HARMONIOUS RELATIONS: A CORE CULTURAL VALUE OF THE SOUTHERN PLATEAU INDIANS

by

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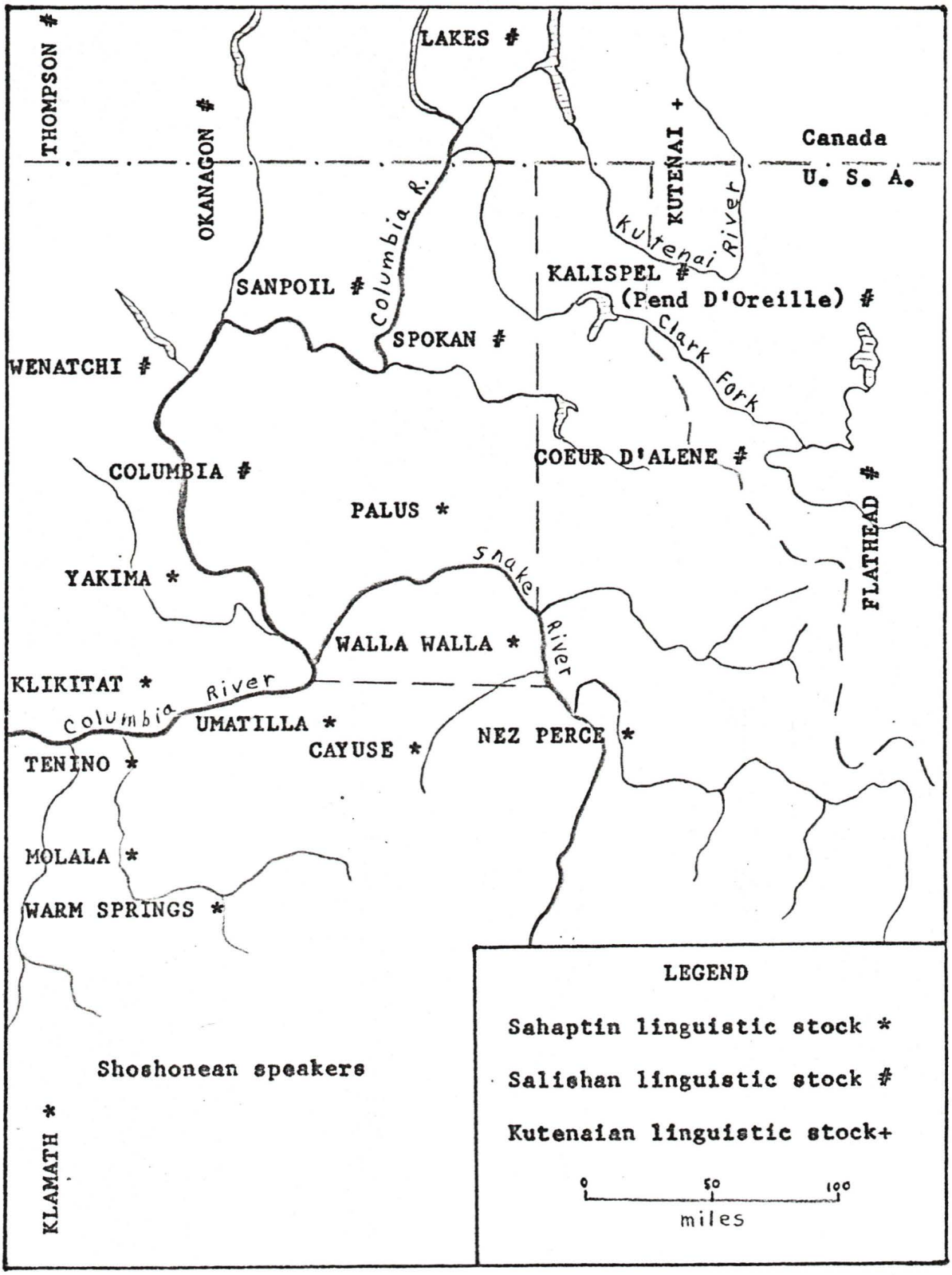

THE SOUTHERN PLATEAU

Supervisor: Professor Robert F. Gray

ABSTRACT

This thesis aims at a discovery of a core cultural value of the Indians of the southern or American Plateau culture province at the time of white contact (1800 - 1890). The thesis takes as its starting point the contention by Verne Ray that pacifism is a value that can be said to characterize the Plateau Indians. The thesis shows how it is doubtful that the Plateau people practised truly pacifistic behaviour. By examining a number of cultural activities and traits of the southern Plateau Indians, and deriving the values that seem to be reflected in these activities and traits, the thesis arrives at an underlying core cultural value for the Indians of the area. It is a value of harmonious relations with other people and with the spirits thought to be co-existing in the world with man. This is a core value for the Indians of at least the southern portion of the Plateau. It is the author's contention that it is this core value that forms the groundwork from which springs the behaviour which Ray mistakenly saw as truly pacifistic behaviour.

Recognizing the difficulties involved in determining the nature of "values," and realizing that the idea of a core cultural value is similar to Ruth Benedict's "patterns" or "configurations," the author deals in the first chapter of the thesis with these issues. An understanding of the nature of "values" is approached from several different perspectives, including those of Benedict and Clyde Kluckhohn, and a working definition of "value" is arrived

at. The orientation of Benedict to the idea of a core cultural value is examined, and several criticisms of her approach by other anthropologists are explored. The thesis utilizes criticisms of Benedict insofar as they emphasize contextual and other factors inconsistent with a posited core cultural value. But the thesis accepts Benedict's main idea that certain culturally patterned actions and beliefs are in large part governed by underlying cultural values.

To familiarize the reader with the southern Plateau, the second chapter is devoted to an ethnographic description of the area. Ecological, historical, and economic conditions are discussed that go a long way toward explaining the strength of the core value of harmonious relations maintained by the Indians of this region. Chapter three outlines a number of cultural activities and traits of the peoples of the area as noted by white explorers, traders, anthropologists, artists, and Indians themselves who have lived in or are familiar with the region. These cultural activities and traits are examined in order to suggest specific values which underly them; the values suggested are in turn examined to discover a single underlying core cultural value around which the various specific values seem to cluster.

The thesis suggests that the southern Plateau Indian core cultural value of harmonious relations is both the determinant of some culturally patterned behaviour and beliefs, and the result of culturally patterned behaviour developing as the result of historical, economic, and ecological factors. While it is recog-

nized that all of the peoples of the world place value on "harmonious relations" at some level of society, the southern Plateau is distinctive in that for the Indians of this region value was placed on the maintenance of harmonious relations between all the ethnic groups of the entire culture area.

Examiners: [redacted]

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INTRODUCTION

In the concluding chapter of his comprehensive book on the Plateau of northwestern North America, Verne F. Ray (1939) speaks in broad cultural area terms of significant cultural differences between Northwest Coast societies and those of the Plateau. He says in contrasting the two areas with respect to warfare:

> The coastal peoples are not warlike in the ordinary sense, but nevertheless warfare is ever present, the antagonisms involved are bitter, and the methods utilized are ruthless. What a contrast is presented by the Plateau emphasis upon pacifism! (1939:145).

Earlier, in the section of his book entitled "Warfare and Pacifism," Ray describes the theme of pacifism in the Plateau in more detail. He says:

> Standing out boldly over all is the impressive emphasis upon pacifism which characterizes the central region [of the Plateau]. A very different picture is seen in the south, with intensive conflict as the theme. But the conflict is of the type associated with the Plains, from where it obviously was borrowed. Thus, it is not typical of the Plateau (1939:35).

In using the word "pacifism" to characterize the Plateau, I feel Ray has used an inappropriate term. Webster's unabridged dictionary (1965) defines "pacifism" as "1: opposition to war or violence as a means of settling disputes; specif: refusal to bear arms because of moral or religious principles 2: an attitude or policy of nonresistance: passivism . . . ."(1965:1617). If the Plateau Indian societies practised pacifism as a policy, they would be practically unique among the societies of the world; for though segments of societies -- e.g. religious groups -- have been

known to practise pacifism, entire societies virtually never do so. Those societies in the history of mankind that have not responded in kind when attacked have done so, it would seem, not out of devotion to an attitude, policy, or belief; but generally rather because of a recognition of the practical situation they find themselves in. The Sanpoil are a case in point. They constitute a major portion of the basis for Ray's deductions about Plateau culture in general. A look at population estimates for the Sanpoil as compared to some neighbouring groups for the year 1780 shows a significant discrepancy in size. Mooney in 1928 estimated the population of all Sanpoil bands together as 800; the Okanagon Mooney estimated at 2,200; the Palus, 5,400; Spokan 1,400; Yakima, 3,000; Nez Perce, 4,000; and the Thompson, 5,000 (Swanton 1952:439,432,433,444,451,402,591). The reason the Sanpoil did not revenge raids made upon them by neighbouring Thompson, Lakes, Coeur D'Alene, and Nez Perce reported by Ray (1939:36) was much more likely due to a realization of the weakness of themselves compared to these neighbouring groups than to pacifism: in a battle the Sanpoil would emerge suffering relatively heavy losses, and the loss of even a few males would be more than they could afford, considering their total number.

Though I believe Ray has overstated the case by attributing to Plateau societies the ideal of pacifism, it does appear to be true that at the time of white contact there was less warfare in the Plateau than in either the Northwest Coast or the Plains.

There are a number of reasons Hofmeister (1969) has outlined that might explain this. Among them are: (1) the general preference of village exogamy, (2) the moving about of different societies[1] into the domain of other societies in search of food resources which were not consistently concentrated from year to year in any one location, (3) the absence of a clear concept of "boundary" (delineating ethnic group geographical domain), and (4) the extensive trade ties between societies in the Plateau (1969:22,24,36). All of these things brought different ethnic groups of the Plateau into contact with each other and tended to attenuate the development of warfare. What warfare did occur was not, as a rule, of sustained duration nor of large scale.

In my own investigation of the values of the Indians living in the southern or U. S. Plateau at the time of white contact, I have found that a great many of the values seem to cluster around a core value we might term as "harmonious relations." That is to say, a great many of the specific values -- for instance (value of) having a guardian spirit who looks after you, (value of) sharing with others what you obtain in the hunt, (value on) stability or harmony reflected in the critical criterion in the choice of a chief of his ability to arbitrate disputes -- appear to point toward an underlying core value of harmonious relations with other people and with the spirits thought to be co-existing in the world with man. It is this broader, underlying core value of the Indians of at least the southern part of the Plateau area which I believe Ray was approaching in maintaining that the Plateau

Indians practised pacifism.

In my thesis, then, I propose to identify a single core cultural value of the Indians of the southern Plateau. In order to arrive at this core cultural value, an examination of a range of specific values, I feel, is required. How does one learn of these specific values? I believe one can identify them by examining the behaviour of the peoples of the southern Plateau as exhibited in a number of different situations. Obviously it is not now possible to observe the behaviour of the Indians of the Plateau in the period 1800 - 1890 directly; accounts of explorers, anthropologists, and artists who visited the area must be relied upon. This presents some problems that need to be recognized. First of all, is the problem of selecting reliable information from the sources. The writers came from a wide variety of backgrounds, were in the Plateau region for a variety of motivations, and encountered the various ethnic groups of the Plateau in different contexts. Nevertheless, the information accruing from these observers of the Plateau peoples is not as inconsistent or confusing as one might expect. Some reports conflict with the majority of other reports in regard to details of particular observations. Notable here are the reports of an adventurous young fur trader named Ross Cox, an apprentice for the Northwest Company. Cox wrote his book about his experiences on the Columbia River for an early nineteenth century European audience no doubt eager to hear of the bizarre among the natives of the New World; and he

wrote it at a time when he was anxious for money, this providing an incentive to sensationalize his data. Cox's orientation can be seen in his preface. Cox said:

> Those who love to read of 'battle, murder, and sudden death,' will, in [author's] description of the dangers and privations to which the life of an Indian fur trader is subject, find much to gratify their taste; while to such as are fond of nature, in its rudest and most savage forms, he [i.e. author] trusts his sketches of the wild and wandering tribes of Western America may not be found uninteresting (Cox 1957:5).

Cox's narrative is sometimes based on memory and hearsay, as the editors of the new edition of his work point out (Cox 1957:xxxi). But much of Cox's narrative, on the other hand, is consistent with the finding of other observers of Plateau society. About the only way we have to test the reliability of the information written on the aboriginal Plateau consists of comparing writings on identical subjects for consistency. It is encouraging to see that Cox reinforces the other sources in many instances. Using the test of consistency for reliability applied to all the sources, I have found that the anthropologists writing about the area -- e.g. Ray, Turney-High, Teit, and Mooney -- are generally the most consistent with each other. Even though all except Mooney gathered their information in the twentieth century, nevertheless many of their informants lived part of their adult life before 1890 and remember the way life was at the time of white contact. Most of this thesis is based upon the observations found in the anthropological sources.

Among the anthropological sources providing information about

the southern Plateau, a new difficulty arises. This is a difficulty not concerning reliability of information about particular societies. Rather, it is the problem of establishing generalizations about the Plateau as a whole. The Plateau is a homogeneous area in many respects -- its borders are generally agreed upon by anthropologists (though with some relatively minor differences of opinion regarding the north and south boundaries). This basic agreement indicates that there are certain features about Plateau societies which make them a unit distinctive as a group from societies in surrounding culture areas. In the realm of values the distinctive character of the Plateau becomes less clear. Anthropologists discussing information from which values can be derived focus on different individual Plateau societies, and they extrapolate from their findings about their respective individual societies to the Plateau in general. For instance, Teit wrote his work The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateaus after he had worked intensively with the Thompson Indians on the northwest border of the Plateau. As Franz Boas points out in the preface to Teit's work, Teit's intimate knowledge of the Thompson, attained after living with them for several years, may have coloured his views on the other Salishan groups of the Plateau (Teit 1929:25). It is true that Teit pays considerable attention to warfare among the other Salishan groups -- a focus which the other sources on the Plateau would probably find unusual because the Thompson were more warlike in regard to other groups in the Plateau than perhaps any other

Plateau people (Hofmeister 1969:24). Ray, on the other hand, worked with the Sanpoil, probably the most peaceful of the Plateau groups. His field work with the Sanpoil coloured his view of the Plateau as a whole: for as stated previously he thought the Plateau in general was characterized by pacifism.

My own approach to the problem of how to characterize the Plateau in regard to values is cautious. I am dealing with only the portion of the Plateau south of the forty-ninth parallel. I am only asserting my conclusions apply to the time around the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century. And finally, I am only maintaining that the core value of harmonious relations in regard to tribe-to-tribe relations applied to groups in the Plateau vis-à-vis each other -- not necessarily in regard to tribes outside of the area.

Chapter One:

VALUES

A great number of thinkers in Western society in the fields of philosophy, economics, the arts, sociology, psychology, and anthropology have attempted to define, or at least understand, what is meant by "value." It is my contention that no single definition acceptable to the majority of thinkers in these fields has yet been arrived at, largely owing to the limitations of language. "Value," with the possible exception of the field of economics where "value" is expressed in generally comparative materialistic terms, is in large part associated with people's feelings. To this extent, an attempt at a description of "value" in words cannot capture the whole essence of "value": to embody the meaning of "value" completely involves going beyond word descriptions; it requires <u>experiencing</u> value, with all the feeling and general emotional involvement this entails. The philosopher Scheler helps clarify the issue by making the analogy to values of the difference between the observation and the actual suffering of pain -- a complete understanding of pain cannot be obtained by observation alone (Frondizi 1963:91-92).

Several prominent people in the history of Western scientific thought in addition to Scheler have corroborated this view of values. Pascal recognized an <u>ordre du coeur</u> that is independent of reason and sensibility but often unnoticed. He said, in referring to this "order of the heart":

> It is an order which is neither chaotic nor capricious, but which reason cannot succeed in grasping; 'the heart has its reasons which reason does not understand.' The light of emotion is extinguished when an attempt is made to transmit it to the intellect (Frondizi 1963:91).

Bertrand Russell maintained in discourse that the realm of science and the realm of value inquiry are mutually exclusive. He said, "If two men differ on values, there is no disagreement between them as to truth of any kind; there is only a difference in taste" (Frondizi 1963:67). But he corroborated by his own actions the view of the important emotional aspect of "value" and the strength of the emotion that can be involved. His actions showed that for Russell certain matters of "taste" are in fact held to be objective truths. Russell was confronted by some critics with the inconsistency between what he maintained in logical discourse about the complete subjectivity of values on the one hand, and his emphatic assertions on ethical questions in his later actions on the other -- being horrified at cruelty and saying that certain men are good, others bad, and generally acting, in fact, as though goodness and badness were objective qualities. Russell had this to say in response to the challenge:

> "If there is inconsistency, it is one that I cannot get rid of without insincerity; moreover, an inconsistent system may well contain less falsehood than a consistent one . . . I am not prepared to forego my right to feel and express ethical passions; no amount of logic, even though it be my own, will persuade me that I ought to do so." (Frondizi 1963:111).

Peter Caws (1967) too sees that values have a "feelings" aspect that needs to be recognized in any scientific examination

of them. He takes note of G. E. Moore's well-known "naturalistic fallacy" discourse in which Moore recognized that the "good" does not correspond to anything in nature, is undefinable, and can only be apprehended by insight. Caws argues on the basis of similar arguments that it is up to science to explain nature in nature's own terms; the scientific viewpoint must be broad-minded (Caws 1967:24,41).

There is another factor (additional to the limitations of language factor) which will help explain why no single definition of "value" has arisen that is acceptable to the majority of the thinkers in the fields which have concerned themselves with values. This additional factor has to do with the multiplicity of referents the term "value" has. The anthropologist Ethel Albert discusses this problem briefly when she states:

> The multiplicity of available [definitions of value] probably reflects the variety not only of theoretical biases but also of the phenomena to which the term refers. 'Value' is a general label for a heterogeneous class of normative factors, not a simple conceptual unit (Albert 1956:221).

It is not my intention in this thesis to try to arrive at a verbal conceptualization of "value" that could be universally acceptable; such a task appears to be impossible in light of the aforementioned problems and it would be presumptuous on my part to believe I could. However, I do believe that it is possible to outline the various aspects and problems which appear to me to be central to the concept -- at least as it relates to anthropological usage. The anthropologists Vogt and Roberts (1956:25)

have pointed out "We must recognize that people are not just 'driven' by situational pressures; they are also 'pulled' by the ideals and goals of their cultures." This aiming aspect of values has been recognized by several people involved in axiology. Marvin Farber points out that man not only lives, but "leads" his life. And he supports this view by mentioning the nineteenth and early twentieth century philosopher Husserl's orientation that values are not primarily being-objects, but are rather ought-objects (Farber 1967:178,186). Frondizi, a Latin American student of values, has pointed out that values are distinctive in that they do not accept reality (1963:25).

There is a problem with these approaches, of course, in that values do not exist in and of themselves; rather they are devised by men. And men, as creatures of nature, do not live in a vacuum. Each individual man's behaviour -- and hence the values which arise because of his behaviour -- is largely determined by the immediate environment (natural and social) within which he lives. Thus values can be seen to be determined to a large extent by the context within which they operate; but the values in turn comprise part of the context within which human behaviour operates. Values can in turn shape behaviour. Values, then, are both the cause and the result of human behaviour.

The main body of this thesis will attempt to delineate various Plateau Indian values, and in some cases relate them to the context within which the Plateau Indians -- and hence their values --

operate. Nevertheless, I accept Peter Caws' orientation that the function of science is the explanation of nature in its own terms. And consistent with this, I believe that the inner, "felt" facet of values needs to be recognized as well as the outer, more observable situational facet. For though the past plays a role in the explanation of the shaping of values and their interaction with human behaviour, there is a depth dimension to values that relates solely to the present. This dimension is the "feeling" aspect of values discussed earlier.

Clyde Kluckhohn was undoubtedly the most influential advocate of a theory of value in anthropology. Let us approach closer to an understanding of value by going beyond the viewpoints on the subject expressed by the aforementioned figures primarily concerned with Western society. Clyde Kluckhohn studied a number of different cultures around the world, focusing his attention on the Indian cultures of the American Southwest. His arguments presumably take account of "value" as it relates to a number of people in a number of cultural settings.

Kluckhohn began his discussion of value by observing that there is no consensus in any one of the disciplines dealing with "value" -- philosophy, the arts, psychology, sociology, anthropology, etc. -- as to exactly what the term refers to. He maintains that "The only general agreement is that values somehow have to do with normative as opposed to existential propositions" (1951:390). Kluckhohn next proceeds to feel his way to a definition of value that seems correct to him. He does so with many qualifications

and clarifications both before and after he posits his own definition. Kluckhohn's cautious approach is warranted, for it appears that since "value" is such a catch-all and elusive term, the primary danger is trying to define it too narrowly, resulting in portions of the referent field escaping out from under the definition. Kluckhohn tries to "herd" all of the referents of the term along ahead of him as long as possible. He begins his zeroing in on a definition with a quotation from E. L. Thorndike's 1935 presidential address to the American Association for the Advancement of Science; a quotation with which Kluckhohn is evidently in agreement. Thorndike says:

> "Judgements of value are simply one sort of judgements of fact, distinguished from the rest by two characteristics: They concern consequences. These are consequences to the wants of sentient beings. Values, positive and negative, reside in the satisfaction or annoyance felt by animals, persons, or deities. If the occurrence of X can have no influence on the satisfaction or discomfort of any one present or future, X has no value, is neither good nor bad, desirable nor undesirable. Values are functions of preferences" (Kluckhohn 1951:390).

But Kluckhohn is careful to qualify this term "preferences." His definition of value includes the phrase "the desirable," but Kluckhohn following Dewey, makes a distinction between "the desirable," and "the desired." He says:

> In all cultures people have wants for themselves and for a group which they blame themselves for wanting -- or which at the very least they do not feel or consider to be justifiable . . . the point here is the nonidentity of the desired and desirable. The existence of the value element transforms the desired into the not-desired or into the ambivalently desired (1951:395).

Kluckhohn goes on to point out that a value is not merely a

preference but is a preference which is felt to be justified "morally," or by reasoning, or aesthetic judgment (1951:396).

Kluckhohn proceeds to the issue of defining value. He points out, before positing his own definition, that no single workable definition can possibly cover all the referents to the term that have come to be considered its properties in the various disciplines. Kluckhohn says that a definition for his purposes must conform as close as possible to "whatever established core of meaning may exist in familiar usages in ordinary language and scholarly terminology," and must meet the special requirements of social science (1951:395). Kluckhohn finally defines "value," "A value is a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable which influences the selection from available modes, means, and ends of action" (1951:395). Kluckhohn points out that though "conception" in his definition is a noun, he is in agreement with Ray Lepley's "adjectival" orientation on value. Lepley says in the work he edited entitled Value Theory: A Cooperative Inquiry (1949):

> "The underlying issue . . . is whether 'value' is a noun standing for something that is an entity in its own right or whether the word is adjectival, standing for a property or quality that belongs, under specifiable conditions, to a thing or person having existence independently of being valued. If the first view is adopted, then to say that a diamond, or a beloved person, or holding an official position, has or is a value, is to affirm that a connection somehow has been set up between two separate and unlike entities. If the second view is held, then it is held that a thing, in virtue of identifiable and describable events, has acquired a quality or property not previously belonging to it.

> As a thing previously hard becomes soft when affected by heat, so, on this view, something previously indifferent takes on the quality of value when it is actively cared for in a way that protects or contributes to its continued existence. Upon this view, a value-quality loses the quasi-mystical character often ascribed to it, and is capable of identification and description in terms of conditions of origin and consequences, as are other natural events." (Kluckhohn 1951:footnote pp.395-96).

The contrasting approaches of Kluckhohn and Lepley to an understanding of value -- the former sees the core of his approach as a noun and the other an adjective -- is much more significant than the two authors perhaps realized. The fact that the two different approaches can be used and brought to bear on the phenomenon "value" indicates the same phenomenon is being looked at from two different perspectives, resulting in two different conclusions. Lepley is looking at those factors in the contextual situation where value is embedded and can be said to have brought the value into being; whereas Kluckhohn is looking at what the value actually <u>is</u>. Both approaches are undoubtedly needed in order to gain a complete understanding of value. Kluckhohn does not explicitly take note of the two complementary approaches in his article, but focuses consistently on the "noun" approach. He says:

> . . . values are not directly observable any more than culture is. Both values and culture are based upon what is said and done by individuals but represent inferences and abstraction from the immediate sense data. The statement, "people ought to help each other," is not a value in strict usage but rather one manifestation of a value. In its analytic meaning, the locus of value is neither in the organism nor in the immediately observable world; its locus is rather that of all scientific abstractions (1951:396).

It seems that Kluckhohn has included in his definition and orientation toward "value" most of the important aspects of the term. In light of the fact that a workable and hence a brief definition is needed, I will accept his definition of "value" as the working definition for my thesis. However, I would qualify his definition, as I have indicated, with a recognition of the feeling aspect of value; and would include a recognition as Lepley and others have done that values can be correlated with variables in the context within which they are operative. Thus, I would qualify Kluckhohn's definition by broadening its roots both toward the emotional side of man; and to the objective, situational aspect of the human condition.

A fundamental issue in value theory as it relates to anthropological usage, once some idea of a definition has been arrived at, is that of determining where values reside. Do they reside in the individual or in culture? Florence Kluckhohn's work sheds light on this problem. She participated in a study of values using sample survey questionnaires presented to a sample of the members of five different American Southwest communities: Texas homesteaders, Mormons, Navahos, Zunis, and Spanish Americans. Though general patterns of values characteristic to each community were discovered, the results of the study also pointed out that within even the most apparently homogeneous cultures, some members hold values that vary from the general orientation of the majority of the members of his culture (Florence Kluckhohn and Fred Strodtbeck 1961). This finding indicates that values do not reside

exclusively within culture. But of course values do not reside exclusively within individuals either; otherwise no general value orientation patterns characteristic of different cultures could be discovered. The individual is in large part molded by his culture, but he is not totally molded by his culture. He can, reciprocating his culture's influence upon him, exhibit an influence upon the culture of which he is a member. This applies to values as well as to other aspects of cultures. Numerous examples to illustrate the reciprocal influence of culture and the individual in the realm of values come to mind, Jesus of Nazareth and Gautama Buddha being two of the most notable. Each had characteristic orientations as a result of the respective cultural traditions they matured in, but yet each contributed to his respective culture his own personal aspirations.

Another issue in value theory revolves around the problem of the expression of values in behaviour. In regard to this, Tolman points out:

> It appears that value standards . . . do not necessarily bring about corresponding action. One may know the true, the beautiful, and the good without seeking them. Other practical, utilitarian needs such as the viscerogenic hungers may be too strong (1951:345).

Belshaw recognizes also that sometimes a people's values are not lived up to in reality; sometimes the costs (risks, sacrifices, etc.) are too high (1959:560).

This leads to the problem of how values of a society can be perceived by an observer. If they are not exhibited in behaviour, how can they be discovered? The answer is, they

cannot -- at least not with certainty. Belshaw in his article entitled "The Identification of Values in Anthropology" delineates three approaches to arriving at the values of a culture: (1) explicit verbal expression of the values on the part of the members of the culture, (2) inferring of the values from casual or manipulated behaviour, and (3) values can be "inferred from or stimulated by custom" (1959:560). Clyde Kluckhohn discusses the peculiar problems involved in discerning "implicit" values. He defines an implicit value as opposed to an explicit value -- i.e. a value which is stated verbally by participants in the culture. Kluckhohn defines an "implicit value" as "a tacit conception which is inferred to underlie a behavioral sequence because the given train of events is interpretable only if this tacit conception is assumed to be one of the factors determining selective behavior" (1951:415). Kluckhohn discusses how an observer of a culture can perceive that culture's values, and specifically its implicit values. He says, in referring to this issue: "The subjects on ordinary verbalization with respect to values will often be oblique or indirect, and implicit values will be manifested only in behavior and through verbalizations that do not directly state the pertinent values" (1951:397-98).

Kluckhohn's idea of an "implicit value" is similar to Benedict's conception of values embodied both in her book Patterns of Culture (1934) and her monograph in the American Anthropologist (1932) entitled "Configurations of Culture in North America." Kluckhohn

undoubtedly adopted the idea he presented in his own article of value "themes" in cultures from Benedict. Kluckhohn points out the idea of value themes in cultures in the portion of his article in which he distinguishes several dimensions of values. One is the "generality" dimension in which he speaks of "specific" values (i.e. certain values are restricted to certain situations) as opposed to "thematic" values. Kluckhohn says:

> [thematic values apply] to a wide variety of situations and to diverse areas of culture content. Such a (negative) value in Navaho culture is fear of closure. The coils of a pot or basket must never be brought end to end. A "spirit outlet" is always left in any design on silver or in a rug or sandpainting. A ceremonialist never teaches an apprentice quite the whole of his knowledge. A husband and wife or two intimate friends must invariably take care to hold something back (1951:413-14).

Kluckhohn is careful to point out that such value themes as he sees in cultures are never coextensive with the cultures themselves. This appears to be an obvious reference to, and criticism of, Ruth Benedict, as implied in the following,

> There is . . . a tendency, when one is talking about culture in general and at a high level of abstraction, to merge values and culture. It is true that the culture carrier who is thoroughly identified with his culture "values" all or most aspects of the culture in the sense that he is not affectively neutral to them. On the other hand, any culture consists only in part of conceptions of the desirable (and the nondesirable, for there are also negative values). It also includes the purely substantive and non-normative aspect of folklore, literature, and music; it includes technological and other skills (1951:421).

Benedict in fact acknowledges that some aspects of culture are relatively independent of the value orientation of the rest of the society in which they are embedded. She mentions material

culture particularly in this regard (Benedict 1932:23). But Kluckhohn is right in that Benedict in her writing generally acts as though she believes all the aspects of culture conform to the theme or particular "organized philosophy of life" she claims cultures choose for themselves.

Benedict maintains that different cultures take on their own characteristic configurations or patterns (Benedict 1932:23). Benedict substantiates her approach by an appeal to the functionalists and to Boas. She praises Boas and Malinowski for looking at cultures in all their details, rather than looking at only detached cultural elements, as the diffusionists had done. Benedict goes further and praises Malinowski in particular for his orientation that human cultures are organic and functioning wholes. But she criticizes Malinowski for stopping at this point and not going on to examine the cultural wholes themselves (Benedict 1932: 1-2). Benedict expounds her own view:

> Now the fact that becomes increasingly apparent as full-length accounts of primitive peoples come from the press is that these cultures, though they are so overwhelmingly made up of disparate elements fortuitously assembled from all directions by diffusion, are none the less over and over again in different tribes integrated according to very different and individual patterns. The order that is achieved is not merely the reflection of the fact that each trait has a pragmatic function that it performs . . . . The order is due rather to the circumstance that in these societies a principle has been set up according to which the assembled cultural material is made over into consistent patterns in accordance with certain inner necessities that have developed within the group. These syntheses are of various sorts . . . . But they are in each case the more or less successful attainment of integrated behavior, an attainment that is all the more striking for the anthropologist because

> of his knowledge of the scattered and hybrid materials out of which the integration has been achieved (1932:2).

It is clear that "patterns" or "configurations" in cultures are value orientations to Benedict. This can be seen when she illustrates her contention with specific examples. She examines the Zuni Indians of the American Southwest and finds that they have an ethos or theme in their culture that she labels "Apollonian"[2]: that is to say, the Zuni pursue sobriety, rejecting excess and orgy. This is in contrast to the ethnic groups which surround them (e.g. Navaho) who Benedict maintains have a "Dionysian" theme. The Dionysian culture "values excess as an escape to an order of existence beyond that of the five senses, and finds its expression in the creation in culture of painful and dangerous experiences, and in the cultivation of emotional and psychic excesses, in drunkenness, in dreams, and in trance" (1932:4). Benedict maintains that the Kwakiutl of the Northwest Coast also follow the Dionysian pattern.

Several anthropologists since Benedict have criticized her approach. Marvin Harris notes that "the larger functional significance of [Patterns of Culture] cannot be appreciated without reference to the dubious factual foundation on which Benedict reared her psychologistic portraits" (1968:404). Harris subsequently says that "It is now generally agreed that Benedict's sketch of the Apollonian way of life achieved its beautiful symmetry only as a result of the omission or selective de-emphasis of nonconforming data" (1968:405). Kroeber in his review of Patterns

of Culture generally supports the methodology of Benedict, but does take note of the criticism on the part of some professional anthropologists of the failure of Benedict to take into account certain empirical factors such as the influence of "racial heredity" in explaining differences of cultures (Kroeber 1935:689). At the time Kroeber was writing his critique of Benedict, many anthropologists were recognizing that certain historical factors helped explain phenomenon in cultures; they were noting the factor of the past as being part of the context within which cultures are operative and as thus having a bearing on the development of different cultures. Now, in the 1960s and 1970s, anthropologists are recognizing the ecological aspect of the context within which cultures operate: just as behaviourist psychologists are now learning of the profound influence of a person's environment in what he becomes, so anthropologists are now wisely taking note of the role of a culture's environment in what it becomes. I believe Benedict did neglect contextual factors and that this is a shortcoming of her work. Kroeber and Kluckhohn provide another criticism in their book Culture; A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions. They criticize Benedict for over-simplifying culture by both equating it with personality types, and maintaining that the integration of cultures is complete and perfect (1952: 218,311).

All the evaluation of Benedict's approach has not been critical, however. Kroeber and Kluckhohn in their book reviewing

concepts and definitions of culture already mentioned note that "Benedict . . . demonstrated the dependence of concrete and manifest cultural forms upon deeper-lying, pervasive principles" (1952:358). Kroeber and Kluckhohn also indicate that Benedict may be on the right track in her view of an important aspect of culture being the patterning or organizing that it does (1952: 298-99). Kroeber in his 1935 review of Patterns of Culture recognized the legitimacy of the undertaking Benedict engaged in, and he noted the subtle and in many ways distinctive approach required. He says, in speaking of the nature of the patterns Benedict was trying to discover:

> This quality of course inheres largely in forms, or interrelations of forms; it can never be adequately formulated in terms of culture content alone. Nor can it be measured or demonstrated. Essentially, it is seizable and definable by subjective empirical approach. The estimation of the relative weight of the patterns in a culture, for instance, must be done primarily by feeling; and their documentation is of the sort which substantiates on a priori synthetic apperception, whose validity depends on the fit of the pattern parts and their leaving no significant remainder of the culture undealt with (1935:689).

Benedict must have in Kroeber's term "seized" on something real with respect to her characterization of the Zuni value orientation at least. Vogt and Roberts show this. They participated in the recent five Southwest communities values project already mentioned in this chapter. Vogt and Roberts went back to the Zuni over a generation after Benedict had worked with them and discovered the same core value she had discovered. They say, referring possibly to Benedict and/or others:

> The Zunis have been characterized as having a kind of "middle of the road," "avoidance of excess" approach to life, in the manner of the ancient Greeks. Although this characterization must be qualified, it still symbolizes the Zuni ideal (1956:28).

Later in the Scientific American article they coauthored, Vogt and Roberts corroborate Benedict's view again. In speaking of the Zuni value orientation toward nature and time, they say:

> [The Zuni] neither feels that he is a master of nature nor that he is its victim. In his colorful and beautiful religion he has developed techniques of cooperating with nature. This attitude is of course sustained by a body of realistic information on ways to make a living in a difficult environment. The Zuni equivalent of the Spanish American fiesta has an important place in his life, but he is less taken with its recreational aspects. He lives in the present, but in many things, much more than any of his neighbors, he looks back to the past. It is a glorious past, an ancient mythological time when Zunis came up from the "wombs" of the earth, wandered around, and finally settled at "the middle place," where their descendants to this day still maintain a shrine to mark the center of the universe (1956:30).

In summary, I will simply delineate my position regarding how values in the cultural sense of the term relates to the treatment of the southern Plateau Indian material in the main body of the thesis. I believe that Benedict is right in stating that several elements of culture in the ideational realm are consistent; in the normative realm, values of a culture present a more or less coherent rather than a disjointed picture -- i.e. core ("implicit," "theme") values can be discovered that specific values cluster around. However, I do not share Benedict's view that the values of a culture mold all of the culture elements (material culture,

dances, non-normative aspects of folklore, etc.) which make up any particular culture. Nor do I share Benedict's contention that the values that characterize a culture arise as the result of inner necessities that develop within the group; I would maintain instead that the values of a group can at least in part be explained by factors (environment and historical) that constitute the context within which any particular culture is operating. I recognize that sometimes values are not reflected in behaviour because in the real world they can come into confrontation with situations in which the physical needs of a person take precedence; the sacrifices entailed in actualizing the value are considered to be too high. In addition I realize that not all individual members of any given culture conform to the value orientation of their culture. Finally, I attempt to utilize the approach that Kroeber, Harris, and others have supported in respect to recognizing significant portions of normative culture that seem to be inconsistent with a posited core value; I will point out and discuss data which appears to be inconsistent with the core cultural value of harmonious relations I have posited.

Chapter Two:

GENERAL ETHNOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTION OF THE SOUTHERN PLATEAU

The Plateau culture province constitutes that portion of North America bounded on the west by the Cascade and British Columbia Coast Ranges; on the east by the Great Divide of the Rocky Mountains; on the north by the northern great bend of the Fraser River; and on the south by a line extending from the upper and middle Snake River drainages, through the Blue Mountains to the Klamath Lake region (see frontispiece map). A certain amount of controversy exists over the exact location of the southern boundary. Hofmeister recognizes the subtle nature of the southern cultural boundary but says if pressed he would be inclined to exclude the Klamath Indians from the Plateau culture province, and include them with the Modoc and other ethnic groups of northeastern California (1969:51). However, Ray (1939) and Rice (1970) include the Klamath in the Plateau. The southern Plateau, with which this thesis is specifically concerned, includes all of the aforementioned region of North America with the exception of the portion lying to the north of the forty-ninth parallel of latitude. It is recognized that this is a largely arbitrary exclusion, but is done in order to narrow the scope of investigation and make a more in-depth examination of values of a limited area possible.

A look at the frontispiece map will show that virtually all of the southern or American Plateau is drained by the Columbia River and its tributaries. This fact of a common drainage for the ethnic groups of the southern Plateau, combined with other

geographical and ecological factors to be delineated later helps explain the maintenance of both the cultural homogeneity of the southern Plateau, and more specifically the maintenance of harmonious relations between the various ethnic groups that make up the region. The relatively easy communication routes which the broad and usually easy-flowing Columbia River afforded, when added to the fact that much of the southern Plateau constitutes a level basin surrounded by foothills and mountains, provided for frequent contact, trade, and intermarriage among the various Indian groups living in the region.

An ecological characteristic of the southern Plateau is sparsity and unpredictable shifting of concentrations of subsistence resources. This ecological factor contributed to the high amount of contact between southern Plateau ethnic groups. Deward Walker of the University of Colorado has recently estimated that fish -- primarily the salmon which cyclically ascended the Columbia and its tributaries -- constituted 50% of the Plateau people's food requirements (Hofmeister 1969:22). This was a more or less dependable resource (in season and dependent on how close to the Columbia or large tributary river a group lived). But the availability of the other two constituents of the Plateau people's diet -- food gathering and hunting -- was not so predictable either in concentration or location. Lewis and Clark on their return journey from the Pacific observed that food resources were sparse in the southern Plateau; the party was required to

continually kill for food what few dogs and horses they could obtain from the Indians. They observed that the food resources were meager, compared to the abundance of the Missouri drainage they had earlier passed through. Meriwether Lewis refers to the Nez Perce in this excerpt from his journal:

> Without our facilities of procuring subsistence with guns, the natives of this country must often suffer very severely. During last winter they were so much distressed for food, that they were obliged to boil and eat the moss growing on the pine trees (Lewis 1966,vol.2:274).

The sparsity and shifting location of concentrations of roots, berries, deer, elk, and antelope required the various bands of the Plateau to sometimes travel into and exploit the resources of one another's territories, in a varying pattern from year to year (Hofmeister 1969:22). Actually, perhaps the very term "territory" is misleading, as ideas of land ownership and boundary were not absolute in the southern Plateau, partly due no doubt to the necessity of inter-group movements to satisfy food requirements (Ray 1933:110; Hofmeister 1969:35-36).

The salmon occupied a special role in the subsistence pattern of the southern Plateau peoples; though it did not by any means play as significant a role in the religious beliefs of the people as it did on the Northwest Coast. Gunther maintains that there is no ritual ceremony at the arrival of the first salmon of the year for the peoples of the southern Plateau (1926:612). She thinks the reason for this absence might be similar to the rationale for the absence of the trait given by the Thompson and Shuswap of

the northern Plateau; these two groups maintained that the salmon is a "hard fish" and does not need to be treated carefully. The Thompson and Shuswap say that the salmon has no real "mystery" (Gunther 1926:609).

The basis for Gunther's contention of there not being any first salmon ceremony in areas such as the southern Plateau, as she is honest enough to reveal, is due largely to lack of data that could confirm an existence of the trait (Gunther 1928:146). In my research, I have come across no evidence of a first salmon ceremony in the southern Plateau except for the case of the lower Kutenai. Johnson, who has engaged in major research involving the aboriginal Flathead and Kutenai, is convinced that only the lower Kutenai did in fact have a fishing ceremonial. She describes the lower Kutenai ceremony as an event in which men ate the first salmon of the year with trembling hands, being anxious that no salmon bones be broken or disjointed -- which would, it was felt, result in the salmon run being small (Johnson 1969:62-63). Possibly the existence of the lower Kutenai first salmon ceremony reflects their geographical position. The lower Kutenai would inevitably have a smaller salmon run than other southern Plateau groups downstream on the Columbia; they would be concerned that the run be of adequate size.

Lewis and Clark observed the incredible number of salmon in the autumn run in the vicinity of the confluence of the Snake and Columbia Rivers. Clark says:

> The multitudes of this fish are almost inconceivable. The water is so clear that they can readily be seen at the depth of fifteen or twenty feet, but at this season they float in such quantities down the stream, and are drifted ashore, that the Indians have only to collect, split and dry them on the scaffolds (Lewis 1966,vol.2:15).

Hofmeister points out that one southern Plateau group might travel into another group's area to exploit the salmon resource, since the salmon were more concentrated in areas immediately below falls along the Columbia River; and because the better, less haggard fish were lower on the River (1969:22). Thus, the characteristics of the salmon resource too played a role in the frequent contact of different ethnic groups of the southern Plateau.

Three language stocks were represented in the southern Plateau: Sahaptin, Salishan, and Kutenaian. The interior Salish speakers of what is now southern interior British Columbia, eastern Washington, northern Idaho, and western Montana are obviously related to the coast Salish Speakers of present-day western Washington and a part of coastal southwestern British Columbia. Oliver La Farge reflects the general consensus I believe in maintaining that the Coast Salish migrated to their present location from the Plateau, rather than the reverse possibility being the case (Johnson 1969:43). The Flatheads of western Montana (whose name is a misnomer; they did not flatten the heads of their infants, as did some of the Northwest Coast peoples) maintained their original affinity with the rest of the interior Salish peoples, but were subsequently influenced to some extent by the Plains, as archaeological evidence indicates (Johnson 1969:41-42). However, the Plains influence

was a late influence -- arriving primarily in conjunction with the coming of the horse. And it was a fairly superficial influence, confined largely to the easily observable (e.g. dances, material culture) realms of culture; the underlying interior Salish -- or more broadly speaking, southern Plateau -- characteristics of home life and social structure remained unaffected (Ray 1939:146).

The Nez Perce, a Sahaptin group, were influenced by the Plains as well, but to a lesser extent than the Flatheads. It appears that they have been in their homeland in the southeastern portion of the Plateau for a long time (Teit 1928:108). The origins of the Kutenai are obscure. Salish informants told Turney-High that the Kutenais were the oldest people of the eastern Plateau region (Johnson 1969:50,142).

Ray points out that despite the difference in linguistic stocks, the Plateau can be seen as a homogeneous unit, distinct from the Plains and Northwest Coast culture provinces to the east and west. Ray says there is no correlation between the Sahaptin-Salish linguistic boundary and cultural differentiation on either side of the line; and that there is only a slight differentiation in culture on either side of the Kutenai-Salish linguistic boundary (1939:149). The uniformity of a great many cultural traits throughout the southern Plateau, in contrast to distinctively different traits in the culture provinces on either side of the Plateau, tend to indicate Ray is correct in this assessment.

Descent throughout the Plateau was considered to be bilateral,

with frequently patrilocal residence emphasis (Hofmeister 1969: 35). Social stratification in the southern Plateau was minimal and differences in wealth between individuals were slight (Hofmeister 1969:36; Teit 1928:126; Ray 1939:24-26). There was no in-law avoidance and there were no clans or secret societies in the southern Plateau (Teit 1929:373; Teit 1928:126; Turney-High 1937:56). There were no potlatches in the southern Plateau (Ray 1939:104). Slavery in the Plateau was rare, and did not exist in all groups; in those groups in which it did exist, slaves were always from ethnic groups outside of the Plateau (Teit 1928: 122; Ray 1939:24-27; Hofmeister 1969:36). Coyote was the culture hero of the Plateau. The salmon origin myth involving Coyote transforming himself into a plank, dish, or baby, floating into a salmon trap and being cared for by the two women owners of the trap, breaking their trap and liberating the salmon to swim up the Combia and its tributaries to feed the people is told by, among others: the Kutenai, Thompson, Shuswap, Lillooet, Flathead, Nez Perce, Okanagon, and Sanpoil (Gunther 1928:162). Finally, the guardian spirit quest of both boy and girl adolescents, and Winter Spirit Dance in which guardian spirits of individuals are revealed, takes on certain uniform characteristics in the Plateau which distinguish the complex from related aspects of surrounding culture provinces. Even the Sun Dance of the Kutenai (which was the only group in the southern Plateau not having a Winter Guardian Spirit Dance) exhibits certain parallels with the Spirit Dance of the rest of the southern Plateau; parallels which Ray finds to be significant

in demonstrating a relationship between the Kutenai and the rest of the Plateau beyond that demonstrated by the other characteristic Plateau culture traits which the Kutenai share (Ray 1939: 128). Of course it needs to be recognized that the Kutenai Sun Dance itself is more closely related to the Plains than to the Plateau.

Material culture in the southern Plateau was not elaborate compared to the Northwest Coast or the Plains. There were the subsistence-related items: for instance bows and arrows, digging sticks, fish harpoons and traps. There was some variety of canoe types. The dugout canoe was the rule for all of the southern Plateau except the Flathead. The Flathead had bark canoes and both they and the Kutenai used the "bull boat" -- the latter being a boat with no frame, but rather simply a rawhide envelope laced together around the items to be transported (Ray 1939:140-44). Earth and mat lodges were the two predominant types of houses in the southern Plateau; bison-skin lodges becoming common among the eastern groups after the advent of the horse and large-scale bison hunting.

Trade was significant in contributing to the contact and friendly relations between the various constituent societies of the southern Plateau region. Teit points out that there were several inter-tribal trading places in the Plateau: The Dalles, Grande Ronde River, near the mouth of the Okanagon River, and near the mouth of the Snake River. Of these trading centres,

The Dalles was by far the most important. The Dalles is located on the Columbia River on the western border of the Plateau; the site itself was occupied by eastern Chinookan speakers. People from the following groups came to The Dalles annually for trade: Columbia Salish, Yakima, Klikitat, Warm Springs, Walla Walla, Umatilla, and Cayuse; some years the Palus, Nez Perce, Klamath, Molala, and Kalapuya (from the Willamette valley in western Oregon) were also represented (Teit 1928:121-22). The products traded at The Dalles consisted of practically everything that was transportable: skins, furs, fish, oil, roots, pemmican, feathers, robes, clothing, shells, slaves, and horses. Generally at The Dalles, products of the lower Columbia, Coast, and southern Oregon were traded for products of the interior east and north. The range of items exchanged extended from as far south as northern California, as far east as the Plains, and as far west as the Coast (Teit 1928:121). All the trade and travelling to trade centres on the part of the Plateau peoples resulted in a great number of contacts between different groups and undoubtedly promoted relative peace within the region. The amount of trade increased with the advent of the horse; the horse made it possible to carry more goods over greater distances.

Teit, who has engaged in an extensive examination of the trade in the Plateau and the contacts that it promoted, has this to say in referring to the Okanagon with respect to trade:

> Some . . . families who did more or less trading made regular trips to certain tribal and intertribal rendezvous,

> passing through parts of the territories of other tribes. If conditions were favorable, hunting was engaged in going and returning from these places, generally within their own territory, but sometimes on grounds of the tribes visited. Sometimes young men of other families accompanied these parties for love of adventure and to see the country. Thus there were few Okanagon who had not at some time been within the countries of the Sanpoil, Colville, Spokan, Wenatchi, Columbia, Thompson, and Shuswap, and a few had been to other tribes beyond (1929:237).

The necessities of communication during trips abroad and the trading itself resulted in a number of people learning different languages. Teit delineates the languages a number of traders of the Columbia Salish knew. The languages included: Okanagon, Spokan, Yakima, Walla Walla, and Blackfoot. Teit indicates that a sign language was also used between groups from early times, and this was later transformed by the Plains sign language. Chinook jargon was commonly used for communication between groups after the advent of the fur trade with the whites (1928:126).

The basic unit in the political organization of the Plateau was the village or band[3]. Thus, the Plateau pattern with respect to political organization is consistent with that of the rest of western North America north of Baja California: in this sweeping area, political organization tended to be of a relatively atomistic nature (Ray 1939:4). What is often referred to as the "tribes" of the western Plateau -- for instance the Yakima "tribe" or the Columbia "tribe" -- were actually simply ethnic or cultural groupings of bands (based on common language, habitat, customs, etc.), lacking any centralized political authority or organization above the village. The groups of the eastern Plateau -- for instance

the Nez Perce, Flathead, Coeur D'Alene and Cayuse -- had, due to Plains influence subsequent to the coming of the horse, true tribal organization[4]. That is to say, they had several villages united to form a political unit with a centralized authority in the form of a political chief (and in battles with Plains groups, war leaders). But Ray points out that the eastern tribe names were not -- except in the case of the Umatilla and Kutenai -- ever names for a single political unit; rather, each name applied to an aggregate of several politically independent tribes. Furthermore, Ray indicates, the villages or bands making up each of the eastern tribes were never completely stripped of their political functions; each village was generally still autonomous in local and peace-time affairs. This indicates the relatively late and superficial nature of tribal organization in the Plateau. As Ray says, it would be more accurate to look at eastern Plateau political organization from the standpoint of several villages being united to form a tribe, rather than looking at the tribe as being divided into several sub-units (Ray 1939:8,10-12).

One final word about southern Plateau ethnography in general needs to be said in this chapter. It concerns warfare. Warfare did occur between southern Plateau Indian groups. But all indications are that beginning about 1750, its intensity dropped off until by the time of the arrival of the white man virtually no warfare was occurring between southern Plateau groups (Teit 1929: 119; Teit 1928:123; Bancroft 1875:268). However, warfare was

intense at the time of white contact between Plateau groups and certain ethnic groups outside of the Plateau: particularly between the Walla Walla and Nez Perce against the Shoshone speakers to the south; and the Flathead and Kutenai against the Blackfoot to the east. The issue of warfare will be explored more fully in the following chapter.

In summary, it can be seen that the southern Plateau was a relatively homogeneous culture province owing to a number of historical, geographical, and ecological conditions and the contact between ethnic groups which they fostered. The contact between groups of the Plateau in trade, at shared floral and faunal food concentrations, and in intermarriage due to preferred village exogamy (Hofmeister 1969:36) can be seen to be factors contributing to relatively peaceful relations between the various constituent societies of the area.

Chapter Three:

SOUTHERN PLATEAU CULTURAL ACTIVITIES AND TRAITS

It is assumed that culturally patterned behaviour determines values. While it is not possible to know all of the southern Plateau pre-contact values and the behaviour which shaped them, we nevertheless can see the influence ecological and economic factors at the time of white contact played in sustaining existing values. Thus, in the previous chapter, culturally patterned behaviour that sustained the value of peaceful intergroup relations was explored. But values also determine behaviour. Going on this assumption, it follows that culturally patterned behaviour reflects underlying values which originally shaped that behaviour. With this in mind, I will endeavour in this chapter to delineate a number of southern Plateau cultural activities and traits; in the fourth chapter, an examination of the information presented herein will be undertaken and values derived.

Behaviour Toward Hunted Animals

Referring to the Flathead and Kutenai, Johnson indicates that elaborate big game ceremonials were engaged in prior to hunts of the big game animals: e.g. bison (on the Plains), deer, and elk. She goes on to say that these Indians felt that the animals they hunted were other beings. The hunters would plead with the animal spirits to bring the game to them. After the

hunt, the hunters would ask forgiveness of the animal spirits for the necessity of killing them. The Flathead and Kutenai believed the spirits or souls of the animals were not killed, but rather remained present at the site of the animal kills to make certain that their flesh and bones were well treated (Johnson 1969:71-72). Turney-High reports further concerning the Flathead:

> Several minor observances were enjoined upon hunters. For example, one was supposed to respect the species of deer, elk, or antelope by gouging out the eyes before butchering to prevent the animal from seeing what was happening to its body. Again, no one was allowed to speak or behave disrespectfully towards bison or bison meat, even the smallest scrap. Should this be done there would be a scarcity of bison supplies. Furthermore the animals might charge the hunters or even stampede into a camp (1937:37).

Bears occupied a special place in the minds of the southern Plateau Indians. Johnson states that at least for the Flathead and Kutenai, bears were felt to be the nearest to fellow-creatures of all animals (1969:74). Ray reports that throughout the Plateau there was bear ceremonialism. The ceremony generally took the form of a mourning song sung after a bear had been hunted and killed. The Sanpoil shared the practise. They would sing a song composed of a tune and a series of meaningless syllables, interspersed with a few words spoken at various intervals; the mourning song was sung to the recently-killed bear before the animal was touched by the hunter. A rough translation of one of the Sanpoil mourning songs could be rendered:

> "You cause the other animals to do as you have done.
> Even you, you have laid down for me;
> Now you cause the bucks to lie down.
> You have given up to me;

> Now, you cause the good-looking women to give up to me."
> (Ray 1933:84).

Teit, referring to the Okanagon says:

> Animals, especially large game, were treated with great respect, and spoken of deferentially. When a bear was killed a mourning song was sung, called the "bear song" . . . . Afterwards the bear's skull was elevated on the top of a long pole stuck in the ground either as a mark of respect or to keep off defiling influences. Bears and beavers could always hear what people said (1929:291).

Intra-group Social Behaviour

Ray maintains that the Plateau pattern with regard to social structure was minimal, if not non-existent, social stratification; egalitarianism was the rule. Chieftainship was based on informal authority and chiefs did not occupy a separate social strata (Ray 1939:24-26). As I have pointed out earlier, the basis for much of Ray's generalizations about the Plateau in general takes the form of extrapolation from his study of the Sanpoil. Of course, in all fairness to Ray it must be recognized that he did examine some works dealing with other Plateau groups as well, and his information no doubt can be considered generally reliable. But nevertheless I point out here that it would be well for the reader to keep in mind the colouring of Ray's view of the Plateau as a whole by his intimate knowledge of the Sanpoil. Ray states in regard to social structure:

> Peoples of the Plateau have remained impressively unreceptive to the notions of caste which are so strongly emphasized on the Coast . . . The Plateau attitude is not one of passive disregard; on the contrary, the opposite

> principle, that of equality of man, is given active and emotional support.
>
> The Sanpoil are among the most outspoken in this respect. To them class distinctions are unthinkable, to say nothing of slavery. The latter is looked upon as an unaccountable custom of foreigners. Every adult citizen -- man or woman -- is a member of the general assembly of his village. When it becomes necessary to select a chief from a new lineage, any man is eligible. The selection is made without regard to any quality suggestive of class. The chief is in no way set apart socially; he is as approachable as any man in the group (1939:24-26).

Teit recognizes that among what he calls the "Flathead tribes" (i.e. the Flathead, Kalispel, Pend D'Oreille and Spokan) there were no privileged classes, clans, gentes, or phratries and that it is doubtful whether in fact any societies with any kind of exclusive membership existed. Teit indicates that the Flathead tribes reflected the general pattern of social organization in the southern Plateau (Teit 1929:373). Turney-High supports both Ray and Teit's contention of a classless social structure with respect to the Flathead. But he points out that there was a certain amount of discrepancy with respect to wealth in that society from one individual to the next (1937:132-33).

The leaders of Plateau ethnic groups were not, in general, "power" figures, except possibly in the case of war leaders among the eastern Plateau groups. The latter will be discussed later. Chiefs generally achieved compliance with decisions made by themselves and/or the village assembly by virtue of their prestige and persuasive abilities. No doubt an additional means of social control was the possibility of ridicule if one deviated too far

from the social norms. For as Turney-High indicates in discussing the Flathead:

> Ridicule was and is undoubtedly the strongest informal means of social control. The mirrored self is to the Flathead the most important self (1937:44).

Feuding and crimes in southern Plateau Indian societies were obviously uncomfortable intrusions into the lives of the non-involved members of the society; they were resolved as quickly as possible by the chief, backed up by the rest of the society if the parties involved could not resolve them of their own accord. Ray says that among the Sanpoil there was a deeply ingrained dislike of inter-personal conflict, resulting in the existence of few conflict problems in the various villages of the Sanpoil (1933:26). Referring to the chief of any Sanpoil village or band, Ray states that it was:

> Clearly one of the principle duties of the chief to see that the peaceful life of the community was not disturbed. This he accomplished by counselling his people, arbitrating petty differences and presenting a good example by his own conduct (1933:25).

Ray goes on to say in regard to the stability ideal of Sanpoil society:

> Insignificant matters and major problems alike were decided with reference to what action would make for the greatest harmony. Even in the mythology this basic attitude was reflected. For example, the man who decided not to take revenge upon his brother who had stolen his wife, was commended for his decision (1933:25).

Turney-High corroborates Ray with respect to the desire of Flathead society also to maintain stability. Turney-High says that if there is a murder for instance, it is considered that

the injured party has the right to take vengeance of its own accord; but if they should delay their action for any length of time, the whole issue reverts to the chief's jurisdiction. He might act as an intermediary for a settlement involving something less than the life of the murderer, by obtaining a surrender of property on the part of the accused to the aggrieved party for instance (Turney-High 1937:46). But at any rate, the stability of the society is maintained and prolonged feuding in the society avoided.

The southern Plateau Indian societies exhibited a general norm of generosity display from time to time on the part of various members of society. Turney-High points out that the Flathead hunter, upon killing an elk in the fall, believes it is his duty to give a dinner to his friends. After everyone has eaten, all the guests give a prayer for the success of the host (1937:36). Teit says of the Okanagon that "It was considered the duty of all chiefs . . . to be hospitable, help the poor, show a good example, and give small feasts or presents to the people from time to time" (1929:263). Verne Ray relates that the Sanpoil bands would divide the huge catches of summer salmon from their fish traps completely equally among all people present -- foreigners included. He states that a person need not have taken part in any of the work entailed in making the salmon catch possible to be included in the distribution. Ray continues on the theme when he says that the meat gained from a hunting expedition too was divided evenly among all participants of the hunt

regardless of who had actually brought down the game animal (1933:25-26). Johnson indicates that for an eastern Plateau hunter to be able to give away meat brings prestige. She points out that the generosity is in part altruistic, and in part banking against one's own deficiency in the future -- when in need oneself, past generosity on one's part can be recalled (1969:79). Turney-High relates the pattern among the Flathead of generosity and hospitality for anyone in need. He states:

> When anyone, stranger or native, wanted a meal, he would appear at a lodge of a well-to-do person at meal time, go in, sit down, and remain quiet. Such an uninvited guest did not consider himself begging. He was requesting something inside the pattern which did not cost him loss of face. This act made a man a guest rather than a beggar. No hungry man was ever refused food. To do so was a sign of stinginess which certainly cost the refuser prestige. Of course professional bums were fed but despised (1937:54).

Chiefs

Ray found that nowhere in the Plateau was chieftainship based on wealth. He says that it seems that the general rule throughout the Plateau prior to the arrival of the horse was for a chief -- i.e. headman of a village -- to be selected on the basis of two factors. One was loose heredity: a chief's son, brother, or brother's son were the most likely candidates. The other factor was that of possession on the part of the candidate of as many of the following attributes as possible: some background of spirit experiences, ability to arbitrate disputes,

sound judgment, oratorical ability, honesty, and even temperament (1939:19-20). The determination of who would be chief from among the possible choices was made by the amount of popular support each one could muster on the basis of his qualifications; the candidate with the largest number of supporters became the new chief.

After the advent of the horse in the Plateau, eastern Plateau groups modified the aforementioned pattern, no doubt due to Plains influence. The eastern Plateau groups after the coming of the horse added importance upon the war record as a significant qualification for the position of leadership. In the eastern Plateau after the middle of the eighteenth century the war leaders had considerable power -- but only in war time. Ray says that the relationship between war leaders and peace-time or political chiefs is confusing in the eastern Plateau. He mentions that sometimes the political chief led the war party, either by himself or in conjunction with the war leader (Ray 1939:23). My own feeling is that Ray in his confusion is reflecting simply the problem that social scientists as products of highly differentiated societies often face. Western society is too large for everyone to possibly know each other, and well-defined explicit statuses are necessary in order for the society to function. But small minimally-differentiated societies in which everyone knows each other (such as in the Plateau) are not in this situation; explicit statuses, if existent, have fuzzy boundaries. When social

scientists are trying to see well-defined explicit statuses in a social hierarchy (e.g. ranked political offices) in small minimally-differentiated societies in which everyone knows each other, it becomes clear that the orientation toward well-defined explicit statuses of which the social scientist is a product cannot be broken out of very easily. A new viewpoint is needed in studying Plateau societies; one which does not impose Western political and sociological categories upon societies in which equivalents to those categorical breakdowns do not exist. I would guess that the reason the political chief of the eastern Plateau was sometimes leader of the war party rather than -- or in conjunction with -- the war leader was due to such things as personal abilities or emotional attachment and concern for the men of his society; he had no status that circumscribed his range of activity to a limited role in his society.

Bancroft says chiefs in the Plateau never collected taxes or interfered in the rights or actions of families (1875:275-76). This seems to be basically true but must be qualified by what has been pointed out earlier concerning the right of the chiefs in certain situations such as unrevenged murders to become involved in an arbitration role, in the stability interests of the society. Bancroft says that part of the chief's role was to take the lead in councils with the elders of the society in deliberating matters of concern to the group as a whole: the amount of a fine necessary to atone for a murder, theft, etc. (1875:275). In speaking of the Coeur D'Alene, Teit corroborates Bancroft's

statements. He says:

> It seems that there were seldom attempts at coercion on the part of the chiefs; and they did not interfere in purely personal matters, except in an advisory way. There was no real police. The influence and advice of the chiefs and opinion concerning matters of procedure and ethics were sufficient to keep order. The orders of the chiefs, especially if the result of discussion and agreement at a council held beforehand, were received with great consideration, and hardly ever combated (1929:155).

Ray supports the view of no emphasis on coercion on the part of the chief in obtaining compliance with his judgment in disputes. He says that a Sanpoil chief's decisions were generally respected, and that sometimes the chiefs had ingenious ways of achieving compliance with their judgments: one chief was said to have settled all minor grievances brought to him by giving each complainant a blanket (Ray 1933:111).

Persuasive abilities were often crucial on the chief's part in maintaining tranquility and insuring that their decisions in controversies prevailed. For example, Lewis and Clark related an incident concerning the chiefs of several Nez Perce bands convincing their respective populations to accept the decision of their council to allow trading posts to be established in their territory by the United States. Many Nez Perce were against the idea. Lewis says that the principal chief of the group of chiefs went around to the evening cooking fires of each family and put some dried root flour into each pot of soup, thickening the mush. He would subsequently speak to each family, telling them of the council's decision and urging that they too concur

with it. Finally, the chief said that all who agreed with the decision of the council were invited to come and eat at a feast; those who did not agree could indicate their dissent by not partaking of the feast. Lewis relates:

> During this animated harangue, the women, who were probably uneasy at forming this new connexion [sic.] with strangers, tore their hair, and wrung their hands with the greatest appearance of distress. But the concluding appeal of the orator effectually stopped the mouths of every malcontent, and the proceedings were ratified, and mush devoured with the most zealous unanimity (1966,vol.2:281-83).

Guardian Spirit Quest

The guardian spirit concept is a widespread phenomenon throughout the various Indian culture provinces of North America. As Benedict states in her article concerning the concept on this continent however, there seems to be no correlation between the vision or guardian spirit concepts and the various traits with which they are in different groups associated (Benedict 1923:84). In the Plateau, the acquisition of a life-time guardian spirit in a vision quest at puberty was a very important quest for all members of society. As an Indian of the Flathead-Kutenai area told Barbeau:

> "Without guardian spirits an Indian is like a fish without fins. He cannot live very long; he is nothing but a fool. For it is through them that we really know the sun, the moon, the mountains, the dawn and the night; it is from them that we get the strength of earth, or all nature" (Johnson 1969:117).

In the Plateau, guardian spirits could be obtained by all boys and

girls at puberty. This is in contrast to the Coast, where the guardian spirit quest was open to only the nobility; people of low rank in the stratified societies of the Coast could not go on a guardian spirit quest.

The Nez Perce guardian spirit quest embodies the basic Plateau pattern involved in the obtaining of a guardian spirit. A boy or girl, upon reaching the age of 10 to 12 was sent out into the mountains at night to obtain a spirit that would look out for him or her and be a protector throughout life. The spirit sought could be any of a number of animal, plant, and physical phenomena spirits. The spirits generally appeared in the sought-for vision in anthropomorphic form. It is believed by the Plateau peoples though that the guardian spirits most of the time are not in anthropomorphic form; but in the mythical time before people arrived they <u>were</u> in anthropomorphic form and this is how they appear in the vision. The young Nez Perce was to fast and concentrate on obtaining a vision. Discipline was required in this endeavour for success. The adolescent was not to get homesick, allow his attention to wander, or think about fishing or hunting in the territory he had recently traversed. The young people were taught by their elders that if they were devoted in their quest they would obtain a vision; and if they obtained a vision and a guardian spirit, they would amount to something in life. Hence, the vision quest can be seen to be an extremely important part of life for the Plateau peoples (Packard 1891:329-30).

The vision itself in the Plateau took on a predictable

pattern: the spirit, resembling a man, would appear (often when the seeker was on the borderline between being awake and asleep) and it would speak. The spirit would say it is friendly and wishes to help the young person to a good adult life. The spirit identifies itself and gives the seeker a song, and sometimes a dance step. It is expected that the seeker will forget all about his or her vision until sometime in their 20's. This is the case for all groups in the Plateau except for the Kutenai -- who assume that the power of the spirit is helping the seeker from the time of the vision onward. At any rate, the vision experience itself is felt to be a highly personal experience for all the peoples of the Plateau (Ray 1939:69,72). Ray says that at some later winter, at which time the guardian spirit is supposed to be recalled for all the Plateau groups except of course the Kutenai, the forced forgetting of the details of the vision experience makes it possible for the experience, without conscious falsifying, to be "remembered" in such details that it fits the particular life situation that the now mature seeker is in (1939:70).

Ray speaks of the importance for the Plateau peoples of the relationship between a man and his guardian spirit. He says in reference to the Plateau:

> Here spirits were ever present. A man and his tutelary led parallel existences; the one had only to reach out, so to speak, and draw the other to him when the occasion made unitary action or cooperation desirable. The power inherent in the guardian spirit [was] a highly specific relationship with a powerful ally . . . . In everyday life this intimacy of relationship was reflected in countless references to one's own or another's tutelary,

> and in the invariable explanation of all unusual, impressive, or significant occurrences in terms of spirit power. Reference to one's own spirit was never specific, however, but always couched in vague or generic terms: 'my power,' 'my helper,' or in colloquial English, 'my partner' (1937:593-94).

Ceremonials

In the southern Plateau, there were two major categories of formal ceremonials: those concerned primarily with subsistence activities, and those concerned predominantly with the welfare and spiritual communion of the individual members of the group. Both were religious ceremonies. It might be well to remember at this point that for the Indians of North America in general, religion and the other activities of life had a much greater overlap than for Europeans. Also, it might be helpful to point out that many of the activities that Western peoples engage in on an individual level, the southern Plateau Indians engaged in on a band or tribal level: the southern Plateau had such activities as hunts, curing of disease, and ceremonies which were participated in at the level of the whole band or tribe.

The ceremonials involved primarily with subsistence activities took the form of first-roots, first-fruits, thanksgiving, and hunting ceremonies. The ceremonies were the most formalized in the eastern Plateau, no doubt this fact being related to the truly tribal political structure of this region. Johnson reports that the Flatheads had a First Roots dance at the beginning of the bitterroot and camas season and thanks was given to the sun

upon the first eating of these foods. This was followed by a thanksgiving festival. The Flatheads also had a Grizzly bear dance celebration in which thanks was given to the Grizzly bear for the berry crop he had shared with the people; an appeal at this time was also made to the Grizzly bear to continue to intervene in times of trouble (1969:77-78).

Turney-High fills in the details of Flathead subsistence-oriented ceremonials. He says that the First Roots Ceremony was held in the early spring and before anyone is allowed to gather vegetal foods. It was felt that the ceremony would insure that there would be a plentiful supply of roots. The several bands composing each Flathead tribe came together under the respective head chiefs. First there is a dance, in which a prayer for the abundance of the two primary root staples -- bitterroot and camas -- is made (the roots and berries making up the relatively minor portions of the diet are not prayed for). In the First Roots Ceremony, the sun and earth are prayed to for success, security, and good health for everyone. Following the dance, the first roots of the season are gathered by an old woman picked by the High Chief, and her assistants. These roots are cooked by the Chief's wives in front of his lodge. They are then distributed to the people after the High Chief has made a prayer to the sun and earth. Immediately after the First Roots Ceremony, a Thanksgiving Dance is held. The Dance takes the form of men and women dancing in a circle while one of their number sings his guardian

spirit song. After dancing, all hands are pointed to the sun while a prayer for prosperity and health is given. Then all hands are pointed to the earth and a similar prayer is made. This completed a cycle of the Thanksgiving Dance. Another person then begins singing his guardian spirit song and another cycle is begun; this sequence of events continues until the dance is over. People were often married at Thanksgiving Dances; the chief sings the marriage song. After all the celebrations are over, the women are allowed to begin the root digging and collecting of the season (Turney-High 1937:34-35).

A pattern similar to the First Roots Ceremony is enacted in the winter as part of the annual Flathead winter march to the Plains to hunt bison (this was a longer hunting expedition than that of the summer bison hunt). This was the First Bison Ceremony. When the first bison is found east of the Great Divide, it is killed and butchered and the meat brought to the High Chief. The women of his family roast it in front of their lodge and it is distributed to the people. After everyone eats, the High Chief makes a prayer. Now it is felt the bison may be hunted (Turney-High 1937:36).

The Coeur D'Alene had a first-berries as well as a first-roots ceremony (Teit 1929:185), no doubt reflecting the relatively greater importance of berries in the diet of this group as compared to the Flathead. In addition, among the Coeur D'Alene, guardian spirit dances were held several times a year, as apparently was

the case among many southern Plateau groups. But the Coeur D'Alene held most of their guardian spirit dances in the winter (Teit 1929:187), as was certainly the case among most of the Plateau peoples. As previously mentioned in the thesis, southern Plateau peoples engaged in hunting rituals involving several kinds of game; and the lower Kutenai held a first salmon ceremony.

Ceremonials concerned predominantly with the welfare and spiritual communion of individuals, rather than having subsistence activities at their focus, take the form of two important annual observances: the Winter Spirit Dance and the Sun Dance. The Winter Spirit Dance is distributed throughout the southern Plateau, except for the Kutenai. The Kutenai are the only group in the southern Plateau to have the Sun Dance.

The Winter Guardian Spirit Dance is <u>the</u> major religious ceremony of the southern Plateau. Verne Ray relates that it was "concerned with the creation of a more intimate bond between a man and his [guardian spirit], the impersonation of spirits, and a symbolic recall of mythological times" (1939:123-24). The Dance takes place annually in winter and is characterized by the following features: sponsorship by a shaman or anyone having a guardian spirit, participation open to all who have guardian spirits, attendance open to all, spirit singing with each holder of a guardian spirit leading the group in his own guardian spirit song in turn, spirit dancing with individual leadership, power contests, shamanistic performances, and feast or gift giving or

both. There is some variation from group to group in the southern Plateau of the particular constellation of traits chosen from among the above mentioned traits. But in all groups the focus of the ceremony is the singing of guardian spirit songs (Ray 1939: 103).

Among the Sanpoil at least, a part of the Spirit Dance was the giving of presents. The presents were accumulated beforehand by donation from laymen, the shamans, and the sponsor of the dance -- who gave the most of all. At the distribution, the participants who had put the most into their dancing received the best presents. Often there were visitors from neighbouring ethnic groups present, and they too would receive gifts; in fact they were the first to receive gifts at the distribution (Ray 1939:106-7). Hofmeister points out that the Winter Spirit Dance served to bring many different groups together through attendance at each other's performances; often groups would travel great distances to attend the Spirit Dance of different ethnic groups. Participation in the singing and dancing was open to all who had guardian spirits, regardless of what ethnic group they were in, and this no doubt provided part of the incentive to visit a neighbouring group's Spirit Dance (1969:47-48).

The Sun Dance of the Kutenai, though certainly related to the Sun Dance of the Plains area generally, nevertheless possessed certain distinctive characteristics which tended to reflect the closer alliance of the culture of the Kutenai with the Plateau rather than with the Plains. The most notable difference between

the Kutenai Sun Dance and that of the Plains was the fact that sun-gazing and self-torture played no part in the Kutenai ceremony (Ray 1939:128). The Sun Dance of the Kutenai was a tribal event lasting for the duration of several days in the spring. It was a serious time in which no sexual activity or general frivolity was supposed to take place. The ceremony itself involved in large part the attempts by tribal shamans as a group to remove sickness from the afflicted people of Kutenai society. To do this, they would stroke downward on the centre pole of the ceremonial tipi and attempt to transfer the sickness the Sun Dance doll (which it is felt contains the spirit of the sun during the several day ceremony) has originally transferred from the sick people to the pole. The objects used by the shamans in stroking down the centre pole are objects representative of each individual shaman's guardian spirit -- for instance feathers, etc. Sometimes the dancers at the centre pole direct their efforts at other things to help the tribe. For example they might try to draw game animals to the pole so that the hunts which will take place in the coming year may be successful. After the Dance, the Sun Dance doll is removed and the spirit of the sun departs; a feast is held and the groups assembled disband (Ray 1939:126-27; Johnson 1969:119-24).

Shamans

The people of the southern Plateau no doubt felt ambivalent

about their shamans. The shaman in Plateau society to be sure acted in a number of socially valuable capacities: for example he was often responsible for protecting his people from the attacks of other and malignant shamans during the winter ceremonial season, officiating at funerals, sponsoring Winter Spirit Dances, curing disease, and revealing to the recently-matured members of society their guardian spirit songs when those guardian spirits "reappear" after having been forgotten since the spirit quest. But the medicine man, undoubtedly due to the amount of power he was felt to possess, was also feared or at least looked on with a certain amount of apprehension by the layman. Turney-High mentions, in speaking of the Flathead:

> The shaman or medicine-man was a highly respected personage. When he entered a lodge all persons would be quiet to hear if he would say something. Children at an early age were conditioned to respect shamans, whose names were often used to frighten them into obedience (1937:28).

Ray relates that certain diseases were <u>felt</u> (my emphasis) to be caused by the maleficence of various shamans; of course they were not actually caused by evil-minded shamans. The second major cause of disease was thought to be the intrusion of foreign objects (Ray 1939:95-97). It might be pointed out here that a third cause of disease was believed to be the desertion by a guardian spirit of its partner due to "mistreatment" on the part of the partner (Ray 1939:98).

Despite their unique position in society, southern Plateau shamans were not considered to be privileged in a number of

respects. For instance, the pattern of the shaman's vision quest was the same as that of the layman of society: the prospective shaman too would be required to venture into the dark and wait in the cold for many long hours before he could expect to obtain a vision. The spirits which the shamans attempted to encounter in their vision quest are special spirits which it was felt could aid the shaman in his particular endeavours; they were different from the spirits which the layman sought in his guardian spirit quest (Ray 1939:92). But there is no indication that they were felt to be superior to the guardian spirits sought by the layman.

Myth

As indicated earlier, it is difficult to separate the spiritual from the daily activities of life with the Indians of the southern Plateau. Sanpoil children would pray to the sun for warmer weather, on cold winter mornings as they threw pieces of ice unbroken from water containers up in the direction of the sun. Prayers were also made among the Sanpoil to the water for help in a number of endeavours. Fire, though not prayed to, was given recognition in order to prevent possible misfortune. Before each meal, a few pieces of food were put in the fire and covered up with coals; the ritual "We give you this little bit of food; as soon as you have eaten we shall eat" was recited (Ray 1933: 179-80). The spirits of the sun, water, and fire were not felt to be of much practical importance; Sweat Lodge was the only

entity who could be said to be a true deity for the Sanpoil. He was considered to be the creator of the animals and spirits, and possibly human beings. He was considered to be a kind deity who answered the prayers of people, provided they sweated in a sweat lodge and prayed to him in song (Ray 1933:179). It is difficult to tell whether belief in Sweat Lodge and his equivalents in the southern Plateau -- for instance the creator god Amo'tqen of the Flatheads and Coeur D'Alene -- were influenced by white contact.

It is certain though that Coyote was the culture hero of the southern Plateau and that the numerous myths told about Coyote and the spirit beings of the mythical era are aboriginal. In the mythological time before men arrived, the belief was that the existing guardian spirits had the general form of men, along with the physical and psychological attributes of the various animals. When men arrived, these beings became the guardian spirits. Many myths of the southern Plateau of course were unique to different ethnic groups, but a number of myths also were simply variations of common mythical themes witnessed throughout the area. For instance, it seemed to be the case for particularly the Salishan tribes of the interior to have a certain part of their myths varying on the common theme of the journey of Coyote up the Columbia River. On his way up the River, Coyote brought salmon to the people and brought into being a number of landforms. He also formed the various existing falls on the River, forming them (in at least one version) due to maidens refusing to marry

him -- Coyote wished to block great numbers of salmon from reaching the people of these maidens.

Bob Covington, one of Ray's Sanpoil informants born in the middle of the nineteenth century summarized the Sanpoil version of this theme. Covington said:

> "In the beginning, a long time ago, Coyote was a man. He went about helping the people. He was interested in their fortunes and he did a great deal to make life better on earth. It is hard to tell what a miserable place the world would be now if Coyote hadn't changed things as he did.
>
> "Fox was Coyote's friend and advisor. Whenever Coyote was in trouble he called on Fox to help him, and usually he did. Coyote nearly always took the credit though. He would say, 'Oh, yes, I knew that all the time.'
>
> "Coyote was sometimes tricky and sometimes foolish. Most of what he did was for the best, though. He made several trips up the Columbia River, usually starting from Astoria. Many things happened on these trips and there are lots of stories about them. On the last trip, when he reached Kettle Falls, he was just an ordinary coyote." (Ray 1933:178).

Whatever other functions or structures can be discovered in southern Plateau myths, most can be described as good stories. A number of them also served as explanations of certain geographical and social realities of the world. Most did not contain, or at least were not directed at laying down, a moral. Johnson says:

> Instead of harping on hard-and-fast rules of behavior, these stories express tolerance, a sense of the incomprehensible richness of reality, and a corresponding sense of humor. The villains are seldom all bad or the heroes all good (1969:262-63).

Sometimes, however, myths did contain normative factors. This usually took the form of suggesting the troubles that people

can get into if they don't follow what their elders, superiors, or guardian spirits tell them. Particularly when told to children, this type of myth can be seen to act as a socializing force.

One theme that several myths of the peoples living in the central and western portion of the southern Plateau revolves around is a normative one: that of the displeasure of the gods at quarreling long ago among the people of the Plateau. Coteeakun, a spiritual leader with a large following among the Indians of the central Washington area toward the end of the last century, narrated a story that was apparently generally accepted among the Indians of the area. The story related to the destruction by the gods of a huge natural rock arch bridge across the Columbia River west of The Dalles area. Geological studies since undertaken by scientists have discovered possible evidence for the existence of such a two to three mile-long natural arch bridge: they have found at the Cascades of the Columbia petrified tree trunks, submerged trees and huge cross sections of lava in the river (Mooney 1896:722). Coteeakun narrated as to the cause of the destruction of the so-called "Bridge of the Gods":

> "Notwithstanding all the benefits they enjoyed, there was quarreling among the people, and the earth-mother was angry. The mountains that overhung the river at the Cascades were thrown down, and dammed the stream and destroyed the forests and whole tribes, and buried them under the rocks" (Mooney 1896:722).

The Klikitat version of the myth says that the Bridge of the Gods was made by the Great Spirit to enable the people to get across the river; it was a symbol of peace. But the people

on either side of the river, under their two chiefs, Wyeast and Klikitat, fought with each other; they fought first over a land dispute, and then over a beautiful young girl. The Great Spirit became angry at the continual quarreling and fighting, and destroyed the Bridge of the Gods. He changed Wyeast into Mt. Hood, Klikitat into Mt. Adams, and the fought-over maiden into Mt. St. Helens (Clark 1953:20-22).

Warfare

Teit, who has done considerable research relating to warfare in the Plateau, reports that he never heard of any wars of the Okanagon with the Columbia, Wenatchi, Spokan, Kalispel or other Salish groups to the east (1929:257). The Coeur D'Alene long ago presented a different picture: they had occasional wars with the Spokan, Kalispel, Pend D'Oreille, Flathead, Nez Perce, and Kutenai. In late times, however, with the advent of the horse and the consequent hunting of bison east of the Rockies, this pattern changed and the Coeur D'Alene were fighting with the Blackfoot, Crow, Sioux, and other Plains tribes (Teit 1929:119). No doubt there are at least two reasons the Coeur D'Alene stopped fighting with other Plateau groups: the fighting on the part of the eastern Plateau groups against a common enemy in the Plains, and increased intermarriage with neighbouring Plateau groups. The Okanagon and Thompson illustrate the influence increased contact and intermarriage had subsequent to the arrival of the

horse upon inter-group relations in the Plateau. Before the arrival of the horse, both the Okanagon and Thompson Indians of British Columbia engaged in continual warfare with the Nicola, also of British Columbia. But with increased contact and intermarriage, warfare ceased between all three (Teit 1929:257).

Teit reports that before the arrival of the horse, there were very few wars whatsoever involving what he terms the "Flathead tribes" (Flathead, Pend D'Oreille, Kalispel, and Spokan). Teit says that peace generally was the rule among all the Flathead tribes. The Flathead apparently had a few short wars far back in traditional history with some of the Shoshone speakers, but generally the two were on very good terms. The Flathead had no wars with other Salish speakers, nor with the Nez Perce or Kutenai. Teit says that the four "Flathead tribes" never fought among themselves and that feuds between families were rare (1929:360, 373).

The Sanpoil, according to Ray, are a pacifistic people. He says the first duty of a chief is to maintain peaceful relations with other groups; if the slightest possibility of warfare arises, the chief calls the people together and pleads with them to maintain neutrality. According to Ray, no instance of warfare can be recounted by any Sanpoil, even from traditional history (1933:25; 1939:35). Teit, however, differs with Ray on this point. Teit recognizes that the Sanpoil are generally peaceful people and that chiefs exhort peaceful inter-group relations. But he points out that in the latter half of the eighteenth

century the Sanpoil did engage in a war with the Nez Perce. A war party of Nez Perces attacked the main camp of the Sanpoil while the young men were away hunting. The attackers killed a number of old people, women, and children. The Sanpoil, upon learning of the tragedy asked for help from the Okanagon and Colville; together they revenged the attack two years later, killing many Nez Perce. The Nez Perce and Sanpoil never fought subsequent to the incident (Teit 1929:258-59).

The peoples of the southern Plateau, while diminishing conflict between themselves as the time of white contact approached, were engaging in an increasing amount of conflict with both the Shoshone speakers to the south and the Plains groups -- particularly the Blackfoot -- to the east. Both Lewis and Clark and Ross Cox observed that the Nez Perce, despite a tradition of conflict with the Shoshones and Blackfoot, desired to live in peace with them and would do so if the Shoshones would stop their alleged prevention of Nez Perce and Walla Walla hunters from hunting deer west of the Snake River and killing peace emissaries sent by the Nez Perce (Cox 1957:259; Lewis 1966,vol.2:283). Lewis mentions an old Nez Perce chief who relates that the Nez Perce knew the advantages of peace:

> for they valued the lives of their young men too much to expose them to the dangers of war; and their desire to live quietly with their neighbours, had induced them last summer to send three warriors with a pipe to the Shoshonees . . . . These ministers of peace had been killed by the Shoshonees, against whom the nation immediately took up arms. They had met them last winter, and killed forty-two men, with the loss of only three of their own

> party; so that having revenged their deceased brethren, they would no longer make war on the Shoshonees, but receive them as friends (Lewis 1966,vol.2:283).

Lewis later states in reference to the Nez Perce that "As to the going with us to the plains of the Missouri, they would be very willing to do so, for though the Blackfoot Indians . . . had shed much of their blood, they still wished to live in peace with them" (1966,vol.2:284).

Teit (1928:97-100) has looked into the conflict between the Sahaptin peoples as a whole and the Shoshone speakers. He says that beginning about 1750, due to pressures of the northward-pushing Shoshone speakers, the Sahaptin peoples living in the present-day central Oregon area were migrating north. By the early part of the nineteenth century, the Sahaptins had crossed the Columbia and the Shoshone speakers had attained the south bank of the river. Lewis and Clark, on the westward leg of their journey, noticed the apprehension on the part of the Sahaptin speakers toward the Shoshone people. Lewis observes:

> We could not help remarking that almost universally the fishing establishments of the Indians, both on the Columbia and on the waters of Lewis's [i.e. Snake] river, are on the right bank. On inquiry we were led to believe that the reason may be found in their fear of the Snake Indians; between whom and themselves, considering the warlike temper of that people, and the peaceful habits of the river tribes, it is very natural that the latter should be anxious to interpose so good a barrier. These Indians are described as residing on a great river to the south, and always at war with the people of this neighbourhood (1966,vol.2: 29-30).

The northward movement of the Sahaptins pushed the Columbia

Salish, who had originally been living along the Columbia River on the present-day Oregon-Washington boundary, northward to their present location. The initial contact between the Columbia Salish and the newcomers sometimes took the form of fighting, but frequently also the encounters were not violent. Teit reports that a common pattern was for the Columbia Salish and Sahaptins to meet in a friendly encounter; and intermarriage between the two peoples from the beginning was commonplace (1928:104-5).

On the eastern side of the Plateau, as indicated before, with the advent of the horse fighting became increasingly common between the various eastern Plateau groups -- the eastern Salish speakers, Kutenai, and Nez Perce -- on the one hand; and the northwestern Plains groups on the other. It is interesting to note that the enmity between the Flathead and Blackfoot, which reached a high intensity during the early nineteenth century, had not been always existent. Before the arrival of the horse, apparently the Plains country immediately to the east of the Flatheads was uninhabited. In those days, there was trading on the part of the Flathead with both the Shoshones and the Blackfoot. The Flathead-Blackfoot trade entailed exchanges on the part of the Flathead of shells, water-tight coiled baskets, pipes, etc. The Blackfoot traded in exchange items including pipes, clothing, buffalo-bone beads, and buffalo skins and robes (Teit 1929:358). It was only after the coming of the horse to the Blackfoot, causing them to move south into the Plains area immediately east of the Flathead to exploit the bison herds, that the

peaceful relations between the two groups broke down. While the two tribes had been trading in resources that each other needed, amicable feelings were maintained; but when both were competing for the same bison resource, a clash resulted.

Dreamer Prophets

During the period of the Paiute "dreamer prophet" Wovoka espousing his belief concerning the return of the old time and the disappearance of the whites, three "dreamer prophets" were active in the southern Plateau. They were Smohalla, Toohulhulsote, and Coteeakun. Smohalla was the most influential of the three. In the 1870s he had a following of about 2,000 Indians from several tribes along the Columbia River in eastern Oregon and Washington (Mooney 1896:708). The tribes from which he and his followers came had never signed treaties ceding their land, and this was causing the United States government to attempt to persuade them to move onto the existing reservations established in the area. Coteeakun was a headman of one of the bands of the Yakima; and Toohulhulsote was the principle dreamer priest of Joseph's band of the Nez Perce.

The United States government was attempting in the last part of the nineteenth century to not only place all Indians on existing reservations, but also to reduce the size of some of the reservations. A large part of the reason for the latter action on the part of the government was pressure from settlers

who wanted to homestead reservation lands. To discover the Indians' view on the possibility of a reduction of their reservation lands, a commission was sent out to hear the Indians' viewpoint. In 1871 the Cayuse chief told the commission when it was visiting the Umatilla Reservation:

> "This reservation is marked out for us. We see it with our eyes and our hearts. We all hold it with our bodies and our souls. Right out here are my father and mother, and brother and sisters and children, all buried. I am guarding their graves. My friend, this reservation, this small piece of land, we look upon it as our mother, as if she were raising us. You come to ask me for my land. It is like as if we who are Indians were to be sent away and get lost . . . ." (Mooney 1896:710).

Toohulhulsote and other dreamer prophets of the Nez Perce had a strong influence upon that group as a whole. The Nez Perce had been described in the report of the Indian Commission for 1843 as friendly toward whites, and recognized as a group from which the whites had nothing to fear; they were recognized as a group with high principles and sense of justice (Mooney 1896:712). A conference was called in 1877 between the U. S. government and Chief Joseph's band to discuss the possibility of the removal of the latter from their Wallowa valley home in eastern Oregon to the Lapwai Reservation in Idaho. At this conference, James Mooney relates:

> Toohulhulsote, the principal Dreamer priest of Joseph's band, acted as spokesman for the Indians, and insisted, according to the Smohalla doctrine, that the earth was his mother, that she should not be disturbed by hoe or plow, that men should subsist by the spontaneous productions of nature, and that the sovereignty of the earth could not be sold or given away. Continuing, he asserted, 'We

> never have made any trade. Part of the Indians gave up their land. I never did. The earth is part of my body, and I never gave up the earth. So long as the earth keeps me I want to be left alone.' (1896:713).

Smohalla was the most prominent dreamer prophet of the southern Plateau, and no doubt the most idealistic. His followers, though concentrated in the eastern Washington area, included Indians all the way along the Columbia River from the forty-ninth parallel to The Dalles (Mooney 1896:708,727). Smohalla was the most outspoken of the dreamer prophets who were asserting the identity of the Indians with their earth mother. Smohalla, because of his influence over the Indians in respect to urging them to not adopt agriculture -- which the government was advocating they do -- was visited a number of times by representatives of the government. He said to a certain Major MacMurray on one occasion:

> "You ask me to plow the ground! Shall I take a knife and tear my mother's bosom? Then when I die she will not take me to her bosom to rest. You ask me to dig for stone! Shall I dig under her skin for her bones? Then when I die I cannot enter her body to be born again. You ask me to cut grass and make hay and sell it, and be rich like white men! But how dare I cut off my mother's hair? It is a bad law, and my people cannot obey it. I want my people to stay with me here. All the dead men will come to life again. Their spirits will come to their bodies again. We must wait here in the homes of our fathers and be ready to meet them in the bosom of our mother." (Mooney 1896:721).

Smohalla opposed all agriculture apparently because of his beliefs. He did not grow any trees or vegetables where he lived, and he did not raise any domestic animals. Other Plateau Indians

though did engage in agriculture in the nineteenth century. Even though they may have shared the feeling of identity with the earth as a sort of "mother," their practise of agriculture or refusal to practise agriculture apparently did not rest on any kind of principle relating to this feeling (Cox 1957:213; Mooney 1896:723).

Coteeakun was Smohalla's main supporter and assistant at Smohalla's dreamer ceremonies. He differed from Smohalla though in desiring that his people adopt the agriculture of the white man (Mooney 1896:723). As Mooney says of Coteeakun, "In temper he was more gentle than Smohalla, and more disposed to meet civilization half-way" (1896:727). Coteeakun's main emphasis appeared to be on the peaceful relations of men with each other. Major MacMurray went to visit Coteeakun and had this to say of the man:

> "Coteeakun was pacific and gentle. He said all men were as brothers to him and he hoped all would dwell together. He had been told that white and black and all other kinds of men originally dwelt in tents, as the red men always have done, and that God in former times came to commune with white men. He thought there could be only one [creator], in which case white and red men would live on a common plane. We came from one source of life and in time would 'grow from one stem again. It would be like a stick that the whites held by one end and the Indians by the other until it was broken, and it would be made again into one stick.'" (Mooney 1896:723).

Both Smohalla and Coteeakun held a view of the creation of the world which included the idea of the conflicts held in the distant past between various peoples of the Plateau area being disapproved of by the Creator (Mooney 1896:722).

Chapter Four:

VALUES OF THE SOUTHERN PLATEAU AND THEIR FOCUS

Utilizing the definition of value I formulated in the first chapter, I shall proceed in this chapter to derive the values reflected in the southern Plateau cultural activities and traits previously delineated. One should recall that the definition of value formulated earlier in this thesis contains three elements: a conception of the desirable which influences action, a feeling or emotional aspect, and a liklihood that values can be correlated with variables in the context within which they are operative. A look at the cultural activities and traits of the southern Plateau Indians outlined in the third chapter indicates the following values can be derived:

1. Respect for the spirits of animals.
2. Stability and harmony within the group. This value is shown by emphasis on arbitration capability as a qualification for new chiefs; responsibility of chiefs to maintain intra-group harmony; right of the chief to intervene in disputes to prevent feuding; etc.
3. Sharing. Shown in food subsistence and gift distribution; frequently without regard to group membership of the receiver.
4. Guardian spirit partnership.
5. Reverence for the earth, and in some groups the sun. Frequently the earth identified as a mother; prayer before collecting subsistence resources; etc.
6. Doing many activities as a society. Often the whole group is

present at curing of sick individuals; group ceremonials; group dancing to one another's guardian spirit songs; etc.

7. Inter-society peace. This value is reflected in myth; frequent inter-group visitations and gift giving between groups; no groups have slaves from other Plateau groups; virtual absence of warfare <u>within</u> the southern Plateau late in area's history, coupled with emphasis of chiefs on peaceful inter-group relations.

It would be helpful if it were possible to find some way to measure the relative importance of the seven aspects of southern Plateau culture I have listed. As Belshaw has pointed out, in economics we can use costs (in the form of physical objects: money, barter goods, etc.) to measure the relative worth of units. It could be suggested that we use time expenditure as a measuring device appropriate to such non-material things as values (Belshaw 1959:561). Going on this basis, we could say that the seven values I have posited for the southern Plateau are considered to be of varying importance; but that is about all we could say. It seems that it is difficult using Belshaw's suggested time-expenditure measurement approach to measure the strength or worth of "values" because, as Belshaw himself recognizes, "no one-to-one relationship exists between the quantity of time given to achieve a goal and its value" (1959:562). In addition, it is difficult in dealing with values to say what they are "worth," and translate them into another commodity. The problem arises because values are intangibles. They are intangibles that can really

only have meaning on their own terms; values probably are not translatable into other units.

Is there any common denominator of the seven values postulated for the southern Plateau Indians? Is there an underlying and deeper value that might be postulated as a "core value" for these people; a core value reflected in the various specific values delineated? It would seem that there is one. I believe it can be stated as being a core value of harmonious relations. That is to say, the southern Plateau Indians place a high value on the maintenance of harmonious relations with both other people and with the spirits felt to be ever-present in the world with man.

If this posited core value of the southern Plateau Indians is to be accepted, two factors which appear to be inconsistent with a value of harmonious relations need to be first explained. These two factors are incidents occurring in the first half of the nineteenth century: a time when the as yet weak white population left the behaviour and values of the Indians largely unaffected. Initially, the so-called "Whitman Massacre" must be dealt with. This tragic incident occurred at a Christian mission established by Marcus Whitman in eastern Washington. In the 1840s measles, which among other imported European diseases taking the lives of a great many Indians, was sweeping through the area. Whitman was treating the disease among the Walla Walla and Cayuse Indians near his mission. Despite his efforts, which of course

were not capable of staying the destruction of the disease among populations which had no immunity to it, many Indians were dying. The belief among the Plateau Indians was that medicine men were entirely capable of causing and curing disease; for the Indians failure on the part of the medicine man did not mean lack of skill, but rather implied that the medicine man desires that his patient should not recover (Bancroft 1875:286).

Whatever suspicion first rested on Whitman when the deaths continued, was accentuated by a rumor proliferating among the Indians. This rumor was started by a boy, who told some of the Cayuse and Walla Walla that he had overheard Whitman say he would give the Indians a bad medicine which would kill the Indians and thus allow him to take over their lands. As a result of this rumor, playing on the undoubtedly extreme tensions of the circumstances, the Indians devised a plan for what has come to be known as the "Whitman Massacre" (Harper 1971:125; Bancroft 1875: 286).

A second incident that appears inconsistent with the posited core value of harmonious relations concerns an early nineteenth century occurrence described by Ross Cox. Cox, a trader for the Northwest Company, was paddling along the Columbia River when his canoe party was beset upon by robbers in the vicinity of the confluence of the Walla Walla River. Cox outlines the resulting battle in which several Indians were killed. He says that a fight was about to break out between his party and the deceased Indians' relatives supported by some other Indians from several

groups, when a young Walla Walla chief whose father had been killed in a battle with the Shoshones arrived. This chief, whose name was "Morning Star," made an impassioned plea to the Indians that they should not fight but rather accept the compensation offered by the Cox party to the families of the deceased. He said that the Indians should be grateful to the whites for supplying them with the arms which had enabled them to banish the Shoshones from their land and live without fear of an attack from them. The Indians, beginning with the Walla Walla, agreed not to fight, and general good feeling and a smoking of the peace pipe resulted (Cox 1957:194-205). Cox describes Morning Star's two hour oration to the Indians as follows:

> His delivery was impassioned; and his action, although sometimes violent, was generally bold, graceful, and energetic. Our admiration knew no bounds; and the orators of Greece and Rome, when compared with him, dwindled in our estimation into insignificance (1957:204).

The incident which Cox was involved in was certainly not a planned attack by the Walla Walla or neighbouring groups as societies. Only a few individuals took part, and were only backed by their kin and neighbours when some of the Indians involved were killed. The action of the kin and neighbouring Indians is understandable without contradicting the core value I have posited of harmonious relations; as indicated earlier in the thesis, the bodily needs, including emotional "gut-level" reactions, can take precedence over values when it comes to action in certain situations.

In understanding both the Whitman Massacre and Cox incidents, it must be recognized that new elements had been introduced into the Indians' pattern of life that were to elicit new responses. The white newcomers had explanations for disease, the physical nature of the earth, and indeed man himself that the Indians did not share or understand. Furthermore, the whites did not appear (from the Indians' perspective) to share the Indians' direct dependence upon the earth for survival: many foodstuffs arrived for the use of the whites from places the Indians did not know, and as a result of an economic system they could not fully comprehend. For the Plateau Indians the whites, since they could not be understood, were people to be either respected or feared. Because the motivations of the whites were viewed with apprehension, the failure of Whitman's medicine was overreacted to; Northwest Company trading ventures were viewed with suspicion. Cox and his party had been through the Plateau area before the aforementioned robbery incident, and were looked upon with apprehension by a number of Plateau groups, due to belligerent shows of strength on the part of the Northwest Company men and needless killing of game for target practise (Cox 1957:77-80). In addition, no doubt the unprecedented influx of wealth in the form of trade items in the early part of the nineteenth century proved too much of a temptation to some individuals of the area and they attempted the robbery of the Cox party on their own initiative. The oration on the part of Morning Star, the Walla Walla chief, demonstrates

the value the southern Plateau peoples placed upon arbitration abilities in chiefs. Quite obviously Morning Star himself would have opposed the robbery if he should have known it was being considered.

I know of no other incidents in the southern Plateau in which the Indian groups of the area made or threatened an attack upon whites which writers on the area have believed to be an unprovoked attack. Of course this is not to say that tensions did not increase as the white population pressured the Indians to surrender most of their lands and change their way of life. Nor is it to say that there was no warfare between Indians and whites. Chief Joseph's series of battles with the U. S. Army on his epic retreat toward Canada in 1877 is notable in this regard. As implied earlier in the thesis, values are not static. They change with changes in behaviour patterns. The beginning of significant changes in behaviour patterns can be seen in the Whitman Massacre and Ross Cox incidents previously mentioned. With the take-over of Plateau Indian lands and the threat to their way of life posed by the rapidly-increasing white population, it is understandable that behaviour patterns and resulting values of the Indians should change. Changes in circumstances will, in time, bring about changes in values.

Chapter Five:

CONCLUSION

Verne Ray has suggested that the Sanpoil practised pacifism, and that for the Plateau in general, pacifism was an important characteristic. However Teit's information concerning warfare between the Sanpoil and Nez Perce in the latter half of the eighteenth century, along with discoveries of a certain amount of warfare within the Plateau before the arrival of the horse, indicates that truly pacifistic behaviour was not in fact the rule in the Plateau. Both Ray's and Teit's information, in conjunction with that of other researchers on the area shows a marked decline -- if not termination -- of warfare between groups in at least the southern Plateau in the decades before white contact.

This decline in warfare within the southern Plateau can be attributed largely to the advent of the horse and the changes it caused both in the Plateau and the two neighbouring culture provinces, the Plains to the east and the Great Basin to the south. The Plateau peoples received the horse first from the Shoshone speaking peoples to the south. Within the Plateau, the horse intensified the existing level of contact between Plateau groups, particularly in relation to trade. Outside of the Plateau, the advent of the horse resulted in competition for the bison herds of the western Plains between the northwestern Plains groups and the eastern Plateau groups. This competition developed into warfare between groups of the two culture provinces. On the southern boundary of the Plateau, the Shoshone speakers were

pushing northward toward the Columbia River. No doubt their early acquisition of the horse played a significant role in this expansion. The mutual threat that the Plateau peoples felt from the peoples of the two neighbouring areas, combined with the existing cohesiveness within the area, resulted in relations between groups becoming even closer than they originally had been.

An examination of the values derived from the cultural activities and traits of the peoples of the southern Plateau has indicated an underlying core value of harmonious relations for the area. This core value can be seen as being caused in large part by the trade and alliances in the area previously mentioned; and in addition can be correlated with the shifting nature of food resource concentrations and concomitant lack of a feeling of rigid boundary, intermarriage, and attendance at one another's Winter Spirit Dances on the part of the various groups of the southern Plateau. The manifestations of the underlying core value of harmonious relations can be seen in a number of aspects of the cultures of the area: in reverence toward the earth and spirits, in guardian spirit relations, in sharing, in qualifications for political office, in the behaviour of the holders of political office, and in myth.

This thesis has maintained that values are both the cause and the result of culturally patterned behaviour. The ecological, economic, and historical factors mentioned caused certain culturally patterned behaviour characteristic of southern Plateau

groups; the behaviour in turn sustained values clustering around a core value of harmonious relations. The core value of harmonious relations though, in addition to being caused by certain distinctive patterned behaviour, also generated and shaped a variety of culturally patterned behaviour and traits. A number of cultural activities and traits of the peoples of the area reflect the underlying core value of harmonious relations. While it is true that "harmonious relations" is a value for all peoples of the world at some level of society, it is the extensiveness and depth of the value that makes the southern Plateau distinctive. For the southern Plateau Indians, the unit the harmonious relations core value is directed toward includes all the ethnic groups of the entire culture area.

The value of harmonious relations with other people and with the spirits felt to be co-existing in the world with man can be seen in a great many statements made particularly by chiefs of southern Plateau groups. I will end this thesis with a quotation from a speech made by Young Chief, of the Cayuse (McLuhan 1971:8). The occasion for the speech was the signing of a treaty in 1855 in which the Cayuse, Walla Walla, and Umatilla ceded most of their land to the United States government. Young Chief opposed the treaty, saying he and his people had no right to sell the land the Great Spirit had given them. Before signing the treaty, Young Chief made the following speech:

> "I wonder if the ground has anything to say? I wonder if the ground is listening to what is said? I wonder if the ground would come alive and what

is on it? Though I hear what the ground says, It is the Great Spirit that placed me here. The Great Spirit tells me to take care of the Indians, to feed them aright. The Great Spirit appointed the roots to feed the Indians on. The water says the same thing. The Great Spirit directs me, Feed the Indians well. The grass says the same thing, Feed the Indians well. The ground, water, and grass say, The Great Spirit has given us our names. We have these names and hold these names. The ground says, The Great Spirit has placed me here to produce all that grows on me, trees and fruit. The same way the ground says, It was from me man was made. The Great Spirit, in placing men on the earth, desired them to take good care of the ground and to do each other no harm . . . ."

NOTES

[1]What is meant by the term "society" in regard to the Plateau is a grouping of bands sharing a common habitat, dialect, customs, traditions, and institutions. Each "society" is equivalent to the ethnic groups delineated on the frontispiece map.

[2]Benedict takes her terms "Apollonian" and "Dionysian" from Nietzsche.

[3]The "band" level of sociocultural integration is defined by Service:

> "The salient feature of the type is . . . that all of the functions of the culture are organized, practiced, or partaken of by no more than a few associated bands made up of related nuclear families . . . . there are no special economic groups or . . . special consuming groups or classes. The economy . . . is not separately institutionalized, but remains . . . an aspect of kinship organization . . . . There is no separate political life and no government or legal system above the modest informal authority of family heads and ephemeral leaders . . . . there is no religious life standing apart from family and band." (1962:108-109).

[4]Note that I include the eastern Plateau within the category of the "tribal" level of sociocultural integration rather than the "chiefdom" level. I do this on the basis of the definitions Service gives for each. He says that tribes, though more complex and maintaining more specific diversification than maintained at the band level of sociocultural integration, are nevertheless still egalitarian cultures without separate bodies of political control and without economic specialization (except for economic role differences on the basis of age and sex). Tribes are composed of residence units which are economically self-sufficient.

The chiefdom level of sociocultural integration, on the other hand, is characterized by centralized collection and redistribution of the bulk of economic resources, a priesthood and chieftainship ordinarily inherited in the same family line, and frequently the presence of social stratification (1962:140-41,170-72).

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