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THE NEZ PERCÉS

HISTORICAL SKETCH

THE territory of the Nez Percés was bounded on the east by the Bitterroot mountains of Idaho and Montana; on the south by the divide between Salmon river and Snake river, and, in Oregon, by the Powder River mountains; on the west by the Blue mountains in Oregon, and, in Washington, by Tucanon creek from its source in the Blue mountains to its confluence with Snake river; on the north by the low divide between Snake river and the Palouse in Washington, and, in Idaho, by the range separating the headwaters of the Palouse from the tributaries of the Clearwater. This embraced, in Idaho, the whole watershed of the Clearwater, the valley of Salmon river as far eastward as the one hundred and fifteenth meridian, and that of Snake river to a point above the mouth of the Salmon. It included in the northeastern portion of Oregon the valley of the Snake, and of its tributaries, the Imnaha, the Wallowa, and the Grande Ronde to a point not far above the mouth of the Wallowa. In Washington their domain extended westward along both sides of Snake river as far as the mouth of Tucanon creek, about at the one hundred and eighteenth meridian.

This desirable territory is a region of varied aspect. It is almost surrounded by lofty, forested mountains, the source of numberless clear, perennial streams. Here and there are broad, undulating, upland prairies, which once afforded the inhabitants a dependable, though laboriously gathered, supply of edible roots, and abundant forage for their horses. The lower courses of the streams flow through pleasant, narrow valleys completely shut in from the cold mountain winds, forming ideal spots for wintering. Deer, elk, and mountain-sheep were obtained without great difficulty, and the rivers were alive with ‘ fish, particularly the salmon, which formed their principal food.

The Nez Percé’s were a loosely associated group of local bands[1],

1 The Nez Percés call themselves *Numípu, or Nimípu,* a word formed on the pronoun nun, we, with the addition of *-pu,* the locative suffix commonly added to a place-name in forming the name of the inhabitants. Numípu, then, is equivalent to “we people.” The name by which the tribe is known to us is

each possessing its own territory and its own chief. It is true that they had a collective name for these bands, and that there were occasions when perhaps the greater part were in one camp, as at the camas meadows or during the fall fishing in the Wallowa and the Salmon. Nevertheless there was in reality no tribal organization. The bands were kindred, spoke the same language, and associated for mutual convenience and defence; but they remained distinct. The permanent villages were situated usually at the mouths of the tributaries of the larger rivers. Although each village community was independent of the others, and the head-chiefs of all such communities were theoretically of equal power, it was only natural that the influence of a man of unusual ability with a numerous following should extend itself beyond the borders of the band in which he was born. This was in fact the case, and thus we find a number of geographical divisions. At the beginning of the historical period the process was probably one of decay and separation rather than of consolidation. Lewis and Clark defined seven divisions: the "Chopunnish," on Clearwater river below its forks; the "Pel-loat-pal-lah," on Clearwater river above its forks; the "Ki-moo-e-nim," on Snake river above the Clearwater as far as "the Forks"; the "Y-e-letpo"; the "Wil-le-wah," on Wallowa river; the "So-yen-now," on the northern side of Salmon river and on "La-mal-tar [Lamata] Creek"; and the "Chopunnish," on Snake river between the Clearwater and the Columbia.

the French equivalent of the appellation given to them by some other native tribes, including the Apsaroke, the Hidatsa, and the Sioux, in reference to a former custom of wearing a dentalium shell transversely in the septum of the nose. Doubt has been expressed that the Nez Percés ever practised the custom, but the statement of Lewis and Clark (Thwaites ed., V, 30) is conclusive: "The ornament of the nose is a single shell of the wampum." The Apsaroke call the Nez Percés *Apupé,* which Hayden, and others following him, incorrectly interpret as "Paddlers." The derivation is clear: *apé* is nose, *apanópe* is nose-hole, nostril. Compare the Hidatsa *Ápa-hopí,* Nez Percés: *apé*, nose, and *apadhuhópi,* nose-hole, nostril. The Apsaroke appellation of Paddlers is applied to the Pend d'Oreilles, whom they call *Akbinnahúe*. A native tradition says that the Nez Percés, hearing themselves called *Apupé* by the Apsaroke, occasionally referred to themselves by their translation of that term, *Tsúpnit-pelu,* and this probably is the origin of the "Chopunnish" of Lewis and Clark.

Of these it is to be said that the Pel-loat-pal-lah[2] are the Palus, who, by all tribal traditions, never lived elsewhere than on Snake river, about the mouth of Palouse river and eastward; that the Ki-moo-e-nim are not now regarded by the Nez Percés as having been distinct from the Wille-wah; that the Y-e-let-po are the alien Cayuse; and that the name So-yennow has not been identified with any Nez Percé word. Within the more recent historical period, then, there were four geographical divisions of the Nez Percés, comprising respectively the bands along Snake river from Palouse river to the mouth of the Clearwater; those residing on the Clearwater and its branches; those on Salmon river and its tributaries; and those on Snake river from the Clearwater to the Salmon, including the valleys of the Grande Ronde, Wallowa, and Imnaha. It is a natural assumption that in earlier times the lines were clearly drawn, and that as small family groups were ever pushing beyond the boundaries to occupy new territory, they became self-dependent communities, a condition which of course was accompanied by a corresponding loss of cohesiveness within the larger social unit.

The Nez Percés were first visited by Lewis and Clark, who in September, 1805, reached one of their villages on a head-stream of the Clearwater.[3] The explorers spent about two weeks among the Nez

2 A village of this division was Palótp, and its inhabitants were called Palótpu. A deceased member of this community is described as *Palótpalu,* which signifies "he was of Palótp," while *Palótpu* means "he is of Palótp." It is evident that the explorers, by reason of the impossibility of carrying on an accurate conversation, fell into error, and their placing this band among the mountains at the head of the Clearwater is to be accounted for on this score.

3 The Indian account of the meeting is to the effect that the people were afraid of the white men and called them *paiyôwit*, referring to the myth in which Coyote kills an ancient ogress, makes a mask of her skin and dons it, and sends his friend Fox ahead to warn the people of a village beyond the mountains: *"Insi-paiyôwit* is coming!" *Insi* means "I am," and *paiyôwit* is a meaningless word coined by Coyote for that occasion. It was applied to the white men because they were taken for strange, nameless creatures who would cause destruction. According to the legend, a chief of the Tewépu band (Oro Fino, Idaho) came forward, saying: "This is not paiyôwit! These are friendly people." He conducted the explorer to his village, where they built

Percés on Oro Fino creek, recuperating from the hardships of their passage across the mountains and constructing canoes for the voyage to the Pacific, in the beginning of which they were guided by an old man and his son. Returning from the coast the ensuing spring, they camped for more than a month near the Kámiahpu band on Lawyer creek. They found the Nez Percés well supplied with horses. So numerous were the herds that the date of the acquisition of their first horses must have been several decades before the beginning of the nineteenth century. One of the chiefs was said to own so many that he was unable to count them. They had also a few guns, which they had "acquired from the Minnetaries," that is, probably, not the Hidatsa, or Minitari of the Missouri, but the Atsina, or Minitari of Fort de Prairie, with whom the Nez Percés frequently fought in the buffalo country. They were anxious to obtain more guns, for on account of their numerous horses they were constantly harassed by war-parties of Shoshoni and Bannock, their neighbors on the south. Desultory raids were made by the Apsaroke, the Piegan, the Cœur d'Alênes or Skitswish, and the Spokan. Even the little Salish bands of the Columbia valley above Snake river once organized an attacking party, but they were so effectually punished by a retaliatory expedition into their own country that they were thereafter content with peace. Hostilities with the Flatheads were of rare occurrence. The two tribes were frequent allies in their annual excursions into the buffalo country, and indeed hunters of the Spokan, Cœur d'Alênes, and smaller Salish tribes, as well as of the Shahaptian bands north and west of the Columbia, were glad to join themselves to the powerful and courageous Nez Percés. The arch-enemy was the Shoshoni. And it was because of their exposure to this common danger, as well as of affinity and proximity, that the Nez Percés, Umatilla, and Wallawalla became such close friends. This alliance included also the alien Cayuse.

Within a few years after the appearance of the first white men in the Nez Percé country, trappers began to find their way across the mountains, and in 1818 Donald McKenzie established Fort Walla Wal-

boats, and he then accompanied them down the river.

la[4] as a post of the Northwest Company. On the Columbia river, at the mouth of the Walla Walla, this post was not far from the Nez Percés of lower Snake river and the Grande Ronde, and as it was in the territory of their kinsmen and allies, they frequently resorted thither. Late in the year 1836 H.H. Spalding and his wife arrived among the Indians of the Clearwater, and in the following spring established a mission near the mouth of Lapwai creek. They experienced little difficulty in finding a number of young men willing to learn reading and writing. Emigration into Oregon increased. It was desirable to have in the Northwest a representative of the Government; but title to the country was disputed by Great Britain, and it was not advisable to assume jurisdiction. Nevertheless it was deemed not improper that there should be an Indian agent, and in 1842 Elijah White, who had been a physician-missionary in the Willamette valley, was appointed to the position. He at once proceeded with a company of emigrants to the lower Columbia, and in the fall of the same year, learning that the Indians about Whitman's mission at Waiilatpu were behaving with some insolence toward their teachers, he set out for the Walla Walla country to reprimand them. Finding few Indians at Waiilatpu, White went on to the Nez Percé mission at Lapwai, called a council of the bands in that region, and proceeded to impose upon them a code of laws, and a head-chief to execute them. For this position he chose Ellis, a man who had received some schooling at the Red River establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company. Ellis had done much to spread the observance of various Christian forms among the Nez Percés and neighboring tribes, and was held in more or less regard because of his knowledge of English. But his elevation proved his downfall. Lacking a sense of discrimination, Ellis was unyielding in his efforts to exact the penalties prescribed by the new code, and what in many instances had been venial faults now suddenly became serious offences. The change was too sudden and too sweeping, and Ellis soon became a figurehead. He was never head-chief of the Nez Percés, except perhaps in his own mind and in that of the hopeful Doctor White. The Nez Percés in fact had no head-chief. Nevertheless it must be said that the influence of Ellis and his teachings was a factor in gaining the acquiescence of the Nez Percés in the

4 Also sometimes called Fort Nez Percé.

treaty of 1855, although Ellis himself was then dead; for Lawyer, who mainly was responsible for the acceptance of the treaty, was a follower of Ellis, and in a meeting with the commissioners quoted the words of that chief: "Whenever the great chief of the Americans shall come into your country to give you laws, accept them."[5] Some of the causes which were to split the tribe into two irreconcilable parties, the Upper and the Lower Nez Percés, were already at work. The whole question was one of submission to the wishes of the white men and the adoption of their ways. The bands living in the watershed of the Clearwater, influenced first by Ellis and later by Lawyer, favored such a course as the only one whereby they could hope to survive the foreseen flood of immigration. The people of Salmon river, and of Snake river from the Salmon to the Clearwater, desired no schools and no missions, and they were strongly averse to selling their lands. That the former were wise in their generation cannot be denied; but the latter were patriots, and to call them, or any one of a hundred tribes that could be named, renegades, is to exhibit a curious indifference to the meaning of the word.

In 1855 twenty-five hundred Nez Percés assembled in the Walla Walla valley to meet in council Governor Stevens, of Washington Territory, and General Joel Palmer, superintendent of Indian Affairs in Oregon Territory. The Wallawalla, Umatilla, Cayuse, the numerous Shahaptian bands known to the white men as Yakima, and scattering representatives of various villages along the Columbia were there. Lawyer (which is a nickname, not a translation of his native name, Hahláhlhutsot) was the most prominent chief among the bands of the upper country. He was a man of some ability, quick to acquire a working knowledge of the language of other tribes, and possessing a smattering of English. His cleverness, however, was not only in language: he perceived the wisdom of the course advocated by Ellis -the adoption of the ways of civilization; and there was not absent a sense of the personal advantages that would accrue to him because of his support of the representatives of the Government. Among the Lower Nez Percés,

5 Stevens, *Life of I.I. Stevens,* Boston, 1900, Vol. II, p. 41

Walámuitkin,[6] chief of a band at the mouth of Grande Ronde river, exercised a greater influence than any other. To the white people he was known as Joseph. This, of course, is the elder Joseph. The proposal of the commissioners, so far as it affected the Nez Percés, was that practically all the land claimed by them should be established as a reservation for them and the Wallawalla, Cayuse, and Umatilla. With the exception of Lawyer, who spoke frequently and earnestly for the treaty, the Nez Percés had little to say; but the other three tribes refused to give up their land. Their objection was met by the offer to create for them a reservation on Umatilla river, and all were apparently becoming reconciled when Apáswahaiht,[7] Looking Glass, chief of the Hasótoïnnu band, arrived with a small party fresh from the buffalo country and with a scalp to testify to their prowess. He angrily denounced the proposed treaty, and declared he had better reason than Lawyer to be looked upon as the head-chief. The council was adjourned until the following day, but at the next session Looking Glass was still bitter., and the Cayuse chiefs supported him. Sunday intervened, and the missionized Nez Percés, as usual, conducted a religious service. Something - just what is not known - must have occurred to mollify Looking Glass, for on the following morning he entered the council in a very different frame of mind, and, when called on by Governor Stevens, affixed his mark to the treaty below that of Lawyer. Joseph was the third signer, and then followed fifty-five others. The treaty confirmed to them practically all the land to which they laid claim, excepting only the greater part of that comparatively small portion lying within the borders of the present state of Washington; but reserved the right to place within their domain any tribe or tribes of Washington Indians "not to exceed the present numbers of the Spokan, Wallawalla., Cay-

6 The word means "hair knotted in front." A man wearing his hair in a mass over his forehead thus signified that he had fought the enemy many times and had scalped a man not yet dead, or had been in the very midst of the enemy and escaped.

7 This was the father of the Looking Glass who was prominent in the war of 1877. He was so called by the white men because of his habit of wearing a circular mirror suspended on a cord about his neck. The native name is composed or the words *aps,* a flint arrow-point, and *wahaíht,* a necklace.

use, and Umatilla tribes."

Throughout the council the line had been drawn between the progressive, or Christian, and the conservative elements. The former were quite complaisant, and it was only their friendship that prevented the hotheaded Cayuse from precipitating a massacre of the commissioners and their meagre escort. The Lower Nez Percés in their addresses only reiterated that as the earth had borne them, the earth was their mother, and they could not sell their mother. But the reservation lines did not, as they understood, exclude any of the Lower Nez Percé lands. and as they were not unwilling to agree that other tribes should be settled in their country, and had no objection to the cession or *Upper* Nez Percé territory, they saw no harm in signing the treaty. In reality a small area was cut off at the south, but the wording of the treaty was such that the Indians could easily have misunderstood it. In fact, very careful reading is required, if one is to note any difference between the description of the land ceded by the Nez Percés and that of the country restored to them as a reservation, except as to that portion of the agreement dealing with the northwestern boundary of the tract.

The Indians dispersed, and Governor Stevens with a small party proceeded northward and across the mountains to make a treaty with the Flatheads, Pend d'Oreilles, and Kutenai, and later with the Blackfeet. During his absence an outbreak occurred among the Yakima. They had consistently opposed the treaty, and their chief, Kamaiakin, had signed it only after protracted discussion. Either he was overpersuaded, and yielded against his better judgment, or else he was only feigning acquiescence, awaiting a favorable opportunity to overwhelm the white men and drive them out of the country. The trouble spread to the Klickitat, Wallawalla, Umatilla, Cayuse, Palus, Sinkiuse, and Wenatchee, and eventually to the Spokan and Cœur d'Alênes, to many of the bands on the Columbia from the Walla Walla to the Cascades, and to various tribes on the coast of Puget sound. Accompanied through the hostile country by a party of friendly Nez Percés (Looking Glass was one of them), who had attended the council with the Blackfeet and had there made peace with that tribe, Stevens made his way to Olympia and gave his attention to the war on the Sound. In September, 1856, he returned to the Walla Walla valley to hold another council with the disaffected Indians. The Wallawalla., Umatilla, and Cayuse, as well as a considerable number of Nez Percés of both parties,

met him. As before, the Upper Nez Percés, headed by Lawyer, upheld the treaty, but the others supported the hostiles in their contention that only by restoring their lands could the white men hope to maintain peace. They declared that they had not understood the provisions of the treaty. Nothing was accomplished, and after a few days Stevens, with a company of sixty-nine volunteers and fifty friendly Nez Percés, moved down the Columbia toward The Dalles. They were attacked by four hundred and fifty Indians, one hundred and twenty of whom, according to the Governor's report, were Nez Percés. No serious loss was suffered. It was feared that this presaged a flocking of the Nez Percés to the ranks of the actively hostile, but nothing of the kind happened, and the uprising of the other tribes was brought to an end in 1858. The Lower Nez Percés remained passive, but they refused to accept the annuity goods sent to them after the ratification of the treaty.

The treaty of 1855 was not ratified until 1859, and none of the annuities promised by the Government under the provisions of the treaty were delivered until 1861; but, notwithstanding the fact that the Government was six years in making its first payment on these ceded lands, they were taken possession of by settlers immediately following the original treaty-making. The Government's failure to keep its promises greatly discouraged the friendly Indians, and gave the "non-treaty" bands the best possible opportunity to argue lack of good faith on the part of "Washington." Notwithstanding the fact that some of these conservative chiefs had signed the Stevens treaty, they claimed that they had been deceived, and would not take any of the annuity goods, insisting that to do so would give the Government a right to say that they had sold their land. Each year when the Nez Percé agent made his report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, he complained bitterly of the Government's disregard of its treaty obligations: that mills and buildings required by the treaty had not been constructed, that Lawyer's salary was in arrears, that work done on the promised church was not paid for, that thousands of dollars' worth of horses furnished by them for the Yakima war of 1855 were not paid for, and in the face of this condition, which continued year after year, settlers were constantly encroaching on the Nez Percés lands. Immediately following the close of the Yakima war, in 1858, their country was literally overrun with miners, traders, farmers, and stock men, who swarmed into the country without regard to reservation boundaries or

Indian rights.

To adjust these matters a commission was appointed to negotiate a new treaty. This commission, consisting of C.H. Hale, Charles Hutchins, and S.D. Howe, met the Nez Percés at Lapwai, June 9, 1863, and the chiefs of the upper-country bands signed an agreement that "the Nez Percé tribe do hereby relinquish ... the lands heretofore reserved for the use and occupation of the said tribe," excepting a reservation of less than twelve hundred square miles, in Idaho, mainly on the southern side of the Clearwater. Those who lived outside the boundaries of this new reservation were to move inside within a year after the ratification of the treaty. Again four years passed before the treaty was ratified; meanwhile the annuity payments, which were made to them in the years 1861 and 1862, ceased, thus furnishing another cause for complaints from the long-suffering friendly Nez Percés, and ample opportunity for their ridicule by the "non-treaties." This treaty was ratified in 1867, but there was no movement by the conservative Indians toward the reservation. Against the treaty of 1855 the conservatives had but a questionable grievance, but now their position was certainly well defined, and their contention tenable, in that none of the Lower Nez Percés had signed this treaty or taken any part in the council. Notwithstanding this fact, the Upper Nez Percés had assumed the privilege of disposing of the lands of the conservatives, and by doing so received material benefits to themselves. Lawyer, the leader of the Christian Nez Percés, had proved himself a good friend of the whites on several occasions, but it would seem as if this attitude was anything but an unselfish one, particularly as evidenced by the treaty of 1863. By it he had, without hesitation or consultation, sold his brother's birth-right. In so doing he not only shared in the price of the "non-treaty" lands, but furthered his own political ambition, in that if the "non-treaty" chiefs moved to his reservation they would naturally be subservient to him. What would Lawyer's attitude have been had the position been reversed, he giving up his home-land and moving to another, under the chieftaincy of White Bird, and letting that leader and his people share equally in the price received for Lawyer's land?

The "non-treaties" continued to refuse annuities, and the friction with the settlers becoming more acute, the Government proposed to establish for the "non-treaties" a reservation in the disputed territory, the Wallowa and the Grande Ronde valleys, buying out the squatters'

rights of the white men who had settled on the land. On June 16, 1873, President Grant withdrew from settlement the land between Snake river, the Grande Ronde, and the west fork of the Wallowa. In the meantime some of the bands on Snake river below the Clearwater had come upon the reservation, notably the Alpôwaima and the remnants of several other bands that had previously joined them in their home at the mouth of Alpowa creek - about two hundred in all. The "non-treaties" remained in their customary haunts, believing that their right to the Grande Ronde valley was undeniable. Immediately after the establishment of the Wallowa reservation, Governor Grover, of Oregon, addressed a letter to the President protesting against his executive order, advancing the argument that inasmuch as all the Nez Percés had signed the treaty Of 1855, therefore they tacitly admitted tribal organization; hence all must be bound by the action of a majority, and as a majority had assented to the treaty of 1863, the Lower Nez Percés had relinquished their rights to any land outside of the new reservation, even though not one of them had signed the treaty. In 1875 the order was withdrawn, and the land restored to the public domain. This was sad news indeed to the Indians, and a keen disappointment to the squatters, who for a year and a half had been waiting for the paltry sums in payment for their improvements. For the real incentive to staking a claim in the valleys of the Wallowa and the Grande Ronde was not that the soil was extraordinary; there were far better lands available. But it was then, as now, almost a national trait to assume that any land claimed by an Indian must be of very exceptional quality; and the pioneers ignored many a potential garden-spot in order to encroach upon the second-rate land of an Indian reservation with as much eagerness and display of judgment as a hundred thousand other Americans have recently exhibited in travelling hundreds of miles past good land open to settlement under the homestead laws, in order to obtain in the national lottery, with the odds a hundred to one against their success, a piece of indifferent or positively sterile land, which must be patented under those same homestead laws. But in this instance the pioneer had rather the better of the argument, for if the soil on which he made his meagre improvements was not of the best, at least there was a likelihood that he would be compensated by a beneficent Government when the Indians' right to the land was confirmed.

The situation in the Nez Percé country grew more difficult. From

time to time several Indians were killed either in quarrels over the despoiling of their lands, or in drunken brawls. Whiskey was plentiful and the cause of a great deal of trouble. The agent reported to the Indian commission that settlers were selling whiskey to the Indians and then complaining that they suffered indignities while the Indians were intoxicated.

The possibilities of trouble at about this time are indicated by the following quotation from an informant named *Háhats-ilaátahat,* Grizzly-bear Ferocious, also called Tialínikt, and by the Apsaroke and Sioux, Black Hair.

"Three years before the council with General Howard in 1877, while I was down on Snake river, word came that there was to be a dead feast at Tipahlíwam, and I was wanted there. The word came from *Watsámyos,* Rainbow, and *Páhatush,* Shot Five Times, both brave and well-known warriors like myself. We three were to speak before the council of the chiefs. I did not know what it was about. The house of the feasting was of nine fires. When the Kámiahpu, who were church Indians, heard that there was to be a feast, they came, but, although they were not refused admission to the feast, when it was time for the council guards were posted around the council-house, that none of them might spy on us and hear what was said. Jim Lawyer, son of the old Lawyer, was their chief.

"The council was held at night. White Bird, Tuhulhutsút, Joseph, Álokut, Looking Glass, and others were there. Joseph, son of the Joseph who signed the treaty of 1855, was chief of the bands on upper Snake river, and particularly of the Inántoïnnu, who were at the mouth of the Grande Ronde. Álokut was his younger brother. White Bird was chief of the Lamtáma, on Whitebird creek, and was the most influential man among the Salmon River bands. Tuhulhutsút was a *tiwát* and chief of the Pikúnanmu, on Snake river above the mouth of the Imnaha, and Looking Glass, son of the Looking Glass who was present at the council of 1855, was chief at Hasótoïn. After the chiefs had assembled, we three warriors were called before them. White Bird sat at the end. This did not signify that he was of any more importance than the others. Looking Glass said: 'Brothers, you have been called to hear our plans. The question is, if the Waiílatpu [the Cayuse, Umatilla, and Wallawalla], the people of Moses [the Sinkiuse], and ourselves shall fight with the white people. This plan is before the council-house

today. We have called you to come and speak.' White Bird said to me, 'Brother, speak, and show your heart.' I answered, 'Let Páhatush do our talking.' Páhatush said, 'No, cousin, I would rather let you speak for us, and whatever you say will be for us also.' I said, '*Aá!*' Then I got up and spoke: 'It is a long time we three have been struggling to get *miohatówit* [chieftainship]. We have been among many tribes fighting and bringing, back scalps and horses, but we have not yet won chieftainship. I do not want to break my record.' [The thought is, that since short-haired scalps are worthless, it would not only be useless to fight white men, but it would really disparage the worth of previous exploits in fighting Indians.] White Bird said, 'Páhatush, speak.' Páhatush said: 'It matters not, I am old, older than this Háhats-ilaátahat, but we made up our minds that he should speak for us. What he has said is good. That is our heart.' Looking Glass said: *'Aá,* brothers. I do not like to fight the white man.' Kulkul-shníni, an old chief, said: 'I do not like to fight the white men either. I am glad you young men have spoken so.' Nobody else spoke. The council disbanded.

"Before this council and feast, White Bird had been going to the-country of Joseph and Álokut and discussing with them the possibilities of successful war with the white people. Others had gone to Waiílatpu, and others even to the Shoshoni, our old enemies. After the council with General Howard, nobody had any intention to fight. Joseph, Álokut, White Bird, all had made up their minds to go to the reservation."

The fallacious argument of Governor Grover was adopted by the commission appointed in 1876 to meet the "non-treaties" at Lapwai and recommend to the Government a course of procedure. General 0.0. Howard, commanding the Department of the Columbia, was a member of the commission. The Indians were still unwilling to give up their land, but the report of the commission was that by participation in the treaty of 1863 they had acknowledged a tribal organization, and should therefore be compelled to come to the reservation. Yet it was well known to everybody concerned that there was in fact no such thing as the "Nez Percé nation," and that each individual band was regarded as exercising full control over its own territory. In 1875 Howard had reported: "I think it a great mistake to take from Joseph and his band of Nez Percé Indians that valley; ... and possibly Congress can be induced to let these really peaceable Indians have this poor valley for

their own." Yet the commission reported: "While the commission give all due respect to the precedents and authorities in the Government dealing with Indians and to the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, which recognized an undefined right of occupancy by Indians to large sections of the country, yet in view of the fact that these Indians do not claim simply this, but set up an *absolute title to the lands,* an *absolute and independent sovereignty, and* refuse even to be limited in their claim and control, necessity, humanity, and good sense constrain the Government to set metes and bounds, and give regulations to these 'non-treaty' Indians... And if the principle usually applied by the Government, of holding that the Indians with whom they have treaties are bound by the majority, is here applied, Joseph should be required to live within the limits of the present reservation."

In the face of this, Howard, in an attempted justification, had the temerity to deprecate in these words the argument of Governor Grover, which the General's commission had adopted as its own: "So much for our ideas of justice. First, we acknowledge and confirm by treaty to Indians a sort of title to vast regions. Afterward, we continue, in a strictly legal manner, to do away with both the substance and the shadow of title."[8]

The history of the Nez Percés, when studied as a part of the North American Indian's conflict with civilization, is convincing that there was absolutely no course, policy, or conduct open to him which insured fair treatment, nor was there any road open to him which seemed materially to alleviate the situation or to stay the grasping encroachment. The inert, unorganized Indians of southern California were literally crowded from the earth. The fact that they, with their pacific disposition, made no resistance, had no modifying effect on the covetous settler, nor did it cause the Government to reach to them a helping hand in appreciation of their good behavior. They suffered through good conduct. The warlike, haughty tribes of the plains stood the imposition as long as they could, and then their long-smouldering resentment broke into flame and they struck back as only Indians can, and they suffered through their hostility. The Nez Percés, a mentally superior people, were friendly from their first contact with white men,

8 Howard, *Nez Percé Joseph,* Boston, 1881, P. 27.

and as a tribe they always desired to be so. Their history since 1855, and particularly in the war of 1877, tells how they were repaid for their loyalty to the white brother.

For a true premise from which to consider the Nez Percé war and the events which led to it, we must consider the componency of the group. As has been previously shown, each village or band had its own chief, and when any one of these village chiefs presumed to be head-chief of the different bands, it was merely assumption on his part: he mistook political ambition for fact.

The Nez Percés were but semi-nomadic. Their habitat through traditional and mythic times included the same valleys which we took from them by right of might. By the fact that they had always dwelt in these beautiful valleys, securing their sustenance as a very gift from nature, and also by reason of their earth-mother religion, they were attached to the land to a greater degree than were the average tribe. All the Shahaptian groups speak a great deal of the earth as mother, but the Nez Percés seem to have been the high-priest of the earth-mother religion. This was their ever-ready argument in all councils: "The earth is my mother. Can I sell her body? You ask me to plow and plant. How can I tear up my mother's flesh?" This prejudice against parting with land and tilling the soil was not a mere whim, but was based on a deep-rooted religious doctrine. *Hôláhhôlah-tamáluit* (invisible law) is the name applied by the Nez Percés to the supreme law of nature. This law or power placed them on the earth, and it was this belief that made them so strongly oppose the Government's demand that they give up their native valleys and concentrate the bands on one reservation. This belief is similar to the teachings of many of the Indian prophets, dreamers, medicine-men, or whatever we may see fit to call the religious leaders of Indian tribes, who, through fasting and abstinence, become the spiritual heads of the people. It was the plea of Tenskwatawa the Shawnee Prophet, and of his brother the remarkable Tecumtha.

This doctrine, that one should not in any way till the soil, but rather should subsist by the natural products of the earth, shows one of the strong parallelisms in human thought and the religious instinct. Dr. Paul Carus, in an interesting article on the development of the god-thought, particularly comparing Yahveh of biblical tribes with the infinite among our Indians, cites many instances where the presumably

divine instructions are against all tilling of the soil.

"The religion of the Rechabites is apparently the original Yahveh cult, whose most obvious feature is a religious consecration of the nomad life in the steppes with an outspoken aversion to all civilization as an aberration from the God-ordained estate of life."[9]

"We will drink no wine: for Jonadab the son of Rechab our father commanded us, saying, Ye shall drink no wine, neither ye, nor your sons for ever: Neither shall ye build house, nor sow seed, nor plant vineyard, nor have any: but all your days ye shall dwell in tents."[10]

"And if thou wilt make me an altar of stone, thou shalt not build it of hewn stone: for if thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it."[11]

"Even in the days of Gideon, the Israelites did not live in cities and houses, as did the Canaanites, but in tents, and Gideon selected for his band those only who would even spurn the use of the hand as a substitute for a drinking vessel and lapped the water like dogs."[12]

"And the Lord said unto Gideon, Every one that lappeth of the water with his tongue, as a dog lappeth, him shalt thou set by himself... And the Lord said unto Gideon, By the three hundred men that lapped will I save you, and deliver the Midianites into thine hand ."[13]

Among no Indians with whom the author is acquainted was the religious concept that the soil should not be tilled so manifest as among the Nez Percés. It was constantly expounded by their priests, who made it their supreme argument.

This indigenous religious doctrine was made the most of by the priesthood in their endeavor to hold the people close to the primitive faith; and disregard for the existence of such inherent religious belief is fatal to a satisfactory understanding of their history. Particularly in the past people have been too prone to assume that one belief was religion

9 Carus in *The Monist,* Chicago, 1899, Vol. IX, No- 3, p. 391

10 Jeremiah xxxv. 6, 7.

11 Exodus xx. 25.

12 Carus, op. cit., page 392.

13 Judges vii 5-7.

and the others idle superstition. The fact of the Christian religion's great superiority does not in any way change or affect what the Indian's own religion meant to him, and he was as apt to resent interference with his beliefs as are those possessing contrary ones. Consequently, in considering the Nez Percé war the reader must not lose sight of the fact that the "non-treaty" faction of the tribe were contending not alone for their home-land but for the religion of their fathers.

It is said that Joseph was ill-tempered and despondent when informed that the President had finally opened the Wallowa valley to settlement. He soon took new courage, however, no doubt feeling that as the matter had been so long in abeyance, there was yet hope that he might retain his much beloved home-land. He and the other "non-treaty" chiefs were soon to learn that primitive man has no alternative but to accept the decree of his superior. He could as well try to stay an avalanche of the mountain by stepping in its path. The injustice of the Government's position in no degree modified the command that the people were to be placed on the reservation. General Howard had his orders, and he had no choice but to move them, or kill them for not complying. That the latter was the outcome was no doubt more a matter of accident than of deliberate purpose on the part of any of the actors in the tragedy.

In early March, 1877, Howard began his movement toward the military occupancy of the Wallowa valley. The inception of this manœuvre was, of course, known at once by the Indians, who quickly expressed a desire for a council to discuss the situation, but asked that it be held at the Umatilla agency, for they did not trust the church Indians and the interpreters at Lapwai. At the Umatilla interview, on April 1st, Lieutenant Bell attended as Howard's representative. Álokut was there, but not Joseph, and at the request of the latter General Howard was to meet Joseph and the other "non-treaty" chiefs at Walla Walla on April 19th.

At the appointed time Álokut appeared with a delegation of headmen, but Joseph was yet ill, and at the request of the Indians it was arranged to have a large council at Lapwai on the third of May. The principal head-men participating in this council were[14] Joseph, Looking

14 For General O.O. Howard's official report of this council, see Annual

Glass, Piópio-haihaiuh,[15] Tuhulhutsút, Hushush-kéut (Shorn Head), Hatálihkin, Káliwit, Póyakun, Tukalikshíma (a brother of Looking Glass), and Piópio-maksmaks (Yellow Pelican).[16] The Indians at the outset asked that they be allowed a long talk, thus indicating that they had not yet fully grasped the fact that the decree was final and words were of no further avail. Howard informed them that they might have any reasonable opportunity to talk, but whatever they had to say could not in any way change the situation. He said in substance: "I am here to put you on the Lapwai reservation, and this I shall do or fight you. There is no use of talking about the Wallowa valley. I am already sending my soldiers there to take possession of it." The first day's council on the third of May did not enter seriously into matters, Joseph asking that they await the coming of White Bird, who was on his way and would arrive that night. The medicine-men or priests, called by Howard "dreamers" and "drummers," were persistent with their ever-ready argument against transgressing the laws of their creator by moving from the land. Howard had slight patience with their religious contention, and insisted that they cease discussing their beliefs and come to business matters. The second day's council was like the first, largely a remonstrance by the medicine-men against releasing the lands. Says Howard:

"Joseph simply introduced White Bird and his people, stating that they had not seen me before, and that he wished them to understand what was said. White Bird sat demurely in front of me, kept his hat on, and steadily covered his face with a large eagle's wing. They then put forth an old 'Dreamer' of White Bird's band, Too-schul-hul-sote by

Report, Department of the Columbia, 1878. For the Indian account, see pages 20-21.

15 Usually called White Bird, though the word means White Pelican. Pelican is *piópio,* while bird is *paiyópaiyo.*

16 It is difficult to account for General Howard's statement that Álokut attended this council. In his initial enumeration of those present he named that chief, but in all further discussion of the council and the selection of lands no mention is made of his name. Thus Howard's official report, considered as circumstantial evidence, disproves his direct statement. The Indian evidence is uniform in saying Álokut was not present.

name - a large, thick-necked, ugly, obstinate savage of the worst type. His first remark was about the law of the earth: that there were two parties to a controversy, and that the one that was right would come out ahead. We answered that we were all children of a common Government, and must obey. The old man replied that he had heard about a trade between Indians and white men, bargaining away the Indians' land, but that he belonged to the land out of which he came."

Howard's prejudice against the priests was such that from time to time in his report he utilized all the words at the command of a Christian gentleman in their vituperation. Joseph desiring that further discussion be postponed until Monday, General Howard gladly granted the request, as this gave his advancing troops so much more time to draw close.

Tuhulhutsút, the "dreamer," came into Monday's council with renewed vigor and determination to win the cause of his people. No doubt it had been agreed among the head-men that he was to do the speaking. As priest and counsel he would do the best he could in their behalf, and if he could not win, then they would accept the situation. The argument between Howard and Tuhulhutsút grew exceedingly spirited, the old "dreamer" continually recurring to the statement that the "non-treaties" had sold no land, that it was against the laws of their creator to part with land, and General Howard as constantly reiterating that as the minority branch of their tribe they must submit to the acts of the majority, and that the Government had ordered him to put them on the reservation, stating, in reply to some of Tuhulhutsút's arguments: "I do not want to offend your religion, but you must talk about practical things. Twenty times over I hear that the earth is your mother and about chieftainship from the earth. I want to hear it no more, but come to business at once." The old "dreamer" persisted in his opposition until it was necessary for Howard to arrest him. With the removal of Tuhulhutsút from the council the other chiefs realized that their cause was lost, and they were soon discussing what places in the reservation the different chiefs would occupy, and arranging to accompany Howard the following day to select locations, and others planning to go later to more distant parts of the reservation for the same purpose. The story of the council as related by Piópio-maksmaks

(son of that Piópio-maksmaks,[17] chief of the Wallawalla, who made the treaty with Governor Stevens), born about 1838 at the mouth of Walla Walla river, and married to a Nez Percé woman on Potlatch creek, is as follows:

"General Howard called all the head-men from the different bands, both head-chiefs and sub-chiefs, and prominent men. He placed the head-chiefs in the front circle. I sat on one side and Joseph on my right. On his right were Looking Glass, Tuhulhutsút, Hushush-kéut, Hatálihkin, Káliwit, Póyakun. Álokut was at Nihyáwi (Umatilla river). Between Káliwit and Póyakun sat General Howard with his interpreter, James Reuben, at his left. These were all, but behind sat and stood a mass of people, many hundreds. This council sat in front of one of the buildings at Fort Lapwai. General Howard made the first speech. He said: 'All these chiefs I have called together. I see all of you today are before me. Only Álokut is absent. I have come to see you chiefs face to face, and to give you my plan as to whether you can go into the reservation. The head-men in Washington have directed me to meet you chiefs and have told me to place you in a reservation. They told me no matter how many horses you have, I am to give you thirty days to come in. This is the order I received from Washington. All I have said is the order from Washington.'

"Everybody was silent, listening. He went on: 'I do not want any one to make any remarks in opposition to this plan.' To Hushush-kéut he said, 'I will give you land on Potlatch creek, and you must be there in thirty-five days.' That chief was from Pinawáwih. Káliwit, Hatálihkin, and Póyakun all lived at Wawáwih [Wawawai, Washington], and they were given thirty-five days. He gave a paper to Hushush-kéut to show that he had thirty-five days. The chief said: 'My hands are not clean, and I might spoil that paper. You had better keep it for me.' He handed it back. General Howard gave it to him again, and said, 'You must take this, or I will put you in jail.' Hushush-kéut took the paper. The people on the outside were advising him to do so. To Joseph the general said, 'I will giveyou the place on Sweetwater creek, and your brother Álokut, though he is not here, will live in the country at Cul

17 The name has always been translated Yellow Serpent; it really means Yellow Pelican.

de Sac.' Joseph said, '*Aá!*' To White Bird the general said, 'You shall go to Sapátsash [Cottonwood creek],' and the chief answered: '*Aá!* I must go to see that place.' To Looking Glass General Howard said, 'You can have either Tukpaaíwawih [the country near Stuart, Idaho], or Tukúpe [a quarter of a mile above Stites, Idaho].' Looking Glass said, '*Aá!*' To Tuhulhutsút he said, 'I want you to come in with White Bird and live close to him.' Tuhulhutsút said: 'Listen! Even if I told you a good word, yet you would not listen. Even if a man from above should come down and stand between us two and talk to us, yet you would not listen. You will not listen to me!' General Howard was angry at this and called two soldiers, who put Tuhulhutsút in the guard-house. He made no resistance. I was now the only one left.

"A few days before this council Kôhkôhaiyaitámn, a man who went to church at Spalding, but had two wives, told Agent Monteith that every Sunday I beat the drum and sang, while he, Kôhkôhaiyaitámn, was in church. He wanted the agent to tell General Howard and have me stopped. General Howard said: 'All these chiefs I have talked to and given them their places. Hushush-kéut and those other three are going to come to the creek on which you live Piópio-maksmaks.' I got up and said: 'General Howard, I want to say a few words before you go on. Those people from Wawáwih who are coming to my place, I cannot look after them and take care of them.' He said, 'I will take care of all these chiefs.' I went on: 'I am a red man. You see me before you. I do not know when our way of doing started, it was far back. I know I am a red man. I know my laws *(tamáluit')*. Whenever the Sunday comes, I say to my people, "That law cannot pass us." So I take a big drum and dress myself just as I have always done. That is my way. This is not simply to show what I can do, but in response to this great law. I do not want that Kôhkôhaiyaitámn to go anywhere near my place and preach. He must come to Lapwai. That is all I have to say.' General Howard replied: 'No matter if Kôhkôhaiyaitámn tells you this. Have pity on him, he is an old man. He must come down here to church. When the Sunday comes, that is for you to have your church in your own way. Nothing hinders you from doing this. The hunting places and the places for digging roots are still open to you, and will always be open to you.' He gave me the same place in which I was living."

There is no doubt that Joseph and the principal chiefs accepted the situation in good faith, and immediately began preparations to

move within the reservation.[18] The following day, Looking Glass, Joseph, and White Bird rode about in company with General Howard in search of a spot at which to establish their homes. It was decided that Joseph should take his place near Lapwai, and that on the following day White Bird and Looking Glass would go with Howard to Kamiah to find a place. On the tenth of May these two chiefs selected locations for their people and themselves in the vicinity of Kamiah.

That accomplished, Howard returned to Lapwai for a final council and adjustment of minor details. At that time Joseph decided that he wanted to be with his friends and would go to Kamiah. Howard then set out for Vancouver, leaving Captain Perry in command.

The general impression among those in touch with the Indians was that they had accepted the inevitable and would go on the reservation. It is certain that the principal chiefs and their people began to prepare for the removal at once. Naturally the young and hot-headed counselled resistance, but there is no doubt that the general intention was to comply with the Government's demand.

In the discussion of the ensuing conflict between the hostile Nez Percés and the United States troops, the author desires to state clearly that it is to be considered as a Nez Percé war, not a "Joseph war." His study of this campaign convinces him that Joseph was no more

18 Three Eagles gives the following account of the action of his relative, Joseph, immediately after the council: "Álokut was not at this council; he was at Umatilla, and on his way back he was detained by the soldiers at Pásha [Fort Walla Walla], and told that Joseph was going to move to the reservation and he himself must get ready. Álokut met Joseph at Lapwai just after the council. They decided it would be best to move to the reservation. Joseph told his brother they would have to do it. Joseph and I left Lapwai (I was living in his lodge) and went to Hasótoïn, my home. We camped on the eastem side of the river, and then he crossed, and from the other side called out to me: 'We will not go to Umatilla. I will go to notify the people, and bring our cattle together, and our horses.' It had been our plan to go to Umatilla for the horse-racing, but he decided there was not time enough for that. I got my stock across the river, and went to Camas prairie. Joseph came and brought his stock. He was keeping a count of the days that had been given him by General Howard. After some days Álokut, Joseph, and another man from our lodge went with some men from another lodge to kill some cattle in the hills. They killed what they wanted, then started back home."

responsible for the success or failure than were several other chiefs, and far less so than Looking Glass, and at no time, with the possible exception of the first battle, was he either in executive or active command of the Indian forces; that his voice in council during that period was no greater than that of any other individual among the head-men; and that Looking Glass -after he had joined the hostile forces -was in fact their leader and was, so far as such is possible in Indian wars, their commander.[19] To make of Joseph a national hero through his connection with this war was but a natural human impulse. Historians, as well as popular writers, are apt to yield to a popular demand for heroes and scapegoats. Commonplace men make dull history. Joseph, through his family name and by reason of the fact that his ancestral home was the principal bone of contention, was thrust into prominence. Writers in their search for heroes did the rest. Each vied with the other in his effort to find words immortalizing "General Joseph." His name became synonymous of the tribe. Howard was largely responsible for this. He invariably reported Joseph as the author of acts which, in fact, were acts of the tribe, and then the news went out: "General Joseph has won another battle!" when in truth he was no more responsible for the winning of the fight than any other warrior engaged. Joseph was, in the minds of his people, more a peace chief than a war leader, and he was not a *tiwát*, consequently he had no position among those whose standing depended on their medicine-power.

Toward the end of the stipulated truce the "non-treaties" were largely together in a camp on Camas prairie. Joseph and Álokut were in the mountains killing some of their cattle in final preparation for the removal to the reservation. Looking Glass with the majority of his people was in camp at Cottonwood creek. The young Indians at Camas prairie were securing a great deal of whiskey, and were loud in their defiance of the Government, consequently the whole camp was

19 Joseph, in his famous speech of surrender to General Miles, practically proves this contention in the words, "He who led the young men is dead." Joseph was here unquestionably referring to Looking Glass. According to Three Eagles, "Joseph was looked upon as the head-man of his band [the people of upper Snake river], but Álokut had more influence because he was the better speaker."

a smouldering furnace, apt to break into a wild conflagration at any instant. Just at this critical time an irresponsible young Indian thrust himself into history. Wálaitits, crazy-drunk, rode through the camp.

Those who have not seen a drunken Indian can have scant conception of what that means. Whiskey seems to set fire to the brain, and if one can imagine a wild beast of the forest gone mad, he may have some idea of an intoxicated Indian. That crimes committed by Indians in this state are so few is indeed marvellous.

The father of Wálaitits had been killed in an unprovoked quarrel with a settler over some land, and naturally his heart was bitter against the white men. This hatred was intensified by intoxication, and his brain robbed of reason. In this condition he was riding through the camp, shouting his maudlin defiance of white men, when some one in derision taunted him, "If you are so brave, why do you not avenge the murder of your father by killing the man who did it?" His confused brain now took on a fixed purpose, and, accompanied by two other intoxicated youths, he started out to kill the man who had murdered his father. With the killing of the first man their brains became fired with the lust for blood, and before they returned to camp they had murdered four.

This act gave the disgruntled their looked-for opportunity. Big Dawn jumped on one of the captured horses and rode about the camp, shouting: "Now you will have to go to war! See! Wálaitits has killed men and stolen horses! Now the soldiers will be after us! Prepare for war! Prepare for war!" The beginning of the war was the act of a boy crazed with the white man's whiskey, avenging the white man's killing of his father. It is easy to conceive that by Big Dawn's first words of war the camp was aroused to the greatest excitement. The young and irresponsible were naturally for war, as were also the medicine-men who had so steadfastly argued against parting with their beloved valleys. The conservative ones contended for peace, but unfortunately Looking Glass, the strongest advocate of a peaceful course, was not there. Also the two brothers, Joseph and Álokut, who undoubtedly would have opposed hostilities, were absent. Had these three men been present, it is possible that they would have been able to hold the hostile element in check, but it is doubtful if any conduct within the power of the chiefs could have saved them from open hostility after the first murders. The natural clamor of the settlers that these crimes

be avenged would have precipitated war regardless of any effort of the head-men.

While the camp was in its first ferment other young men went out and committed further outrages. In the meanwhile the camp broke up and moved to Sapátsash (Cottonwood creek), leaving at the old ground only the lodges of Joseph's immediate family. When the hostiles reached Cottonwood creek, where Looking Glass was encamped, he, wishing not to be drawn into the trouble, immediately moved to his own ground on the Clearwater. Hushush-kéut, also desiring to remain friendly, moved to the Clearwater, above Stites, and many of Joseph's band, as well as the people of Hasótoïn, joined either one group or the other. As soon as the murderers came in, a message was despatched to Joseph and his brother, informing them of the situation.[20] On their

20 Says Three Eagles: "Joseph, Álokut, and I had come about half-way home from killing cattle, when the news of what the young men had done reached the camp. A brother of Yellow Bull, *Himákuskôn,* Big Dawn, rode around the camp crying: 'People, do not worry about coming into the reservation! We shall have to fight! See the horse, and see the gun!' He showed the gun and the horse the young men had brought. While he was still talking, the people began to get their horses and move away. After a while there were only one double and one single lodge left standing. There was also a small lodge where Joseph's wife was having a baby. About sunset Joseph and Álokut and the others came back. The others went on after their families, and that left only five men in the two lodges. Joseph's brother-in-law told him: 'We must go back to Lapwai. There is no reason why we should have trouble. We were not here when the white men were killed, and we need not go with them.' I said the same thing. He answered: 'I can hardly go back. The white people will blame me, telling me that my young men have killed the white men, and the blame will come on me.' Álokut said nothing. The young men who had killed the white men did not belong to Joseph's band, but to the Lamtáma [White Bird's band], yet Joseph knew that the blame would extend to him. So we packed up and moved to the camp at Sapátsash. When we got there, Looking Glass and Hushush-kéut, with their bands, and some of the Hasótoïn people and some of Joseph's band had left and gone to Kámnaka [Clear creek, about one mile east of Stites, Idaho]. Looking Glass had not been with the large camp at Tipahlíwam [Camas prairie] from which Joseph and Álokut went out to kill cattle, but at Sapátsash, to which place the others moved from Camas prairie. From Sapátsash they moved apart to Kámnaka, not wishing to be involved in the trouble which now threatened."

return to camp Joseph's brother-in-law urged that they go to Lapwai and, take no part in the conflict. Three Eagles spoke in the same strain, claiming that, as they had been away when the killing occurred, they would not be held responsible for the crimes. The brothers, however, thought that it was too late to keep out of the trouble, as the settlers would blame them without investigating, consequently they packed up and moved to the camp on the Cottonwood. There were, in fact, but about thirty lodges in the camp of hostiles. The others had expressed their disinclination for war by withdrawing from this camp.[21]

The following day Tuhulhutsút ordered the camp to move across Salmon river, where they would have the protection of the mountains and forests if they had to fight. This movement was wholly under the leadership of Tuhulhutsút. Captain Perry, with ninety-nine troops from Fort Lapwai and eleven volunteers, was so close behind the Indians that the latter caught a distant view of the troops on the afternoon of the sixteenth of June. The Indians reached Whitebird cañon by night and made camp there. It should be borne in mind that the war-party was still a small one. According to Three Eagles - whose statement is borne out by much other evidence - they had in the beginning but about fifty guns. From this it is apparent that Perry had the stronger force.

The Indians kept scouts out in this instance, and from them had a fair knowledge of Perry's movements. They knew that Jonah Hayes, a friendly Nez Percé, was with the troops, and they hoped that through him they might arrange terms to save themselves from going to war.[22]

21 Three Eagles says: "There were about thirty lodges left, mostly single ones. The next morning Tuhulhutsút rode around the camp and called out: 'We must move back through Tipahlíwam and cross the river [Salmon river] into the mountains, where there is timber and we can fight if we have to!' Most of the people there belonged to his band, since many of Joseph's people had moved on with Looking Glass. So we moved. Joseph said nothing. On this march nobody had anything to say except Tuhulhutsút. We passed through Tipah-líwam and Lamáta [Whitebird creek] and came to Tamántoyam, a hill on the eastern side of Salmon river. We were travelling westward."

22 "From Tamántoyam we looked back and saw the soldiers. This was about an hour before sunset. We went on down the hill and camped on Lamáta. We had scouts on Tamántoyam all night, and they kept us informed of every

Chapman, a hot-headed settler leading the volunteers, precipitated the action in such a way that any movement looking toward peace was impossible. In fact, the volunteers were not out to parley with the Indians. Many of them had lost friends or relatives at the hands of the hostiles, and their only desire was to kill, and to kill as many as possible.

The fighting ability of the Nez Percés was at that time unknown, and our knowledge of their mettle was bought on this day at a fearful price. Perry made his attack just after daylight. The Indians quickly concealed themselves behind rocks, and shot at the soldiers as they would at game in the mountains, and at the same time demoralized Perry's command by flank movements. The fire of the Indians was so terrific that the soldiers and volunteers were panic-stricken from the start, and fled up out of the cañon and across the plain toward Mount Hope. Captain Perry finally succeeded in assembling a small group of men, whom he held together in the retreat.

This was certainly a disastrous day for the troops and their citizen allies. Their loss was almost a third of their number. They had thrown away their guns and fled from the field in disorder, while the loss in-

move of the soldiers. In the morning we heard the bugle, and Joseph said, 'Maybe there are some Nez Percés with them, and they will tell us if the soldiers are coming with good hearts.' Álokut looked through field-glasses to see if there were any Indians with the soldiers, and then passed the glasses to Joseph. Two of our men started riding up the hill. We saw a man [Chapman] shoot at them. Then the two Nez Percés shot. Jonah Hayes was with the soldiers, and came with the intention of talking to Joseph to see if he could not bring him back in peace. If Chapman had not fired, Jonah Hayes would have come and talked with Joseph, and the whole war would have been avoided. When the soldiers kept advancing, and Chapman shot at the two men, we placed ourselves in shelter where we could not be hit. Joseph had charge at one end of the line and Álokut at the other. I do not know what Tuhulhutsút was doing. We drove the soldiers out of the cañon to the hills, and chased them almost to Tipahlíwam. We returned, and remained at that camp that night. Two were wounded but none was killed. We think about thirty soldiers were killed. We took their guns and ammunition and good horses. We had about fifty men with guns in that fight. There were more men than that, but some had only bows. Many soldiers threw away their guns, and we got those." (Three Eagles.)

flicted on the Indians was only two wounded. The Indians captured more guns than they possessed at the beginning of the battle.

The defeat of Perry's troops convinced General Howard that he had in the Nez Percés a worthy foe, and he continued the most active preparation for a vigorous campaign. Still it is evident that he had not fully gauged the ability of these Indians, nor could he surmise that he was starting on the most remarkable Indian campaign in our history, and one from which he was to withdraw practically defeated. On the other hand, the success of the Indians in their first conflict with the white men lent color to the contention of the war element that the Indians were superior to the whites and that all they needed was to make a stand for their rights. Many who had wavered now joined the hostile forces. Some of Looking Glass's young men slipped away and entered the camp of the warriors. This induced General Howard to make the ill-advised move of sending Captains Whipple and Winters with Gatling guns to capture Looking Glass's camp. That chief had proved his desire for peace, but evidently did not fancy captivity, for at the first attack of the troops he deserted his camp and immediately joined the hostiles. By this unwise act Howard had added materially to the strength of his foe, even more than he could perhaps realize, as Looking Glass was without doubt the ablest of all the chiefs, and the fact that he had joined the war-party induced all the doubting ones to do the same.

In the twenty-four days following Perry's defeat at Whitebird cañon Howard was getting his forces in readiness for a campaign, and in the same time the Indians kept moving about from place to place within a comparatively small area and gathering all members of the tribe who could be induced to join them. There were, however, several minor conflicts between soldiers, volunteers, and Indians, the most unfortunate being the killing of eleven volunteers, including Lieutenant Rains, on the third of July.[23]

23 "The following morning we crossed Salmon river, moved up a distance, and camped. From there we went on toward the mountains, and on the way we saw soldiers at the place where Lamáta comes into Salmon river. The women went up on the hill and made camp, while the men turned back and shot across the river at the soldiers. We do not know if anybody was hurt. Af-

On July eleventh and twelfth Howard's combined force, amounting to about four hundred men, had a two days' engagement with the Nez Percés on the Clearwater. The Indians had now assembled their entire fighting strength, and had almost two men to Howard's three. The fight was a remarkable one, in that it was waged largely in the open, which gave the Indian forces but slight natural advantage over Howard's men. For the second time the Nez Percés proved their ability as warriors against trained soldiers, but this was to be no rout such as occurred at Whitebird cañon. The failure there had taught men and officers that they were meeting an enemy who knew how to fight and lacked nothing in courage, and while they perhaps did not realize it, they were pitted against a foe who was fighting as a patriot and a religious enthusiast, infuriated by many years of wrong inflicted by civilization. The Indians were, however, considerably outnumbered, and besides Howard had Gatling guns and howitzers. They quickly threw up rude barricades in the gullies and ravines, and stubbornly resisted the steady storm, while flanking parties continually annoyed the troops in order to weaken their main attack. The first day closed with slight advantage to either side, other than that signified by the psychological fact that Indians rarely, if ever, have won a serious conflict which continued to the second day. Their hearts are not of the mettle which endures long punishment, and they are so strongly fatalistic that if a battle cannot be won in the first grand rush, they begin to question the medicine power of the leader and think it better to fight at another time and place, where the spirits may be with them. The Indians in this instance could look for no encouragement by reinforcements. Their strength was at its maximum. Each man killed irreparably weakened their fighting strength, while, on the other hand, Howard was on the second day greatly encouraged and materially reinforced by the arrival of a company of cavalry.

ter camping one night we crossed the river again to Tamánma [a small easterly tributary near the mouth of Salmon river] and camped. In the morning we came up on the hill and camped on the western side of Craig mountain. That night news came by a young man of Hasótoïn that soldiers were at Kapkapín [a place on Cottonwood creek], and the next morning we moved to that place, leaving the women behind in camp. On the way we succeeded in killing all of a party of thirteen soldiers." (Three Eagles.)

The second day's fighting began early in the morning and continued with slight advantage to either side until about three o'clock in the afternoon, when the reinforcements joined in the attack. These "horse-soldiers," as the Indians termed them, rode into the fight with all the vigor of fresh troops, and with the shout of their charge the jaded soldiers all along the line took new heart and redoubled the energy of their attack, and at the same crucial moment the Gatling guns and howitzers furiously poured shot into the enemy's lines. The very vigor of the attack caused the now disheartened Indians to break and run. Here the Nez Percés had suffered their first material defeat, and, strictly speaking, the only one they were to experience during the long campaign until that fatal day on the snow-clad plain in the Little Rockies, when Joseph handed his gun to General Miles and the remnant of the hostiles passed into captivity.

War, under any circumstances, is heart-sickening, but the pathos, the misery of it, as experienced by Indians, when their women and children must accompany the warriors, is beyond words. Children are born into the world amidst the roar of battle, or perhaps while the party is on the march, fleeing from the pursuing army. A babe nestling in its mother's arms whimpers with fear of the strange noises, until a stray bullet finds lodgment in its tiny body, and the mother, with the lifeless form in her arms, rushes shrieking through the camp. A child, clinging to the skirt of its mother as she creeps through the brush, sees her lurch forward and fall to the earth to rise no more, and, too young to comprehend the stillness of its parent, it sobs and cries for the voice which is still forever. But the worst of all is when the attack on the camp is at night-time, and all are wrapped in peaceful slumber, men, women, and children, sleeping only as do those who are worn with the greatest physical exertion. Through the darkness creeps the enemy, who, without word of warning, pours into the silent lodges a death-dealing storm of bullets, and mothers and children pass from one sleep into that which has no awakening. One may aver that these are but imaginary pictures, and yet a record of real instances happening during this four months' campaign would fill a volume. And, it may be asked, why picture only the misery and suffering of the Indians, while soldiers were loyally laying down their lives to suppress the uprising? The author fully appreciates the heroism of the men who were doing all in their power to subdue the hostiles, but this narration is, in a mea-

sure, the Indian's side of the story. The soldier's side has been many times told, and again, soldiers are such by profession. They are trained for war, and every patriotic citizen admires the spirit with which they enter the game where their lives are a forfeit.

Following the two days' fight on the Clearwater, the Indians crossed that stream and moved out into the plains of Oyaíp (Weippe prairie), where they camped and had a trivial encounter with the Nez Percé scouts of Colonel Mason. They were now in the foothills and ready for their march over the rough trails of Lolo pass. Howard, in summing up the results of these five weeks of the campaign, says:

"The Indians had been well led, and well fought. They had defeated two companies in a pitched battle. They had eluded pursuit, and crossed the Salmon. They had turned back and crossed our communications, had kept our cavalry on the defensive, and defeated a company of volunteers. They had been finally forced to concentrate, it is true, and had been brought to battle. But, in battle with regular troops, they had held out for nearly two days before they were beaten, and after that were still able to keep together, cross a river too deep to be forded, and then check our pursuing cavalry and make off to other parts beyond Idaho."[24]

In their flight over the mountains by the Lolo trail it is to be presumed that the Indians met comparatively little difficulty. The trail was narrow, filled with tangled, fallen timber, and was washed with the spring freshets, and certainly proved a very difficult route for Howard in his chase. There is a flexibility about the movement of a body of Indians that never could be equalled by the best army pack-train. The Indian pony, packed and under the management of an Indian woman, will wiggle and twist through a place which to an army packer seems impossible, and yet the army packer will take his horse through and over places which one not accustomed to mountain trails would consider impassable for anything but a jack-rabbit.

When the Nez Percés began their flight across the mountains, General Howard thought of leaving a small force (soon to be reinforced by Major John Green's men from Fort Boisé) to protect the Idaho settlements, and with his main command crossing the moun-

24 Howard, *Nez Percé Joseph,* Boston, 1881, page 170.

tains by the Mullan road, and thus, if possible, intercepting the Indians as they came into the Bitterroot valley. The terror-stricken settlers, as well as the agency employés, raised such a protest against this project that Howard abandoned it and continued in the vicinity of Kamiah for nine days, waiting for reinforcements; or, if we consider (as we should) the Oyaíp meadows to be the actual point of departure, he was thirteen days in getting started.

As soon as it was evident that the Indians were crossing the mountains, the available forces in Montana were instructed to cooperate in the campaign and endeavor to intercept the hostiles as they came down into the valley. At Fort Missoula were stationed Captains C.C. Rawn and William Logan. Strengthening their two companies with some two hundred citizen volunteers, they went to Lolo cañon, hastily constructed rude barricades, and bravely awaited the coming of the Indians.

The Nez Percés evidently did not attempt an unusually hurried march across the mountains. No soldiers were crowding them in the rear, so they moved as if they were on their customary journey to the buffalo country. They were ten days going from Oyaíp to Rawn's fortifications. Howard, forcing his command to the utmost, made the crossing in nine days[25] which, considering his equipment, was remarkably good time.

The ardor of the citizens' committee no doubt cooled somewhat while waiting two days for the Indians to appear, and as they did not have the honor of the army to sustain, they were far more in a mood to negotiate with the Nez Percés than to fight. They had known Looking Glass and his people for years, and their friendship and esteem were mutual. Looking Glass asked only to pass unmolested. With the people and soldiers of Montana they had no quarrel, and consequently the volunteers were only too glad to see them pass with the understanding that they should molest no Montana settlers if they were permitted to

25 The author assumes that the actual start across the mountains was made at the meadows of Oyaíp. The Nez Percés left that point on the morning of the eighteenth of July, and arrived at Rawn's fortifications on the twenty-seventh. Howard started from the same place on the morning of the thirty-first and reached Rawn's fortifications on the eighth of August.

proceed without a fight. The act cannot, perhaps, be commended for its patriotism, but it was certainly a logical one, and probably saved the lives of many citizens.

Notwithstanding the desertion of their citizen allies, Captains Rawn and Logan determined to make a stand against the Indians in case they attempted to pass. The wily Nez Percés found a better way than by fighting, and by a trail high on the bluff's side they cleverly slipped by the barricaded troops, laughing derisively as they disappeared down the valley.

General Howard was greatly disappointed that the Indians were not checked here, and called their passing a "negotiation."[26] On the contrary, Colonel Charles A. Coolidge, who was a lieutenant in Logan's company and at Lolo pass, states: "Rawn's handful of men at Lo Lo pass manifested more 'sand' and bravery than was shown even in the bloody and hard-fought battle of the Big Hole."[27]

A letter to the author from Mr. W.R. Logan, son of Captain Logan, who was present at the Lolo pass as well as at the Big Hole, where his father fell, gives particularly interesting information on this point.

"When Rawn and Logan received word that the Nez Percés were headed through the Lo Lo Pass, they assembled all of the able-bodied men of their companies, A and I of the 7th Infantry, and marched from Fort Missoula to the Lo Lo Pass. 'They entered the pass to a point where the walls on either side appeared to be perpendicular and very high. At this place they threw up a breast-work across the pass by fell-

26 "August 8th, leaving the camp by dawn, we soon reach Captain Rawn's fortifications, now vacant, in the Lolo cañon, and are shown by a citizen where the Indians ascended the heights on his right and passed his flank without hinderance. He had about 25 regular troops, with about 200 volunteers. It seems that the Indians really negotiated their way, by promising the citizens that they would do them no harm if permitted to pass by them unmolested. Captain Rawn thought it wiser, under the circumstances, to let them go than attempt a fight, which he thought would be disastrous. The position was a very strong one, and it is to be regretted that the Indians could not have been met and driven back upon me. It was with the hope of such a result that I had sent despatches in advance, as soon as the Indians started upon the Lolo trail." (Report of Brigadier-General 0.0. Howard.)

27 Professor Edmond S. Meany, unpublished manuscripts.

ing trees, placing the logs three or four high.

"Shortly after this was accomplished we received word that the Nez Percés were approaching. Later on we captured a Nez Percé who informed us that the tribe was encamped a short distance above us in the pass. The following morning a council was held in an open park in the timber about half-way between the Indian camp and ours. Looking Glass and White Bird were present: Joseph was not. The Indians spoke of their wrongs on the other side of the mountains and their hatred of the one-armed chief [General Howard]. They insisted that they had no quarrel with the people on the east side of the mountains, and if left to pass through to the Old Woman's Country (Queen Victoria)[28] they would do so peaceably and pay for everything they got from the settlers. Rawn explained to them that the soldiers of the west side and those of the east side were brothers, all under the same great chief, and that when they fought with one they had to fight with the other. Rawn then advised them to surrender, promising good treatment from the Government. The Indians said they would think of Rawn's words, and asked that a council be held at noon the following day.

Joseph was present with the others at this second council. Father and Rawn then., at Joseph's request, outlined the terms under which the Indians were to surrender, demanding that they give up their horses, guns, and ammunition. Joseph then made a speech reiterating his friendship for the people of the east side, and asked that he be allowed to pass through the country to Canada in peace. He was then told by Rawn that this could not be done: that he would have to surrender or fight. He then asked that he be allowed to think over Rawn's words and that another council be held the next day at the same place, which was agreed to.

"The next day at noon they met again. Joseph got up at once after the smoke was over and said that he was sorry they could not agree, that he wanted to be friends with the whites on the east side of the mountains, but that he would fight the one-armed chief whenever he

28 Nez Percé survivors of this campaign declare that when the passage of Lolo cañon was begun, there was no thought of escaping to Canada, but that later it was decided that if the Apsaroke would not help them they would learn from that tribe the route to the "Old Woman's Country."

met him. He closed his talk by saying: 'You ask me to give up my horses; you ask me to give up my guns. I say to you, I will not give up my guns, but I will give you the bullets out of my guns.' Rawn expressed his sorrow, and we returned to the camp.

The citizens, several hundred strong, organized into companies and officered by men of their own selection, were encamped just below us. The night following the last council Rawn and Logan called their officers together and explained the result of the various councils with the Indians, and wound up by stating that 'if the citizens would stay by them they would attack the Indians the next morning at the first sign of day, that the citizen soldiers should move up to the breastworks before daylight, when the united force would march on the Indian camp.' This plan was fully agreed on. Where Rawn and Logan made their mistake was in telling the citizens of the Indians' statement that if left alone they would pass through the Bitter Root without molesting anybody or anything.

"Before daylight Rawn and Logan were ready to take up the march. On the non-appearance of the citizens Rawn sent to their camp to hurry them up. They were not there. Like the Arab, they had folded their tents and silently stolen away. Now imagine Rawn and Logan with two depleted companies forcing three hundred Indian warriors who had so successfully met Howard with five hundred men on the Clearwater. In fact, the Indians were flushed with the success which had been theirs in every conflict with the troops. However, Rawn and Logan decided that if the Indians should attempt to pass over the breastworks, they would have to fight, and they so prepared.

"About ten o'clock we heard singing, apparently above our heads. Upon looking up we discovered the Indians passing along the side of the cliff , where we thought a goat could not pass, much less an entire tribe of Indians with all their impedimenta. The entire band dropped into the valley beyond us and then proceeded up the Bitter Root. Two civilians and I rode down from our camp and followed with the Indians for a mile or more. They were good-natured, cracked jokes, and seemed very much amused at the way they had fooled Rawn and Logan."

The Nez Percés passed down into the Bitterroot valley and replenished their supplies by purchases at Corvallis and Stevensville.

Looking Glass apparently felt that once in Montana his people

were comparatively safe, and that there was no occasion for haste. There was by no means unanimity in the Indian camp as to what should be done, some wanting to go south and at once reënter the mountains and cross to the Salmon, while others argued that they should go on and try to enlist the aid of the Apsaroke. Depression seemed to have taken possession of Joseph from the start, and he drifted as the tribe desired. Their own testimony shows that from the passing of Rawn's fortifications to the final surrender there was an astonishing lack of purpose or direction. Each day's march was largely to meet the needs or whims of the day, and the Indians certainly did not appreciate the relentless determination of the soldiers, and, as will later be seen by the Big Hole attack, they made no serious effort to keep out either rear or advance scouts. Had the Nez Percés possessed a tithe of the strategic ability with which they are credited, they would not have been caught asleep by Gibbon. A rear-guard would have shown them that soldiers were close upon their trail, and they would not have spent the day in idle hunting and in cutting lodge-poles, while the enemy was rapidly advancing upon them. In fact, had they been at all alert, Gibbon could never have overtaken them with infantry. It is evident that in a majority of cases where "General Joseph and the Nez Percés" are given credit for the skill of the movement, it was not a matter of skill so much as the favor of fortune. Looking Glass, who was leading, desired to reach the Apsaroke, but he did not feel that there was need of haste, consequently when his force reached a favorable camping place in the Big Hole country, he ordered that they stop a day for rest, hunting, and the cutting of lodge-poles. He evidently desired his people to make a good impression when they approached the Apsaroke. Previously he had invariably gone to them the leader of a proud, gaily bedecked people, and his pride would not permit him to visit them now at the head of a motley, fugitive horde. Furthermore, he rightly surmised that the Apsaroke would be far more apt to lend their aid if he came as a conquering hero.

This day's delay at the Big Hole river was fatal to the cause of the Nez Percés and unfortunate for Looking Glass's ambition as a leader of the people. Every hour of that peaceful day was bringing death closer to them, as Gibbon's infantry from Fort Shaw, lame, foot-sore, and weary, drew closer to their camp. Gibbon approached the Indians on the night of August eighth, and in the darkness the soldiers crept upon

the camp. With the coming of the first trace of light they could faintly make out the lodges in the little valley below them, scarcely a stone's-throw away. The camp was enwrapped in the deep slumber of the night's last hours, and all was silent "save the barking of the dogs, the occasional cry of a wakeful child, and the gentle crooning of its mother as she hushed it to sleep."[29] Then a sleepy warrior emerged from his lodge and started out as though in quest of horses. As he approached and discerned the soldiers he cried out, but his shout of warning was the last sound he uttered; and with his death began the attack on the camp. The lodges, in which the sleepers were closely packed, were riddled with bullets, and as the sleepy, dazed warriors emerged into the light, they instantly became a target of the attacking force. The fighting was furious, regard for sex or age impossible. The Indians, taken so by surprise, were at a disadvantage and quickly gave way, leaving the camp in the possession of the soldiers, who for a few minutes supposed the battle to be over and themselves the victors. They quickly found that to be a delusion. The Nez Percés may have been inexcusably careless in permitting such a surprise, but when it became a question of fighting spirit, they were not found wanting. They were awake now, and their attack was so relentless that they drove the soldiers from the field and back into a thick body of timber, where they made a stand and prepared such barricades as they could. The Indians continued the siege during the day, and also tried to burn out the troops by setting fire to the grass. Toward midnight the Indians retired from the field.

The punishment on both sides was very heavy, particularly for Indian battles, which are usually more notable for noise than for fatalities. Gibbon's loss was thirty-one killed and mortally wounded, among whom were Captain Logan and Lieutenant James H. Bradley. Gibbon himself was wounded, as well as his adjutant, Lieutenant (now General, retired) Woodruff. The loss to the Indians was much greater: they acknowledge thirty-three men and many women killed.[30] Among the

29 General Charles A. Woodruff, unpublished manuscripts.

30 Indians, for the purpose of minimizing their lack of success, nearly always understate the number killed in battle. The army count of the Indian dead was eighty-nine. Perhaps there is here no concealment of facts, as the Indians

Indians slain was Páhatush, one of their greatest warriors.

After the encounter the Indians continued on toward Yellowstone Park. On the nineteenth of August General Howard came up to within eighteen miles of their encampment. The Indians, knowing of his proximity, rode back over their trail and made a night raid on his camp, the principal object of which was to cripple him by capturing his horses and pack-mules. They were very successful, but were quickly followed by Howard's men, and many of the animals were recaptured. General Howard seemingly lacked the sense of humor to appreciate this successful night raid, and gravely announced: "At Camas meadows, the morning of the twentieth of August, we *engaged* them in *battle,* their camp and herds being some sixteen miles in advance." (The italics are General Howard's.) The Indians were now headed for the Yellowstone by Tacher's pass, and Howard was anxious to intercept them before they could get through into the park. With this object in view he marched rapidly the twenty-first and twenty-second, and made a short, early march on the morning of the twenty-third, at eight in the morning reaching the pass, where the Indians had camped the previous night. One more strategic point was lost. Chance, fate, luck, or whatever we may term it, plays sad tricks at times, and it certainly had, in this case, with Howard and his utterly worn-out and nearly barefoot troops. Days before he had sent a message to Lieutenant Bacon, in command of a detachment of the main column, notifying him that the Indians were headed for this pass, and ordering him to intercept them. The messenger, so General Howard states, returned to him, reporting that he could not find Bacon. He had, in fact, made no effort to do so. Bacon in the meantime had reached Henry lake at the pass two days in advance of the Indians, and, not knowing of their movements, marched on. Could he have known, and held the Indians there, it is likely that the campaign might have ended with laurels to General Howard. The disappointment to Howard, his officers, and men was very bitter, and the latter clamored to turn back and give up the chase. They had started into the field with light summer equipment, and now in the beginning of wintry weather in the mountains, the little

do not usually count women and children in enumeration of people; and of these many were unavoidably killed in such battles.

they had started out with was worn out, and they lacked blankets to keep them warm at night. General Howard left the principal part of his command in camp while he took a rough farm wagon and made a trip to Virginia City, seventy miles away, to see if he could secure the much-needed supplies. Fortunately he found ample stocks of goods. With his munitions he returned to camp at Henry lake; but these were exceedingly bitter days for him. He found on his return a mass of despatches from Washington, indicating impatience with his campaign. "Where Indians can subsist, the army can live... The country and the Government expect you to do your duty. No troops near enough to take your place. Continue the pursuit. If you are tired, general, put in a younger man, and return to Oregon; but the troops must go on."[31] Howard states that the "gentle reprimand" spurred every member of the force to a determination to continue the pursuit, and once more they took up the hopeless chase. The trail now led them through the Yellowstone Park, and they were scarcely within its borders when they met survivors of the ill-fated Corwin party of tourists, one of whom had been killed and others captured. The Indians passed through the park, going out near the Stinking Water, then bore off northward to Clarks fork, thence down to the Yellowstone. Colonel S.D. Sturgis had expected them to go down the Stinking Water, and was there with his strong force - the Seventh Cavalry - from Crow Agency to engage them. When he ascertained that they had gone down Clarks fork, he marched rapidly across in an effort to intercept them.

The Nez Percés, finding that Howard was some distance in the rear, and not knowing of Sturgis, loitered in their march. This enabled Sturgis to overtake them on the thirteenth of September, while they were on the Yellowstone, and an all-day running fight ensued. The Indians slowly and skilfully retreated, the troops constantly attempting to flank them. At night the cavalry went into camp, utterly fatigued with the hard day, which had resulted in slight damage to the enemy. The Indians claim that none of their number was killed, and comparatively few were wounded.

After dark Looking Glass spoke quietly to all the head-men, telling them to take the women and march all night, while he with the young

31 Howard, op. cit., page 237.

men would hold the enemy back if they attempted a night attack. This rear-guard quietly stole a herd of horses from the resting troops and went on to overtake the main party.

Sturgis took up the chase in the morning, but the night march of the Nez Percés left him so hopelessly in the rear that he was to see them no more, and, after following them for a couple of days, be gave up the pursuit.

As soon as the Indians found that Sturgis had dropped back, Looking Glass again loitered on his way. He did not seem able to grasp the fact that there were more than one body of soldiers to be watched. Had he continued an active march on the Yellowstone, instead of resting when he found General Howard was not close behind, he could easily have crossed the Canadian boundary without conflict with Sturgis or Miles; and had he not stopped to hunt after fording the Missouri, he could as easily have been across the line and out of the reach of our troops.

After the Sturgis skirmish on the Yellowstone, the Indian force marched rapidly to the Musselshell, westerly along that stream and across it, and then over the Snow mountains, and passed west of the Judith mountains, thence to the Missouri, fording that stream at Cow island. They lost some time at the crossing, as they stopped long enough to loot the trading-post, and once north of the river they abandoned all idea of haste. They travelled but eight or nine miles a day, spending much of the time hunting buffalo. This dilatory action on the part of Looking Glass enabled Colonel Nelson A. Miles to overtake the hostiles in the Bear Paw mountains, when they were within sixty miles of their long-looked-for "Old Woman's land." On the last day's march they travelled only about five miles. Then coming upon a large herd of buffalo, they stopped and spent the day hunting, making camp, and the next morning Looking Glass, despite the warning of his scouts, remained in camp to dry the meat and prepare the hides. Even then Colonel Miles was close upon them - so close that the attack began at about eight in the morning of September thirtieth. For three days the bitter struggle continued. One by one the chiefs fell in this hopeless battle against heavy odds. Tuhulhutsút, the medicine-man who had so long held out for his lands and beliefs, was one of the first to be killed. Then Álokut, the younger brother of Joseph, fell to rise no more. Pile Of Clouds, the medicine-man who had from the beginning of the cam-

paign urged Looking Glass to greater activity, exclaiming, " Death is behind us; we must hurry; there is no time to cut lodge-poles or hunt!" fell early in the conflict. Then Looking Glass, who had led them so long, dropped silent in the pit where he had made his last fight.

Poor Looking Glass! He possessed so many good qualities and displayed so much skill that one is forced to the belief that had he possessed just a little more ability the history of his tribe would have had a different ending. And while one must appreciate the remarkable record made by the Nez Percés under his leadership, one must also lay the failure of the retreat largely, if not wholly, to his lack of persistent purpose.

The first day's fighting in this final battle was very severe, and practically all the leading men were killed during that day. By the second morning the Indians had dug pits for themselves, which gave them a fair protection, and Miles simply continued the siege, not desiring to waste lives in a charge. Had he realized how fearfully weak they were, he no doubt would have made a charge and closed the battle. On the third day of the fighting Joseph, now the only chief left, went to Miles's camp for an interview. He was kept there two days as a prisoner, and at the same time the Indians were holding Lieutenant L.H. Jerome, whom they had captured. An exchange of prisoners was made half-way between the lines, and on Joseph's return to his camp he ordered the people to prepare for more fighting, as he did not like the words of Colonel Miles and would not surrender. Firing was resumed for a time, but shortly another effort was made by Miles to arrange for a surrender. Joseph's men in the meantime were urging that they give up the hopeless struggle, since a continuance would only mean the killing of more women and children, who were now freezing in the snowy pits. The hopelessness of his position must have been apparent to him. White Bird, with many followers, had already escaped to the north. In Joseph's camp there were left but thirty warriors, twenty of whom were disabled; and huddled in those miserable holes dug with bare hands were three hundred and fifty women and children, many of whom also were wounded. It is small wonder that the men urged that the fight be brought to a close. Previous to the surrender Howard with his escort had joined Miles and was a witness to the capitulation. There has been much discussion of the ruthless breaking of the agreement. That Miles did assure Joseph that he should return to Idaho is

unquestioned, and it is equally certain that every promise made by him was disregarded by the Government. That these promises were violated was nothing more than might have been expected, for we, as a nation, have rarely kept, unmodified, any compact made with the Indians. In justice to General Miles it should be said that he was untiring in his efforts to have the captives returned to Idaho, and he was largely instrumental in finally bringing about that end.

Following the surrender, the Nez Percés were taken first to the Yellowstone, thence to Bismarck, North Dakota, and from there to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, where they were kept for the remainder of the winter. From Leavenworth they were transferred to Indian Territory, placed on low malarial ground, and furnished such scant protection from the weather that by the end of the first year's captivity fully one-fourth of their number had died from disease and despondency. This unfortunate condition continued for eight years, when, in 1885, the last of the survivors were sent north, some being taken to the Lapwai reservation, in Idaho, but Joseph and somewhat more than a hundred of his people were sent to Nespilem, on the Colville reservation in eastern Washington.

Joseph continued through the remainder of his life the hopeless plea for the Wallowa valley, one of his last acts being a journey to Washington in one more effort. Perhaps it was discouragement, more likely it was intuition, but at any rate he seemed to know that his life was drawing to a close, for while returning to his home he told those with whom he talked that he would make no more journeys: he would soon be gone. And so it was. In the following year, on September 21, 1904, his life's fight closed.

The summer following Joseph's death the writer visited Nespilem, to be present at the "Joseph potlatch" - the giving away of all his earthly possessions. A large "long-house" - made of many tipis joined together was erected for the occasion, and into it was taken such property as the old chief had collected in the last years of his life. There was a great quantity of these personal belongings, since, owing to Joseph's prominence, he had received many gifts from both white people and Indians, and in addition his relatives from Lapwai had brought a great number of new blankets, that the occasion might be creditable to the family. The collected material made a formidable heap at one end of the large lodge, and two days were consumed in its distribution. The

widow sat at one side of the pile, and, taking up the articles singly, handed them to the crier, at the same time announcing through him the name of the intended recipient. This was continued until every possession was given away, even to the trifling articles in the widow's work-basket, and the simplest household utensils.

This was the closing act in the drama of the life of Joseph, the last of the Nez Percé "non-treaty" chiefs. To employ words in condemnation of the great wrong that his people suffered would be useless, for was it not but one of countless iniquities that have marked the white man's dealings with the Indians since the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth?

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The Nez Percés were primarily a fish-eating people living in established villages, but they also depended largely on the many varieties of roots which were so abundant in their intermontane region. It is likely that they went to the buffalo country little, if at all, previous to their acquisition of horses, and even after that event but a small part of the tribe engaged in these hunting expeditions. At such times they dropped quite out of the regular habit of the Nez Percé life, and during the period of their absence from one to three years - they were truly nomads. Buffalo-hunting was so much of an innovation that the tribe had not yet adjusted itself to it, and those who did not participate in these expeditions proceeded in the fixed order of their existence.

In May all the bands would congregate at Tipahlíwam (Camas prairie) to dig kouse. To this common harvest ground flocked the people from Wallowa, Salmon river, Snake river, and the Clearwater. Often in the old times the Cayuse, Palus, Umatilla, and all the bands of the Nez Percés met at Táthinma (a prairie a mile south of Moscow, Idaho) in the spring, for horse-racing, gambling, and war-dancing. The announcement of the time for this meeting, and the invitations to the different bands of Nez Percés and to other tribes were always sent out by the people of Alpôôwih. During these festivities the women spent much time digging roots. These great gatherings were continued for a couple of weeks, when the people would return to their homes with collected and prepared roots, and in a short time they would start out on another root-digging expedition for a further supply. In July they

would assemble at Oyaíp (Weippe prairie) for the harvest of camas, which they gathered in great quantities, as it formed an important item of food with them. In preparing this bulb for eating, they first cooked it in pits similar to those used by Indians all over North America for the cooking of large quantities of food, either vegetables, meat, or fish. In this instance the excavation had a depth of a couple of feet and a diameter of perhaps ten feet. In it they placed a quantity of dry fuel, and on that a layer of small stones. The fuel was then lighted and allowed to burn out until no fragment of the wood was left to make a smoke. They then spread over the hot stones a layer of grass, and on this placed the roots, which were then covered with another layer of grass and a final coating of earth. When taken from this cooking pit the camas was crushed in mortars, and the gummy mass was pressed into slabs; or the roots were eaten at once.

The camas gathering was the work of the women, and in this camp the men engaged in all manner of festivity. At the close of the camas harvest they all journeyed to the Wallowa lake and river, or some other favorite place for fishing. Here at the fishing grounds they remained until September or October, and then, before returning to their homes, they went on a hunting trip into the mountains. The winter was given over largely to the performance of the medicine ceremony.[1]

Prior to the period of the skin tipi, the use of which was acquired from the plains when the Nez Percés became buffalo hunters, and as far back into the hazy past as information can be had, the winter domicile was occasionally the tipi-shaped lodge, but usually two or more were pitched together as one, forming a structure with a ground-plan like a flattened ellipse. In this case a tripod of tipi-poles was erected at each end, and between the two extended two parallel rows of ridge-poles tied to a number of supporting rafter-poles, a pair for each fire to be built in the structure. Against these two ridge-poles were leaned the customary lodge-poles, the space between the horizontal poles permitting the escape of smoke. There was a fire for each single lodge which entered into the construction of a large house, and as a rule there were two families for each fire. Three Eagles, an informant, states that he never saw a lodge of more than ten fires. Such a house would be about one hundred feet long, and, regardless of length, the width was about fifteen feet. In building this house they first excavated to a depth of two feet, and carefully smoothed the ground. The thatching

was of tule and cattail mats, usually of three or four thicknesses in order to insure protection from the cold. The communal house suggests the adoption of a Pacific coast form.

According to a description given by Lewis and Clark, it is evident that in the old days lodges were larger than during the lifetime of present informants. "One of these lodges contained eight families the other was much the largest we have yet seen. it is 156 feet long and about 15 wide built of mats and straw. in the form of the roof of a house having a number of small doors on each side, is closed at the ends and without divisions in the intermediate space this lodge contained at least thirty families. their fires are kindled in a row in the center of the house and about 10 feet assunder. all the lodges of these people are formed in this manner."[32] The largest structure of this form seen by the author was erected for the Chief Joseph death-feast. It was of ten fires, about one hundred feet in length, and about twenty feet in width.

A structure called *alwítas* was made by digging a circular hole about twenty feet in diameter and five or six feet deep, and covering it with a flat roof of poles, grass, and earth, leaving an opening at the edge. This opening was provided with a ladder -a notched log - and was covered at night and in inclement weather with a trapdoor formed of twisted inner bark of the cottonwood. This was the so-called menstrual lodge, where women dwelt apart from the men during their catamenial periods, and during parturition. Such an underground room was constructed by the young women and girls, who, after the labor was completed, brought to the place food of various kinds, and indulged in a feast. An old woman distributed the food about the circle, and after the feast the women and girls went home. Girls and unmarried women not in their periods sometimes slept there in the coldest weather. The scarcity of robes is said to have been the cause of this custom: in the underground house no coverings were necessary. In the day-time the occupants sat there doing their basket-work and sewing. On sunny days the girls sat about the doorway on the roof-level.

The *hítamash* was like the underground house for women, but was only about three feet deep, and of lesser diameter. It was primarily

32 Original Journals *of Lewis and Clark,* Thwaites ed., New York, 1905, IV, 358-359.

a sudatory, but youths, and old men not provided with sufficient bedding, sometimes slept in it in very cold weather.

Spinden,[33] describing an old village site, says that the sunken spaces marking the location of circular lodges have a greater depth than appears in the remains of the elongated communal structures. It is likely that practically all these circular rings mark spots that were occupied by the underground houses.

The summer houses at the fishing stations were called *ishnásh*. These were as much as a hundred feet long and fifty feet wide, and were scarcely more than sheds for the shelter of the families and the drying fish.

At the summer root-digging camp, many pitched single lodges covered with matting, but sometimes a group of families would erect a long structure housing from fifty to a hundred people. It is said that the long-houses were seldom made to contain more than eight fires, because it had been found that longer ones soon filled with smoke.

At the time they were first met by the whites, a century ago, the Nez Percés were a prosperous people, and on special occasions dressed with great show. Men wore the usual deerskin shirt, leggings, and moccasins. Sometimes buffalo-skin and elk-skin were used in making moccasins, but these were of coarse texture and were not so durable. Their robes of buffalo-skins or elk-skins were exceptional in their beautiful decoration. In primitive times the shirts were ornamented with colored porcupine-quills, or with red or yellow paint laid on solidly, not in designs. Elk-teeth and paint were used in ornamenting the women's dresses, which were made of deerskins or of mountain-sheep skins. When the latter was used the stubby tails were left on so that one appeared at the breast and the other at the back of the garment.

The men parted the hair in two lines diverging from the crown to the temples, and braided it at the sides, the forelock being cut off at the level of the nose and curled upward with a heated stick. This form of hairdressing entirely disappeared about 1890, having been superseded by the pompadour instead of the upward curl. Women parted the hair in the middle and braided it at each side, using a comb of thin strips of

33 Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, Vol. II, Pt. 3, page 180.

syringa arranged in the form of a fan. Neither sex practised tattooing.

The following quotation from Lewis and Clark bearing on the Nez Percé dress is particularly interesting:

"The Cho-pun-nish or Pierced nose Indians are Stout likely men, handsom women, and verry dressey in their way, the dress of the men are a White Buffalow robe or Elk Skin dressed with Beeds which are generally white, Sea Shells & the Mother of Pirl hung to the[i]r hair & on a piece of otter skin about their necks hair Ceewed in two parsels hanging forward over their Sholders, feathers, and different Coloured Paints which they find in their Countrey Generally white, Green & light Blue. Some fiew were a Shirt of Dressed Skins and long legins & Mockersons Painted, which appears to be their winters dress, with a plat of twisted grass about their Necks. The women dress in a Shirt of Ibex or Goat [*Argalia*] Skins which reach quite down to their anckles with a girdle, their heads are not ornemented, their Shirts are ornamented with quilled Brass, Small peces of Brass Cut into different forms, Beeds, Shells & curious bones &c."[34]

They speak of the women being particularly modest, carefully avoiding exposure of the person; but the men, on the contrary, notwithstanding their fine wearing apparel, were indifferent in matters of this kind.

The handiwork of the Nez Percés shows greater skill than is exhibited by that of the tribes of the plains. They made baskets and bags of several forms. A large cylindrical basket for the gathering and storage of roots was called *kakápa;* it was made of twine from Indian hemp and bear-grass, the latter forming the weft and the former the warp. The bear-grass was sometimes dyed blue, red, or yellow, the blue being made from lichens, the red and yellow from earth not burned or otherwise prepared. *Kushh* was a flat winnowing basket made of osiers and measuring twenty to twenty-four inches in diameter. *Píshkut,* the mortar basket, was of the same material and shape; it was bottomless, as usual, and was fastened upright to a flat stone upon which the roots or seeds were pounded. It is probable that both the winnowing and the mortar basket of the Nez Percés were borrowed originally from the Shoshoni.

34 Lewis and Clark, op. cit., III, 105.

Cooking-vessels consisted of coiled baskets made of willow splints, and had the form of an inverted truncated cone. Flat bags or pouches were woven in several sizes. The smaller bags of this type were used by the women for containing their small, personal belongings, while the larger ones held the clothing and personal effects of the family. Both warp and weft were of hemp twine, the design being often produced or elaborated by the use of colored materials wrought into the surface by being caught under the horizontal threads as the bag was woven. Matting, woven from cattails or from tules, was made in great quantities, as it furnished the principal house-covering, served as mattresses, and, spread upon the ground, formed tables upon which to place the food, while small pieces were used in lieu of dishes. Spoons were carved from the frontal bone of the deer, from horn of the mountain-sheep, or from clam-shells. Bowls were hollowed out of soft wood, such as alder, by means of knives, which primitively were flakes of flint. Bows about three feet in length and of great strength were fashioned from mountain-sheep horn, and were either of one piece or of two pieces spliced. Red cedar and syringa also were used. All well-made bows were strengthened with a backing of several layers of sinew. Arrows were principally of syringa. Flint-headed spears were sometimes used in war, also clubs consisting of a spherical stone wrapped in rawhide and provided with a wooden handle; such a weapon was called *káplats*. An effective armor was manufactured of rawhide taken from the neck of the bull-elk. This shirt of mail, called *tukupaílakt*, protected the upper part of the body, had half-length sleeves, and was fastened at the front with thongs. The Nez Percé shield, which was used only by war-leaders and their principal followers, was made of doubled rawhide of the elk, unshrunken, and stretched over a wooden hoop; it sometimes bore painted representations of the war exploits of its owner. Quivers were made from the skin of the otter, coyote, cougar, or deer. Crude canoes were hewn from drift logs, usually cedar.

The Nez Percés did not "make medicine" before undertaking a buffalo bunt, as was common with the Sioux, Apsaroke, and other tribes subsisting mainly on the bison. Individual medicinemen might invoke supernatural aid in their own way, or some man might dream that a herd would be found in a certain place at a certain time. It is evident that, contrary to the custom of the plains Indians, there was comparatively little order in their hunting; indeed, it was more in the

nature of a grand rush, each man for himself. The lack of ceremony attending their buffalo-killing seemingly indicates that bison-hunting had not become a deeply rooted institution of the Nez Percés, but was rather incidental. The following brief account of an actual journey to the buffalo country about the year 1870 illustrates the character of such expeditions. Under the leadership of Looking Glass and Shorn Head the Nez Percés started from the plains of Oyaíp in June, one hundred and thirty tipis strong - from twelve hundred and fifty to fifteen hundred people. About two months were consumed in the journey to the buffalo country, and the nights were already growing cold. Although scouts were kept constantly in advance, the party came within sight of the first great herd while the whole cavalcade was in motion. The chiefs at once ordering the women and children to remain in the rear while the killing was in progress, the men quickly secured their "buffalo horses" and were ready for the slaughter. It was a great hunt, beginning before noon and lasting until night-fall. When the men returned in the evening the women had of course pitched camp and already had brought in quantities of meat. For six days the hunting party remained in this place, feasting on the choicest parts of the buffalo-meat, and drying the remainder. Then for eight days they circled about in search of the main herd. The scouts, who were everywhere on the alert, reported many buffalo near the lake northwest of where Billings, Montana, now is, and the party went into camp on a small creek forming its outlet. In the morning the chiefs cried out: "To-day we will have a great hunt! The buffalo are thick all about us! The prairie is black with them!"

Soon the men on their fast horses were ready to ride down upon the herd. In the early part of the day the hunters cut out a small band and drove sixty of them over a precipice. Throughout the day the hunt continued and the number slaughtered was tremendous. No one could tell how many. They remained at this place eighteen days, drying meat and killing scattered buffalo.

Now, having, obtained an abundant supply of meat, and realizing that cold weather was approaching, they moved to the Yellowstone to spend the winter. Crossing the river they established themselves at the mouth of Tullocks fork, the encampment stretching along the bank of the stream for probably a mile. In addition to the regular tipis sheltering two or more families, there were two long-houses, one occupied

by Shorn Head, the other by Three Eagles.

In this camp the Nez Percés were visited by a war-party of fifteen Apsaroke, led by Long Horse, on a raid against the Piegan. The Nez Percés remained on the Yellowstone until spring, when they were visited by the Mountain Crows, who had started out on their summer hunt. This party was under the leadership of Winking Eyes, and consisted of three hundred and seventy lodges - probably two thousand people. Soon after the visit of the Mountain Crows, Looking Glass and Three Eagles started on their return home, while Shorn Head with thirty tipis remained with the Apsaroke. The combined party moved about for twenty days, then stopped for a time on the Bighorn. There a party of Sioux came in sight on a distant hill. One brave young man came down and swam the, river, probably expecting to capture a horse, but he was seen and forced to return under heavy fire. The fact that he escaped the many flying bullets caused the Nez Percés and Apsaroke to think that he must have possessed great mystic power.

Plenty Coups, the present chief of the Apsaroke, was but a young man at that time. He and Big Shoulder-blade, another untried youth, went out together to show that they were men and warriors. They swam their horses across the Bighorn and rode on in search of some one to kill. Coming finally upon a lone Sioux hunting antelope, the boys lay in wait until he had secured one, then they killed him, took his scalp, his gun, and the antelope, and returned at night to the camp. On arriving, Plenty Coups rode past the tipi of Grizzly-bear Ferocious (the Nez Percé narrator of this episode) and ridiculed him, saying: "Why do you sleep there with your wives all the time? Why don't you prove yourself a man and go out and do something?" This was probably the first grand coup won by Plenty Coups. Spurred to action by the ridicule, Grizzly-bear Ferocious, who later became one of the greatest warriors among the Nez Percés, started in search of the Sioux, taking with him a Nez Percé and two Apsaroke. After swimming the river they rode off in the direction of the Little Bighorn. During the night the Apsaroke deserted the two Nez Percés, but they continued on and reached the Little Bighorn at the place where the Custer battle was afterward fought, and below them in the valley, where the Sioux and their allies were encamped when Custer saw them, was a large camp of Sioux. For a time they watched the camp with all its activity.

Women, old and young, were going to the river for water, while

young men loitered by the trails and stream watching for their sweethearts to pass.

About noon a terrible storm arose and swept the camp with such fury that the tipis were blown in all directions and the women and children were overcome by fear. Taking advantage of the raging storm and the excitement in the Sioux camp, Grizzly-bear Ferocious and his companion rushed into the enemy's midst, killed and scalped a man, and drove off a herd of horses. The tempest continued during the afternoon, favoring their flight by obliterating their tracks; but as soon as the Sioux fully realized the disastrous result of the audacious raid they were in hot pursuit. Encumbered with their captured herd, the two Nez Percés knew at the break of the following day that the distance between them and their pursuers was steadily diminishing; they therefore abandoned all the horses except three, which they succeeded in taking safely to the Nez Percé and Apsaroke camp.

A few days later the Apsaroke scouts reported that a large party of Sioux were approaching. Orders were at once given to prepare for battle, and at daybreak the Sioux made their attack. The fight lasted most of the day, seven Sioux and three Apsaroke being killed in the encounter. Shortly afterward Shorn Head said to his people: "There is too much fighting here. We will go home." The return journey occupied three months.

As is shown in the historical sketch, the Nez Percés consisted of a number of loosely-formed bands or groups, each with its elective chief. The prominent men of each of these groups, such as warriors of reputation and the *tiwát,* or medicine-men, formed an advisory council. Members of a council did not become such by virtue of tribal enactment: the position was merely assumed by reason of the individual's prominence, his recognized leadership, and he was readily displaced if deemed unworthy to serve longer as an adviser in the affairs of the people. Each of the bands was independent of the others, and prior to the appointment of Ellis, there was no head-chief of all the Nez Percés, and of course he became such only by the action of the Government.

After the death of Ellis, the Government assumed that Lawyer, the chief of the church Nez Percés, was head-chief, but as the whole later history of the tribe attests, he was not so considered beyond the Clearwater country. Succession in chieftainship of a band was ostensibly by inheritance, yet public opinion played so important a part that

the natural successor was often disregarded, and another, presumably more fit, was selected. Following a chief's demise a great death-feast was held, to which in some instances were invited the people of all the Nez Percé bands, as well as the Umatilla, the Wallawalla, and even the Cayuse. In council at this gathering it was determined who was to be the new chief. Visiting tribesmen of importance participated in the deliberations to such an extent that the selection might be materially influenced by their speeches, although their only interest was the natural desire that each band should have a chief of ability, whose policies were likely to be beneficial to his people.

Slavery was too rare to be considered an institution. Such slaves as they possessed were usually captives; the women were taken as wives by their owners, and the children became members of the tribe by adoption.

Constant foes of the Nez Percés were the Bannock, the Shoshoni, the Cœur d'Alênes, and the Spokan. With the Flatheads and Kalispel, the Yakima, the Columbia river people as far down as the Dalles, including the Umatilla, the Cayuse, and the Wallawalla, they were always at peace. On their journeys to the buffalo country they were often in conflict with different tribes met in the region traversed; but generally they were on friendly terms with the Apsaroke, such amity being almost a necessity, for on it depended their passage through the western gateway to the southern buffalo plains. Often the Nez Percés met Flatheads and other Indians from the east on the plains of Oyaíp, and there bartered with them for buffalo-robes and meat. They went also to the Columbia at the Dalles, where they reëxchanged their buffalo-robes for such articles as the river Indians possessed -pounded fish, wapato roots, shell beads. In rare instances men went to the mouth of the river, to return with stories of the great water and its monsters -whales, porpoises, and sea-lions.

The Nez Percé youth wooed his sweetheart whenever chance or design favored him with an opportunity to speak to her; and when fortune was unkind he laid siege to her heart with plaintive strains on his flute, such as the accompanying air. When two lovers agreed to marry, they reported the fact to their parents, and the young man's parents went to the father and the mother of the girl and obtained their consent to the match. Then either at once or after an interval of some days the girl was taken to the home of the youth. After two

or three weeks she informed her parents that she was coming home on a certain day, and when that day arrived she and the family of her husband went with presents and partook of the feast which her relatives had prepared, receiving in return for their presents gifts of equal value. Marriage might be arranged without any wooing. The young man would tell his father that he desired a certain girl for his wife, and the father would cause a friend to ask the girl's parents for her hand, promising them a certain number of horses or other presents. If they consented, she was at once taken home by the mother or the sisters of the young man, and after the usual interval came the marriage feast and the exchange of presents. As a rule a couple lived for about two years with the parents of the man.

Separation was not formerly common, but if either party was dissatisfied he or she left the other in possession of the lodge, the household property, and the children. If they lived with the parents of the husband and he became displeased with his wife, he was privileged to send her home. An adulteress was beaten, or abandoned, or forgiven. The guilty man was sometimes killed. Plurality of wives was permitted, but it was not the rule, according to an informant, who says that some men had two wives, a few three or four, and one man he remembers to have had five. There was no ceremony connected with the taking of a wife after the first. While there is no trace of a system of gentes, children were regarded as belonging to the families of their fathers. There were no restrictions against conversation and ordinary social amenities between a man and his mother-in-law or between brothers and sisters.

The infantile name, which usually was that of an ancestor, might be suggested by some relative, and if it proved satisfactory to the parents, it was accepted without formality. Later, when the child was a few years old, the father might desire to change its name, and to do so would, at the time of a death-feast or other ceremony, announce this new name and make presents to an old man, who received also gifts from all others who changed their names, and then distributed them among the deserving. The name thus chosen might be one belonging to some living person, who in return for certain presents had relinquished his right to it. A final name was often obtained through revelations in their fastings in the mountains during youth. This, however, was not used until later in life, when the revealed name was made known by

the new-fledged warrior or was developed through hypnotic agencies at a long-house ceremony.

Bodies of the dead were wrapped tightly in skins and carried out to where a shallow grave had been made ready in the rocky ledges. The friends and relations followed the body to the grave, venting their grief by loud wailing and crying. After the corpse had been laid away with its head to the eastward, the opening was covered first with poles or split cedar staves, and then deeply with stones, and between these stones were thrust many upright split cedar pickets. Quantities of trinkets were thrown into the grave, and horses were killed and left close by. During the last generation, it is said, they often stuffed horses and propped them up in a life-like position.[35] Those persons who had touched the dead body afterward entered the sweat-lodge to purify themselves, having first thrust red-osier wands down their throats in order to cause vomiting. The parents of a deceased young man would cut the hair of his widow to about shoulder-length, and it remained uncombed for one, two, or three years; but when the parents decided that the time of mourning should be ended, they called her in and said, "It is time for you to change." Still she might continue to mourn, extending the period to as much as four or five years. This was not an invariable rule, for sometimes the widow cut her own hair, and occasionally it was left uncut. Men did not shorten the hair in mourning, but they did wear unworthy clothing; abstention from merry-making was the only other restriction imposed on them.

After a corpse had been removed from a house the structure was taken down and moved, unless it was a long-house, in which case the part in which the person had died was cut out. If it was near the end of the large structure, it was taken down and both it and the end unit were moved away; if it was in the middle, the two parts remaining after it was removed were covered over at the exposed ends and thus made into two lodges. The belongings of a dead person were piled outside the lodge awaiting the distribution. The death of any person

35 Lewis and Clark noted that they also placed the dead in grave houses, some of the bodies simply wrapped, others in rude boxes. These houses of the dead were observed on lower Snake river, and probably represented a custom borrowed from the Chinookan tribes.

was followed by an announcement from the chief that all the people should refrain from merry-making until after the "dead feast."

The so-called "dead feast" *(hiptánit,* "food-making") was a custom originating in the trouble which frequently ensued on the death of a man, when his relatives would forcibly take what he had left, depriving his widow and children of the means of subsisting. Tradition relates that the chiefs decided to make it a law that a man's property should be kept intact until in the course of a few days or months after his death the people all came together, and a certain man of standing, having been appointed by the close relations of the departed to make the desired distribution of the property, gave away the various articles to those whom the deceased or his relations had designated. The same custom was observed in disposing of the possessions of a woman.

RELIGION AND CEREMONIES

A study of the mythology, religion, and ceremonies of the tribes inhabiting the plateau area between the Rocky mountains and the Cascades shows noteworthy differences from the plains area, and quickly evidences the similarity of the thought and practice of the tribes about and above the mouth of the Columbia river and those of this intermontane region. This suggests that the coast is the fountain-head of the religious cult, and that it was disseminated by way of the valley of the Columbia. We see spreading eastward from the north Pacific coast a wave of culture destined to meet and blend with that of the newcomers on the prairies, these principally of the Siouan and Algonquian stocks possessing the original culture of the Atlantic coast with its natural development during the years of their migratory wanderings. The meeting of these two Indian groups had scarcely occurred when a new mythology - that which has always clung to, and usually obscured, the great truths of the Christian religion - became a factor and, to some extent, affected both developments. It is an open question whether the development of the Pacific coast inhabitants, who were in a measure village Indians, was superior to that of the more nomadic tribes from the Atlantic, but one is convinced that the nature of Pacific coast beliefs and practices was such that had the situation remained free from Caucasian influences for a few generations longer, they would have taken deep root among the plains people, and vitally

affected their religious development.

The ghost dance, which swept across the plains thirty years ago, causing so much popular excitement throughout the United States, was a remarkable religious movement. James Mooney, in his comprehensive work on the ghost dance,[36] suggests that it may have been an outgrowth of the so-called Shaker religion[37] of this region; but Shakerism was only the natural development of the indigenous hypnotic religion of the Chinookan and Shahaptian tribes, naturally showing evidences of Christian contact. Tracing backward we must conclude Shakerism to be only a variation of the Smohalla cult,[38] and that Smohalla had but cleverly used his strong personality and cataleptic tendencies to organize among his people on the upper Columbia a religious movement which was a personal development of religious thought and practices common to every *tiwát* of the region. General Howard referred to him only as an influential dreamer; he classed all of the *tiwát* as dreamers.

Shakerism had its inception in 1881. The Paiute Wovoka had his revelation in the early part of 1887, and the ghost dance, the outgrowth of Wovoka's vision, had gained great strength in 1890. The author has not witnessed the ghost-dance ceremony, but from Mr. Mooney's description of it is inclined to believe that a deaf man, witnessing the ceremonies of the ghost dance, of the Smohalla cult, of the winter dance among the Shahaptian tribes, and of the Shakers, would call them identical in essential principles. In these ceremonies participants are brought into a state of hypnosis, the condition varying from mere stimulation and excitement to complete catalepsy, the fortunate individual while in this state receiving revelations and communicating with the spirits of the departed.

In this plateau region, as in other cultural areas of North America, songs are the essentials of religion. An individual owns personal songs, and to him they are the most important possession of his life, for they

36 *Fourteenth Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology,* 1896.

37 This religious movement will be fully treated in a future volume devoted to the tribe of the north Pacific coast.

38 The Smohalla movement began about 1850 and reached its height about 1892.

determine his spiritual as well as his temporal existence. The music of the songs is delightfully rhythmic and entrancing, and seems peculiarly appropriate to a religion so largely emotional and hypnotic. So striking are they as a study in aboriginal music and aboriginal imagery that a number of them are here presented, with a translation of the words and a description, literally recorded, of the picture which each produces on the imaginative mind of the Indian. In all the medicine-songs appear words not elsewhere used, and which oftentimes seem to be fantastically formed, in varying combinations, on original roots. In the accompanying texts, words of ordinary usage, when first employed, are indicated by a preceding asterisk.

MEDICINE-SONG OF THE SUN

Awíya *háwa, aháwa wiyawahíya. Awiyá, awíya háwa, aháwa wiyawahíya. Awíya, awíya háwa; wiyawahíya, wiya. *Wah *kikímulikumna palakáwima; Ahiyawiya, awíya háwa, aháwa wiyawahíya, Yawiya, awíya háwa, wiyawahíya awiyá.

Keeps coming the dawn, dawn keeps coming.
Coming, keeps coming the dawn, dawn keeps coming.
Coming, keeps coming the dawn; keeps coming, coming.
And over the mountains the sun shines and illuminates the earth.
Keeps coming, keeps coming the dawn, dawn keeps coming.
Coming, keeps coming the dawn, keeps coming the dawn.

"Day breaks, and the dawn begins to overspread the sky. At this moment the Sun, still under the earth, begins to sing, Each day he sings this song, because he has so far to travel. Soon the Great Chief appears, and sheds his light more and more on the earth, until everything, even the darkest crevice in the mountains, is illuminated. The sound of his song, as he travels, seems to move ahead of him, and when he almost reaches the zenith, the ocean begins to roll and roar. All creatures of every description seem to feel happy when the Sun passes over them. All the birds of the sea have feathers, which have been drifting from one part of the ocean to the other, and these drifting feathers seem to feel the effects of the sunlight and to come to life. They have been lying under the water and some have never seen the shore, but all these

seem to have the life of the Sun as they move toward the land. Along the shore the feathers that already lie there dry seem to feel the effect of the light also, and come to life. The harder the sea rolls, the farther these feathers are carried up on the land. It seems that we feel the cold wetness these feathers have felt, and the gladness they now feel when the warm Sun comes and dries them."

MEDICINE SONG OF THE PELICAN

In company seeking the summer;
In company seeking the summer;
In company seeking the summer;
In company seeking the summer;
In company seeking the summer.

Flying, he longs (for the absent one), Wings outstretched, wings outstretched.

"When cold weather comes at the lake in the north, the birds are flying round in a circle, preparing for their journey southward. They are coming, one party after another. The female Pelican has already come on ahead, and the male follows. As he flies, he is feeling that his mate is already there, and he sings. His heart is lonely. Even though he is among others, he does not think of them: his heart is with the one who has gone before. His song has already travelled ahead, and has touched on the high peaks of the mountains, which answer, their response being shown by clouds the color of his feathers - gray, red, black, yellow - which form about their summits, and as Pelican passes over them, the clouds begin to rise, as if to meet him, and he flies close over them. All the little birds on the earth hear his song and begin to sing their own songs, and fly into the air and settle back, especially the Ducks and other water-fowl. In passing over from the northern ocean to the southern, Pelican gathers these songs. On the foot of the mountains all the long-eared animals of the deer kind rise and sing, and though they have been in the brush, by going over them Pelican makes their places clean and plain. He takes their songs also with him. Near the end of his journey, a bank of clouds the color of his feathers forms. It divides in such a way that it gives just room for his party to pass through, then it closes behind him. Before they reach the ocean, a heavy fog covers the water, an answer to his song."

Medicine-Song of Grizzly-Bear

"Grizzly-bear is wounded in such a way that he is unable to live through another day. He sings, while thinking whether he will live to see the sun rise, and at the same time he fears to see it, because a wound is at its worst just at sunrise, and at noon, and at sunset. At those times one feels hotter in the wound. So Grizzly-bear fears the sunrise because it will dry his wound and the bad blood will not run out. His back is against a tree, and he looks to the east. He sees that the sun has already struck the top of the mountains. He sees the beautiful rays on the summit, then they begin to come down the mountain side, and to strike the tree against which he leans. As they strike the top of the tree, they become of various hues, some the color of his blood, others the colors of the rainbow. The sun has passed over him many days, and each time he has become weaker. It has taken part of his life each day."

"The sun is low, so that it strikes just the upper part of one side of the cañon wall. In the bottom of the cañon the Deer are browsing. When the little Deer sees Eagle soaring above, he starts to run, and Eagle begins to sing. When the fawn gets a little distance ahead, Eagle sings the word *ônátuihnánis,* and the fawn stops to listen to the song. Eagle soars over him, circling about. The Deer, looks up and is unable to move. Eagle swoops down on the fawn, and the smaller birds of prey flock to the feast."

MEDICINE-SONG OF THE MORNING STAR

"The Morning Star rises, and as he goes, he seems to strike his foot on something in his path, and light flashes from his feet. From this he becomes crippled. The little Stars hear of his coming and form on each side of his path, shedding a bright light through which he passes."

Before starting out on his journey toward the north, Buffalo blows his breath, which forms a fog that goes upward to the sky. With his hoofs he throws his dry dung up, and it becomes a heavy wind from the south, so that as he travels, the wind is behind him. The cloud accompanies him and constantly hangs over him. As he travels, he looks carefully from side to side, with lowered head. Little whirlwinds begin to form here and there and create a heavier wind, and thick dust rises. His own cloud still hangs over him. All at once, unexpectedly,

the Wolves begin to nip at his heels, and he sings, 'I have just found it is the Wolves are after!' He begins to feel lame and sore. He continues singing and goes on, sometimes stopping to throw up more dung whenever the Wolves press him too closely. Thus he succeeds in passing them in the cloud. In the north forms a long cloud just the color of his hair. He moves straight to this cloud, as that is the only way he can escape, by going under it. Some of his flesh has been torn off. While he sings, he shakes his body from side to side, and blood runs from his wounds."

"Eagle, and all the other predatory creatures of the Wáptipas,have forced Elk into a corner. There he turns and makes this song. Right above him is Eagle, with wings outspread, while the Wolves and the other animals are pressing about Elk, trying to kill him. His legs are spread, his feet deep in the ground, and his head is lowered so that his horns touch the earth. He will not die without hurting somebody. Eagle holds himself motionless in the air, watching and waiting for a chance to swoop down and take the best part of prey for himself. Elk stands with bloody legs, torn by the Wolves. His back is against the cliff."

The most interesting feature of the songs of the Nez Percés is that they are peculiarly related in groups, in that a man possessing a song derived from a particular creature to a certain extent draws magical power from all the other creatures belonging to that group, and its singing affects every man having a song relating to one of the creatures so associated. Thus those possessing medicine-power fall into several divisions according to the kind of spirit from which that power is derived. One of the more important of these is Wishíhinikat, a group of "wing travellers," including the duck, goose, crane, stork, pelican, swan, clouds, wind, thunder (which belongs to all divisions), and also, for some unexplained reason, the coyote. The pelican is the chief medicine-spirit of this group. While trees appear to belong to all groups, the willow belongs to the Wishíhinikat, and is particularly associated with the pelican. This position of the willow is no doubt due to its association with marsh and lake birds.

Sometimes, when the Wishíhinikat are dancing together and sing-

ing in the long-house, a medicine-man[39] of greater power than theirs, in order to show his supernatural strength, waves his hands before them, and they fall unconscious. It is believed that the medicine-man, when he does this, has a cloud or fog in his hands, which he throws into their path and makes it impossible for the flying "wing travellers" to see their way. Other medicine-men may perform similar acts over those whose power is presumably inferior to their own. In this act there is nothing occult or mysterious: it is simply hypnotism.

The songs of any medicine-man have an exciting effect on every other person present whose supernatural power was learned from a spirit of the same group, and causes any young man who has not yet declared his revelation to rush out and attempt to sing, provided the spirit which appeared in his vision is of that group.

Wáptipas is a group whose guardian spirits have unusual ability as hunters. Wolf, mountain-lion, and eagle belong here; but so also do buffalo, deer, and elk, who are not hunters, but the hunted, and the snowbirds and some other birds and animals which eat meat. The animal of the greatest power in this group is the elk with six prongs on each side of his antlers. Perhaps the basis of classification here is participation in the eating of animal flesh, whether it be the eating or the being eaten.

One informant stated: "Wolf, coyote, fox, raven, eagle, cougar, lynx, all are connected because their songs all refer in a cryptic way to deer. If a person having medicine of one of these animals hears a man singing songs of any of the others, he says, *'Wáptipas-timt'* - that is, 'He is singing Wáptipas.' He feels some sort of relation to that song." It will be observed that all these animals feed on deer.

Hiyúwatsit is a group whose power is derived from the creatures which have in common the attribute of ability to kill human beings with their teeth. Those with the medicine of bear and rattlesnake belong here, so also do those of the weasel.

One to whom thunder appeared would have control over the more powerful animals, such as cougar, and would be related to all the animals through thunder's invariable association with them.

39 "Medicine" is used in the sense of "supernatural power," hence "medicine-man"' is "supernatural-power man."

The sun, the moon, and the stars constitute a group, the sun being the chief. Those included within this classification are more powerful than those of any other. It is asserted that it has no name. Possibly it does possess a name, but owing, to its extraordinary religious significance no one would divulge it. This is improbable, however, as the principal informant on this subject apparently did all in his power to make it clear.

People possessing such beliefs as are suggested in the songs above quoted must have dwelt in a veritable wonderland. As a man passed through the forest the moving trees whispered to him and his heart swelled with the song of the swaying pine. He looked through the green branches and saw white clouds drifting across the blue dome, and he felt the song of the clouds. Each bird twittering in the branches, each water-fowl among the reeds or on the surface of the lake, spoke its intelligible message to his heart; and as he looked into the sky and saw the high-flying birds of passage, he knew that their flight was made strong by the uplifted voices of ten thousand birds of the meadow, forest, and lake, and his heart, fairly in tune with all this, vibrated with the songs of its fulness. Indians with a simple system in which the individual possessed only the spirit of the bird or the beast revealed to him are indeed close to nature, but the individual Nez Percé, with his interwoven devotional system, communed with almost unlimited nature.

The Nez Percé began his preparation for spiritual attainment almost in infancy. The child, either boy or girl, when less than ten years of age was told by the father or the mother that it was time to have *tiwatítmas* spiritual power. "This afternoon you must go to yonder mountain and fast. When you reach the place of fasting, build a fire and do not let it die. As the Sun goes down, sit on the rocks facing him, watch while he goes from sight, and look in that direction all night. When the dawn comes, go to the east and watch the Sun return to his people. When he comes to noon, go to the south and sit there, and when he has travelled low again, go to the west where you sat first and watch until he is gone. Then start for your home." After some sacred object, such as a feather, had been tied to the child's clothing, and a few parting words of instruction and encouragement had been given, the little suppliant was sent on its journey.

What a picture of Indian character this affords: a mere infant starting out alone into the fastnesses of the mountain wilds, to commune

with the spirits of the infinite, a tiny child sitting through the night on a lonely mountain-top, reaching out its infant's hands to God! On distant and near-by hills howl the coyote and the wolf. In the valleys and on the mountain side prowl and stalk all manner of animals. Yet alone by the little fire sits the child listening to the mysterious voices of the night.

For its first fasting a child was sent as far as from Lapwai to Lake Waha, or to Taiya-mahsh, a mountain twelve miles to the south. The child was familiar with the country and knew the trails because the father had often talked to it and told it of the nature of the land, pointing out the direction and saying that yonder was a place of fasting. There was no ceremony of purification before setting out, as the child was assumed to be pure. On ridges in the mountains were places already prepared for the fasters, the makers now unknown, as the monuments have been there time out of memory. They consist of piles of stones about two feet high, arcs of circles, one with the opening to the east, another open to the west, a third to the south. Within these sat the faster, changing from one to the other as the sun moved from east to west, and passing the night sleeplessly in the western arc. He neither ate nor drank during the period of fasting, which sometimes lasted two nights and a day.

As the time approached when the faster was expected to return, the mother prepared a feast, and when the food was given to him it was first blown upon by a medicine-man in order to purify it and make it beneficial to the faster. All the family and the visitors ate with him. He was not asked and did not tell of his vigil. Perhaps the child a short time later was sent out again, either to the same place or to a new one. Thus before reaching the age of fifteen he might have been fasting in the mountains from five to ten times. In these fastings, boys sometimes remained out three nights and two days, and in rare cases twice that number. A youth having passed the period of continence never fasted, for, if he had, he would have experienced no visions, being impure.

Vision creatures appearing in vigils did not always confer a name on the faster. When they did, it referred to the creature itself, and was assumed by the faster only after he had been to war. Thereafter he was known by that name. Thus a man's medicine cannot always be discerned from his name. A boy might, after returning from his vigil, say to his father, "I have seen something, and I have a name," but he

would not tell what he had seen or what the name was. After singing his song for the first time in the long-house medicine ceremony, he would reveal his name to his father and ask that the people be told. Then the father would make a feast and announce the son's name.

A description of an actual vision is very difficult to obtain from the Nez Percés. Three Eagles, however, thus describes what one might see if thunder appeared to him in his vigil: "The faster sees a man coming, and goes to him. He appears to be a man wrapped in a yellow blanket, and he gives the boy whatever he may be carrying. The little boy, if he could be seen now, would be found lying as if dead. When he awakens he may think, 'I met a man.' That is all he would remember."[40]

Here are shown two very interesting points: that the boy when receiving his revelation or vision is "lying as if dead," and that when he awakens there seems but a vague recollection of what occurred. Both of these statements indicate that the visions are not usually had while in a natural sleep, but while in hypnosis. In fact, the Indians continually repeat that it is not in a normal sleep that visions are experienced, but ever state that "I lay as if dead."

If, in these pilgrimages, the youth did not receive visions, he would then have to resort to sweating, fasting, and purification. In such cases, at about the age of twenty years, he went in the company of an assistant to some stream and there dug a hole large enough to admit his body, and filled it with water. Then, after heating to redness a large number of stones, the suppliant disrobed, took three or four red-osier wands the thickness of a lead-pencil and the length of his body from throat to waist, and thrust them, one by one, far down his throat. Each stick was left in the throat until the red bark just outside the mouth turned gray (probably with spittle), and the removal of each caused vomiting. It was imagined that "different colors of fever" could be seen in the discharge. Then he took from a large bundle of wands an equal number (three or four), and thrust them also down his throat. If during these first two operations the supposedly foul matter which was believed to be defiling his body came out in the form of "differently colored fevers," he might cease this part of the purification, or he might

40 It should be noted that thunder evidently does not appear to the Nez Percé faster in the form of a thunderbird, but rather as a human being.

repeat it as many times as he wished, but each time he used the same number of sticks as he started with, either three or four. If the impurities were not discharged the first or the second time, then he used the three or four sticks fifteen times. Next he went into the pit and sat down, the water coming up to his shoulders, and he dropped the heated stones in, making it as hot as he could bear. When darkness fell, he emerged, went to his lodge, and slept in a sitting posture, so that the matter which was believed to be in his system would pass downward. It would have been dangerous to sleep lying on the back, because the impurities would have formed more matter in the bones and chest. In the morning the suppliant went to the same place, heated the stones, took wands from the bundle, and thrust them down his throat, which now was so swollen that the sticks were inserted with some difficulty, and as it continued to swell he was obliged to assist the entrance by the muscular action of swallowing. When he could do no more he threw the stones into the water, sat down in it, and bathed there all day without eating or drinking. At sunset he returned to his lodge and slept again, sitting. Again on the third day he heated the stones and bathed all day long, coming out only to heat more stones, but he did not thrust any of the wands down his throat. Thus he continued for seven days in all (in addition to the first two days when wands were used), spending each night in a sitting posture in his lodge. After returning on the last day he was given a very soft kind of soup, for in addition to the weakened condition of his stomachs his throat was too raw to permit the passage of solid food.[41]

When the faster had recovered, he was able to run without fatigue up steep hills. To him the "deer was like a dead animal," that

41 Sometimes two or more young men purified themselves at the same time and place, and always an old man attended the votary. The interpreter employed in the collecting of this material, in spite of his education by a full course at Carlisle (and for the ministry), went through this ordeal along with his brother, both enduring for six days following the first two days of vomiting. The distance from the bathing place to their lodge was about a hundred yards, but on the third night of the bathing they could take only two steps without resting. Three Eagles, when he practised this purification, used the three sticks fifteen times on the first day, but only five times on the second. He then bathed and fasted seven days.

is, it could not scent the man because all the earthly odor had been removed from him. The man who had thus purified himself was a far better hunter than one who had not, even though the latter had "hunting medicine" obtained in vision. In some cases this purification was followed by baths in ice-water. When the first ice formed, the man went to the edge of the stream about nine in the morning, broke the ice and stood in the water up to his neck, remaining as long as he could, then emerged and sat on the bank without covering. Then again he went into the water, and out again, and back for a third bath. Thus the time from mid-morning until noon was broken into periods for three or four baths and three or four exposures to sun and air, or if the man was especially hardy, into two such periods. This was done each day until spring. Both this practice and that of the vomiting and hot baths are carried on to-day.

A man who in his youth sees in vision Sun, Moon, Fish-hawk, or Pelican will become *tiwát,* that is, a shaman. His supernatural power is *tiwatítmas*. The Sun is greatest in giving *tiwatítmas,* and next is Moon, who imparts ability to cure, but not to hunt. Fish-hawk, when he sees a fish, though it be far under the water, drops swiftly and lifts it out, hence he can confer power to see sickness in the body and to remove it, even as he himself takes the fish from the water. Yet one who sees Fish-hawk will not be great in hunting. When Pelican reaches the end of his journey in the north or in the south, he then has *tiwatítmas,* and the boy who is fortunate enough to see him at such a time will become *tiwát*, though not a great one. Other creatures, such as Frog, which is able to sit in warm water, and indeed all the smaller animals and birds, have certain*tiwatítmas,* but they cannot confer it of themselves, directly; it must come through and along with that given by one of the four spirits, Sun, Moon, Fish-hawk, Pelican. To the native mind it seems that as these four fly over the earth, the songs of these smaller creatures rise and meet them and request to be taken along to their destination. Then when the faster sees the greater spirit, he receives also the power of these smaller ones.

Crane gives invulnerability, and skill in hunting, especially in capturing grizzly-bear and deer. Eagle also is very potent, granting ability to kill game; and Clouds confer the power to blow smoke into the air and thus cause clouds and rain on the brightest days. Morning Star accords power to foresee events.

In the regular way no man could become *tiwát* without having seen Sun, Moon, Fish-hawk, or Pelican. Yet, through his father being *tiwát,* a man could become one without receiving the stipulated revelations in youth. Thus the son of a medicine-man would not necessarily see one of these four spirits in his fastings. He might in the long-house for several years sing only the songs of some other spirit, then all at once begin singing his father's songs, which he had just been hearing in his dreams as he slept at home. Nevertheless, descent from a medicine-man was not indispensable to being *tiwát.*

It is said that a medicine-man having it in mind to bequeath his power to a child would by this very intention cause the illness, perhaps the death, of the child. As it grew up it would fall ill, and another medicine-man - the father being dead or not - would be called to cure it. He would say that its father's medicine was in it, and would pretend to take out a small bit of stick, which he would then blow away from his hand. But if a man placed his medicine in his son and then died before the son fell ill, the boy would die and go with him. But the child of a medicine-man might, after the father was dead, become ill with the power which he had inherited by the will of the medicine-spirit itself, as it were, and not by the intention of the father. If he could endure it without dying, he would eventually sing his father's songs in the long-house, and would have his father's power, exactly as if he had obtained it in vision. There was no such thing as a father actually delegating his power to a son or a daughter and teaching the songs and secrets. If the first sickness caused by the inherited medicine were survived, then the other powers of the father, one by one, would come to him.

When a medicine-man or a medicine-woman of great power died, the relatives might fear lest the *tiwatítmas* should remain and harm them; hence they would bury the medicine-bundle with the body, or by itself, or else burn it. Occasionally a man would have both good and bad powers, and in such a case the bundle was opened after his death, usually by his widow, and the articles presumably representing the evil powers were buried with him, or burned, while the others were kept in the family until one of the children sang in the longhouse and thus showed that he had been chosen by the spirits of his father's medicine, and accordingly the next time the bundle was opened the articles were given to him.

A boy whose vision-spirit conferred on him the ability to cure, giv-

ing him songs and secrets for this purpose, would become a medicine-man, regardless of whether his father or mother had been *tiwát.* When he first sang in the long-house it was known by the people from the nature of the song that he was to be a medicine-man when he became older. He would not begin to cure until he was well advanced in years, probably about fifty.

A woman who has *tiwatítmas* is called *tiwát-áyat (áyat,* woman), and she uses her power on women only.

The *tiwát* treats only those diseases which cannot be cured by means of natural remedies, and there is no prescribed healing ceremony, each healer pursuing his own method. Treatment is wholly by conjuration. Roots, bark, and leaves are used by the people for diseases whose causes are known to be due to natural conditions of the body, and not to the effect of supernatural powers. "Inside each medicine-man is something which is like a hair, but which really is blood. This he sometimes takes out to show his real power. It is this which gives him the ability to kill people by medicine, and it is called *taáhtoyuh."* Some shamans were accredited with power to cause death by placing in the bed of a sick person a menstrual cloth obtained from one of certain female shamans, a method which is said to have been practised in the case of men mortally wounded.[42]

Hypnotism entering so largely into their practice, it is safe to assume that "killing by medicine" is hypnotism in which the victim goes into hypnosis in the belief that he is being killed, and, no effort being made for his resuscitation, he remains in the trance until actual death occurs. It is not to be presumed that these people possessed an understanding of hypnotism. It was simply an outgrowth of their emotional lives, and the clever medicine-men took the greatest advantage of their knowledge in producing this state.

The principal religious observance of the Nez Percés is the mid-winter medicine ceremony, which is called Waiyátsit. *Waíyakin is* the medicine, or supernatural power, which comes to one fasting; and *waiyákuatsit* is the act of dancing in this ceremony. *Waiyátsit,* then, seems to mean "supernatural-power dance."

42 Belief in the maleficent action of menstrual blood was very widespread among the Indians.

In the autumn the people assemble to determine where the long-house *(watsátnit),* of six to eight fires, is to be placed, and when the ceremony is to begin; also what single lodges will form the long-house. At the appointed time the families owning these single lodges erect them in the appointed place, forming a long structure with as many fires as there are component lodges. Each family occupies its portion of the structure. Some of the heads of families in the medicine-lodge are medicine-men, some are not. Those who are tie their medicine-bundles to the lodge-poles at their portion of the house. One of the men is appointed to preserve order among the children, but there are no positions of honor in the medicine-lodge.

The rites are held only at night, continuing nearly until morning, and from about Christmas-time until spring, or until each new claimant of medicine-power has sung his songs long enough to feel perfectly satisfied. On the first night, after all have entered who desire - men, women, and children, - one of the *tiwát* stands up in his place and sings,[43] while walking down one side of the fires. This is to see if the ground is pure and ready for the dancing of his "children" - the young men who later will declare their possession of medicine, and dance. After returning to his place he may call on some other medicine-man to sing and see if the ground is pure, lest he himself may have overlooked something. The second man then gets up in his place alongside the row of fires, and walks singing to the end, then down the other side, to the opposite end, where he declares his belief that the ground is good, and returns to his seat. The floor has previously been prepared by cutting off the sod, and levelling and watering the ground, so that it dries hard and smooth for the dancers. But sometimes there may be present a medicine-man of some other tribe who may cause holes or cracks ("silent places") in the space, which would cause the young men who dance to have swelled legs and feet, and the singers to make mistakes. Or occasionally medicine-men, especially those among the Yakima, knowing in what place the ceremony is to be held, smoke and blow the smoke on this place, thus causing imperfections in the ground. In such cases the medicine-man walks several times round the row of fires, singing, and without fail he calls on others to do the same,

43 Frequently used at such times was the medicine-song of the Sun

until they are certain that their singing has counteracted the efforts of the opposing medicine-men. Nobody is permitted to make his entrance into the medicine-lodge in the midst of the singing of medicine-songs. To do this would cause his death.

Any man who, when a boy, has fasted and seen a vision, but has never revealed the fact, may, if his medicine causes him to feel so inclined, make himself known at this ceremony; and this is the only occasion when he may do so. If he intends to do this, he deposits a present at each end of the long-house, to be taken by any person in the lodge who wishes it. Each time he sings, on this or on any like occasion, he must make to the lodge a gift appropriate to his medicine. Thus a man whose medicine is eagle may give a basket of dried deer's meat, which a female relative then distributes among all persons present.

After the testing of the dancing-ground by a *tiwát*, one of the medicine-men stands in the middle and sings his medicine-songs, after the first repetition starting to walk down beside the fires, turning just before reaching the last one and walking back on the same side of the fires until the opposite end is reached, then turning again and coming back to his place. If any of his songs seem to allude to what any young novice has seen in his vision when fasting, or even if it refers only indirectly to something rather remotely connected with the vision, he, without any voluntary or conscious action, finds himself standing out in the middle, trying to sing, but totally unable to do so. He cannot find the words which are trying to force themselves out. He becomes very weak, and the people have to carry him back to his place, where they lay him on blankets. He lies there, trying with all his strength to bring out the song, but he can make only feeble sounds, and other men lie close beside him, straining their ears to catch the words and the sounds he makes, putting them together one by one, trying to help him bring out the song that is in him. Gradually they have the whole song and the name supposedly conferred by the vision spirit, although this may take more than the entire night, sometimes as many as seven nights. When finally they have completed the song, they begin to sing it, the young man also raising his voice as loudly as his weakness will permit, and he goes out and stands in the middle, singing, while all the other people assist him. The more loudly they sing, the greater will be his strength.

If the author is right in his conclusions, we have here a most interesting phenomenon. As described on page 63, a child less than ten

years of age, following the instructions of its parent, goes into the mountains to perform certain devotional acts, and through the performance of such is to receive, in a vision, supernatural power. But to the child it has been explained that a spirit will appear. It will look like a man, but it will be the spirit of some animal. "This spirit will teach you a song and will tell you what he represents." And further, the child is told that when this spirit appears, he, the child, will be lying as though dead; and that when he awakens, but little of what has been seen will be remembered, that the song will be within him, but cannot be sung until years later in the long-house ceremony.

It is evident that the subject has been given definite instructions in so far as the definite objects to be gained are concerned. The only indefinite things are what animal, bird, or object is to be revealed, and the words of the song. Following such instructions, the child, in its devotions, reaches an abnormal mental state, presumably hypnosis, and while in this state does see the visions suggested. In the succeeding normal condition it remembers that a vision appeared, but the songs lie dormant in the brain for ten, perhaps fifteen, years. Then, in another abnormal mental state, presumably hypnosis, the original revelation reappears. That impressions received in hypnosis on one day may result in action on the following day is well understood, but that the brain retains the dormant impression over such a long period of time seems to open a new field of conjecture.

It is exceedingly difficult to secure information from the Indians on this subject, as it is a part of their sacred life which should not be discussed with alien thinkers. A very interesting experience was that of the interpreter through whom the Nez Percé material largely was gathered. As a child and in youth he lived as other children of the tribe, fasting in the usual way. Then, when about twelve years of age, he was sent to Carlisle, and after graduation he engaged in special study at a theological institution, having in view the ministry. Following this he returned to the reservation, expecting to become a missionary to his people. Shortly after his return he by chance or through curiosity attended a long-house ceremony. His own words best tell the story:

"I went inside of the long-house with some other young men, thinking I would just look in and see what they were doing. A *tiwát* was singing a song which touched me" - referred to the animal seen in a vision in youth. "I felt myself being drawn into the centre of the

lodge. Something within my body grew strong. I fell down and could not rise. The people carried me back and laid me there on blankets. I knew what they were doing, and heard the singing and the talk, but could not speak. I saw my vision again and knew what the song was, and continually kept trying to bring it out - but my voice was weak. People held their ears close to me to hear. Hour after hour for three days I lay that way trying to bring out my song. At last I knew I had the song right, as the spirit had given it to me, and then I awoke."

This is remarkable testimony. During the long interval between the two states of hypnosis the man had taken up an entirely new life, and the brain had been trained to believe that all of the old life was false and that its conceptions must be cast away. The question can well be raised whether the impression received during the early state of hypnosis has not an actual bearing on the second hypnosis, when the revelation presumably is made. The author's belief is that in this instance the brain has carried dormant impressions which are later brought into action through a second abnormal mental state similar to the first.

These long-house ceremonies are scenes of great religious fervor and excitement, and the mental state of all participants is in a way abnormal.[44] At a successful ceremony of this kind there may be fully a

44 "*Ishép* comes in a dream. The person to whom this comes sings a song in a strange language, dances violently and continuously, and must give away all possessions. Usually it causes death, but if the afflicted lives through the winter and summer until fall, *ishép* will thereafter belong to him and will do no harm. This may come upon a person at any time and in any place, but generally it begins in the medicine ceremony. It usually comes to women. If the person so affected with the desire to dance continuously loses this desire in the autumn, life is assured. About one person in a hundred of those affected escape death. While dancing they cut themselves across arms and legs with flint-points." Probably this dance, which they call *ishépit,* is an emotional madness affecting some in the highly emotional scenes of the medicine ceremony. No one seems to be able to give a satisfactory account of it. Under variants of the same name it is found among the Spokan and other Salishan tribes of the Pacific coast as well as of the interior. The interior tribes say that it came to them from the coast. See Volume VII, page 89. The song of a man who danced *ishépit* is found on pages 183-184. The same song was in use among the Salishan tribes. In the journals of Lewis and Clark (Thwaites

dozen young men in trance at the same time, and over each a group of highly excited persons endeavoring to encourage and assist him. In all cases persons thrown into the cataleptic state remain so until a medicine-man brings them out of it, and specific instances are mentioned in which the subjects were unconscious for as many as six or eight days. At times several medicine-men attempt to bring a subject to his senses, before finally one of them succeeds. Of especial interest is the case of the man who was told by a shaman that if he was thrown in the ceremony he would never arise. The event justified the prediction: the dancer died in a state of hypnosis.

Occasionally at times of the greatest excitement in the ceremony nothing would still the frenzy of a man but to eat a portion of his own flesh. Such a man would request a friend to cut a very small bit of flesh, usually from his side, and after swallowing this the devotee would become quiet.[45]

Sometimes several nights at the beginning of the ceremony may pass without any young man declaring his medicine. Then one of the *tiwát* may shout to the others in a loud voice so that all in the lodge hear it, "Let us see if any of our children can sing!" He then begins to sing, and if his songs touch the experience of anybody who has fasted but has not used his songs, that person comes forward as described.

A man who has had a vision does not know what creature the person he saw in it represents; and he will never know until his song has been brought out by the efforts of himself and the people who help him, when, from the nature of the song and its interpretation by one of the medicine-men, both the initiate and all the others will know what creature it was. When the young man first sings his song, he may not be supplied with the things he is to wear according to the nature of his medicine-spirit; so he walks about the fires, crying, "My friends, I have not the things I need!" And whoever has the required articles must give them to him, or the life of the young man would be lost.

ed., III, 101-102) reference is made to a woman who "feigned madness," or, as Gass said, "took a crazy fit," sang, gave away in small portions all her possessions, and with a piece of flint gashed her arms from wrists to shoulders.

45 For a high development of the ceremonial eating of human flesh see a future volume on the Kwakiutl.

Sometimes young men who, when boys, have had visions, become fearful of declaring themselves, and, before the singing begins, make some pretext to go out and remain away in order to avoid the possibility that any of the songs touch their own experience and force them to declare themselves and to go through the ceremony. But if they wait until the singing begins, they cannot leave until it is finished.

At any time during the course of the ceremony one of the *tiwát* may say to the others, " Let us play! " This is the formula for challenging them to a trial of medicine-power. The one who so challenges places himself on hands and knees and receives on his back any one who cares to contend with him, grasping the hands of the other in his own and thus stretching the arms of the uppermost man over his shoulders and parallel to his own arms, so that the hands of both rest on the ground, and in this position crawling over to the first fire until it is directly under his breast. From there he crawls to the second fire, then to the third, and so on, until he has placed himself and his opponent over each fire, unless before that his opponent has given up. The defeat of the uppermost man is indicated by an involuntary and spasmodic contraction of his arms, which shows that something has passed out of the body of the challenger into him: his medicine has been defeated by the medicine of the challenger. The influence of fire is necessary if the medicine-power is to exert itself in this way, but it is not the heat of the fire that causes either of the men to succumb. If the challenger wins the first contest, he takes on his back a second rival, and so on until all who wish to make this trial for supremacy have been given an opportunity, or until the challenger is defeated. If the uppermost man stands the test until each fire has been passed, he then receives his opponent on his back and exposes himself to the flames, trying to conquer the challenger; and if again the two pass along the entire row of fires, they, or rather their medicine-powers, are regarded as equal. When a man's arms spasmodically contract, indicating defeat, he is unceremoniously and as violently as possible thrown backward upon the ground. A man so defeated in mental combat lies for a long time in trance.[46]

46 Such mental conflict is often spoken of by Indians, as in Volume III and Volume IV, where two medicine-men contest to determine the claimed su-

Another form of contest takes place when an elk-man is the challenger. While he sings, others, representing eagle, wolf, and other predatory animals, press about him, singing their medicine-songs and enacting the drama of an attack upon the elk. If Eagle is so much as touched, physically, by Elk, he falls as if dead. The Wolves and other animals overcome Elk, but he rises, holds his hands over the fire, places them on his loins, and cries, "Come, children, and see how you are!" The young men who have had visions, but are still novices in this ceremony, go up behind him in single file, walking after him as he dances.[47] They go close, and one by one, sometimes two or three at a time, they fall over on the ground unconscious. For a time they are left lying without attention. They have done this so that they may ascertain if they have arranged everything about their costumes just as the spirits in their visions were dressed. They do this in several successive ceremonies, and each time they see, while unconscious, what alterations must be made in their costumes by painting or by changing the beadwork to make them correspond exactly with the dress of their guardian spirits. After all of the young men have fallen, the Elk says, "I must clean myself from doing all this." Then he sings some other song, that of a harmless creature. The Duck song is the cleanest because this bird has no evil medicine-power: all it can do is to play the hand-game (the symbolism being in the similarity of the motions of the duck's wings and the player's arms). While all this has been taking place, the audience have been standing. The Elk now tells them to raise their friends, and again he begins to sing his medicine-songs. On another night of the ceremony he may call for any one of the Wáptipas who wishes to try his power with the Elk. He who accepts the challenge raises his arms and the Elk grasps his wrists, then raises him, face downward, on his back, and walks about with him, singing, and if he feels the other's arms stiffen, he throws him off backward, violently, and the defeated one lies there unconscious. Then the Elk comes to him, holds his arms, and revives him.

periority of their supernatural power. Such phenomena appear comparatively simple when we consider them as a subjective state.

47 This following of the leader in single file, while singing, is a feature of the Shaker ceremonies of the Indians.

Throughout the northern region west of the Rocky mountains one hears in almost every tribe a tradition that before the appearance of the first white man a dreamer, or in some instances (and nearer the truth) a wandering Indian of another tribe, prophesied the coming of a new race with wonderful implements. In every case the people formed a circle and began to sing according to the instructions of the prophet. At the end of the song the palms were extended outward and upward, and sometimes it closed with an ejaculation that is unmistakably a corrupted "amen." The following was the prophecy song of the Nez Percés. It will be noticed that the air is reminiscent of a Catholic chant, and the words savor of the Christian doctrine of angels.

Yóku ôyátkiksanki akámkinikai; Yóku ôyatsam mamáyats hánit Wah hitkiktatása tilápits,[48] *hitkiktatása akámkiniku. Hiya-hiya-haiiyá!*

These come from above; These coming with noise (were) created children And coming down — coming down from above.

Hiya-hiya-haiiyá!

The report of a strange race in the east spread from tribe to tribe, far in advance of the earliest explorers, and some of the churchly forms were no doubt introduced among the remote tribes by wandering eastern Indians, or perhaps French mixed-bloods. A Klickitat woman says that her great-grandmother was drowned as the result of dancing forward into the water of the Columbia at the command of one of these prophets. Evidently the hypnotic phase of the religion of this region is not new.

"*The Nez Percés*"
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48 *Tilápits* is an archaic word the meaning of which could not be ascertained.