of nonaboriginal headgear in use at the time. The shirts with attached, turned-over collars, and buttons at the neck certainly show white influence. Catholic influence appears in the crucifixes worn by some of these Indians. The only articles of traditional clothing illustrated in the portraits are the buffalo robes worn as outer garments by Moise and Alexander.

Hazard Stevens, who was present at the Walla Walla and Blackfoot Treaty Councils of 1855, when Sohon drew a number of Indian portraits, observed that Gustavus Sohon "had great skill in making expressive likenesses." Presumably the Flathead, Pend d'Oreille, and Iroquois portraits, sketched from life by Mr. Sohon a year earlier, possess that same quality. With the single exception of the unsigned portrait of Big Canoe, which appears so labored and crude as hardly to be the work of the same artist, Sohon's pencil technique is characterized by clean, sure lines, and a very realistic three-dimensional quality. His portraits of Flathead leaders show the prevalence of "good-looking" men in that tribe which was noted in the observations of Dr. Suckley of the Pacific Railway Survey. (Report of Explorations, etc., 1860, vol. 1, p. 292.) His Iroquois portraits show the characteristic long-facedness of those people. At his best, in the portraits of the Flathead leader, Pelchimo, and the three Iroquois, Sohon's portraits deserve to rank with the finest works of white artists who visited the western Indian country in pre-reservation days.

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APPENDIX

A LIST OF PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED DRAWINGS BY GUSTAVUS SOHON

COLORED LITHOGRAPHS AFTER SOHON DRAWINGS PUBLISHED IN "REPORT OF EXPLORATIONS AND SURVEYS TO ASCERTAIN THE MOST PRACTICABLE AND ECONOMICAL ROUTE FOR A RAILROAD FROM THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER TO THE PACIFIC OCEAN, MADE UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE SECRETARY OF WAR, IN 1853-5," vol. 12, book 1. Washington, D. C., 1860. (Processed by "Sarony, Major & Knapp, Liths., 449 Broadway, N. Y.")

- Fort Vancouver, W. T. (Following p. 154.)
Hot Spring Mound, in the "Deer Lodge" Prairie of the Rocky Mountains. (Facing p. 172.)
Crossing the Hellgate River May 5, 1854. (Facing p. 179.)
Entrance to the Bitter Root Mountains, by the Lou Lou Fork. (Facing p. 180.)
Cantonment Stevens, Looking Westward. (Facing p. 181.)
Great Falls of the Missouri River. (Facing p. 183.)
Main Chain of the Rocky Mountains, as Seen from the East—
Extending from a Point North of the Marias Pass to near the Little Blackfoot Pass. (Panorama labeled "Stanley, Del. after Sohon.") (Following p. 184.)
Kamas Prairie of the Pend d'Oreilles, in the Rocky Mountains, Looking Southward. (Following p. 184.)
View of the Clark's Fork and the Ridge of Mountains, South of the Flathead Lake, Looking Eastward. (Following p. 184.)
Source of the Peluse. (Labeled "Stanley, Del. after Sohon.") (Facing p. 200.)
Big Blackfoot Valley. (Facing p. 214.)
Crossing the Hellgate River, Jan. 6, 1854. (Following p. 244.)

COLORED LITHOGRAPHS AFTER SOHON DRAWINGS PUBLISHED IN "REPORT ON THE CONSTRUCTION OF A MILITARY ROAD FROM FORT WALLA WALLA TO FORT BENTON," BY CAPT. JOHN MULLAN, U.S.A. WASHINGTON, D. C. 1863. (Processed by "Bowen & Co. Lith. Philada.")

- Military Post & City of Walla Walla, W. T. in 1862. (First frontispiece.)
Fort Benton—Head of Steam Navigation on the Missouri River. (Second frontispiece.)
Cantonment Stevens—Capt. Mullan's Winter Quarters 1853-4. (Facing p. 2.)
Coeur d'Alene Mission in the Rocky Mountains. (Facing p. 16.)

- Palouse Falls in Washington Territory. (Facing p. 28.)
 Cantonment Wright—Capt. Mullan's Winter Quarters in 1861-2.
 (Facing p. 32.)
 Upper Falls of the Missouri River. (Facing p. 48.)
 Mode of Crossing Rivers by the Flathead and other Indians. (Facing
 p. 50.)
 Pend d'Oreille Mission in the Rocky Mountains in 1862. (Facing
 p. 52.)
 Great Falls of the Missouri, 2500 miles from St. Louis. (Facing
 p. 54.)
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 OF ISAAC INGALLS STEVENS," BY HIS SON HAZARD STEVENS. TWO vols.
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- Low Horn, Piegan Chief. (Facing p. 374, vol. 1.)
 The Arrival of the Nez Perces. (Facing p. 34, vol. 2.)
 Feasting the Chiefs. (Facing p. 36, vol. 2.)
 Kam-i-ah-kan, Head Chief of the Yakimas. (Facing p. 38, vol. 2.)
 Spotted Eagle, a chief of the Nez Perces. (Facing p. 40, vol. 2.)
 Walla Walla Council. (Facing p. 42, vol. 2.)
 Pu-pu-mox-mox: Yellow Serpent, Head Chief of the Walla Wallas.
 (Facing p. 46, vol. 2.)
 We-ah-te-na-tee-ma-ny: Young Chief, Head Chief of the Cuyuses.
 (Facing p. 50, vol. 2.)
 She-ca-yah: Five Crows, Cuyuse Chief. (Facing p. 52, vol. 2.)
 Looking Glass, War Chief of the Nez Perces. (Facing p. 54, vol. 2.)
 Hal-hal-tlos-sot: The Lawyer, Head Chief of the Nez Perces.
 (Facing p. 58, vol. 2.)
 The Scalp Dance. (Facing p. 60, vol. 2.)
 Ow-hi, a Chief of the Yakimas. (Facing p. 64, vol. 2.)
 The Flathead Council. (Facing p. 112, vol. 2.)
 Blackfoot Chiefs—Star Robe, The Rider, Heavy Shield, Lame Bull.
 (Four individual portraits.) (Facing p. 114, vol. 2.)
 Tat-tu-ye. The Fox, Chief of the Blood Indians. (Facing p. 116,
 vol. 2.)
 Mek-ya-py, Red Dye, Piegan Warrior (Facing p. 116, vol. 2.)
 Commissioner Cumming and Interpreters. James Bird, Delaware
 Jim, Colonel Alfred Cumming, William Craig, Alexander
 Culberston. (Five individual portraits.) (Facing p. 118, vol. 2.)
 Crossing the Bitter Roots in Midwinter. (Facing p. 126, vol. 2.)
 Coeur d'Alene Mission. (Facing p. 128, vol. 2.)
 Spokane Garry, Head Chief of the Spokanes. (Facing p. 140, vol. 2.)
 Ume-how-lish, War Chief of the Cuyuses. (Facing p. 148, vol. 2.)