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THE ORIGINS OF FLORAL-DESIGN BEADWORK IN THE SOUTHERN COLUMBIA RIVER PLATEAU

BY

STEVEN LEROY GRAFE

B.S., Multnomah Bible College, 1985

B.A., Oregon State University, 1989

M.A., University of New Mexico, 1991

DISSERTATION

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
Art History

The University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico

May, 1999

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DEDICATION

For Christina, who supplied the glue, and Roy, who provided levity.

"Of making many books there is no end, and much study wearies the body." Ecclesiastes 12:11.

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THE ORIGINS OF FLORAL-DESIGN BEADWORK IN THE SOUTHERN COLUMBIA RIVER PLATEAU

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The Origins of Floral-Design Beadwork
in the Southern Columbia River Plateau

Steven LeRoy Grafe

B.S. Biblical Education, Multnomah Bible College, 1985
B.A. Art, Oregon State University, 1989
M.A. Art History, University of New Mexico, 1991
Ph.D. Art History, University of New Mexico, 1999

ABSTRACT

For over a century, Native American artists of the southern Columbia River Plateau have embroidered seed beads onto personal accessories and garments using a variety of floral compositions. Some observers have speculated that these designs emerged as local Indian people saw decorated objects belonging to those Great Lakes and Woodlands Indians who were employed in the Columbia River fur trade. Credit for the origins of the style has also been assigned to the Cree, Ojibwa, and Métis wives of fur company employees. While Plateau scholars have argued that regional floral design began in response to intrusive Native influences, researchers have concluded that throughout other areas of Native North America, indigenous floral decoration appeared in the wake of westward Euroamerican expansion.

Few eastern Indians were actually present in the

Plateau after 1810 and they were persons of little influence. These men generally married local Indian women and few eastern Indian women ever visited the region. An exhaustive search of museum collections reveals that Eastern peoples seldom used floral designs before the 1840s. From a stylistic perspective, pre-1840 embroidered articles from the Woodlands and Great Lakes would not have prompted other groups to produce floral imagery.

The visual and material records also reveal that floral designs were first used by the Nez Perce, Palouse, Walla Walla, Cayuse, Umatilla, and Yakima peoples during the 1860s. The adoption of this new iconographic system occurred only after seed beads became readily available and after these same groups began to actively interact with growing numbers of Euroamericans. Regional white settlement began in earnest after 1840 and the presence of European and American trade items also increased. Commercially produced and homemade Euroamerican manufactures of this period were frequently adorned with floral motifs. The decoration of these items shares stylistic affinities with the earliest regional examples of Indian-made floral embroidery.

The southern Plateau floral style was first practiced by persons residing in reservation communities. Initial examples of regional floral art may thus reflect an Indian identity that was being redefined as it responded to acculturation pressures and the realities of interracial coexistence.

THE ORIGINS OF FLORAL-DESIGN BEADWORK
IN THE SOUTHERN COLUMBIA RIVER PLATEAU

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INTRODUCTION

Over a century ago, Native American artists in the Columbia River Plateau region of the Pacific Northwest began to embroider seed beads onto some of their personal accessories and garments using a variety of floral compositions. Much of the academic attention that has focused on this iconographic system has included speculation that Plateau floral design began as a stylistic byproduct of artistic traditions brought into the Columbia River drainage by those Great Lakes and Woodlands Indians who were locally employed in the fur trade. Credit for the style has also been given to the Cree, Chippewa, and Métis wives of fur company employees.

A modest number of eastern Indians and their descendants were present in the Plateau after 1810 but no well-documented examples of regional floral beadwork have yet been demonstrated to predate 1860. This suggests the possibility that Plateau artists did not receive their initial inspiration for producing floral patterns from intrusive Native objects and instruction. Rather, it raises the prospect that the design style developed as Plateau peoples interacted with growing numbers of Euroamericans. White settlement began in earnest after 1840, the reservation system was established in 1855, and increasing numbers of European and American trade items appeared in the region. At this same time, contemporary mainstream

Euroamerican culture was consumed with Victorian decorative tastes and diverse floral motifs were ubiquitous on a variety of commercially produced and handmade manufactures.

The study of Plateau floral design offers a unique opportunity to explore questions related to several neglected aspects of America's art historical discourse. First and foremost, the traditional art forms of Native American people have received little scrutiny from academic researchers. Art produced within the Euroamerican tradition has been the subject of a majority of the scholarly study and discussion. Too, within the context of Native American art, little has been published about Plateau art.[1] The region has often been seen as a transitional zone whose art forms are partially influenced by the Plains and partially influenced by the Northwest Coast. Some texts have addressed the region in tandem with the Plains or Great Basin; others have ignored its presence entirely. Finally, as Plateau art has been ignored, so often has the study of indigenous floral design been neglected. Early discussions are limited to whether or not floral motifs were inspired by the pedagogical activity of French nuns or whether the designs proceeded from a Native response to the natural world.

Writing in the Autumn 1997 issue of *American Indian Art Magazine*, Andrew Hunter Whiteford offered several additional reasons for biases against the art style:

> In spite of the Indians' enthusiasm for floral designs, floral beadwork has generally been held in low regard by most curators and serious collectors of Indian art, who have shown a preference for geometric designs....Because many collectors tend to be antiquarians, they believe that older is better, and art from the past is superior to art produced in more recent times. Floral designs are usually held in low esteem compared with woven geometric designs that are regarded as earlier...and purer examples of unsullied Indian aesthetics.[2]

Whiteford continued by noting other factors that have created a lack of esteem for Indian floral embroidery. He suggested that the late manufacture date of many floral items contributed to an abundance of such pieces in the art market. This in turn prompted a low value for the material. He further observed that various writers active during the early decades of the twentieth century found floral patterns to be inferior and "degenerate." Their readers subsequently adopted negative attitudes about the style. Finally, floral motifs were generally rejected as mainstream society spurned the aesthetics of its Victorian past. Whiteford noted that the art world has been particularly vehement in its aversion to representational expression.[3]

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Recent scholarship of the dynamics of floral decoration as it became manifest in various regions of Native North America makes it clear that the emergence of the iconographic style was generally accompanied by dramatic social changes. In many cases, the art form seems to have

symbolized a reinvigorated Indian identity within the context of severe acculturation pressures.[4] Nelson Graburn has suggested that, "[a]ll peoples surround themselves with material objects which express their individual identity and their identity within a social category."[5] He has also claimed that

> [s]ocial identity such as ethnicity needs to be conveyed for two different purposes: for the members of the in-group--that is, for the other people of the same group who wish to get together; and for members of the out-group--that is, for peoples whose relationships depend upon their being different.[6]

In light of these comments, Plateau floral embroidery should appropriately be examined within the dual frameworks of nineteenth-century history and culture. This contextualization is critical because the adoption of a new iconographic form suggests that, coincident with the advent of the floral design style, Indian identity on the Plateau was being reevaluated and transformed. It can be argued that by integrating flowers into the indigenous decorative scheme, Indian artists moved from the creation of symbols that identified them as affiliated bands to creating designs that symbolically served as racial signifiers. Prior to the appearance of floral motifs, Plateau embroidery was essentially restricted to geometric figures. Although some stylized floral designs (here called "proto-floral" or referred to as "abstracted" or "geometricized") are evident, the appearance of regional floral motifs generally

represented a distinct departure from existing traditions. Stylistic changes are therefore not evident incrementally but are obvious as being a radical departure from what had transpired before.

For the purpose of this study, "style" is defined as "any factor pertaining to form, subject, or meaning which is sufficiently constant in a group of art works to establish a relationship between the works."[7] In theory,

> [t]he concept of style derives from the paradoxical fact that the endeavors of several artists working separately and often independently are found to exhibit a common direction, that their individual aims are unconsciously subordinated to an impersonal, superindividual trend, and...that an artist, by giving free rein to his own impulses, produces something that goes beyond what he actually intended.[8]

Meyer Schapiro's often-quoted review of stylistic theories includes this summary of art historical practice:

> To the historian of art, style is an essential object of investigation. He studies its inner correspondences, its life history, and the problems of its formation and change....[S]tyle is, above all, a system of forms with a quality and a meaningful expression through which the personality of the artist and the broad outlook of the group are visible....By considering the succession of works in time and space and by matching the variations of style with historical events and with the varying features of other fields of culture, the historian of art attempts, with the help of common-sense psychology and social theory, to account for the changes of style or specific traits.[9]

Style has also been described as "a replication of patterning, whether in human behavior or in the artifacts

produced by human behavior, that results from a series of choices made within some set of constraints."[10] This definition underscores the relationship between artistic expression and the social context that surrounds its production. Although criticized in recent years, the interpretation of art within the light of its surrounding social framework has served as a basis for much art historical research and interpretation. As Arnold Hauser has described it, "[i]ndividuals always find themselves in a certain definite situation in time and place; their behavior is the product both of their inborn capacities and of the situation."[11] In broad terms, the "situation" may be seen to include any number of economic, political, social, cultural, intellectual, or religious factors.

The study of American material culture has loosely offered a reverse perspective on this relationship between social context and material expression. As defined by Simon Bronner, three assumptions underlie the practice of using objects to search out cultural ideas. First, "objects signify culture." Second, "objects provide information which supplements, and may be distinct from, written and oral evidence." Finally, "physical information on objects can be synthesized with knowledge on spiritual and intellectual realms of human life."[12]

PRACTICAL METHODOLOGY

Given the range of geographic, cultural, and historical differences experienced by the indigenous peoples of the Columbia River Plateau, this study focuses on the Sahaptian-speaking residents of the region's southeastern expanse. The groups now referred to as Palouse, Nez Perce, Cayuse, Walla Walla, Umatilla, and Yakima were historically situated near the center of the Plateau culture region. Without arguing the validity of this socio-geographic interpretive system, these peoples pursued classic Plateau lifestyles although each was defined by a combination of unique factors.[13] They were to some extent tied together by shared languages.[14] They lived on adjacent lands and were often related through intermarriage and shared lifestyle. After 1818 their main source of European trade goods was Fort Nez Perces, which was located at the heart of their combined territories. They also resided in country that was bordered or bisected by a portion of the Oregon Trail. Each group thus shared roughly analogous exposures to the increasing numbers of white emigrants that traversed the region after 1843.

In searching for the early origins of floral design in the southern Plateau, several issues have to be addressed. Of obvious importance is the question of when the style began. With this resolved, it is possible to determine the legitimacy of claims that these initial floral patterns had been influenced by the floral embroidery traditions of Great

Lakes and Woodlands peoples. After determining when the floral style first began to appear on the Plateau it is also possible to identify some of the cultural contexts that coincided with its appearance. An assessment of the types of clothing and accessories that first bore floral designs offers additional clues to understanding the social milieu that engendered the style.

Several distinct bodies of data are considered in this study. The historic record is examined for descriptive clues detailing temporal developments in Plateau personal adornment. Written accounts are also used as a basis for analyzing the purported influence and activity of eastern mixed-blood and Indian fur trade employees. A review of nineteenth-century Euroamerican decoration as it was represented to the Native residents of the Pacific Northwest is necessary. Given that Plateau floral beadwork is assumed to post-date the ready availability of seed beads, fur trade and archaeological records are also studied to determine when the widespread use of these beads commenced locally.

Most significantly, the creation of an accurate chronology detailing the historic development of Plateau embroidery provides the necessary first step towards answering these questions. This requires the location and examination of as many well-provenienced examples of pre-1880 Plateau quill and beadwork as can be found. A great deal of the published writings relative to Native American art have relied on data associated with objects that have

been assigned tribal attributions and/or circa dates of manufacture. Anyone familiar with this type of object documentation can attest to the subjectivity and inaccuracy that is inherently associated with it.

In describing the use of textiles as historic documents, Rachel Maines has argued that, in order to be useful, the history of an object "must be continuous, that is, traceable from one generation to the next with a reasonable degree of accuracy."[15] As much as possible, the items considered during the course of this study meet this criteria. Most objects are associated with a known field collector and either a specific collection date and place or a limited period and location of collection. Some can be linked only to specific dateable events. Although a vast body of material has been removed from consideration through the decision to exclude undocumented items from the review, this has been done in favor of creating a chronology that is built on objective data rather than guesswork. Pending the discovery of a significant additional body of documented but contrary material, the chronology is thought to be accurate and defensible.

Unsubstantiated historical documentation is carefully reviewed to determine its veracity. In most cases, items said to be associated with Chief Joseph are considered highly suspect until proven otherwise. At the time of his death, Joseph did own a considerable amount of property.[16] It is doubtful that a majority of these items dated to

before 1880, however. Furthermore, no reasonable documentation can be attached to most of the museum objects that are said to have an association with the Nez Perce leader.

This and related phenomena of false attribution have been recognized by museum professionals for at least a century. In 1901, while engaged in collecting activities for Chicago's Field Museum, Merton L. Miller learned of a coat that was then for sale in Lewiston, Idaho. The garment was expensive but had reportedly belonged to Chief Joseph. Responding to Miller about this item, George M. Dorsey wrote:

> In regard to the coat which belonged to Chief Joseph I should like to see a photograph of it at any rate. It would have to be something marvelous to be worth several hundred dollars; but you must beware of people, especially whites, who have relics worth several hundred dollars. These things as a rule are either fakes or worth several hundred cents at the most. In regard to coats, by the way, let me warn you never to purchase a buckskin made after the manner either of the white man's trousers or of the white man's coat. The Indian's shirt goes on over the head and of course is devoid of buttons.[17]

The two items that are here thought to have truly been associated with Joseph can both be traced to people who figured prominently in his life: Nelson A. Miles and Charles Erskine Scott Wood. Ironically (given Dorsey's comments), a European-style coat and jacket that were said to have been made for Joseph are determined to be of Nez Perce origin and date to the 1870s. Any specific link between these garments

and the famous man is, however, most doubtful.

In order to determine the influence Woodlands, Great Lakes, and Métis embroidery traditions may have had on Plateau artists, objects with these associations are also assembled into chronological orders. The prerequisite of reasonable documentation is also followed for these items. A comparison of the various object sequences then serves as a basis for assuming stylistic influences and to test the hypothesis that floral design was introduced into the region by other Native people.

Students of the Plateau will note that recent changes in the preferred use of regional tribal names are not followed in this text. The choice to here use "Yakima" instead of "Yakama," "Wishram" rather than "Wishxam," "Flathead" instead of "Salish," and so forth stems from a decision to follow the spellings and name usage provided in the Smithsonian Institution's *Handbook of North American Indians* series. It is recognized that the nomenclature used in the various *Handbook* volumes does not always reflect contemporary Indian self-referential terminology. The adoption of *Handbook* titles is not here meant to be disrespectful of any Indian individual or group; rather, it proceeds from a desire to make this research understandable and accessible to laypeople who may not be aware of the most recent developments in Indian country. For the record, "Yakama" appears in this text as the historic name of the Indian Agency that was situated at Fort Simcoe, Washington.

Other confusing name usage here includes the spelling of Fort Colvile (one "l") when applied to the Hudson's Bay Company establishment of that name. "Colville" (two "l"s) is used for an American military post, the town that subsequently appeared near that same site, the Indian reservation established in 1872, and one of the tribal groups that now lives on that reservation. "Okanogan" is used as a name for a North West and Hudson's Bay Company fort and a river while "Okanagan" appears as the name of a people group living above the 49th Parallel. Fort Nez Perces throughout makes reference to a Hudson's Bay Company post at the junction of the Columbia and Walla Walla Rivers. Fort Walla Walla is used exclusively as the name of the United States military installation that is now surrounded by the present-day town of Walla Walla, Washington. Following a 1984 statement by the Métis National Council addressed to the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations:

> Written with a small "m," metis is a racial term for anyone of mixed Indian and European ancestry. Written with a capital "M," Metis is a socio-cultural or political term for those originally of mixed ancestry who evolved into a distinct indigenous people during a certain historical period in a certain region in Canada.[16]

As will be noted as regards the use of Metis (*vs.* Métis) in the above quote, all spelling conventions as given in quotes are faithful reproductions of the original documents. The first-person and other quotes used

throughout this work are free of the editorial [sic]. Spelling idiosyncracies in source materials appear so frequently that noting these occurrences would in total be disruptive to the flow of the text.

Finally, data that draws on the remembered histories of Northwest Indian communities is noticeably absent from this work. As initially conceived, Native voices were to figure prominently in this discussion. During the course of the research, however, it became evident that the Euroamerican record--written accounts, painterly and photographic images, and the holdings of modern museum culture--contained a significant, even ungainly, amount of pertinent information. Given the parameters of this particular academic exercise, the decision was therefore made to attempt a thorough and responsible summary of this material prior to searching out Native perspectives on the origins of local floral design. During the last three years, casual conversations have made it very apparent that a parallel and complementary history is alive in Indian country. It is hoped that this initial offering will encourage the telling of that story.

Notes

1. To date, a single art historical dissertation describing Plateau art forms has been produced. It is Barbara Loeb's "Classic Transmontane Beadwork: Art of the Crow and Plateau Tribes," diss., University of Washington, 1983.

2. Andrew Hunter Whiteford, "Floral Beadwork of the Western Great Lakes," *American Indian Art Magazine* 22.4 (Autumn 1997): 78.

3. Whiteford, "Floral Beadwork" 78-79.
The bias against floral motifs is at least a century old. While collecting on the Nez Perce reservation in 1901, Merton L. Miller wrote to George M. Dorsey for advice. "I have been puzzled to know whether it is best to buy anything made of Amer[ican] cloth or leather...I had a chance to buy a good baby board at Spalding - buckskin except the little hood about the baby's head - the upper part all beads *but a flower design* - $15.00 (emphasis mine) Would you advise me to get it?"
Dorsey replied, "...As a rule I never buy anything in which flannel or any other American goods appear to dominate; in fact I stear as clear as possible of all objects which show the white man's influence." Roderick Sprague, ed., "Field Notes and Correspondence of the 1901 Field Columbian Museum Expedition by Merton L. Miller to the Columbia Plateau," *Northwest Anthropological Research Notes* 5.2 (Fall 1971): 211, 215.

4. See Ruth B. Phillips, "Moccasins into Slippers: Woodlands Indian Hats, Bags, and Shoes in Tradition and Transformation," *Northeast Indian Quarterly* 7.4 (Winter 1990): 26-36 and David W. Penney, "Floral Decoration and Culture Change: An Historical Interpretation of Motivation," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 15.1 (1991): 53-77.

5. Nelson H.H. Graburn, "Introduction: Arts of the Fourth World," *Ethnic and Tourist Arts: Cultural Expressions from the Fourth World*, ed. Nelson H.H. Graburn (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976) 23-24.

6. Graburn 24.

7. Margaret Finch, *Style in Art History: An Introduction to Theories of Style and Sequence* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1974) 4.

8. Arnold Hauser, *The Philosophy of Art History* (Cleveland: World, 1963) 208.

9. Meyer Schapiro, "Style," *Theory and Philosophy of Art: Style, Artist, and Society* (New York: George Braziller, 1994) 51-52.

10. Leonard B. Meyer, "Toward a Theory of Style," *The Concept of Style*, ed. Berel Lang, rev. ed. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987) 21.

11. Hauser vi.

12. Simon J. Bronner, "The Idea of the Folk Artifact," *American Material Culture and Folklife: A Prologue and Dialogue*, ed. Simon J. Bronner (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1985) 13.

13. During the nineteenth century, the named groups manifested all of the "distinguishing features of the Plateau" listed in Deward E. Walker, Jr., "Introduction," *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. ed., Deward E. Walker, Jr., general ed., William C. Sturtevant, vol. 12: Plateau (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1998) 3.

14. Prior to the middle of the nineteenth century, the Cayuse spoke a distinct non-Sahaptian language among themselves. They used the Lower Nez Perce dialect as a *lingua franca* and this eventually came to replace their own tongue.

15. Rachel Maines, "Textiles as History," *American Quilts: A Handmade Legacy*, ed. Thomas Frye (Oakland, CA: Oakland Museum of Art, 1981) 41.

16. See Mick Gidley, *Kopet: A Documentary Narrative of Chief Joseph's Last Years* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981) 81.

17. Sprague, "Field Notes" 209.

18. Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer S.H. Brown, "Introduction," *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Métis in North America*, ed. Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer S.H. Brown (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1985) 6.

CHAPTER I: NATIVE NORTH AMERICAN FLORAL DESIGN: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

INTRODUCTION

Published studies of North American floral design have frequently been concerned with whether or not flower motifs are an indigenous invention or if they were introduced at some late date and reflect Euroamerican or mixed-blood influences. The discourse has generally been limited to twentieth-century writings, with researchers associating themselves with one viewpoint or the other.

Initial work was published by Frank G. Speck in 1914. In "The Double-Curve Motive in Eastern Algonkian Art," the author stated his belief that floral designs in at least a portion of the aboriginal Northeast were derived from indigenous double-curve motifs. His research prompted him to conclude that the double-curve had it origins as a "non-symbolic decorative element, a presumably indefinite plant or floral figure, common to all the members of the northeastern Algonkian group both north and south of the St. Lawrence."[1] Speck found that among various regional peoples, the double-curve was identified by a floral vocabulary and that many of these same groups also used realistic floral and botanical elements as minor augmentations within their double-curve compositions.[2] He reported that some Penobscot women connected the figures with medicinal plants, "as though there might have been some

feeling of protective magic underlying their use as decoration upon personal property."[3] Speck summarized that the primary (double-curve) motif was most evident in the Algonquin northeast and that floral embellishment increased as one moved west along either side of the St. Lawrence.[4]

The idea that floral designs had at least a partial genesis within the aboriginal American decorative tradition was subsequently challenged by Marius Barbeau. He wrote:

> There are barely a few traces left of the prehistoric costumes and body decorations of the early natives, in either actual or derivative forms....None of the garments which we now associate inseparably with our Indians were known to their forefathers...[A]ll [were] introduced by the traders and the missionaries, or through the imitative vanity of a people naturally fond of ornaments.
>
> Their decorative embroidery either in the form of bead, silk, ribbon, moosehair and porcupine quill, is a mere corollary of the introduction of the foreign garments with which they still retain their connection. The floral patterns of our northern tribes...belong, one and all, to the French *renaissance* and peasant art, and were adapted at an early date by the Indians to suit their fancies. The evolution of this spurious American art can easily be traced through all its stages. Sewing and embroidery, as well as other domestic arts, were taught systematically to Indian girls of Algonkin and Iroquois, even of Eastern Eskimo, extraction by the nuns in the ancient colonial missions and schools. Besides, the School of Art founded in 1669 by Mgr. de Laval at Cap Tourmente for the requirements of education and worship so firmly established the *renaissance* architectural decoration in the colony that it has continued unimpaired almost to the present day in much of French America, from the Saint Lawrence to Louisiana. The floral art of the Indians, interesting in itself, is merely its collateral development. In such published compilations as Speck's *Double-curve motive*, possibly not a single design can be traced back to prehistory. They are

derived from rococo figures and ornaments of the Francis I period as transplanted to Canada.[5]

A half-century later, Richard Conn summarized subsequent thought while seeking to reconcile both views. Conceding that French Ursuline nuns were at least partly responsible for having encouraged floral embroidery among Great Lakes (specifically Huron) women, he noted that Speck's double-curve did appear to be symptomatic of an indigenous floral design style.[6] In his essay, "Floral Design in Native North America," Conn addressed some of the complexities of the issue. How broad was the real impact of the Ursuline educational system? Noting that Indian artists often produced abstracted and symmetrical compositions--while asymmetrical compositions containing multitudinous and minor superimposed elements were a hallmark of European design--he wondered how to best interpret Indian floral embroidery when it is consistent with indigenous design standards and devoid of apparent European conventions.[7] He concluded that the origins of floral design are complex and generally the result of a combination of both existing native styles and European ideas.

REGIONAL COMMENTARY

WOODLANDS AND GREAT LAKES

Frank Speck's published studies of indigenous embroidery also extended to the Huron. Based on fieldwork conducted in 1908 and 1909, he found that a variety of

motifs executed in moosehair by the Huron were associated with flower species or natural elements. He concluded that three of these--the "balsam fir," "cat's paw," and "star"--had the greatest antiquity and were native inventions. Other design elements with floral appellations were thought to be later creations, in common use only since early in the nineteenth century.[8] Based on his findings among the Huron, Speck again hypothesized that floral design elements employed by Northeastern groups could probably be found to be of indigenous origin. He concluded that the three above-mentioned motifs mirrored designs widely used by neighboring Algonquin peoples and that at some early point they might have been borrowed by the Huron.[9]

Citing the arguments of both Speck and Barbeau, Alfred Goldsworthy Bailey observed:

> It is noteworthy that in the art of the Nascopi, who have been the most far-removed from European influences of all the Algonkian tribes, the double-curve appears to dominate the field, to the almost total exclusion of floral figures. Whereas the floral figures grow in importance with every succeeding tribe as one moves westward from the Montagnais to the central Algonkians of the Great Lakes. The floral designs preponderate along the line of what was the main route of the fur-trade in the seventeenth century.[10]

Indeed, Ted Brasser subsequently noted that Huron and Iroquois trappers, along with the many Great Lakes Indians who visited the French trading centers along the St. Lawrence, may have been partially responsible for carrying the floral style to the Indians of the interior.[11] He

suggests, however, that the Roman Catholic mission schools that moved westward along this corridor were more probably the actual purveyors of the style.[12]

Some of the earliest commentary on floral embroidery in the Northeast comes from Lewis Henry Morgan. During the mid nineteenth century, Morgan collected a number of beaded Iroquois items for the New York State Cabinet of Natural History. He claimed that floral designs were inspired by the natural world and that they were most difficult beadwork patterns to produce. It was reported that they required "an accurate knowledge of the appearance of the flower, and the structure and condition of the plant at the stage in which it is represented."[13] In describing the creative process involved with the production of Iroquois floral embroidery, Morgan noted that no patterns were used "except as they may have seen in the works of others."[14] He also noted that a striking Seneca bag with floral designs was "an imitation of the ordinary travelling bag of the whites, and not an Indian article."[15]

Carrie Lyford briefly discussed Iroquois embroidery in her 1945 *Iroquois Crafts*. She noted, "Because of their early contacts with the White settlers the native work became demoralized and gave way to the fashioning of salable articles of commercial materials after patterns used by the Europeans."[16] She reported that delicate floral designs appear in early Iroquois moose hair and quilled embroidery and that work produced in the former medium shows a "strong

French influence."[17] Lyford dated the production of heavily embossed bead-on-velvet items for the tourist trade to the 1860-1890 time period and noted, "During the last third of the nineteenth century in almost every St. Regis home some beadwork was being carried on, in many cases as a leisure time occupation, in a few as a regular industry with hired labor."[18]

In his "Notes on the Eastern Cree and Northern Saulteaux," Alanson Skinner stated that geometric and heraldic paintings were the aboriginal art forms of the Eastern Cree. Quillwork was not practiced historically as porcupines were scarce in the region. "Beaded shoulder bands, or bandoliers, and side pouches for powder, shot, percussion caps, etc., are used sparingly by the Eastern Cree, who claim them to be very modern in idea and art. The designs are usually flower patterns like those seen on moccasins. They are considered 'lucky in hunting'..."[19] Skinner concluded that floral designs were "entirely of recent acquisition," and he believed that some motifs suggestive of plant forms that were not native to the New World had been introduced by Irish missionaries.[20]

Frances Densmore's work among the Chippewa was conducted before 1925. In *Chippewa Customs*, she stated that her informants were unanimous in the opinion that geometric and linear patterns predated floral designs. A motif representing a rose was the first flower to appear; it was on occasion integrated into geometric design fields.[21]

Densmore believed that the initial Chippewa interpretation of the natural world resulted in the production of conventionalized plant forms. An artistic decline eventually ensued and subsequent designs revealed an increased imitation of nature.[22]

> The Chippewa women distinguish clearly between the old patterns of flowers and leaves and those which have prevailed since 1860-1870. These dates are approximate and differ among various bands of the tribes, but they represent the period when the Chippewa came extensively under the influence of the white man.
>
> At that time the whole culture of the tribe changed...An important element in this change was the great amount of material which became available. Instead of a limited supply of beads, the Indians were able to secure large quantities of bright-colored glass beads. At about the same time the traders brought flowered chintz and calico....[23]

Densmore lauded early floral designs for their "truthfulness" and was distressed that contemporary embroidery fused divergent species onto a single stem. She reported that beadworkers created their designs using birch bark or paper patterns that were combined to form pleasing compositions.[24] Without drawing conclusions, she also observed that the compositions of certain women tended to reflect the fundamental expressions of their personalities.[25]

Carrie Lyford's 1943 review of Ojibwa crafts reported a different chronological development of floral motifs than what was suggested by Densmore.

> Semi-realistic and floral designs have been used in the embroidery patterns of the Ojibwa since prehistoric times. Floral designs are found engraved on birch bark, carved on wood, and used in the patterns of old pieces of moose hair and porcupine quill embroidery. In the earlier work delicate floral patterns predominated. During later years, probably through European influence, a new semi-realistic style developed. The flowers and leaves lost their delicacy and became larger.[26]

Writing contemporaneously, Sister Bernard Coleman found that many Ojibwa designs employed during the 1870-1920 time period were copied from the patterns of the whites. "According to many informants, most designs were taken directly from patterns of embroidery or cross-stitch which they received in government schools. When I visited their homes, many of the women showed me these patterns which they had been keeping for years."[27] It was observed that many women between the ages of fifty and sixty used no other patterns than those given them years previously by white teachers of fancy work. Instruction in lacemaking offered after 1887 by Episcopalian missionaries was thought to have been a further source of patterns.[28] The Ojibwa tendency towards profusely decorated floral compositions during the time period was attributed to women having found it easier to apply beads to broadcloth than to hide.[29]

A more recent review of Chippewa design takes many of its cues from Densmore. The oldest forms of Chippewa beadwork are held to have employed geometric and linear designs. Floral beadwork is said to have been partially

inspired by the natural world, with "[t]he flowers, fruits, and leaves of many North Dakota plants and trees hav[ing] been translated into beaded designs."[30] Too, a motif associated with the indigenous wild rose is identified as the oldest of the floral forms.[31]

Among the Menomini, Keesing reported that floral motifs are a fairly recent invention with earlier and pre-contact art being essentially geometric. He determined that several apparent exceptions to this rule were "directly traceable to Menomini women associated with whites."[32] The advent of the floral style is dated to the middle of the nineteenth century, possibly commensurate with the early years of the reservations. Keesing hypothesized that "the different tribes cultivated distinctive styles of bead, floral and realistic work, which could be interpreted as the product of isolation in their various reservation areas after the land treaties."[33]

Alanson Skinner found realistic floral motifs to be generally absent from Menomini embroidery. He nonetheless believed "conventionalized" floral designs to be of considerable antiquity, dating to at least the early eighteenth century.[34] He claimed that this style of floral motif was a "fundamental trait" of Woodlands culture, that it was practiced by several groups who lived on the Plains, and that it represented the transition between the Woodlands and Plains culture areas.[35]

RED RIVER MÉTIS

Information about motif development among the mixed-blood and Indian communities who inhabited the margins of the Red River Valley largely comes from the writings of Ted Brasser. According to Brasser, painted skin coats reflecting a melding of Ojibwa and Cree traditions were being made in and around the Red River region after about 1800. The garments, derived from a tradition of cloth coats that post-dates 1780, were manufactured as fur trade merchandise and eventually became popular with a variety of frontier visitors. Between 1800 and 1820, floral designs replaced the aboriginal painted patterns that had previously appeared on the coats. The mixed-blood community then living near Red River is credited with development of the new motifs, possibly with input from the French Iroquois and Nipissing.[36]

After 1820, the painted designs began to be executed in quillwork. Quilled embroidery was replaced by silk and beads in the 1850s. The Métis style purportedly spread throughout the northeastern Plains through trade and intermarriage and some Sioux groups became practitioners of it after 1830.[37] Movement of the Métis into Saskatchewan after 1870 resulted in the eventual heightening of artistic affinities with the work of Cree artists and a lessening of Ojibwa influences.[38]

Mission schools are thought to have played an important part in the development of the Red River style. As Brasser

notes, "Increasingly naturalistic and flamboyant floral designs become noticeable on métis products by the 1830s, shortly after the establishment of Roman Catholic mission schools at Pembina, St. Boniface, and Baie St. Paul in the Red River country."[39] Priestly vestments brought to Red River in 1818 and vestments produced locally by resident Ursuline nuns are elsewhere cited as having supplemented the visual influence of the mission schools.[40] Decorations evident in St. Boniface cathedral also impacted Red River artisans. An 1851 description of the building's new interior notes that urns containing diverse flowers were painted over each column and that garlands of "vividly coloured roses" connected the columns. "The native women, who enjoy silk thread, bead and quill embroidery, came to copy these designs from the Cathedral."[41]

NORTHERN PLAINS

The Métis influence is thought to have influenced neighboring Plains groups, as noted above. Brasser claimed that an identifiable post-1830 Métis influence is evident in the embroidery produced by the Minnesota Sioux, the Sisseton associated with Fort Totten, and among some Missouri River Sioux.[42] Writing about Plains Cree beadwork in 1940, another researcher noted, "It was the unanimous opinion of all informants questioned that floral designs were introduced from the east by half-breeds and that formerly only geometric patterns were used."[43]

In the summer of 1833, Maximilian of Weid observed a Piegan leader at Fort McKenzie wearing "a shirt of very white bighorn leather, embroidered on the sleeves with blue flowers."[44] In *Blackfeet Crafts*, John Ewers noted that the description of this garment represents the sole extant pre-1850 reference to the presence of floral designs among the Blackfeet. He speculated that the shirt may have been manufactured by a member of another tribal group.[45] Regarding Blackfeet floral design, Ewers commented that elderly Indians (c. 1945) recalled no use of floral motifs in old quillwork and that it appeared only rarely in the beadwork of their youth.

> Some older Indians claim that Blackfeet women, married to White men at Fort Benton, obtained the patterns from pieces of embroidery in the possession of their husbands. Others have said that the Blackfeet copied the floral designs of the Cree, Ojibwa, or Flathead...The Plains Cree themselves attribute the origins of their floral designs to halfbreeds from the east.[46]

Ewers also mentioned that prior to 1870, a few Blackfeet women did utilize leaf designs. In these instances, pressed leaves were used as patterns for leaf forms that were cut from colored flannel; these were then sewn onto a background and outlined with so-called "real" beads.[47] He stated that floral beadwork began in earnest after the mid 1870s, when seed beads became more readily available. The double-curve was also introduced at about this time. According to one theory, the local inspiration

for this motif was a design evident on the stoves of a few white men who lived in Blackfeet country.[48]

Crow floral design has had mixed interpretation. Wildschut and Ewers found that the popularity of the floral style grew during the Reservation Period and that it paralleled contemporaneous developments among the Blackfoot. They speculated that both tribes may have been influenced by Cree beadwork.[49] Richard Conn gave the Crow credit for having melded floral motifs with their own strong geometric tradition. This eventually produced a style that "achieved the most complete integration of geometric and floral design in North America."[50] The Crow subsequently adopted a floral embroidery style that reflects significant Euroamerican design influences.

SUBARCTIC

A variety of influences are seen providing the initial inspiration for Subarctic floral design. A métis presence and mission school activities figure prominently in the equation, but the presence of European fashions and a variety of European ethnic communities are also cited as possible sources for design ideas. According to Hail and Duncan, floral embroidery in silk and beads began to appear throughout the Subarctic during the mid-nineteenth century. The new style replaced a previously existing tradition of painted, quilled, and incised geometric design.[51]

At the beginning of the third quarter of the nineteenth

century, many Subarctic Athapaskans still preferred dentalium and other shell ornaments. The increasing supplies of beads becoming available at Hudson's Bay Company posts were "mostly purchased by the wives of Canadian voyagers or half-breeds residing in the establishment."[52] A later observer noted another difference between the artistic activity of métis and native craftworkers. Caspar Whitney found Subarctic silk embroidery of the 1890s to be a recent introduction, and one that was "confined entirely to half-breeds."[53] He gave the French métis primary credit for the promotion of floral-design embroidery throughout northern Canada, although he personally found the style to be less striking than the "pure Indian designs of the more southerly tribes."[54]

The métis and parochial school influence was still active in the twentieth century. J. Alden Mason's "Notes on the Indians of the Great Slave Lake Area" includes the comment:

> In practically every line the work done by half-blood women and by native girls in the mission schools is far superior to purely native work....Bead and silkwork are the principal methods of decoration employed. In both, floral designs are the only ones used and the better work is not done by "bush" Indians....Porcupine quillwork is doubtless an art of indigenous origin. Nevertheless the best work is done by half breeds.[55]

Conversely, latter-day informants suggest that the embroidery produced by mixed-blood and native communities

was essentially the same. The purported superiority of métis handiwork is attributed to the relatively more comfortable living environments of métis women.[56] Those women--métis and native--who received formal embroidery instruction from Catholic nuns were all taught the same techniques and worked from identical patterns.[57]

NORTHWEST COAST

Kate Duncan has suggested that floral beadwork evident among the Tlingit in the 1870s possibly reflected interaction with inland Athapaskan groups. Metal bracelets produced contemporaneously also contain designs that may have taken their inspiration from the same source.[58] Richard Conn likewise believed that the embroidery of interior groups probably inspired the appearance of floral designs on the coast.[59]

Although not executed in embroidery, mention must also be made of the Haida "Leaf and Flower" totem pole. The pole, erected at Yan in the Queen Charlotte Islands, was produced in a context and time that is analogous with the contemporary appearance of floral designs in other mediums. According to Barbeau:

> This pole belonged to chief Gayaw, a member of the Stlinlanaws clan of the Ravens, formerly of the Tiyan tribe on the northwest coast....These leaves and flowers, represented in low-relief carving in the upper half of the pole, were called Valuable-Leaves (*rhilkwaiyas*), and belonged as a crest to Gayaw and his family.
>
> Long after Victoria was established [the

> Hudson's Bay Company fort was founded there in 1843], the Haidas of the Taiyan tribe, particularly the family of Gayaw, journeyed several times by dug-out canoe to Victoria, and acquired wealth there... These people greatly admired the garden flowers in the white man's town, and when they came home, were the first to adopt them as a family emblem and have them carved on their totem pole.[60]

THE PLATEAU

Plateau floral design scholarship has not produced an extensive bibliography. Opinion has generally supported the theory that the style was initially influenced by the work of eastern artists. Richard Conn summarized this in 1979.

> The trans-continental route of the fur company brigades crossed the Rockies and descended the Columbia River. Historical accounts document the presence of many Ojibwa and eastern native men in the region shortly after 1815. By mid-century, floral design had also appeared. At first, Plateau floral design resembled contemporaneous Ojibwa beadwork: bilateral organization, semi-realistic floral forms, etc. There were even examples of the double-curve. It thus appears that between the 1840s and some point late in the century Plateau beadworkers were copying Ojibwa prototypes of floral design.[61]

Several years later, John Gogol pursued the argument of a theoretical Iroquois, Huron, and Canadian Woodlands influence. The presence of such persons in the Pacific Northwest fur trade was reportedly "significant for the development of beadwork traditions in the Plateau" as "these adventuring warriors obviously brought with them westward the clothing and paraphenalia [*sic*] of their tribal

background."[62] According to Gogol:

> The Indians of the Columbia river must have stood in awe of these eastern Indians, aggressive and defiant in their wealthy raiment of beads...They were certainly much envied and soon imitated....Because of their wages and access to trade goods, the Iroquois trappers...were able to provide their wives with large quantities of beads to decorate their clothes and gear. The wives, and others, certainly imitated the type of clothing, decorated bags, and other items that the men had brought with them...[63]

Within this context, the double-curve motif is seen as the inspiration for all early Plateau contour-beaded bags.[64] Gogol also interpreted regional floral motifs as a local simplification of the "delicate French embroidered elegance seen on much early Huron and Iroquois beadwork."[65]

Kate Duncan supported the theory of eastern influence in a 1991 essay. Here, Plateau floral was found to have developed after the mid-nineteenth century with the beadwork of some Subarctic and Great Lakes peoples providing the stimulus for the burgeoning style. The firebags and shot pouches of Iroquois, Ojibwa, Cree, and Métis manufacture are specifically cited as having inspired Plateau women to experiment with their own floral compositions.[66] In later essays, Duncan has continued to champion the theory, finding a Plains influence on northern Plateau artists and linking the material and cultural life of Fort Vancouver and the northern Willamette Valley to developments in Plateau embroidery.[67]

By the mid 1990s, Richard Conn still saw a mid-

nineteenth century horizon for Plateau floral design but he then felt it possible that the design style may have been introduced by the peoples of the northern Plains, especially the Blackfeet and Crow, "who had themselves just taken up this new concept."[68] Several years later, however, he was questioning the possibility of a Woodlands and Great Lakes influence. If the material culture of eastern native men had inspired Plateau embroidery artists, he asked, "how does one explain the relative scarcity of floral beadwork in the Plateau until the third quarter of the 19th century? Both documented early pieces in collections and drawings and other records made before the late 1860s contain very few examples of floral beading."[69]

Conn further questioned whether Plains peoples taught floral beadwork to those living in the Plateau. If the residents of the Plains had not previously shared their quillwork traditions with their western neighbors, why would they teach them beadwork? Too, beads were introduced into both regions at much the same time. A Plains influence would suggest that the residents of that region had gained superior expertise in the new medium before the embroidery artists of the Plateau were able to do so.[70]

SOUTHWESTERN CERAMICS

Floral designs also appeared on Southwestern ceramics late in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. In *Acoma and Laguna Pottery*, Rick Dillingham noted that a

parrot motif appeared at those pueblos as a pottery decoration during the mid-1880s. The "sudden arrival of an entirely new bird form, accompanied by novel floral motifs and design layouts, suggests external influences."[71] The birds, flowers, and compositions evident in imported trade cloth, Spanish colcha embroidery, Pennsylvania Dutch designs, eastern American crewelwork, and Majolica pottery are all cited as having possibly provided visual stimulus for the new style.[72]

In *The Pueblo Potter*, Ruth Bunzel commented on floral decoration at Acoma and elsewhere, as it appeared during the 1920s. Floral elements were included in what she referred to as a "purely representational" style.[73] The two extant manners of pottery decoration--representational and geometric--were then used independently of each other. Most potters worked in both styles but design problems were addressed according to different principles for each type.[74] Bunzel stated, "The naturalistic is very much the simpler of the two types, and furthermore shows very much less variability. The forms presented are always birds and plant forms."[75] She found that two, or occasionally three, birds were shown in profile on a given jar. These were commonly framed by an arch with sprays of leaves and flowers filling the spaces adjacent to the arches with the favorite floral ornament being a round four-petalled flower.[76]

Bunzel believed that all 1920s Acoma ceramic decoration, the representational style included, post-dated

the 1879-1881 collecting activity of James Stevenson.[77] She noted:

> The new style was already established in the early years of the twentieth century, for we have several specimens collected in those years. There is no collection of pottery made during the intervening years, so exactly what happened between 1879 and 1905 is a matter of conjecture. The two types are so utterly different in their whole approach to the decorative problem that although there are some few points of contact, it seems exceedingly unlikely that the one style gradually developed into the other.[78]

Bunzel found the change in Acoma pottery decoration to apparently be the result of a change of corporate taste. She could not "see any commercial motive behind this change."[79] Elsewhere, however, she noted, "The influence of the white man is more subtle and destructive. Pottery is manufactured for white tourists, and the Indian potter makes what the trader tells her the white man wants."[80] The railroad and the tourist market arrived at Acoma during the 1880s, early in the time period Bunzel noted as having fostering unknown but profound changes in local ceramic decoration.

INTERPRETIVE ESSAYS

Two essays published in the early 1990s discussed the cultural implications of the floral design phenomenon. In "Moccasins Into Slippers," Ruth Phillips considered the transformation of several Northeastern Woodlands objects as their meaning and form changed during the nineteenth

century. In each instance, items originally manufactured for native use and adorned with indigenous patterns--hats, shoes, and bags--came to be remade with floral decoration for the express purpose of sale to Euroamerican tourists. Phillips determined that these objects provided an opportunity for an important cross-cultural dialogue. Prototypical objects passed from Euroamericans to Native communities; Native artists modified the items and returned them to be sold as souvenirs. This production and marketing phenomenon was an important strategy in the Native American quest for cultural survival in the face of governmental extermination and acculturation policies.[81]

The author observed that the adoption of floral designs by the Northeastern peoples represented a departure from existing iconography. Noting the context of assimilationist pressures, she said:

> The wearing by Native people of floral designs, together with a variety of (apparently) decorative geometric patterns can be read as a way of signing their rejection of the pagan and warlike past in favor of an acceptably civilized and Christian mode of living. Floral motifs...were, more specifically, signifiers of fragility, passivity, and femininity in nineteenth century Victorian culture. When worn by Native Americans, floral motifs thus further signed their conversion from political independence and active military confrontation to peacefulness and dependency.[82]

Phillips further suggested that the association of floral motifs with ethnic folk clothing may have symbolized the exchange of Native American cultural autonomy for a new

status as a minor American ethnic group.[83]

Writing contemporaneously, David Penney discussed the role of floral designs in the arts of nineteenth-century Great Lakes peoples. In describing the Huron of Lorette, the Chippewa and Ottawa of Michigan Territory, and the Red River Métis, he noted that floral designs were seemingly used by each group to promote a preservation of Indian identity while simultaneously signifying progress and civilization to the white buyers of their handicrafts.[84] As regards Western Great Lakes dress, everyday Native clothing tended to mirror what was worn by working class white communities while fancy dress clothing and accessories were frequently adorned with beaded floral motifs. This latter category of attire separated the Indian from the non-Indian community and "functioned as an expression of Indian solidarity and vitality."[85]

Penney suggested that the Great Lakes floral style actually developed as a subversive exercise, whereby a civilizing art (mission school-taught embroidery) was recontextualized. Rather than providing evidence of assimilation, floral designs were reinterpreted by Native artists to become symbols of ethnic identity and cultural resistance.[86]

CONCLUSION

The above commentary suggests that the chronology of Native American floral decoration parallels the westward

expansion of the Euroamerican community. Although the aboriginal designs of most tribal groups were arguably geometric, floral motifs seem to have appeared in the wake of the fur trade, missionaries and their schools, and white settlement. Beginning in the Northeast, circa 1800, floral designs are thought to have been in use by the Red River Métis during the 1820s. In the decades immediately following, the style spread throughout the Great Lakes region and to those Plains peoples who were associated with the Métis. Subarctic floral embroidery is believed to have begun after mid century. Northern Plains floral adornment seems generally to have appeared during the third quarter of the century. The divergent floral traditions of the Northwest Coast and American Southwest seem to have had an analogous temporal genesis. Existing Plateau scholarship has nonetheless determined a regional advent for the style that would predate 1840.

Without question, the spread of floral design can be associated with Native American interaction with Euroamerican and mixed-blood communities. In addition to repeated references to the impact of mission schools, specific statements of white influence upon Menomini, Blackfeet, and Haida people have been recorded. In some instances, an increase in trade goods, notably the number and variety of beads, is credited with being part of the quotient. In the Subarctic, "the Metis were the cultural brokers, both the products and the agents of cultural

contact and change....It was the Metis who were the first acculturated and the most strongly, who led others in becoming urbanized and commercialized."[87] Only on the Plateau have scholars attempted to make a case that the adoption of the new iconographic system was inspired by Indian-to-Indian influence.

Notes

1. Frank G. Speck, "The Double-Curve Motive in Eastern Algonkian Art," *Canada Department of Mines, Geological Survey, Anthropological Series No. 1, Memoir* 42 (1914): 17.

2. Speck, "Double-Curve" 4, 7, 8, 10-11.

3. Speck, "Double-Curve" 4.
"....The idea expressed by the few who typified the older culture life during the author's early investigations seems to have been that the *floral kingdom is capable of beneficial influence on a large scale in human affairs and that wearing the design is one method of acquiring it.*
A similar concept, though one more spiritually elaborate, pervades the floral art of the tribes of the Labrador region..." Frank G. Speck, "Symbolism in Penobscot Art," *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 29.2 (1927): 79.

4. Speck, "Double-Curve" 15-17.

5. Marius Barbeau, "The Origin of Floral and Other Designs Among the Canadian and Neighboring Indians," *Proceedings of the Twenty-Third International Congress of Americanists* (New York, 1930): 512. See also Geoffrey Turner, *Hair Embroidery in Siberia and North America*, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford, Occasional Paper on Technology 7 (1955): 47-49.

6. Richard Conn, "Floral Design in Native North America," *Native American Art from the Permanent Collection* (Claremont, CA: Galleries of the Claremont Colleges, 1979) 78-79.

7. Conn, "Floral Design" 79.

8. Frank G. Speck, "Huron Moose Hair Embroidery," *American Anthropologist* n.s. 13.1 (1911): 9, 13.

9. Speck, "Moose Hair Embroidery" 13-14.

10. Alfred Goldsworthy Bailey, *The Conflict of European and Eastern Algonkian Cultures, 1504-1700* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969) 151.

11. Ted J. Brasser, *"Bo'jou, Nejee!": Profiles of Canadian Indian Art* (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1976) 42.

12. Ted J. Brasser, "In Search of Métis Art," *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Métis in North America*, ed. Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer S.H. Brown (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1985) 225.

13. Elisabeth Tooker, *Lewis H. Morgan on Iroquois Material Culture* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1994) 151-152, 255.

About the Iroquois, Speck had said that "the floral type of art seems to have gradually come to supersede the double curve in later times." Speck, "Double-Curve" 8.

14. Tooker 255.

In his field notes, however, he recorded that "[t]hey never work from patterns, or drawings, except as they may have seen them in print." Tooker 151.

15. Tooker 153, 255-256; Plate 18 following p. 261.

16. Carrie A. Lyford, *Iroquois Crafts*, Indian Handcrafts 6 (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1945) 71.

17. Lyford, *Iroquois Crafts* 72.

18. Lyford, *Iroquois Crafts* 73, 77.

The consensus is that these heavily beaded objects were primarily of Tuscarora and Mohawk manufacture, although other Iroquois and some non-Indians produced the objects. They began to be sold during the 1830s, shortly after Niagara Falls became a popular tourist destination. They were still being made and sold in the early twentieth century. Extended discussions of the tradition appear in Beverly Gordon, "The Niagara Falls Whimsey: The Object as a Symbol of Cultural Interface," diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1984 and Deborah G. Harding, "Bagging the Tourist Market: A Descriptive and Statistical Study of Nineteenth Century Iroquois Beaded Bags," thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 1994. See also *Mohawk Micmac Maliseet...and Other Indian Souvenir Art from Victorian Canada* (London: Canada House Cultural Centre Gallery, 1985) 7-15, 23-26.

19. Alanson Skinner, "Notes on the Eastern Cree and Northern Saulteaux," *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 9.1 (1911): 55.

20. Skinner, "Eastern Cree" 56.

21. Frances Densmore, *Chippewa Customs*, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 86 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1929) 183-184, 186.

A beaded sampler showing the antique line designs as recalled by a woman from White Earth, Minnesota, appears as

Plate 79. This item is number E278104 in the collection of the National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution.

"The wild rose may be considered a representative flower of the Chippewa, as it grows in profusion throughout their country. This flower appears in the simplest of the conventional patterns used in their beadwork." Densmore 186.

22. Densmore 186.

Brasser suggested that the developmental pace of Chippewa floral design was due to relative isolation from mission schools. This allowed a gradual incorporation of the new styles into the Chippewa design vocabulary. Brasser, *"Bo'jou, Nejee!"* 42.

23. Densmore 187.

Densmore (p. 191) reported that the native word for bead (*manido'mines*) is a combination of *manido* (spirit or wonderful), *min* (berry or bead), and *es* (diminutive ending).

24. Densmore 187-188.

Prior to the arrival of scissors, patterns were fabricated from birchbark by using a sharp fishbone to mark an outline of small holes. The lines formed by the marks were then cut with a knife. Densmore 188-189.

25. Densmore 187-188.

"Thus the patterns created by Mrs. Roy and her sister are upspringing in their lightness, and even the conventional patterns show a certain freedom. These women are cheerful in disposition, with a ready pleasantness of manner. Mrs. Frank Razer is a different temperament; serious, steady, and always industrious. Her original patterns are more constrained, a larger proportion are strictly conventional, and there is evidence of painstaking care throughout her work."

26. Carrie A. Lyford, *Ojibwa Crafts*, Indian Handcrafts 5 (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1943) 145.

27. Sister Bernard Coleman, "Decorative Designs of the Ojibwa of Northern Minnesota," *Catholic University of America, Anthropological Series* 12 (1947): 94.

28. Coleman 96.

See also *Straight Tongue: Minnesota Indian Art from the Bishop Whipple Collections* (St. Paul, MN: Science Museum of Minnesota, 1980) 27-29 and Kate C. Duncan, "American Indian Lace Making," *American Indian Art Magazine* 5.3 (Summer 1980): 28-35, 80.

"[I]t is interesting to note the cleverness of Chippewa

women in imitating what is strange to them by using familiar material. Thus, a certain type of bead chain made in black and white was said to imitate lace and to have been made at about the time that lace making was introduced among the Chippewa by missionaries of the Episcopal church." Densmore 187; see also Plate 81a.

29. Coleman 98.

30. Mark J. Halvorson, *A'nicina'be Manido' minesikan: Chippewa Beadwork* (Bismarck: State Historical Society of North Dakota, 1996) 5.

31. Halvorson 5-6.

32. Felix M. Keesing, *The Menomini Indians of Wisconsin: A Study of Three Centuries of Cultural Contact and Change* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1939) 205-206.

33. Keesing 206.

34. Alanson Skinner, "Material Culture of the Menomini," National Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, *Indian Notes and Monographs, Miscellaneous Series* 20 (1921): 267, 276.

35. Skinner, "Material Culture" 276-277.
For an additional summary of floral design chronology in the Great Lakes region, see David W. Penney, "Great Lakes Indian Art: An Introduction," *Great Lakes Indian Art*, ed. David W. Penney (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1989) 15-16.

36. Ted J. Brasser, "Métis Artisans," *The Beaver* (Autumn 1975): 54-56.

37. Brasser, "Métis Artisans" 52, 56.

38. Brasser, "Métis Artisans" 56; Brasser, *"Bo'jou, Nejee!"* 48.

39. Brasser, "Métis Art" 225.

40. Jan Morier, "Métis Decorative Art and Its Inspiration," *Dawson and Hind* 8.1 (1979): 29, 31.

41. Morier 31.

42. Brasser, "Métis Art," 226.

43. David G. Mandelbaum, "The Plains Cree," *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 37.2 (1940): 219.

44. Alexander Philip Maximilian, *Travels in the Interior of North America*, vol. 2, *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites, vol. 23 (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark, 1906) 158.

45. John C. Ewers, *Blackfeet Crafts* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1945) 38.

46. Ewers, *Blackfeet Crafts* 38.

47. Ewers, *Blackfeet Crafts* 38.

48. Ewers, *Blackfeet Crafts* 38-39.
Conn believed that the Blackfoot double-curve developed from an Ojibwa prototype. Conn, "Floral Design" 81.

49. William Wildschut and John C. Ewers, *Crow Indian Beadwork: A Descriptive and Historical Study* (New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1959) 50.

50. Conn, "Floral Design" 81.

51. Barbara A. Hail and Kate C. Duncan, *Out of the North: The Subarctic Collection of the Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology, Brown University* (Bristol, RI: Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology, 1989) 30-33.
See also Kate C. Duncan, *Northern Athapaskan Art: A Beadwork Tradition* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1989) 56, 59, 61.

52. Sir John Richardson, *Arctic Searching Expedition: A Journal of a Boat-Voyage Through Rupert's Land and the Arctic Sea* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1851) 391-392.
The Kutchin, however, did have a fondness for beads, preferring large white, red, and blue ones, as well as small white ones. These were used for ornamenting their garments. Richardson 391.

53. Caspar Whitney, *On Snow-Shoes to the Barren Grounds* (London: Osgood, McIlvaine, and Co., 1896) 60.

54. Whitney 60-61.

55. J. Alden Mason, "Notes on the Indians of the Great Slave Lake Area," *Yale University Publications in Anthropology* 34 (1946): 27-28.

56. Hail and Duncan 33.
See also Kate C. Duncan, "The Metis and the Production of Embroidery in the Subarctic," *The Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly* 17.3 (Fall 1981): 6.

57. Duncan, *Northern Athapaskan Art* 61; Kate C. Duncan with Eunice Carney, *A Special Gift: The Kutchin Beadwork Tradition* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988) 26-27.

58. Duncan, *Northern Athapaskan Art* 177-178.

59. Conn, "Floral Design" 80.

60. Marius Barbeau, *Totem Poles: According to Crests and Topics*, vol. 1 (Hull, Quebec: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1990) 409.
The pole now stands near the municipal library in Fort Rupert, British Columbia. A photograph of the pole with a detail of the floral element appears in Barbeau, *Totem Poles* 410.

61. Conn, "Floral Design" 78.

62. John Gogol, "Columbia River/Plateau Indian Beadwork, Part I: Yakima, Warm Springs, Umatilla, Nez Perce," *American Indian Basketry and Other Native Arts* 5.2 (1985): 6, 9.

63. Gogol, "Columbia River/Plateau" 9.

64. Gogol, "Columbia River/Plateau" 13.

65. Gogol, "Columbia River/Plateau" 13.

66. Kate C. Duncan, "Beadwork on the Plateau," *A Time of Gathering: Native Heritage in Washington State*, ed. Robin K. Wright (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991) 191.

67. Kate C. Duncan, "Beadwork and Cultural Identity on the Plateau," *A Song to the Creator: Traditional Arts of Native American Women of the Plateau*, ed. Lillian A. Ackerman (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996) 108; Kate C. Duncan, "Honoring People, Honoring Life: Floral and Figural Beadwork on the Plateau," *Native Arts of the Columbia Plateau: The Doris Swayze Bounds Collection*, ed. Susan E. Harless (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998) 92, 117 (note 7).

68. Richard Conn, "Plateau Native Leather Clothing, Traditional and Modern," *A Song to the Creator: Traditional Arts of Native American Women of the Plateau*, ed. Lillian A.

Ackerman (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996) 79.

69. Richard Conn, "The Plateau Culture Area and its Arts: Toward an Understanding of Plateau Aesthetics," *Native Arts of the Columbia Plateau: The Doris Swayze Bounds Collection*, ed. Susan E. Harless (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998) 52.

70. Conn, "Plateau Culture Area" 52.

71. Rick Dillingham with Melinda Elliott, *Acoma and Laguna Pottery* (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1992) 142.

The author stated that the earliest example of the style known to him probably dates to the decade following 1850. Dillingham 142.

72. Dillingham 142-146.

73. Ruth L. Bunzel, *The Pueblo Potter: A Study of Creative Imagination in Primitive Art* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1929) 29.

74. Bunzel 29.

75. Bunzel 29, 32.

76. Bunzel 32.

77. Bunzel 36.

"This whole [1920s] style is exceedingly unstable. Pottery collected at Acoma fifty years ago and now in the United States National Museum shows decoration applied according to entirely different principles. The all-over tendency which is so marked a feature of present Acoma design was not apparent at that time."

78. Bunzel 81-82.

To demonstrate her point, Bunzel contrasted the "modern" jars of her Plate 11 with the c. 1875 jars of her Plate 14. A comparison of the two sets of ceramics suggests not only a difference in the design formats but also that a corresponding change in jar forms occurred during the same time period.

79. Bunzel 83.

80. Bunzel 58.

81. Phillips, "Moccasins into Slippers" 33.

82. Phillips, "Moccasins into Slippers" 33.

Writing of the Niagara Falls whimsey, Beverley Gordon concluded, "Although it was purchased as an *Indian* artifact, and carried with it nostalgic associations with the supposedly wild Indian, it was in reality domesticated and familiar like the [Niagara Falls] environment itself. It was an object that was an accoutrement of a tamed or 'civilized' culture, and was similar to many other objects in the mainstream woman's life, but was distant enough to be identified as Indian work and thought of as exotic." Gordon, "Whimsey" 357.

83. Phillips, "Moccasins into Slippers" 33.

84. Penney, "Floral Decoration" 62-68.

Regarding Barbeau's theory about the influence of the Ursuline nuns, Penney noted (page 55), "After an exhaustive review of extant collections, Ted Brasser concluded that there was no evidence of plant or flower motifs in the prehistoric arts of the Eastern Woodlands and very few signs of floral decorations in Great Lakes art prior to 1800."

85. Penney, "Floral Decoration" 69.

86. Penney, "Floral Decoration" 71.

"Although there is evidence that the Indians transferred some of the symbolism of their traditional patterns to the new floral style, it is also clear that the ongoing change from magico-religious symbolism to more decorative art ran parallel with similar impoverishing developments in other aspects of their social life." Brasser, *"Bo'jou, Nejee!"* 42.

87. Duncan, "The Metis and the Production of Embroidery" 2.

CHAPTER II: THE SOUTHERN PLATEAU DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

INTRODUCTION

The Columbia River Plateau culture area is an arid region of western North America situated between the Cascade and Rocky Mountain ranges. It extends northward to the upper reaches of the Fraser River drainage and southward to the Great Basin.[1] As defined by modern political boundaries, the region includes portions of southeastern British Columbia, eastern Washington and Oregon, northern Idaho, and western Montana (Fig. 1).

The Plateau is bisected by the Fraser River, the Columbia-Snake River system, and many tributary rivers and streams. As a consequence, riverine traffic, riverside villages, and fishing industries figured prominently in prehistoric and historic transportation patterns, settlement groupings, economy, and trade. In early times, Plateau peoples shared social and cultural affinities with the residents of the Northwest Coast. After the arrival of horses in the eighteenth century, elements of Plains and equestrian lifestyles also became a part of regional existence.

On average, rainfall in the Plateau is limited to less than 20 inches per year. Although the average regional elevation is 5000 feet, the deepest river gorges extend down almost to sea level and the highest peaks reach nearly



Figure 1. Columbia River Plateau culture area, showing approximate nineteenth-century territories of major people groups.

10,000 feet. In the northwest, coniferous forests mixed with grasslands predominate. The north and north central Plateau is likewise forested and broken by grasslands and river valleys. The southern region is primarily a sagebrush and bunchgrass steppe wooded at the higher elevations and along its eastern and western borders. Early travel accounts often likened the lands adjacent to the Middle Columbia River to a "desert."[2] Within these main vegetative zones exist a diversity of landscapes and ecosystems that provided local peoples with a variety of plant, animal, and marine foods.[3]

The Plateau was historically the home of about two dozen distinct people groups. Most of these belonged to one of two main language groups: Salishan and Sahaptian. Seven distinct varieties of Salishan were utilized: Lillooet, Thompson, Shuswap, Okanagan, Kalispel, Coeur d'Alene, and Columbian. Within these divisions, Okanagan dialects were used by the Northern Okanagan, Lakes, Colville, Sanpoil, Nespelem, Southern Okanogan, and Methow. These last four groups are included under the "Middle Columbia River Salishans" rubric in Figure 1. Kalispel dialects were spoken by the Spokane, Kalispel, and Flathead. The Sinkayuse, Wenatchee, and Chelan (other "Middle Columbia River Salishans") spoke Columbian dialects.

Two Sahaptian languages were used by the residents of the southern Plateau. Of these, Nez Perce speakers employed Upper and Lower dialects. These dialectal regions

corresponded to eastern and western habitation zones roughly divided by the Snake River. Those peoples generally residing downstream from the Nez Perce along the Snake and Columbia Rivers spoke various dialects of the Sahaptin language. Other languages in use in the Plateau included four linguistic isolates (Kootenai, Cayuse, Molala, and Klamath) and tongues associated with Athapaskan (Nicola) and Chinookan (Wasco-Wishram) languages.[4]

ETHNOGRAPHIC OVERVIEW

TRIBAL DISTRIBUTION AND POPULATION

A group of affiliated Sahaptian-speaking peoples of the southern Plateau are the subjects of this study. These groups are now referred to as the Nez Perce, Palouse, Cayuse, Umatilla, Walla Walla, and Yakima. During the nineteenth century, these peoples occupied adjacent territories (Fig. 2). They were tied together by a variety of factors including mutually intelligible dialects and associated languages, intermarriage, common interregional trade networks, shared involvement in activities such as extraregional buffalo hunting and trading expeditions, and, as a byproduct of roughly analogous environments, cultural patterns and post-contact histories.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, their home territories extended well beyond the borders of their current reservations.[5] The areas each group controlled were generally much larger than the regions that were

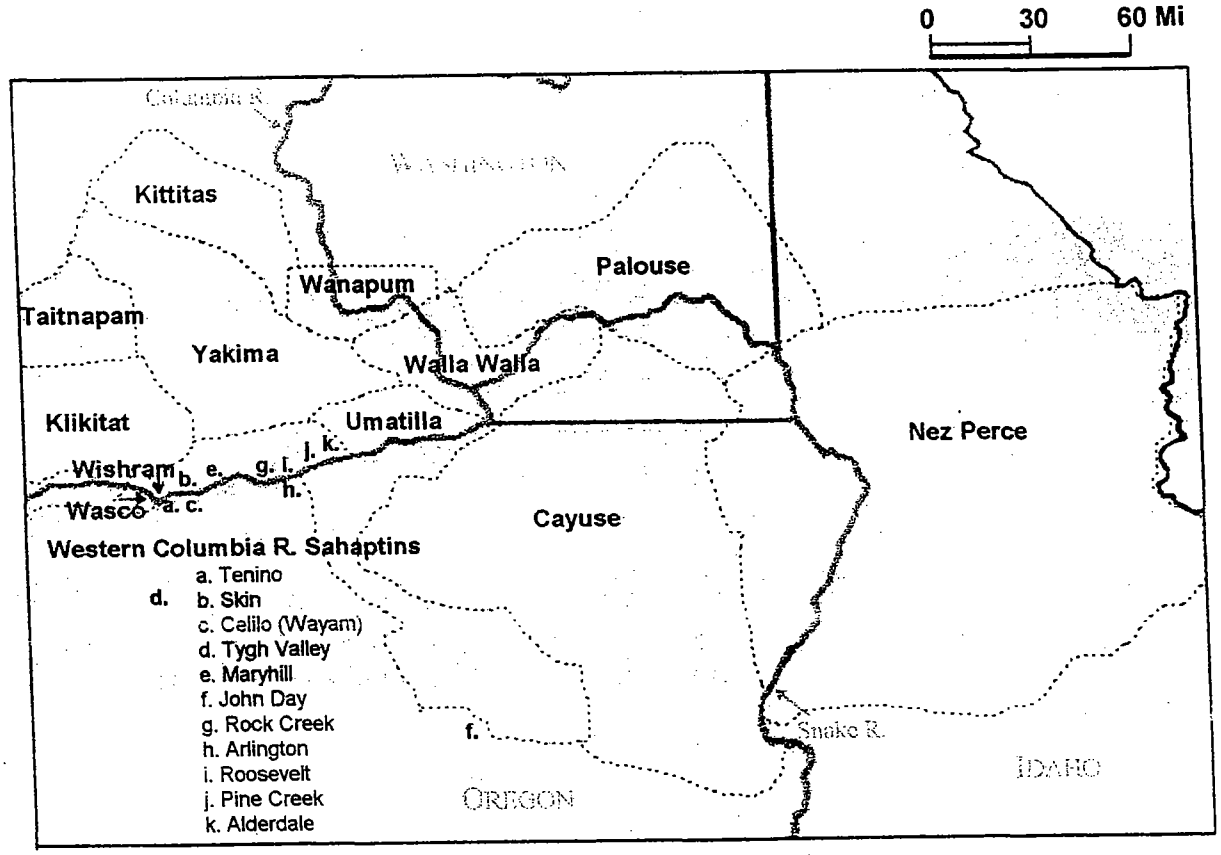


Figure 2. Southern Columbia River Plateau, showing approximate nineteenth-century territories of Sahaptian-speaking groups.

occupied by permanent settlements. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Nez Perce population (*ni·mí·pu* or "real people") probably numbered in excess of 4000. These individuals generally lived in small semi-permanent settlements (10-75 persons) that were spread out along local waterways. In broad terms, Nez Perce territory was bounded on the east by the crest of the Bitterroot Mountains (the current Montana-Idaho border). The southern boundary ran along much of the length of the Salmon River and crossed into present-day Oregon near the junction of the Snake and Imnaha Rivers. The territory then extended to the headwaters of the Imnaha and Wallowa River drainages and across the lower Grande Ronde River to the crest of the Blue Mountains. The western boundary extended north through the Blue Mountains to near where the Tucannon River flows into the Snake. Turning eastward, it crossed the headwaters of the northern tributaries of the Snake and Clearwater Rivers until the Bitterroots were again reached.[6]

The Palouse (*palúuspam*) population numbered about 500 during the early historic period.[7] Their territory centered on the junction of the Snake and Palouse Rivers (the village of Palus). It extended throughout the Palouse River drainage and upward along the Snake nearly to the mouth of the Clearwater River. The farthest upstream Snake River villages were jointly occupied by Palouse and Nez Perce inhabitants. Downstream from Palus, the tribal territory stretched along the Snake to its junction with the

Columbia River. Settlements in this area were jointly occupied by Palouse and Wanapum peoples.

The post-contact Cayuse (*lík-si-yu*) population was comprised of about nine bands and was generally estimated at fewer than 500 people.[8] The northern boundary of Cayuse territory extended to the Snake River and was framed at west and east by the lower Touchet and Tucannon Rivers. It abutted Nez Perce territory in the Blue Mountains and extended southeasterly through the upper Grande Ronde and Powder and Burnt River drainages. In the south it extended to the headwaters of the Willow Creek branch of the Malheur River. From there it turned north and moved in an arc to the west, crossing the lower Umatilla River before moving to the juncture of the Touchet and Walla Walla Rivers.

The Umatilla took their name from one of their primary villages, *ímatilam*, which was located at the mouth of the Umatilla River.[9] Umatilla territory extended along both banks of the Columbia River from about Rock Creek (Washington) at its downriver limit upstream to below Wallula Gap and the mouth of the Walla Walla River. Its northern boundary was in the Horse Heaven Hills. In the east it met Cayuse territory and extended as far south as the drainage of the North Fork of the John Day River.

The Walla Walla (*walúulapam*) inhabited the lower Walla Walla River drainage and the region around the juncture of the Columbia and Snake Rivers.[10] Principal settlements were located on both banks of the Columbia adjacent to the

mouth of the Walla Walla River, on the Snake River a few miles above its mouth, and on the lower Yakima River near its confluence with the Columbia. Nineteenth-century population estimates display a great deal of variety. The combined Umatilla and Walla Walla populace is nonetheless thought to have been roughly analogous and probably totaled between 1500-2500 per group.

The peoples now bearing the "Yakima" designation have a shared identity primarily as a byproduct of the reservation process.[11] They were originally diverse groups of autonomous villages and bands living generally west and north of the Columbia River and east of the Cascade Mountains. Major groups referred to as Yakima include the Kittitas, Wanapam, Klikitat, Taitnapam (Upper Cowlitz), and Yakima. Those Sahaptin-speaking peoples living north of the Columbia River and downriver from the Umatilla people were also assigned to the Yakima reservation. During the mid-nineteenth century, the combined population of these groups was between about 2000 and 3000 people. Their combined territory extended along the Wenatchee Range and the Saddle Mountains in the north and east and ran east of the Columbia River through the Hanford Reach downriver to near the mouths of the Yakima and Snake Rivers. The territorial boundary then turned west across the Horse Heaven Hills and paralleled the Columbia to a point west of the divide of the Cascade Mountains. Here it turned north and crossed the upper reaches of the Lewis and Cowlitz Rivers before angling

east to the Cascade divide and proceeding north to the upper sources of the Yakima River.

SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS STRUCTURES

Throughout the southern Plateau, settlement patterns paralleled the courses of the Snake and Columbia Rivers and their main tributaries. This linear arrangement of communities resulted in some intermixing of divergent tribal populations at the extremities of some tribal territories. In general terms, villages were autonomous and were comprised of extended family groups. Councils within each lodge provided the opportunity for adults to express their views on given subjects and select lodge spokesmen. A headman generally had informal oversight of local political decisions. During the nineteenth century, leaders whose influence extended to several villages are described in the historic record. Head chiefs with supposed authority over entire tribal groups were a byproduct of negotiations with Euroamerican governmental entities and the reservation era.

Plateau peoples were bound to each other through ties of family, friendship, and trade.[12] These relationships were often made visible through the exchange of gifts. Clothing or other manufactured items, food, or the provision of some service all confirmed and cemented the network of mutual obligations. Marriages were confirmed through an exchange of goods as the women of the bride's family provided the groom's female relatives with items associated

with feminine responsibilities (woven goods, root foods, etc.). The groom's female kinfolk responded with a reciprocal amount of goods having a masculine association: meat, fish, and leather among them. Mutual obligations were also maintained through the provision of food and goods to visiting friends and kinfolk, the elderly, the indigent, and strangers. Family and group ties ultimately promoted survival through the sharing of diverse resources.

After marriage, a couple often went to live with the husband's family although this was not a rigid requirement. The extended family generally consisted of multiple nuclear family groups who were descended from a specific set of grandparents. A bilateral kinship system allowed individuals to identify relatives on both sides of their families. In most cases, the relationship between parents and children was not as close as that between grandparents and grandchildren. Aunts and uncles also figured prominently in the upbringing of any given child.

The division of labor was generally determined by gender. Women had oversight of very young children and older girls. They were responsible for the gathering of plant foods such as roots and berries which accounted for between 50 and 70 percent of the diet. They also processed much of the fish and meat that was secured by the men. Women produced most of the clothing, baskets, tule mats, and many of the tools associated with food preparation. They were responsible for many of the camp furnishings. They

were the ones who struck the camp, packed the horses, and raised the lodges in new locations. Older women were tellers of stories; they also taught handiwork and other skills to children and younger women.[13] In contrast, men were active within the spheres of hunting, fishing, politics, and warfare. They also maintained the horse herds and devoted time to the production of select tools and weapons.

Broadly speaking, the southern Plateau peoples believed that human beings and their environment were the work of a Creator and that they were obligated to recognize this fact in the details of their lives.[14] The practical expression of this took a variety of forms. At about ten years of age, children were sent on individual spirit quests. In a vision, the young person then encountered the spirit of an animal, plant, inanimate object, or other force that provided lifelong assistance. The child learned a spirit song and was taught how to create an assemblage of items for use in spiritual endeavors. In recognition of the assistance that was being provided, the tutelary spirit subsequently demanded and received restrictions on the behavior of the adherent.

One byproduct of the guardian spirit complex was the series of dances that occurred during the winter months. These were often held in successive villages and attracted people from a wide area. They were hosted by persons who had some form of spirit helper. Over the course of several

days, a variety of spirit songs and dances were performed, sometimes with competitive overtones that included demonstrations of power. In some instances, tutelary power passed from one individual to another during these dances.

Communal religious activities are thought to have included a pre-contact Prophet Dance. In practice, the Prophet Dance usually involved a circular group of dancers and a leader who, after awakening from a deep trance, prophesied about future events.[15] The Washat or Seven Drums Religion of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (also called *wáashani* or by other names) is thought to combine elements of the Prophet Dance and the guardian spirit complex with Christianity and indigenous ethnic and cultural features. Prominent in the practice of the Washat are the first foods feasts which recognize the yearly return of important food resources: roots, salmon, and berries. The religion was popular with non-treaty peoples of the mid-to-late nineteenth century. Its adherents were called "Dreamers." It encouraged resistance to white acculturation and religious practice in favor of the continued pursuit of traditional Indian lifeways and practices.[16]

SHELTER AND SUBSISTENCE

In many cases, Plateau riverside settlements were permanently situated but occupied only during the winter months. Large longhouses served as winter shelters. These structures employed a sturdy wooden frame that was covered

with numerous tule mats. Mat lodges could be quite large and they generally housed several families. One or two families maintained a fire together; as many as ten fires and upwards of fifty people could be found in a single lodge. In summertime, when the people camped at fishing sites and on root digging or berrying grounds, they lived in pole structures that were also covered with woven mats. These shelters were easily moved and generally housed only one or two families. After the arrival of the horse, leather lodges made in the style of Plains tipis also became popular.

The Plateau food quest has generally been defined in terms of a cyclical enterprise. The mainstays of the regional economy--fishing, gathering, and hunting--were pursued in certain seasons and in specific locales. This required the residents of the southern Plateau to pursue a semi-nomadic lifestyle.[17] In the spring of each year, the people left their winter settlements beside the rivers and migrated to higher elevations in search of root foods. The root-gathering enterprise saw the winter villages divide into smaller familial units with each going to a preferred food gathering location. These smaller camps moved from place to place while searching for fresh kouse, bitterroot, wapato, and other roots.

In late May, the salmon runs reached the interior regions and the focus turned to fishing. Summer camps were established at favorite fishing spots. These seasonal

encampments were often quite large and included individuals from a variety of different groups. Men secured diverse fish species while using a variety of techniques that included netting, spearing, and trapping.[18] Women dried the fish and prepared and stored them for winter use. During the hottest days of summer, attention turned for a time to berry and wild fruit picking and the hunting of game. Huckleberries were a regional staple; chokecherries, gooseberries, and other species were also common in many areas.

In late summer and early fall, some people remained in the fishing camps to take advantage of the fall salmon runs. Others departed for higher elevations in an effort to procure camas and other roots. Hunting was an important activity during this season and both birds and animals were sought. The pursuit of game inspired the members of some Nez Perce bands, in tandem with their Sahaptin and Salishan neighbors, to embark on buffalo hunting expeditions. These protracted excursions generally lasted from six months to a year.

In October, the peoples returned to the winter villages they had left months before. Some moved to other settlements if new alliances had gained prominence or allegiances had changed during the preceding summer. During the winter months, dried meat, fish, berries, and roots were eaten. While a man might attempt supplemental hunting, food gathering opportunities were generally limited during the

cold months. Winter was a time for inside activities with storytelling, the creation of clothing and other useful items, and social visiting figuring prominently in the passage of time.

EQUESTRIAN CULTURE

Sahaptian-speaking peoples are thought to have acquired horses near the end of the first quarter of the eighteenth century. The southern Plateau rangeland provided a superb environment for the expansion of herds and the historic record contains a litany of comments lauding the quantities and quality of Plateau horseflesh. Observing animals in Umatilla territory during the spring of 1806, Meriwether Lewis noted his astonishment at seeing horses that appeared "as fat as seals." This was after the animals had wintered on the dry local grasses and had been ridden "with greater severity than is common among ourselves."[19] Looking back from the upper Clearwater River region, the Corp of Discovery's Patrick Gass observed, "Between the great falls of the Columbia and this place, we saw more horses, than I ever before saw in the same space of country."[20] A similar sentiment was echoed by Joel Palmer in 1846, who estimated passing 10,000 animals on the plains between the Waiilatpu and Clearwater Mission stations.[21] Five years before, another traveler guessed he saw 1000 horses in just the 12-mile span between the Clearwater Mission and the Snake River.[22] Oregon Trail emigrants descending the western

flank of the Blue Mountains complained that large herds of Indian ponies had stripped the Umatilla River valley of pasturage.[23] They also noted that the animals were among the "best" they had ever seen.[24] Describing the participants in the 1855 Walla Walla Treaty Council, Lawrence Kip noted, "Each of the tribes now here possesses large numbers of horses, so that wherever they are, the prairies are covered with these animals, roaming at large till they are wanted by their masters."[25] Mid-nineteenth century estimates of individual wealth among the Nez Perce and Cayuse ranged from 15 to 20 animals for a poor person, to an average of 300-500 animals, with herds of 1500-2000 head belonging to the very rich.[26]

The advent of the horse significantly impacted the southern Plateau lifestyle. Where the cycle of hunting and gathering had previously focused on a limited area, increased mobility provided easier access to a wider range of food resources. The presence of beasts of burden also allowed the transport of greater quantities of material goods and provisions. As a consequence, small autonomous communities often began to live together in composite bands. Some social stratification also took place as the development of an equestrian culture allowed select individuals and families the opportunity to amass conspicuous wealth.

Buffalo hunting was among the new activities that could be pursued from horseback. Southern Plateau peoples

traveled to the Plains in search of bison via the northern and southern ends of the Bitterroot Valley and through the Snake River Plain. Although the Upper Nez Perce are referred to as the most frequent visitors to the Plains, their downriver associates often joined them.[27] Protracted hunting expeditions frequently allied Sahaptian-speaking groups with Salishan speakers in order that all might be protected from Plains enemies. As early as 1814, Alexander Henry noted that the Nez Perces "go for buffalo every year with the Flatheads."[28] The historic record reveals that between 1820 and 1855, diverse groups of Nez Perce were constantly traveling and camping with bands of Flatheads, Pend d'Oreilles, Kootenais, Spokanes, and Coeur d'Alenes.[29]

The arrival of the horse also led to an increase in extraregional warfare. By virtue of their place on the southeastern edge of the Plateau, the Nez Perce and Cayuse were often subject to the depredations of the Shoshone and Bannock and they frequently responded in kind. While staying with the Nez Perce in 1806, Lewis and Clark urged that group to negotiate peace with the Shoshone.[30] With further encouragement from the North West Company after 1818, an uneasy truce began to develop by the early 1820s. Nez Perce, Shoshone, and Bannock peoples subsequently began to be observed together on the Snake River Plain.[31] Enmity against the Blackfoot was not so easily resolved. Mass excursions to the buffalo country provided Plateau peoples some protection from the Blackfoot aggressors. The looming

Blackfoot threat also led the Nez Perce to develop an alliance with the Plains-dwelling Crow. This association lasted until 1877; its aesthetic ramifications will be discussed below.

TRADING NETWORKS

One of the defining features of the aboriginal Columbia River Plateau was its regional trade system (Fig. 3).[32] The focus of this far-flung network of economic activity was The Dalles, called by Alexander Ross "the great emporium or mart of the Columbia."[33] As he perceived the situation in about 1812, the peoples of the interior came here to trade horses, buffalo robes, and native tobacco for dentalium and miscellaneous items from the coast.[34] In 1805, Lewis and Clark had determined that beads secured from coastal traders were the local medium of exchange. In exchange for these, upriver peoples traded robes and dressed skins, root foods, beargrass, and other commodities.[35]

The reality of the trade system was more complicated. The Dalles region was situated 200 miles from the ocean, on the border of the Northwest Coast and Columbia Plateau culture areas. The river here formed a bottleneck whose upriver end (on the Oregon shore at the head of Celilo Falls) was occupied by the Sahaptin-speaking Wayam people. Downstream at The Dalles proper, villages of the Chinookan-speaking Wasco and Wishram peoples were arrayed along both sides of the river (Wishrams on the north bank and Wascos on

Trading Regions	Products
Northwest Coast	
1. Vancouver Island and north	Dentalium shells, abalone, dogfish oil, canoes, and slaves
2. Makah	Dried halibut, sea otter skins, whale blubber, and whale oil
3. Lower Columbia seacoast	Sea fish, sturgeon, whale meat, seal meat, dried shellfish, candlefish oil, wappato roots, shells, berries, acorns, elkskin armor
4. Cascades to The Dalles	Salmon pemmican, salmon oil
Europe and America	
5. Coastal traders	Guns and ammunition, knives, axes, kettles, beads, blankets, and clothing
Plateau	
6. Western Plateau	Skins, furs, mats, silkgrass, rushes, root bread
7. Eastern Plateau	Bear-grass, horses, camas, buffalo robes, other skins
California, Basin, and Plains	
8. California-Basin	Slaves, bows, watertight baskets, pond-lily seeds, whitefish pemmican
9. Plains-Basin	Roots, tipis, elk meat, buffalo meat
10. Plains	Tipis, headdresses, parfleches, etc.

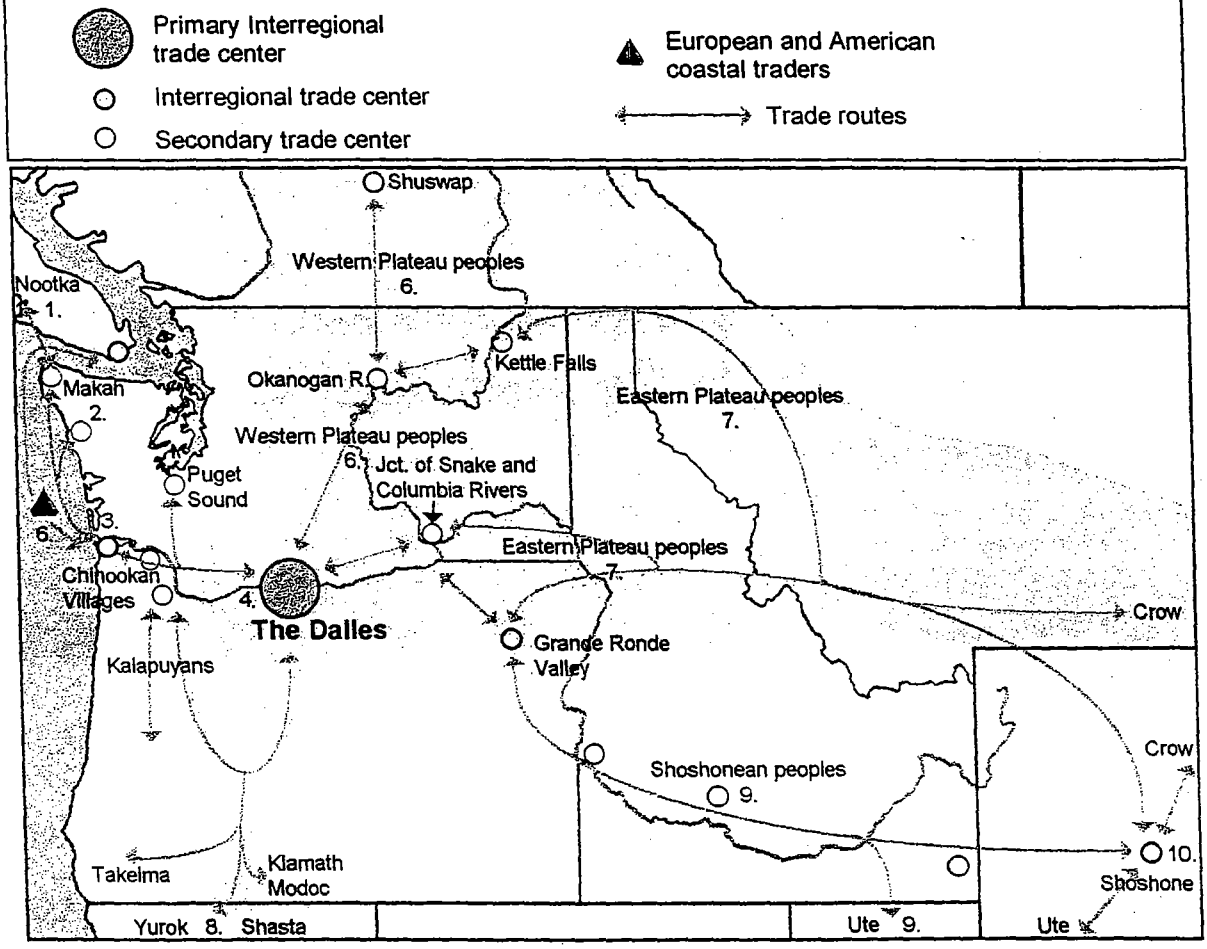


Figure 3. Plateau Trade Networks. After Stern, *Chiefs and Chief Traders* 22-23; Stern, "Columbia River Trade Network" 642; Wood, "Contrastive Features" 157.

the south). Despite being located at the interface between linguistic populations, sign languages enabled divergent groups to communicate. Chinook Jargon, a pidgin *lingua franca* that utilized modified vocabulary from a variety of sources may have predated contact; it may also have dated only to the fur trade era.

During the summer months, peoples from throughout the Pacific Northwest congregated at The Dalles for the express purpose of trading. Each group brought specialties from its own region to exchange for goods that had been made or harvested elsewhere. In addition to serving as middlemen in the trade, the residents of The Dalles region also produced prodigious quantities of a type of dried salmon desired by peoples from several quarters.[36] After the appearance of the horse, eastern Plateau peoples brought a variety of items secured from Plains groups. They arrived with regional foods, raw goods, and their own indigenous manufactures--root cakes, dried berries, dressed skins and robes, and bows. They also visited The Dalles to trade horses.

From the western Plateau came similar raw materials, regional delicacies, and various types of handiwork. The residents of the Great Basin brought additional foods, including whitefish from Klamath Lake and environs. They also brought slaves and goods captured from California tribes. The Chinookan peoples who lived near the mouth of the Columbia contributed a variety of other products such as

dried shellfish, seal meat, and sturgeon. Their manufactures included woven items such as cedarbark mats, hats, and baskets.

The coastal Chinooks also traded many materials that they themselves had acquired from a variety of distant sources. From the Makah they secured dentalium, other shells, canoes, and slaves that had come from the peoples inhabiting Vancouver Island. The Makah themselves produced whale blubber and whale oil, dried halibut, and sea otter skins. From ocean-going traders, the Chinook secured beads, clothing, iron tools, and other objects of Euroamerican manufacture that eventually appeared at The Dalles.

The residents of the eastern Plateau have been noted as providing The Dalles market with Plains goods after horses made such commerce possible. In the same way, these peoples carried items of coastal and Plateau origin back into the far interior. This material commonly included dentalium and other shells, salmon products, woven goods, root foods, and horses. The Crow often benefited from this traffic. Despite continued feuding, Plateau groups are also known to have met and traded with Blackfoot people after 1820.[37]

After the Nez Perce and Shoshone made peace, "it opened up a large trade for [Plateau] tribes, who took annual trips and bartered off their ponies and a shell called by the French Canadians Laqua [dentalium]."[38] In 1826, 1828, and 1829, Peter Skene Ogden encountered Shoshone on the Burnt and John Day Rivers who were looking for Nez Perce and

Cayuse people with whom they hoped to trade.[39] Much of this trade eventually focused on the Grande Ronde Valley.[40] In addition, the Nez Perce and Flatheads traded with the Shoshone, Bannock, Ute, Crow and others at the Shoshone Rendezvous in present-day Wyoming. Oral tradition on the Umatilla reservation also recalls that the Cayuse and others sometimes devoted several years to producing a quantity of clothing and other goods, then undertook protracted trading expeditions to the Great Basin and Plains. The usual route involved a counter-clockwise, three-year-long circuit that included visits to the Ute, Shoshone, and Crow.[41]

As it affected Plateau peoples, the framework of the Euroamerican fur trade largely complemented indigenous systems. When Lewis and Clark arrived they observed that a variety of items had worked their way upriver from the coast. The Pacific, North West, and Hudson's Bay Companies established their major regional depots on the lower Columbia River. The river remained the transportation artery along which goods moved and regional forts--Nez Perces, Okanogan, and Colvile--were situated near both the river and existing trade centers. Fort Nez Perces was at the confluence of the Columbia and Snake Rivers, Fort Okanogan was the confluence of the Okanogan River and the Columbia, and Fort Colvile was near Kettle Falls. In addition, the Hudson's Bay Company's Forts Boise and Hall were located near the Snake River and along the route between the Grande Ronde Valley and the central Rocky

Mountain region, a path frequently followed for buffalo hunting and trade.

The structure of the American fur companies' Rocky Mountain trade also replicated aspects of the indigenous trade networks. The yearly Rocky Mountain or Green River rendezvous was held in the same general region as were the aboriginal Shoshone trade fairs. The Nez Perce and Flathead, the Plateau groups known to have traveled to Wyoming to trade with the Shoshone, are ubiquitous in the accounts of the Rocky Mountain fur trade of the 1830s.[42] These historic accounts also reveal the multicultural nature of the trade, a factor that stimulated the exchange of ideas as well as goods. Warren Ferris noted that his winter camp (in Utah) during the winter of 1834-1835 contained 22 men, nine women, and 20 children. "[A] different language is spoken in every lodge...There are ten distinct dialects spoken in our camp...French was the language predominant among the men, and Flat-head among the women."[43]

Five years later, Osborne Russell's description of a Christmas party held in a camp that was situated in the same general area included the recollection:

> [T]he man who was the proprietor of the lodge in which I staid was a French man with a flat head wife and one child The inmates of the next lodge was a half breed Iowa a Nez percey wife and two children his wifes brother and another half breed next lodge was a half breed Cree his wife a Nez percey 2 children and a Snake Indian The inmates of the 3d lodge was a half breed Snake his wife (a Nez percey and two children). The remainder was 15 lodges of Snake Indians.[44]

Willamette Valley to trade livestock. This traffic had already begun in 1842 when the few white residents of western Oregon were still primarily of French Canadian ancestry.[47] In illustration of this phenomenon, a Methodist missionary stationed at the Wascopam Mission at The Dalles recorded that on June 9, 1846, "Ellis, a chief of the Nez Percés, is here with fourteen attendants and one hundred and fifty horses. He is going to the Willamette to sell his horses for cows."[48]

Three weeks later, the same missionary made reference to another aspect of the contemporary cattle trade. On July 1, 1846, the Walla Walla chief, Peo-Peo-Mox-Mox passed The Dalles on his way to California.[49] Walla Walla trading expeditions "to the Shaste country" of northern California were recorded as early as 1841.[50] An 1844 expedition to the Sacramento area included the "Wallawalla Chief Piopiopio...the young Chief of the Skyuses, Capcapelic the Nezpercez Chief, Latazai another Chief with some people of three different tribes amounting to about 36 Men, with their Women and Children."[51] As cattle were yet hard to secure in the Northwest, this party had hopes of buying California cattle. A series of unfortunate circumstances that culminated in the murder of a son of Peo-Peo-Mox-Mox caused this group to return from California without cattle or most of the horses they had originally taken with them.[52] The 1846 journey noted above was the second major cattle trading

expedition that southern Plateau Indians made to the Sacramento Valley.[53]

POST-CONTACT CHRONOLOGY To 1880

During the fall of 1805, Lewis and Clark and their Corps of Discovery became the first white men to enter the Columbia River Plateau.[54] In September of that year they encountered the Flathead in the Bitterroot Valley, then crossed Lolo Pass and met the Nez Perce along the Clearwater River. Traveling down the Clearwater, Snake, and Columbia Rivers, they arrived at The Dalles around November 1. After wintering on the Oregon coast, the Corps of Discovery arrived back at The Dalles in mid-April 1806. At the confluence of the Columbia and Snake they crossed overland, encountering the Snake River again just below the mouth of the Clearwater. Snow in the higher elevations prompted the party to spend over three weeks camped among the Nez Perce near what is now Kamiah, Idaho. They continued eastward on June 9, 1806 (Fig. 4).

Euroamericans established a permanent regional presence as a result of the fur trade. David Thompson of the North West Company traversed portions of the northern and central Plateau beginning in about 1807 and in the years immediately following established small trading posts that catered to the Kootenai, Kalispel, Pend d'Oreille, Spokane, and Flathead. In the summer of 1811 he descended the Columbia River, only to find representatives of John Jacob Astor's

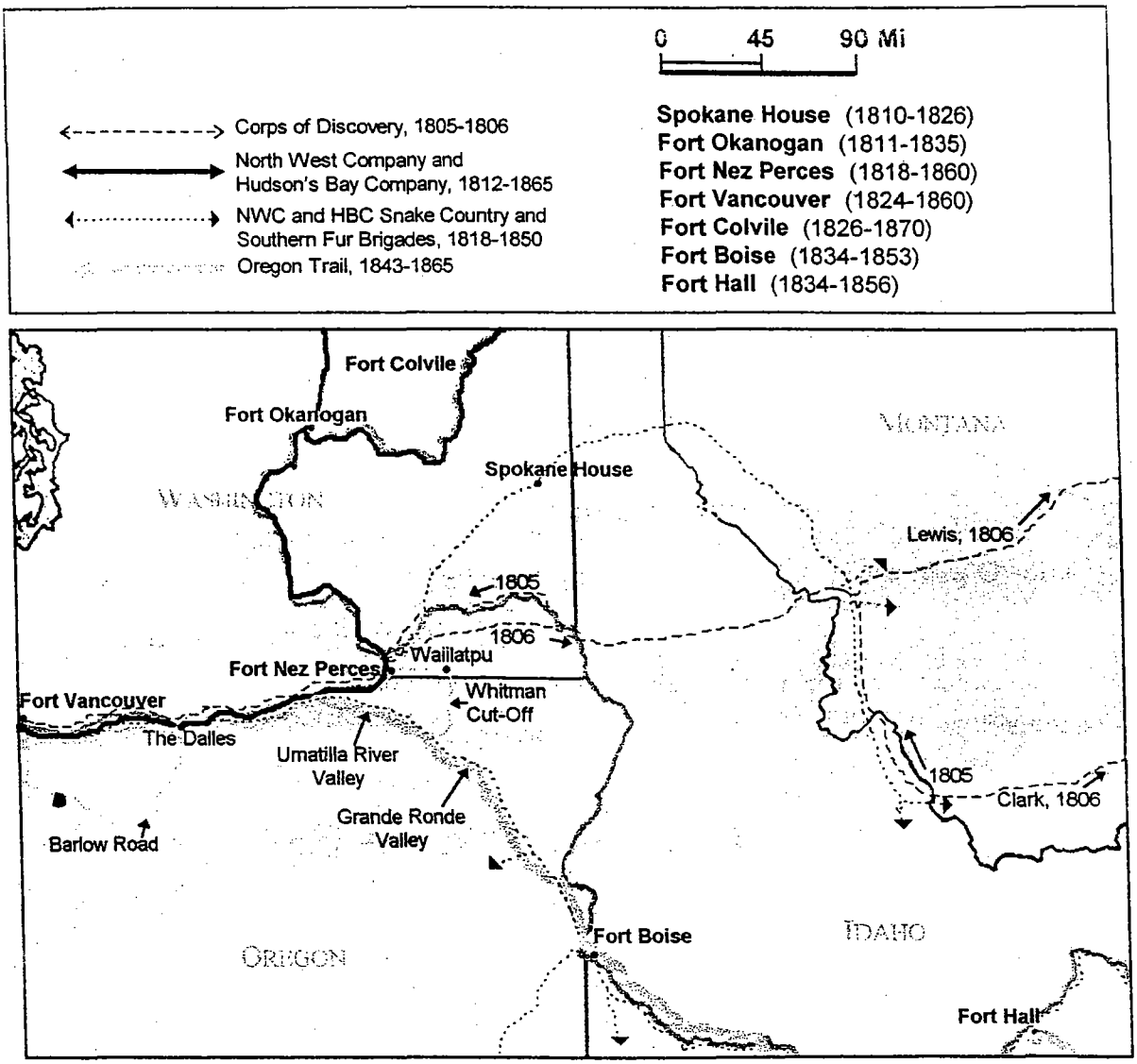


Figure 4. Euroamerican Corridors through the Columbia River Plateau, 1805-1865.

Pacific Fur Company already in residence at its mouth. On his way downriver he stopped at the junction of the Columbia and Snake Rivers. While there he conferred with local leaders, assessed the trade possibilities, and "claimed" the territory for Great Britain.[55]

The employees of the Pacific Fur Company made landfall at what became Astoria in April 1811. A second party of Astorians traveled overland to meet them. After eleven months and various difficulties, members of this enterprise passed through the Plateau, reaching the mouth of the Columbia River in February 1812. During the previous summer, other Astorians had come upriver and founded Fort Okanogan at the confluence of the Columbia and Okanogan Rivers. During the summer of 1812 they also founded a trading post among the Nez Perce near the mouth of the Clearwater River. This enterprise was abandoned after only a few months. News of the War of 1812 then signaled the demise of the Pacific Fur Company. North Westers arrived at Astoria in October 1813 to negotiate its purchase. With the arrival of British warships thought to be imminent, the North West Company secured the purchase of the Astorian assets and convinced most of its employees to remain on under the new management.[56]

With the North West Company directing the regional fur trade, the first major development affecting southern Plateau residents occurred in 1817. In that year, Donald McKenzie, the man responsible for the attempted Pacific Fur

(near Kettle Falls on the Columbia) in 1825.[60] This move was one of the policy decisions of HBC Governor George Simpson, whose trip to the Columbia Department in 1824-1825 resulted in a more streamlined and efficient trapping enterprise.[61] During this same trip, Simpson also began recruiting the sons of prominent Indian leaders for enrollment in the Church Missionary Society school at Red River. A Spokane and a Kootenai (named Garry and Pelly respectively, after Company officials) accompanied Simpson on his return. They were the first of perhaps ten youths to make this trip. Some of these died while in Red River, others returned and achieved later notoriety, Spokane Garry among them.[62]

The Rocky Mountain fur trade also came to have some bearing on southern Plateau life. By the early 1830s, the various configurations of the American fur companies had established the yearly Rocky Mountain rendezvous as the preferred method by which they could supply their nomadic free trappers (the "mountain men") and recover the yearly production of furs. As noted above, many Plateau people were active participants in the Rocky Mountain fur trade of the 1830s. By 1841, the Rocky Mountain trade fairs had ceased to exist. This was primarily a result of the actions of the Hudson's Bay Company, which turned several Snake Country trapping expeditions into Rocky Mountain trading expeditions. HBC traders arrived at the rendezvous with goods that could be sold well below the costs of American

products. These Company men eventually cornered the fur market and destroyed the profits of the American companies.[63]

Hudson's Bay Company movement back and forth to the Rocky Mountains helped establish a route that had been blazed by the Overland Astorians. Although it is now known as the Oregon Trail, it had no official name when Methodist missionaries followed it from the Rocky Mountain rendezvous to Fort Vancouver in 1834. In response to prior Flathead and Nez Perce delegations that had visited St. Louis in hopes that Christian teachers would be sent to their peoples, Jason Lee and four colleagues traveled west to oblige them. The Methodists chose the Willamette Valley as the focus of their missionary endeavor, however. In 1835, Reverend Samuel Parker and Doctor Marcus Whitman, who were affiliated with the multi-denominational American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, arrived at the rendezvous. Whitman returned east to secure reinforcements while Parker went west with a party of Nez Perce. After a year-long survey of the Columbia drainage that was intended to assess possible mission sites, Parker sailed for the East via Hawaii.[64] Shortly thereafter, Marcus Whitman arrived at Fort Vancouver with his new wife, Narcissa; Henry and Eliza Spalding, and William H. Gray also accompanied the Whitmans.

Without benefit of Parker's observations, Whitman and Spalding undertook their own quick survey and selected two

interior locations for their work. Spalding settled among the Nez Perce, about 12 miles above the confluence of the Snake and Columbia Rivers. Whitman chose a point about 25 miles east of Fort Nez Perces, on Cayuse land. Gray went East in 1837 and returned the following year with his own new wife (Mary Augusta Dix Gray), Asa Bowen and Sarah White Smith, Cushing and Myra Eells, and Elkanah and Mary Walker. The Eells and Walkers founded the Tshimakain mission among the Spokane (near present-day Ford, Washington). The Smiths moved to near Kamiah, Idaho, where they lived until 1841, before retreating to Hawaii. The Grays moved between the stations of the other couples.[65]

The year 1838 also ushered in the appearance of Catholic missionaries. In October of that year, two priests, Francis Norbert Blanchet and Auguste Demers, arrived at Fort Nez Perces in Hudson's Bay Company boats. They continued downstream and founded missions at Fort Vancouver and on the Cowlitz River. In 1840, the Jesuit Pierre Jean De Smet traveled from St. Louis to the last of the Rocky Mountain rendezvous. From there he journeyed to Flathead country where he remained briefly before returning east to recruit helpers. In 1841 he returned with five other Jesuits who then settled in various Salishan communities.[66]

The trickle of interlopers turned into a flood in 1843. That year marked the beginning of serious overland emigration as nearly 900 white settlers crossed the Plateau

on their way to the Willamette Valley (Appendix 1).[67] The emigrant road left the Snake River northwest of Fort Boise and crossed the Burnt and Powder Rivers before entering the Grande Ronde Valley. It continued across the Blue Mountains, traveled west through much of the Umatilla River Valley, and met the Columbia near the mouth of the Umatilla. It then continued west along the Columbia's southern shore. Spur routes included detours to the Whitman Mission and Fort Nez Perces (generally taken by those in need of provisions), a post-1845 trail that extended from The Dalles over the southern flank of Mt. Hood (the Barlow Road), and a post-1853 route that went from Fort Nez Perces to the Puget Sound via Naches Pass.

The groups most directly impacted by the Oregon Trail were the Cayuse, Walla Walla, Umatilla, and the peoples living along the river above The Dalles. The emigrant road also skirted the country of the Wallowa band Nez Perce who frequently visited the Grande Ronde Valley for trade. The Native population had reason to be alarmed by the increasing numbers of whites that passed through their territories; a total of 10,000 traversed the route between 1843 and 1847. An 1847 measles outbreak that killed many Cayuse culminated in the murders of Marcus and Narcissa Whitman and others affiliated with their mission.[68] As a result, all of the American Board missionaries left the region, as did the Catholic priests whose mission to the Cayuse was then only a few days old.

As a result of the killings at the Whitman Mission, a volunteer force raised in the Willamette Valley harassed the hostile Cayuse for much of 1848. Although joined in their resistance by the Palouse, no other groups in the region came to their assistance *en masse*. Cayuse horses and livestock were appropriated, and, in the end, the volunteers who had been pursuing them were granted the privilege of claiming Cayuse land. By the time that five alleged murderers were hung in Oregon City in June of 1850, much of the Cayuse's wealth had been lost.[69]

Another byproduct of the Whitman tragedy was that the residents of Oregon were able to make a case for their protection by the U.S. government. Oregon had become a part of U.S. territory in 1846 after the international boundary in the region was determined to lie at the 49th Parallel (and not along the north shore of the Columbia River as the Hudson's Bay Company had hoped). In August 1848, an act of Congress created the Oregon Territory and provided for an appointed territorial governor. Two years later, the Donation Land Act granted 320 acres of free land to every adult male and the same amount to each married woman (although the U.S. government did not own the land they offered). By 1855, 35,000 more emigrants had passed through the Plateau seeking free land in the West.

In 1853, Washington Territory was established. Its new governor and superintendent of Indian affairs was Isaac Ingalls Stevens. In that year, Stevens conducted the survey

of a possible northern route for a transcontinental railroad. In late 1854 and early 1855 he negotiated treaties with western Washington Native groups before turning his attention to the Plateau. In tandem with Joel Palmer, Indian Superintendent for Oregon, Stevens convened a treaty council on Mill Creek in the Walla Walla valley in June 1855. Although only two reservations were initially proposed, three were eventually established: Umatilla, Yakima, and Nez Perce (Fig. 5). The Umatilla Reservation was located on the west flank of the Blue Mountains and stretched north from the Umatilla River valley. It was designed to house the Cayuse, Umatillas, and Walla Wallas although its acreage amounted to less than 10 percent of the aboriginal territories of its inhabitants. The Yakima reservation was situated east of the Cascade Mountains and west of the middle expanse of the Yakima River. It was designed to accommodate over a dozen groups, including Yakima, Palouse, Klikitats, Wishrams, and some Salishan-speaking peoples. As negotiated, its area represented slightly more than 10 percent of prior land holdings. The Nez Perce reservation, which included the Wallowa Valley, was created as a Nez Perce homeland. As originally established, this reservation represented about half of the original tribal territory.[70]

The 1855 treaties were not ratified until 1859 and, in the interim, a series of events resulted in armed

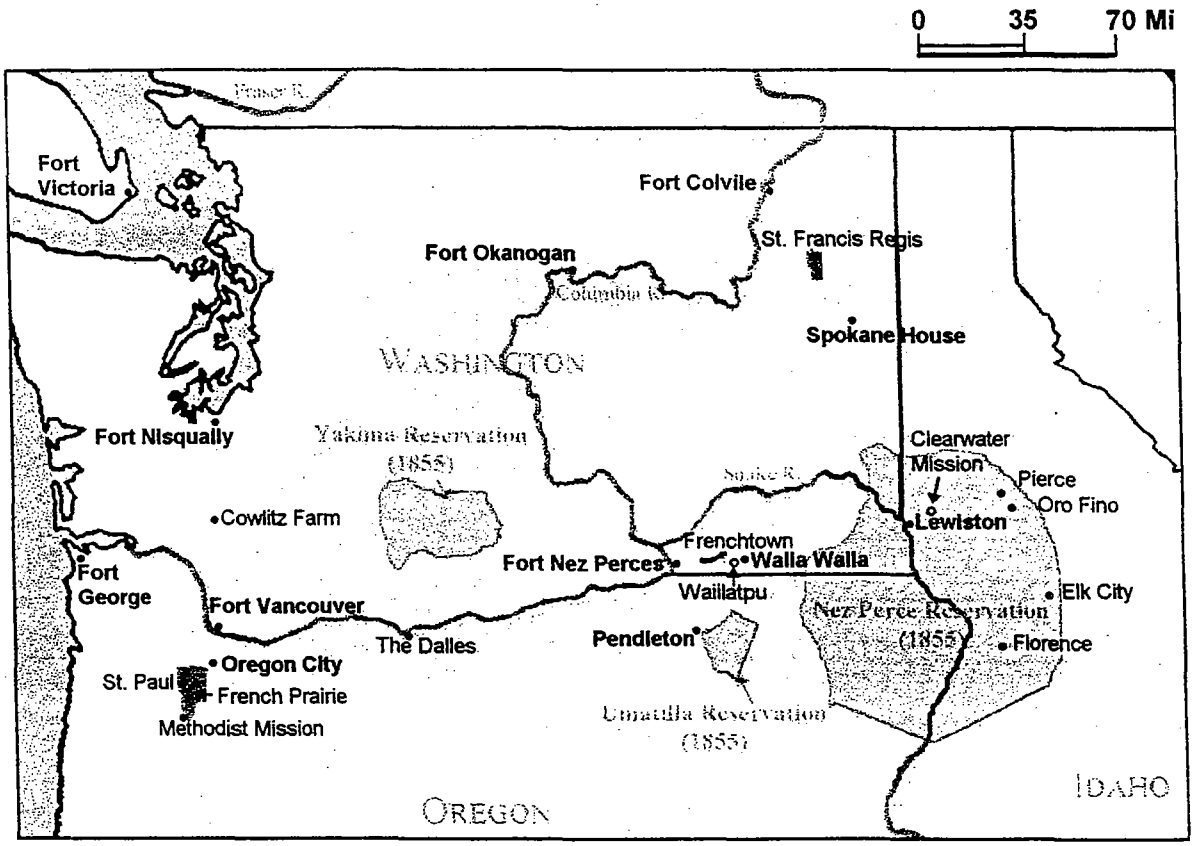


Figure 5. Pacific Northwest, 1805-1865, showing various Hudson's Bay Company posts, select Indian reservations, areas of early French-Canadian settlement, Idaho gold mining districts, and other features.

confrontations between Indians and whites. As a result of the 1854 discovery of gold in the Fort Colvile area, many miners trespassed on Yakima land while en route to northeastern Washington; some of these were killed. Indian disgruntlement over the outcome of the treaty negotiations was already widespread and, in September 1855, the Yakima agent was murdered while investigating the deaths of the miners. An armed contingent from Fort Dalles was rebuffed by a force that included men from both the Yakima and Umatilla reservations. Indian groups in western Washington were galvanized by the defeat of the American soldiers and they, too, initiated armed resistance. The war in the Plateau escalated through the actions of Oregon and Washington militias. In 1856, the Army established posts on the Yakima reservation and in the Walla Walla Valley (Forts Simcoe and Walla Walla) and all whites save military personnel, the Hudson's Bay Company, and a few others were ordered out of Indian country. Four companies of soldiers under Colonel Edward Steptoe who were marching toward Spokane and Coeur d'Alene territory were soundly defeated by a large contingent of Indians in May 1858. As a result, the Army adopted drastic measures and the war ended by the following September. In the process, Indian men were executed and many Indian horses and a quantity of Indian provisions were destroyed.[71]

Clandestine prospecting activity on the Nez Perce reservation resulted in the discovery of gold there in 1860.

The flood of miners that entered the region stimulated dramatic growth in Walla Walla and the eventual founding of Lewiston, with these two settlements serving as major regional supply depots for the men working the gold fields. An April 1861 treaty agreed to by some Nez Perce allowed white prospectors legal access to the Indian land north of the Clearwater River but the document was never ratified.[72] Fort Lapwai was established near the Nez Perce agency in 1862 to protect the Indian population from the actions of white trespassers and the continued presence of the miners prompted a call for further treaty negotiations. A June 1863 council resulted in an agreement that created a significantly smaller reservation. The homeland of the Wallowa band was included in the territory ceded to the U.S. government at this time. Representatives of the Wallowa band and others whose territory lay outside of the new boundary attended the meeting but did not sign the treaty. Instead, the Indian signatories were generally those Upper Nez Perce whose land was included in the new reservation. Thus the Nez Perce became separated into treaty and non-treaty bands. The new treaty was ratified in 1867; it was amended in 1868.[73]

The Wallowa band refused to leave their territory and, in 1873, President Grant established a Wallowa reservation. Unfortunately, the Bureau of Indian Affairs misworded the document establishing the boundaries of the reserve and the Indians were not given the upper Wallowa Valley and the area

around Wallow Lake as had been hoped. Rather, they were assigned to the lower portions of the valley where trespassing settlers had already established farms while the upper valley was declared the domain of the white population. The resultant uproar caused Grant to rescind his original order in June 1875 and the entire region became available for settlement after that time.[74]

The Wallowa band refused to give up their territory, claiming that its supposed sale to the government had not been honestly and legally contracted. An 1876 meeting between General O.O. Howard, commander of the U.S. military's Department of the Columbia, and men of the Wallowa band and other non-treaty groups was unproductive. Howard subsequently determined that all non-treaty groups had to willingly remove themselves to the Nez Perce reservation by April 1, 1877 or face forced relocation. The deadline passed and a May 3 meeting ended with harsh words from the military commander. The Wallowa band accepted the inevitable and was slowly moving to the reservation in early June 1887. Unfortunately, several young men chose this time to kill some white men in revenge for an earlier injustice. The violence escalated and the hostilities erupted into war.

The Nez Perce War lasted from the middle of June until mid-October 1877.[75] During this time, over 500 Wallowa and other non-treaty Nez Perce, members of treaty bands who had been abused by U.S. soldiers, and two groups of Palouse traveled from the Salmon River country, across Lolo Pass,

through southwest Montana into Yellowstone Park, and north towards Canada. Primarily engaging in defense warfare for the duration of this time, the Indians resisted attacks by a variety of U.S. Army and militia units. After a partial surrender just miles short of sanctuary in Canada, over 400 Nez Perce were taken captive while others escaped across the international border. Although the surrender was obtained with the promise that the Indians would be returned to Idaho, they were instead sent to Indian Territory. Nearly half of their number died during the ensuing eight years. In 1888 they were finally returned to the Northwest; a portion was resettled on the Nez Perce reservation while others were sent to live among the Salishan-speaking peoples of the Colville reservation.

Notes

1. For a brief inventory and review of the texts that have defined the boundaries of the culture area, see Walker, "Introduction" 1-2.

2. While traveling down the Snake River prior to its entry into the Columbia, Lewis and Clark learned that the local Indians used dried salmon for fuel. William Clark found it not "at all improbable that those people make use of Dried fish as fuel...there is no timber of any Sort except Small willow bushes in Sight in any direction." Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, *The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, ed. Gary E. Moulton, vol. 5: July 28-November 1, 1805 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988) 287.

3. For an introductory description of the Plateau landscape and its plant and animal life, see James C. Chatters, "Environment," *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. ed., Deward E. Walker, Jr., gen. ed., William C. Sturtevant, vol. 12: Plateau (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1998) 29-42. For a geographical overview that focuses on early Euroamerican settlement, see D.W. Meinig, *The Great Columbia Plain: A Historical Geography, 1805-1910* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1968).

4. Again, for an introduction to regional speech, see M. Dale Kinkade, William W. Elmendorf, Bruce Rigsby, and Haruo Aoki, "Languages," *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. ed., Deward E. Walker, Jr., gen. ed., William C. Sturtevant, vol. 12: Plateau (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1998) 49-72.

5. For descriptions of tribal territories, see Verne F. Ray, "Tribal Distribution in Eastern Oregon and Adjacent Regions," *American Anthropologist*, n.s. 40.3 (1938): 384-415 and Leslie Spier, "Tribal Distribution in Washington," *Interior Salish and Eastern Washington Indians*, ed. David Agee Horr, vol. 1 (New York: Garland Publishing, 1974) 32-35. Major village sites are listed in Verne Ray, "Native Villages and Groupings of the Columbia Basin," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 27.2 (1936): 143-152.

6. Herbert Joseph Spinden, "The Nez Perce Indians," *Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association* 2.3 (1908; New York: Kraus Reprint, 1964) 172-173.

Other basic texts on the Nez Perce include Allen P. Slickpoo, Sr., and Deward E. Walker, Jr., *Noon-Nee-Me-Poo (We, the Nez Perces): Culture and History of the Nez Perces* (Lapwai: Nez Perce Tribe of Idaho, 1973); Alvin M. Josephy, Jr., *The Nez Perce Indians and the Opening of the Northwest*

(New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965); Deward E. Walker, Jr., *Conflict and Schism in Nez Perce Acculturation: A Study in Religion and Politics* (Pullman: Washington State University Press, 1968); Stuart A. Chalfant, "Aboriginal Territory of the Nez Perce Indians," and Verne F. Ray, "Ethnohistory of the Joseph Band of Nez Perce Indians: 1805-1905," *Nez Perce Indians*, ed. David Agee Horr, American Indian Ethnohistory, Indians of the Northwest (New York: Garland Publishing, 1974) 25-267. Other texts are referenced in Deward E. Walker, Jr., "Nez Perce," *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. ed., Deward E. Walker, Jr., gen. ed., William C. Sturtevant, vol. 12: Plateau (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1998) 420-438.

7. The self-referential *palúuspam* come from the Sahaptin name for the principal Palouse village, *palúus*. The term literally means "what is standing up in the water." This apparently refers to a large rock in the Snake River that is located just upstream from the confluence of the Snake and Palouse Rivers. Roderick Sprague, "Palouse," *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. ed., Deward E. Walker, Jr., gen. ed., William C. Sturtevant, vol. 12: Plateau (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1998) 358.

The most easily accessible general text on the Palouse is Clifford E. Trafzer and Richard D. Scheuerman, *Renegade Tribe: The Palouse Indians and the Invasion of the Inland Pacific Northwest* (Pullman: Washington State University Press, 1986).

8. By the mid-nineteenth century, the Cayuse tongue had essentially been replaced by the Lower Nez Perce dialect. The self referential *lík-si-yu* is a Cayuse term that referred either to the people as a whole or to a local group. The Nez Perce term for the Cayuse was *weyí·letpu·*, which reflected the Sahaptin *wáylatpam*. This was translated "place of the rye grass" by Marcus Whitman but may more appropriately mean "people of the shady place." Theodore Stern, "Cayuse, Umatilla, Walla Walla," *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. ed., Deward E. Walker, Jr., gen. ed., William C. Sturtevant, vol. 12: Plateau (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1998) 417.

For a general historical description of the Cayuse, see Robert H. Ruby and John A. Brown, *The Cayuse Indians: Imperial Tribesmen of Old Oregon* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972). See also Theodore Stern, *Chiefs and Chief Traders: Indian Relations at Fort Nez Percés, 1818-1855*, vol. 1 (Corvallis, OR: Oregon State University Press, 1993) and Theodore Stern, *Chiefs and Change in the Oregon Country: Indian Relations at Fort Nez Percés, 1818-1855*, vol. 2 (Corvallis, OR: Oregon State University Press, 1996).

9. During the winter, the settlement was home to 500-600 people. The term, *ímatilam*, describes this site and means "lots of rocks, rocky bottom." Stern, "Cayuse, Umatilla, and Walla Walla" 396, 419.

10. The largest Walla Walla settlement was at Wallula, which is adjacent to the mouth of the Walla Walla River. The self-referential *walúulapam* roughly translates as "people of the rapids." This referred to the fact that prior to the creation of McNary Dam and Lake Wallula, the Columbia River passed over a series of rapids as it traveled through the Wallula Gap area. Thomas Morning Owl, personal communication, 7 July 1998.

The alternate term *walawálapam* is based on the root, *walawála* or "little rivers" and refers to the Walla Walla being the people resident at the mouth of the river of the same name. Stern, "Cayuse, Umatilla, Walla Walla" 419. See also Alexander Gunkel, "Culture in Conflict: A Study of Contrasted Interrelationships Between Euroamericans and the Wallawalla Indians of Washington State," diss., Southern Illinois University, 1978, 19-20. This last text is the most extensive available single treatment of Walla Walla history.

11. Among the basic texts describing these diverse peoples are Richard C. Daugherty, *The Yakima People* (Phoenix: Indian Tribal Series, 1973), Click Relander, *Drummers and Dreamers* (1956; Seattle: Pacific Northwest National Parks and Forests Association, 1986), and Eugene S. Hunn, with James Selam and family, *Nch'i-Wána, "The Big River": Mid-Columbia Indians and Their Land* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1990).

12. For an introduction, see Lillian A. Ackerman, "Kinship, Family, and Gender Roles," *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. ed., Deward E. Walker, Jr., gen. ed., William C. Sturtevant, vol. 12: Plateau (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1998) 515-519.

13. For a general introduction to the activities of Plateau women, see Lillian A. Ackerman, "Traditional Plateau Women's Roles and Life Cycle" *A Song to the Creator: Traditional Arts of Native American Women of the Plateau*, ed. Lillian A. Ackerman (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996) 9-13. See also Ackerman, "Kinship" 519-524.

An extended description of late nineteenth-century Nez Perce women can be found in Caroline James, *Nez Perce Women in Transition, 1877-1990* (Moscow, ID: University of Idaho Press, 1996). Another useful discussion (although focusing on the women of the Central Plateau) appears in Lillian A. Ackerman, "Sexual Equality in the Plateau Culture Area," diss., Washington State University, 1982.

14. Useful expressions of the historic southern Plateau world view were recorded in the speeches made at the 1855 Walla Walla Treaty Council. See Slickpoo and Walker 83-144; Lawrence Kip, "The Indian Council at Walla Walla, May and June 1855: A Journal," *Sources of the History of Oregon* 1.2 (Eugene: Star Job Office, 1897); Clifford E. Trafzer, "Earth, Animals, and Academics: Plateau Indian Communities, Culture, and the Walla Walla Council of 1855," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 17.3 (1993): 81-100.

15. An early description of this complex appeared in Leslie Spier, "The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and Its Derivatives: The Source of the Ghost Dance," *General Series in Anthropology* 1 (Menasha, WI: George Banta, 1935).

See also David F. Aberle, "The Prophet Dance and Reactions to White Contact," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 15.1 (1959): 74-83 and Christopher L. Miller, *Prophetic Worlds: Indians and Whites on the Columbia Plateau* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1985).

16. For an introductory description of the Washat Religion and comments on the later Indian Shaker Church and Feather Cult, see Deward E. Walker and Helen H. Schuster, "Religious Movements," *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. ed., Deward E. Walker, Jr., gen. ed., William C. Sturtevant, vol. 12: Plateau (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1998) 501-512.

See also Relander and Robert H. Ruby and John A. Brown, *Dreamer-Prophets of the Columbia Plateau: Smohalla and Skolaskin* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989).

17. For an extended discussion of the yearly cycle among the Nez Perce, see Alan G. Marshall, "Nez Perce Social Groups: An Ecological Interpretation," diss., Washington State University, 1977.

The pre-contact Sahaptin-speaking peoples had access to "35 species of edible roots, 30 of fruits and nuts, 8 of edible greens, 21 of fish, 37 of birds, and 31 of mammals." Eugene S. Hunn, "The Plateau," *The First Oregonians*, ed. Carolyn M. Buan and Richard Lewis (Portland, OR: Oregon Council for the Humanities, 1991) 10.

These and other useful plant and animal species are described in Hunn, *Nch'i-Wána* 138-200. See also the summary in Eugene H. Hunn, Nancy J. Turner, and David H. French, "Ethnobiology and Subsistence," *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. ed., Deward E. Walker, Jr., gen. ed., William C. Sturtevant, vol. 12: Plateau (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1998) 525-545.

18. Chinook and silver salmon, steelhead, various trout, eels, and sturgeon were among the species harvested.

19. Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, *The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, ed. Gary E. Moulton, vol. 7: March 23-June 9, 1806 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991) 166.

20. Patrick Gass, *The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, ed. Gary E. Moulton, vol. 10: The Journal of Patrick Gass, May 14, 1804-September 23, 1806 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996) 166.

21. Joel Palmer, *Journal of Travels Over the Rocky Mountains* (1847; Fairfield, WA: Ye Galleon Press, 1983) 114 (in sequence).

22. J. Neilson Barry, ed., "Pickering's Journey to Fort Colville in 1841," *Washington Historical Quarterly* 20.1 (1929): 61.

23. Thomas W. Prosch, ed., "Diary of Dr. David S. Maynard While Crossing the Plains in 1850," *Washington Historical Quarterly* 1.1 (1906): 60; E.W. Conyers, "Diary of E.W. Conyers, A Pioneer of 1852," *Transactions of the Thirty-Third Annual Reunion of the Oregon Pioneer Association* (Portland, OR: Peaslee Brothers, 1906) 495.

24. Jared Fox, *Jared Fox's Memorandum: Kept from Dellton, Sauk County, Wisconsin Toward California and Oregon, 1852-1854* (Benton, WI: Cottonwood Hill, 1990) 41; Absalom B. Harden, *Journal*, 1847, quoted in John W. Evans, *Powerful Rockey: The Blue Mountains and the Oregon Trail, 1811-1883* (LaGrande, OR: Eastern Oregon State College, 1990) 141.

25. Kip 16.

26. Thomas J. Farnham, *Travels in the Great Western Prairies, the Anahuac, and Rocky Mountains, and in the Oregon Territory*, (1843; Monroe, OR: Rodney R. McCallum, 1977) 77; Samuel Parker, *Journal of an Exploring Tour Beyond the Rocky Mountains* (1838; Minneapolis: Ross and Haines, 1967) 308; Samuel Handsaker, *Diary of Samuel Handsaker; Oregon Trail, 1853* (Eugene, OR: Lane County Pioneer-Historical Society, 1965) 29; Joseph Williams, *Narrative of a Tour from the State of Indiana to the Oregon Territory in the Years 1841-2* (1843; Fairfield, WA: Ye Galleon Press, 1977) 48; George Simpson, *Narrative of a Journey Round the World During the Years 1841 and 1842*, vol. 1 (London: H. Colburn, 1847) 164; Clifford Merrill Drury, *First White Women Over the Rockies: Diaries, Letters, and Biographical Sketches of the Six Women of the Oregon Mission Who Made the Overland Journey in 1836 and 1838*, vol. 3: Diary of Sarah White Smith (Mrs. Asa B. Smith), Letters of Asa B. Smith and Other Documents Relating to the 1838 Reenforcement to the

Oregon Mission (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark, 1966) 158; Pierre-Jean De Smet, *Oregon Missions and Travels Over the Rocky Mountains in 1845-46* (1847; Fairfield, WA: Ye Galleon Press, 1978) 104; Hazard Stevens, *The Life of Isaac Ingalls Stevens*, vol. 1 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1900) 403.

27. For specific mention of Cayuse parties traveling to and from the buffalo country, see John Work, *The Snake Country Expedition of 1830-31: John Work's Field Journal*, ed. Francis D. Haines (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971) 5 and John Charles Fremont, *Report of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains* (1845; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1966) 174.

Josephy, *Nez Perce Indians* 122-123 makes reference to Cayuse at the Rocky Mountain rendezvous of 1834.

28. Alexander Henry, *The Journal of Alexander Henry the Younger, 1799-1814*, ed. Barry M. Gough, vol. 2: The Saskatchewan and Columbia Rivers (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1992) 663.

29. Work 41; Peter Skene Ogden, *Ogden's Snake Country Journals, 1824-1826*, ed. E.E. Rich, Publications of the Hudson's Bay Record Society 13 (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1950) 150; Zenas Leonard, *Narrative of the Adventures of Zenas Leonard* (1839; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1966) 22; Warren A. Ferris, *Life in the Rocky Mountains: A Diary of Wanderings on the Sources of the Rivers Missouri, Columbia, and Colorado from February, 1830, to November, 1835* (Denver: Old West Publishing, 1940) *passim*; Aubrey L. Haines, ed., *Osborne Russell's Journal of a Trapper* (Portland, OR: Oregon Historical Society, 1955) 41; Nicolas Point, *Wilderness Kingdom: Indian Life in the Rocky Mountains*, trans. Joseph P. Donnelly (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967) 151; Isaac Ingalls Stevens, "Narrative and Final Report of Explorations for a Pacific Railroad," *Reports of Explorations and Surveys...for a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean*, vol. 12.1, U.S. Congress, Senate, Executive Document, 36th Congress, 1st Session 12.1 (Washington, DC: Thomas H. Ford, 1860) 134.

30. Lewis and Clark 7: 334, 341.

31. Ogden, *1824-1826 passim*; Parker 80; James Clyman, *James Clyman, Frontiersman: The Adventures of a Trapper and Covered Wagon Emigrant as Told in his Own Reminiscences and Diaries*, ed. Charles L. Camp (Portland, OR: Champoeg Press, 1960) 105.

32. Useful discussions of Columbia River trade patterns appear in Theodore Stern, "Columbia River Trade Network," *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. ed.,

Deward E. Walker, Jr., gen. ed., William C. Sturtevant, vol. 12: Plateau (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1998) 641-652; Stern, *Chiefs and Chief Traders* 18-33; W. Raymond Wood, "Contrastive Features of Native North American Trade Systems," *For the Chief: Essays in Honor of Luther S. Cressman*, ed. Fred W. Voget and Robert L. Stephenson, University of Oregon Anthropological Papers 4 (1972): 153-169; Gillett Griswold, "Aboriginal Patterns of Trade Between the Columbia Basin and the Northern Plains," *Archaeology in Montana* 11.2-3 (1970); Angelo Anastasio, "The Southern Plateau: An Ecological Analysis of Intergroup Relations," *Northwest Anthropological Research Notes* 6.2 (Fall 1972): 109-229.

33. Alexander Ross, *Adventures of the First Settlers of the Columbia River* (1849; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1966) 118.

34. A. Ross, *First Settlers* 118.

35. Lewis and Clark 371, 373.

36. This yearly total of dried fish is estimated to have reached 500 tons. Griswold 71; see also Lewis and Clark 5: 323, 325, 335.

37. Ogden *1824-1826* 59, 62-63; Point 199.

38. Andrew Dominique Pambrun, *Sixty Years on the Frontier in the Pacific Northwest* (Fairfield, WA: Ye Galleon Press, 1978) 36.

Dentalium could be procured only from the Pacific coast of Vancouver Island. It was generally considered the medium of exchange throughout coastal regions and along the lower Columbia River. The standard was forty shells to a fathom-length. Larger shells were worth much more while smaller shells were worth less. See A. Henry 612; Pambrun 36; G. Simpson, *Narrative* 1: 196; John Dunn, *History of the Oregon Territory and British North America Fur Trade* (London: Edwards and Hughes, 1844) 133; Daniel Lee and Joseph Frost, *Ten Years in Oregon* (1844; Fairfield, WA: Ye Galleon Press, 1968) 101; Paul Kane, *Wanderings of An Artist Among the Indians of North America*, rpt. in *Paul Kane's Frontier*, ed. J. Russell Harper (1859; Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum, 1970) 106-107.

For an extended discussion, see Rebecca W. Andrews, "Hiaqua: Use of Dentalium Shells by the Native Peoples of the Pacific Northwest," thesis, University of Washington, 1989.

39. Ogden, *1824-1826* 178; Peter Skene Ogden, *Peter Skene Ogden's Snake Country Journals, 1827-28 and 1828-29*, ed. Glyndwr Williams, Publications of the Hudson's Bay

Record Society 28 (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1971) 93, 163.

40. Farnham 77.

In the 1840s, the Cayuse, Nez Perce, and Walla Walla reportedly met in the Grande Ronde Valley to exchange their salmon and horses for Shoshone roots, skin lodges, and elk and buffalo meat. Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition During the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842*, vol. 4 (Philadelphia: C. Sherman, 1844) 394.

41. Duane Alderman, personal communication, 26 August 1998.

42. Travel between the Plateau and Rocky Mountains may not have been too widespread. Warren Ferris recounted an incident that occurred in 1834, when a Nez Perce reportedly made unflattering remarks about a Uintah Ute. According to Ferris, "The Indian who made the remark...was born on one of the sources of the Columbia, but was not aware of the existence of this [Ute] nation, until we brought him among us." Ferris 268.

Nonetheless, Lewis and Clark reported that in 1805-1806, three Nez Perce had been visitors to the Hidatsa. Lewis and Clark 7: 242.

43. Ferris 279.

44. Russell 114.

45. "The Indians have here opened a new route for two miles for which they charge toll $1 per wagon." Robert Robe, "Robert Robe's Diary While Crossing the Plains in 1851," *Washington Historical Quarterly* 19.1 (1928): 49.

"Paid an Indian three shirts for passing over a few miles of new road and avoiding a hill." Lucia Loraine Williams, "A Letter to Mother," *Covered Wagon Women: Diaries and Letters from the Western Trails*, ed. Kenneth L. Holmes, vol. 3: 1851 (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark, 1984) 144.

46. Palmer 49; Evans 140-141; Elizabeth Wood, "Journal of a Trip to Oregon," *Covered Wagon Women: Diaries and Letters from the Western Trails*, ed. Kenneth L. Holmes, vol. 3: 1851 (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark, 1984) 177; William J. Watson, *Journal of an Overland Journey to Oregon Made in the Year 1849* (1851; Fairfield, WA: Ye Galleon Press, 1985) 40; E.R. Jackman, ed., "After the Covered Wagons: Recollections of Russell C. and Ellis S. Dement," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 63.1 (1962): 10.

47. Clifford M. Drury, *First White Women Over the Rockies: Diaries, Letters, and Biographical Sketches of the Six Women of the Oregon Mission Who Made the Overland Journey in 1836 and 1838*, vol. 1: Mrs. Marcus Whitman, Mrs. Henry H. Spalding, Mrs. William H. Gray, and Mrs. Asa B. Smith (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark, 1963) 257; George Wilkes, "History of Oregon, Geographical, Geological, and Political," *Washington Historical Quarterly* 4.1 (January 1913): 77; H.S. Lyman, ed., "Reminiscences of F.X. Matthieu," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 1.1 (March 1900): 100.

48. George Gary, "Diary of Reverend George Gary," part 3, *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 24.3 (1923): 315.

49. Gary 3: 318.

50. C. Wilkes, *Narrative* 397.

51. J.A. Sutter, letter to Thomas O. Larkin, 21 July 1845, quoted in Clyman 148.

According to another early source, some Spokanes were also involved in this enterprise. A.J. Allen, *Ten Years in Oregon: Travels and Adventures of Doctor E. White and Lady West of the Rocky Mountains* (Ithaca, NY: Mack, Andrus, and Co., 1848) 243.

52. For a summary of the events and aftermath, see Josephy, *Nez Perce Indians* 240-243.

53. This expedition also ended in tragedy. Having survived Californian concerns that their intentions were hostile, many expeditionary members died before the trip was completed. These deaths contributed to the hysteria that resulted in the 1847 killings of Marcus and Narcissa Whitman and their associates.

See also Robert Fleming Heizer, "Walla Walla Indian Expeditions to the Sacramento Valley," *California Historical Quarterly* 21.1 (March 1942): 1-7 and John Adam Hussey and George Walcott Ames, Jr., "California Preparations to Meet the Walla Walla Invasion, 1846," *California Historical Quarterly* 21.1 (March 1942): 9-17.

54. A substantial corpus of literature has discussed Lewis and Clark. Texts relevant to their activities in the southern Plateau include the journals cited here as Lewis and Clark 5 and 7 and Gass, Robert Lee Sappington, "The Lewis and Clark Expedition Among the Nez Perce Indians: The First Ethnographic Study in the Columbia Plateau," *Northwest Anthropological Research Notes* 23.1 (1989): 1-33, and James P. Ronda, *Lewis and Clark Among the Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984).

55. Major texts discussing Thompson's activities are David Thompson, *David Thompson's Narrative, 1784-1812*, ed. Richard Glover (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1962); David Thompson, *Travels in Western North America*, ed. Victor G. Hopwood (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1971); David Thompson, *Columbia Journals*, ed. Barbara Belyea (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 1994).

56. The short life of the Pacific Fur Company is described in Washington Irving, *Astoria: Adventure in the Pacific Northwest* (1839; London and New York: KPI Limited, 1987); Robert Stuart, *The Discovery of the Oregon Trail: Robert Stuart's Narratives of His Overland Trip Eastward from Astoria in 1812-1813*, ed. Philip Ashton Rollins (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995); Gabriel Franchère, *Adventure at Astoria, 1810-1814*, trans. and ed. Hoyt C. Franchère (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967).

57. By design, the brigades were to eventually strip the landscape of all fur-bearing animals. This "scorched earth" policy was to intended to discourage encroachments by American interests.

Some of the early Snake Country Expeditions are described in Work, Ogden *1824-26*, Ogden *1827-28* and Peter Skene Ogden, *Ogden's Snake Country Journal, 1826-27*, ed. Kenneth G. Davies, Publications of the Hudson's Bay Record Society 23 (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1961). See also Charles E. Simpson, "The Snake Country Freemen, British Free Trappers in Idaho," thesis, University of Idaho, 1990.

58. For a superb overview of the Fort's place in history, see Stern, *Chiefs and Chief Traders* and *Chiefs and Change*.

59. The classic early accounts of the North West and Hudson's Bay Companies in the Northwest (with some mention of earlier Astorian activity) are A. Ross, *First Settlers*; Alexander Ross, *The Fur Hunters of the Far West*, ed. Kenneth A. Spaulding (1855; Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956); Ross Cox, *The Columbia River; Or Scenes and Adventures During a Residence of Six Years on the Western Side of the Rocky Mountains*, ed. Edgar I. and Jane R. Stewart (1831; Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957).

60. See David H. Chance, "Influences of the Hudson's Bay Company on the Native Cultures of the Colvile District," *Northwest Anthropological Research Notes, Memoir* 2 (1973).

61. The journey is recorded in George Simpson, *Fur Trade and Empire: George Simpson's Journal, 1824-1825*, ed. Frederick Merk (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1931).

62. In 1830, five others went East. These included the renamed Nez Perce Ellice, Nez Perce Pitt, Cayuse Halket, Spokane Berens, and Kootenai Collins. Ellice (mentioned above in the context of cattle trading) later became influential among his people although he and many members of his band died of measles in 1848. A good summary of this educational enterprise appears in Josephy, *Nez Perce Indians* 84-90.

63. In addition to the texts cited above by Ferris and Russell, the following are among the many accounts of the Rocky Mountain fur trade in which Plateau peoples are prominently featured: Washington Irving, *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville U.S.A. in the Rocky Mountains and the Far West*, ed. Edgeley W. Todd (1836; Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961); James B. Marsh, *Four Years in the Rockies, Or, The Adventures of Isaac P. Rose* (Columbus, OH: Long's College Book Company, n.d.); Frederick Adolphus Wislizenus, *A Journey to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1839* (1912; Glorieta, NM: Rio Grande Press, 1969).

64. See Parker.

65. A great deal of ink has described the activity and impact of the ABCFM's Oregon Mission. Among the titles related to activity among the Nez Perce and Cayuse are Drury, *First White Women* 1 and 3; Clifford M. Drury, *First White Women Over the Rockies: Diaries, Letters, and Biographical Sketches of the Six Women of the Oregon Mission Who Made the Overland Journey in 1836 and 1838*, vol. 2: Mrs. Elkanah Walker and Mrs. Cushing Eels (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark, 1963); Clifford M. Drury, *Marcus and Narcissa Whitman and the Opening of Old Oregon*, 2 vols. (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark, 1973); Clifford M. Drury, *Henry Harmon Spalding: Pioneer of Old Oregon* (Caldwell, ID: Caxton, 1936); Clifford M. Drury, *The Diaries and Letters of Henry H. Spalding and Asa Bowen Smith Relating to the Nez Perces Mission, 1838-1842* (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark, 1958); Eliza Spalding Warren, *Memoirs of the West: The Spaldings* (Portland, OR: Marsh Printing, 1916).

66. Catholic missionary activity has also been well documented. Some of the primary texts include Point, De Smet, *Oregon Missions*, Pierre Jean De Smet, "Letters and Sketches: with a Narrative of a Year's Residence among the Indian Tribes of the Rocky Mountains," *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites, vol. 27 (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark, 1905) 133-411, and Gregory Mengarini, *Recollections of the Flathead Mission*, ed. Gloria R. Lothrop (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark, 1977).

67. In that same year, Americans and their sympathizers established a provisional government in the Willamette Valley, elected a legislature, and began recording land claims.

68. Many volumes have been written on this subject. One of the more succinct summaries of the motivation behind the killings is Roderick Sprague, "Plateau Shamanism and Marcus Whitman," *Idaho Yesterdays* 31.1-2 (Spring-Summer 1987): 55-56. See also Erwin N. Thompson, *Shallow Grave at Waiilatpu: the Sager's West* (Portland, OR: Oregon Historical Society Press, 1969).

69. For descriptions of the Cayuse War, see Ruby and Brown, *Cayuse* 128-161 and Josephy, *Nez Perce Indians* 268-281. See also Ronald Lansing, *Juggernaut: the Whitman Massacre Trial, 1850* (Pasadena, CA: Ninth Judicial Circuit Court Historical Society, 1993).

70. For descriptions of the 1855 Treaty Council, see Kip; Slickpoo and Walker 83-144; Trafzer, "Earth, Animals, and Academics"; Josephy, *Nez Perce Indians* 285-332; H. Stevens 2: 16-65; James Doty, *Journal of Operations of Governor Isaac Ingalls Stevens of Washington Territory in 1855*, ed. Edward J. Kowrach (Fairfield, WA: Ye Galleon Press, 1978) 25-31.

71. For overviews, see Josephy, *Nez Perce Indians* 345-385 and Ruby and Brown, *Cayuse* 205-264.

72. See Josephy, *Nez Perce Indians* 402; pages 390-406 provide an overview of the situation. See also Slickpoo and Walker 147.

73. See Josephy, *Nez Perce Indians* 413-432; Slickpoo and Walker 147-151. See also Walker, *Conflict and Schism* 45-54.

74. See Josephy, *Nez Perce Indians* 456-467; Ray, "Joseph Band" 195-212.

75. The appellation "Nez Perce War" is a misnomer and is used here for convenience. Nez Perce military activity during this period of conflict was generally defensive in nature.

"Fully 90 percent of all published writings about the Nez Perce concerns the Joseph saga of 1877, this highly symbolic event of the expanding western frontier of the nineteenth century" (Walker, "Nez Perce" 438). A few of the relevant and more useful background texts include Lucullus Virgil McWhorter, *Yellow Wolf: His Own Story* (Caldwell, ID: Caxton, 1940); Lucullus Virgil McWhorter, *Hear Me, My Chiefs!: Nez Perce Legend and History* (Caldwell, ID: Caxton,

1952); Oliver Otis Howard, *Nez Perce Joseph* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1881); Cyrus Townsend Brady, *Northwestern Fights and Fighters* (New York: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1913) 3-226; O.O. Howard, Chief Joseph, and Duncan McDonald, *In Pursuit of the Nez Perces: The Nez Perce War of 1877* (Wrangell, AK: Mountain Meadow Press, 1993); Josephy, *Nez Perce Indians* 445-644; David Lavender, *Let Me Be Free: The Nez Perce Tragedy* (New York: Harper Collins, 1992); and Bruce Hampton, *Children of Grace: The Nez Perce War of 1877* (New York: Henry Holt, 1994).

CHAPTER III: THE CULTURAL MIX IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST, 1805-1865

INTRODUCTION

As was noted above, several scholars have suggested that the artistic expressions of some Woodlands and Great Lakes peoples influenced the residents of the Columbia Plateau to begin applying floral designs to their own manufactures. John Gogol's belief in the visual importance of Iroquois clothing and accessories is eloquently presented.

> These adventurous Iroquois warriors brought westward with them fine examples of the arts of their proud tribes, revealed at their best in the finely crafted quilled and beaded clothing, shot pouches, knife sheaths, and other items that accented their pride in dress. The Indians of the Columbia stood in awe of these proud and aggressive eastern brothers who ostentatiously displayed their wealth and power, which obviously stood in stark contrast to the relative poverty in beads and beadworked items among the locals...
>
> These finely dressed eastern natives were much envied and soon imitated. Since more Iroquois came west without their families, many soon took local women as their wives. Because of their wages and access to tradegoods, the Iroquois trappers were considered wealthy by local standards, and they were able to provide their wives with large quantities of beads to decorate their clothing and other gear. Initially these wives certainly imitated the beading patterns on the clothing and other items their husbands had brought with them from the East, or picked up in the Great Lakes area in their travel westward.[1]

Published statements have also claimed that Cree, Ojibwa, Métis, and other indigenous embroidery influenced

Plateau artisans to produce floral designs. In *A Time of Gathering*, Kate Duncan wrote:

> Floral beadwork from tribes of the central Subarctic and greater Great Lakes appears to have provided the initial stimulus for floral work in the Plateau. When Plateau women first began sewing with seed beads, they sometimes experimented with floral designs related to those they had seen on the treasured firebags and shot pouches belonging to men who had moved west into the Plateau in the nineteenth century with the fur trade. Some were Cree, Ojibwa, Iroquois, and Metis men; others were Canadian voyageurs married to women of these tribes.[2]

Elsewhere she has hypothesized that

> [a]fter the establishment of Fort Vancouver in 1825, smaller (one to two mm) glass beads called seed beads became more easily available and steadily more popular, first among women on the lower Columbia, but soon across the entire region. At the same time, Indian and mixed blood (Metis) peoples from the central Subarctic and Great Lakes areas, who came west working in the fur trade, brought with them new bag forms and recently developed floral beadwork styles. Although there were many Iroquois men from the east involved in the western fur trade, there were also Algonkian-speaking Crees, Ojibwa, and Metis. Stylistically, the eastern influences reflected in mid-century southern Plateau beadwork come primarily from these groups. After 1840, Hudson's Bay Company personnel began to retire to Oregon's Willamette Valley with their Cree, Ojibwa, and Metis wives. Their influence was also an important factor in fostering extraregional beadwork styles.[3]

Theoretically, Great Lakes octopus and panel bags were commonly worn by trappers and voyageurs in the Hudson's Bay Company's Columbia Department by mid-century.[4] Newly developing beadwork styles may also have specifically been inspired by the presence of beaded octopus and panel bags owned by "Hudson's Bay personnel who began retiring...to the

nearby Willamette Valley from the Canadian Red River settlement just south of Lake Winnipeg."[5] These Willamette Valley residents, purportedly "including Metis who had settled there from the Subarctic," and others who had arrived as part of an organized 1841 migration from Red River colony, are also suggested as a plausible source of quilled strips (possibly a horse headstall) and an octopus bag collected by Pierre Jean de Smet in 1859.[6]

Additional statements speculate about the design influence of the "many" women of Canadian ancestry who accompanied their voyageur husbands on trips throughout the Northwest as part of the brigades that were a "familiar sight" on the Columbia River.[7] A single individual--Marguerite Wadin McLoughlin, the mixed-blood wife of the Chief Factor at Fort Vancouver--is also credited with having impacted the regional adoption of new designs. Mrs. McLoughlin "could very well have brought bags in the octopus and panel forms" with her when she came to the Northwest.[8] In addition, it has been reported that she "began to teach beading to girls in the school at the Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Vancouver sometime after her arrival in 1825. Coming from Rainey Lake in central Canada, she was no doubt familiar with both floral beadwork and the Cree-Ojibwa-Métis bag forms; however, we cannot be sure she was teaching these."[9]

If these statements are true, no study of southern Plateau floral beadwork can ignore the activity of non-

Native indigenous peoples in the Plateau or the structure and makeup of western fur trade marriages. The details of the cultural life of Fort Vancouver must be examined to determine the impact of this post upon Indian communities far to the east. Furthermore, a study of the demographics of the various settlements populated by retired Hudson's Bay Company personnel should also offer a contextual framework for assessing their impact upon the artists of the Plateau.

EASTERN INDIANS IN THE WESTERN FUR TRADE, 1795-1865

There can be no doubt that diverse peoples traversed the Columbia River Plateau during the early decades of the nineteenth century. The record of the Northwestern fur trade contains a variety of descriptions detailing this diversity. A party that began its ascent of the Columbia River from the Northwest Company's Fort George (Astoria) in 1817 was described as "perhaps the largest and most mixed" that had yet traveled up the river. It was comprised of five Scotsmen, two Englishmen and an Irishman, 36 Canadians, 20 Iroquois, two Nipissing, a Cree, three mixed-blood individuals of unknown heritage, and nine Hawaiians. A boy, a servant, two woman, and two children completed the group.[10]

Alexander Ross reported that the initial (1818-1819) Snake Country Expedition was comprised of 55 men of "all denominations."[11] His description of the 1824 outfit was more specific. It contained trappers representing 14

nations and he recalled:

> On assembling my people I smiled at the medley, the variety of accents of dress, habits, and ideas; but above all at the confusion of languages in our camp in which were two Americans, seventeen Canadians, five half-breeds from the east side of the mountains, twelve Iroquois, two Abanakee Indians from Lower Canada, two natives from Lake Nepissing, one Saultman from Lake Huron, two Crees from Athabasca, one Chinook, two Spokanes, two Kouttanois, three Flatheads, two Callispellums, one Palooche, and one Snake slave![12]

Describing the following year's Expedition, George Simpson noted that the ranks of the Hudson Bay Company's freemen were composed of "Europeans, Canadians, Americans, Iroquois, half breeds of all the different Nations on the East side of the Mountains and the women are natives of every tribe on both sides."[13] Simpson was certainly aware of the feminine element as 30 women and 35 children were attached to the 1824 trapping party.[14] The 1830 Expedition included 38 men, 29 women, and 45 children (22 boys and 23 girls).[15]

During the last decade of the eighteenth century, the North West, Hudson's Bay, and other fur companies recruited a number of Woodlands and Great Lakes Indians to serve as voyageurs and trappers in the western fur trade.[16] One of the first records of Iroquois in Western Canada dates to 1794, by which time three Iroquois had arrived at Sturgeon Post on the North Saskatchewan River.[17] David Thompson noted that a large influx of Nipissings, Algonquins, and

Iroquois arrived in western Canada in 1801 in pursuit of diminishing beaver supplies.[18] He observed that the Iroquois and their neighbors had become rich from trapping animals in their own country but that the absence of any conservation methods had denuded these regions of fur-bearing creatures by 1797.[19]

Thompson suggests that the Plains peoples did not think highly of the Iroquois, in part because

> [f]or their whole number they had only about six women with them, each had a husband; and they could not conceive how men could live without women; they also looked on them as a dirty people for sleeping in their clothes, for the dress that an Iroquois put on in November he will walk and sleep in till the month of April, and longer if it does not wear away.[20]

By the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century, eastern Indians were scattered throughout the northern Plateau.[21] Many of these were free trappers and not under contract to any fur company. David Thompson's journals record that in 1810, six Iroquois trappers assisted him in searching for birch bark to use in canoe construction.[22] This occurred at Salish House, near present-day Thompson, Montana. When he travelled down the Columbia River to its mouth in 1811, Thompson began his journey by crossing the Rockies at Athabaska Pass. This route had previously been explored by Iroquois and Nipissing Indians.[23] Near the headwaters of the Columbia River, the party met a canoe with two Nipissing aboard; the next day

they encountered three Iroquois and another Nipissing.[24] Three of these joined Thompson's group, with a "fine, steady" Iroquois named Charles being engaged as a canoe bowsman.[25] Two weeks later, an Iroquois who was living among the Kootenai was engaged as a steersman.[26]

A number of Iroquois came into the Northwest after 1813. By the time the North West Company assumed control of the Astorian enterprise in October of that year, their trapping brigades had already begun working the waters of the middle and lower Columbia. When the Hudson's Bay and North West Companies merged in 1821, Iroquois made up approximately one-third of all the company employees on the Columbia.[27] According to Alexander Ross, they were valued because

> [t]hey are expert voyageurs but especially so in the rapids and dangerous runs in the inland waters, which they either stem or shoot with the utmost skill. The object of introducing them into the service of the traders was to make them act in the double capacity of canoemen and trappers.
>
> They are not esteemed equal to the ablest trappers, nor the best calculated for the voyage. They are not so inoffensive as the Owyhees, nor to be trusted as the Canadians.[28]

As the Hudson's Bay Company sought to protect its eastern frontier from American expansion, the perceived unruliness of the Iroquois company men and free trappers enhanced their value in the interior Columbia and Snake River regions.[29] George Simpson's plan was to systematically overtrap the country and destroy American

economic interest in the area. It was hoped that the Americans would be further discouraged if the few trappers working the territory were intractable, rowdy, and sympathetic to British concerns. As the region became denuded of fur-bearing animals, recruitment of Iroquois trappers diminished and few of the easterners were drafted for the western fur trade after 1830.[30]

Numerous Iroquois free trappers were employed in the post-1818 North West and Hudson's Bay Company Snake Country trapping brigades; the contemporary record provides a generally uncomplimentary picture of the eastern Indians. Desertion was a perennial problem during the early years of the Snake River brigades. The most notable exodus occurred in early 1825. In that year, Peter Skene Ogden and his band were overtaken by American trappers somewhere west of the Great Salt Lake. Among the Americans Ogden found François, an Iroquois who had deserted the Hudson's Bay Company two years before.[31] Twenty-three of Ogden's free trappers, many of them Iroquois, subsequently went over to the Americans, taking their furs with them.[32] After the mass desertion, a number of Iroquois began to appear among the mountain men in Wyoming. Alfred Jacob Miller painted one such individual (dressed in full Plains attire) as he was observed at the 1837 Rocky Mountain rendezvous (Fig. 6).[33] Within three years, over half of the deserters had returned to the Company fold.[34]

The issue that generally provoked the Iroquois freemen



Figure 6. Alfred Jacob Miller, *Iroquois Indian*, 1858-1860. Watercolor on paper, 12-11/16 x 10 in. Acc. 37.1940.41; The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.

was the trade rate they received for their furs. Prior to 1821, the Hudson's Bay Company had offered free trappers reduced prices for some items and had imported some items specifically for free trapper consumption. After the amalgamation of the North West and Hudson's Bay Companies, freemen received the same values for their furs as did local Indians.[35] Alexander Ross recorded a confrontation over the matter during the 1824 expedition:

> Early this a.m. the Iroquois asked to see their accounts. I showed them article by article and showed them their amounts wh. Seemed to surprise them not a little. Some time after leaving camp I was told that the worthy Iroquois had remained behind. I therefore went back, and true enough, the whole black squad...had resolved to leave us...On being asked the cause Pierre spoke at length. The others grumbled, saying the price allowed for their furs was so small in proportion to the exorbitant advance on goods sold them, they were never able to pay their debts much less make money and would not risk their lives any more in the Snake Country.[36]

In addition to the desertion problem, the leaders of the Snake Country expeditions also bemoaned the Iroquois propensity for independent trade, something George Simpson referred to as a constant "gambling buying chopping and changing of Women Slaves Horses & Dogs with the Natives."[37] Independent trade was, by Company definition, "contrary to the established rules of the trade and the general practice among the natives" and something the freemen were repeatedly warned against pursuing.[38] Ross noted that the "Iroquois, though good trappers, are very unfit for a Snake [River]

voyage, being always at variance with the whites,. too fond of trafficking away their goods with the natives." They subsequently caused "more harm than good."[39]

Early in the 1818-1819 brigade, Donald McKenzie left a party of 25 Iroquois to trap a river drainage in western Idaho. When he returned, "[i]nstead however of finding the Iroquois together and employed in hunting or in the pursuit of hunting I found them by two's and by three's all over the country, living with the savages, without horses, without traps, without furs and without clothing! perfectly destitute of everything I had given them."[40] One member of the group described the circumstances in his own words, noting that after being left by McKenzie and successfully trapping for a brief span, "My comrades began to exchange their horses, their guns, and their traps to [the Shoshone] for women! and carried on the traffic to such an extent that they had scarcely an article left."[41]

Other brigades reported Iroquois trading guns for Nez Perce horses and ammunition for a Piegan headdress and other items described as "useless Indian toys."[42] During February 1824, two Iroquois deserted and were apprehended after one had exchanged a new rifle and ammunition for a horse and the other had sold his lodge.[43] Several months later the Iroquois in this brigade secretly arranged for a party of Nez Perce to visit the camp.

> Our people commenced a trade with them so brisk that hardly a ball was left among the freemen nor

> a mouthful of provisions amongst the Indians. When these people meet Indians, a frenzy seizes them. What madness in them, and what folly in the company to be furnishing such people with means....This visit has left our people almost naked and cost 100 balls to send our visitors off pleased.[44]

The long term effect of Iroquois trading was that the Indian population became better acquainted with Company goods and values. They subsequently became stiffer bargainers.[45]

The unmarried status of the western Iroquois men was noted by Thompson and influenced the activity of at least one Snake River expedition, as noted above. It also provoked a conflict known as the "Cowlitz War." In that instance, Iroquois trappers "interfered" with Indian women of the Cowlitz River region. In retaliation, one Iroquois was killed and two were wounded. A punitive expedition composed primarily of Iroquois then killed a dozen Cowlitz, including women and children.[46]

Nonetheless, many Iroquois eventually married women belonging to western native groups. Louis Kwarakwante, a Caughnawaga Iroquois, settled in the Rocky Mountains of Alberta around 1812. The Michel's Band Iroquois are descendants of Louis and his Cree wife.[47] James Teit believed that other Iroquois began to intermarry with the Upper North Thompson Shuswap as early as 1816.[48] Later, a number of Cree aligned themselves with this group, also through intermarriage. Frisch suggests that the initial date for the joining of these Iroquois and Shuswap did not

occur until several years later, perhaps around 1819.[49] In the mid 1820s, George Simpson encountered Iroquois men near Athabasca Pass. These trappers had also intermarried with local women and were accompanied by their wives and families. Simpson noted that the wives were Carrier Indians.[50]

Other Iroquois intermarried and settled with the Flathead. Father de Smet stated that 24 Iroquois came to live among the Flathead in 1816.[51] James Teit reported that 15 Iroquois had settled among the Flathead and Kalispel by 1825. He found that another 19 settled among the Colville.[52] These intermarriages may have been the partial result of a phenomenon recorded by Turney-High in his Kootenai ethnography. Here he reported that after 1808 the Hudson's Bay Company specifically sent a number of Iroquois to the northwestern Plateau so that they might teach the Native peoples of that region the techniques and economics of the fur trade.[53]

Iroquois settlement among the Salish had considerable impact upon both Protestant and Catholic missionary endeavors in the Pacific Northwest. The Montana Iroquois reportedly promoted the merits of Christianity to the Flathead, until the latter group began observing daily rituals of common prayer, reserving special times of prayer for Sundays, baptizing their infants, and placing crosses on the graves of the dead.[54] As a result, between 1831 and 1839, four separate parties comprised variously of Iroquois,

Salish, and Nez Perce began journeys to St. Louis in hopes of securing missionary catechists (Fig. 7).[55] As noted above, Methodist missionaries ventured west beginning in 1834. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions sent Presbyterian and Congregationalist personnel in 1835, 1836, and 1838. The Catholic presence began in 1838 and missionary activity commenced in 1840. Subsequent reviews of this chronology have often been colored by sectarian allegiances and produced correspondingly diverse interpretations.[56]

The written record does not confirm the aforementioned statement that "the Iroquois trappers were wealthy compared to local Indians among whom they lived." Early nineteenth-century accounts make it evident that many native people in the southern Plateau were fairly prosperous. As such, they maintained their autonomy in the face of pressure from the fur trading interests. Donald McKenzie reported that in 1812, the Nez Perce "spurned the idea of crawling about in search of furs; 'Such a life,' they said, 'was only fit for women and slaves'...their horses procured them guns and ammunition; the buffaloes provided them with food and clothing."[57] A decade later George Simpson noted that the Indians who frequented Fort Nez Perces "cannot be prevailed on to exert themselves in hunting; they are very independent of us requiring but few of our supplies and it is not until absolutely in need of an essential article or an article of finery such as Guns & Beads that they will take the trouble



Figure 7. Gustavus Sohon, *Iroquois Aeneas (Ignace)*, 1854. Graphite on drawing board, 7 x 9 in. Mss. 130,305-C; National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.

of hunting."[58]

The fur companies had great need of horses for both food and transport.[59] The value of a good horse at Fort Nez Perces and other interior posts was roughly equivalent to 15-20 "made" beaver skins worth of trade goods.[60] As a consequence, Indian horses saved their owners from pursuing fur animals in order to obtain objects of European manufacture. The horse population in the southern Plateau was such that Native horsemen could maintain protracted trade relationships with the fur trappers, if they so desired.

HAWAIIANS IN THE COLUMBIA RIVER FUR TRADE

The presence of native Hawaiians in the Plateau during the early nineteenth century underscores the fact that members of many different groups moved through the area at this time. "Owyhees," or "Kanakas," as they were also called, first came to the Northwest as part of John Jacob Astor's Pacific Fur Company enterprise. When the Astorian supply ship *Tonquin* reached the Hawaiian islands while en route to the Columbia (1811), the partners who were on board observed the local men and decided that "they had never seen watermen equal to them, even among the voyageurs of the north-west...they are remarkable for their skill in managing their light craft, and can swim and dive like waterfowl."[61] It was subsequently decided that 30 to 40 of these men should be recruited for service in the fur trade. Space

limitations eventually dictated that 12 be employed by the Company and 12 be employed for service aboard ship.[62]

A second Astorian supply ship, the *Beaver*, departed Hawaii for Fort George during 1812. Another dozen Hawaiians who were party to similar contracts were aboard.[63] Fresh recruits continued making the voyage east after the North West Company's 1813 purchase of the Astor interest; some individuals whose terms had expired also returned home as Company ships carried furs to China. Sixty Hawaiians made the journey to the mainland in a single 1817 voyage.[64]

Although frequently stationed at fur trade posts, Hawaiians also accompanied parties to the Snake River Region, to California, the Great Basin, and to Alaska. In June 1812, 20 Hawaiians departed for the interior Columbia leaving 11 remaining at Fort George.[65] In 1814, half of the men stationed at Fort Okanogan were from the Sandwich Islands.[66] During 1816-1817, ten Islanders were included in Donald McKenzie's trapping party which was based out of Spokane House.[67] The 1818 construction of Fort Nez Perces was accomplished by a force that included 25 Canadians, 32 Hawaiians, and 38 Iroquois.[68] The Owyhee River in far eastern Oregon is named for two Hawaiians who were killed by Shoshone Indians while trapping in the region in 1819.[69]

The 1821 merger of the North West and Hudson's Bay Companies found approximately 35 Hawaiians employed in the newly organized Columbia Department.[70] Alexander Ross' contemporary assessment was:

> They are submissive to their masters, honest and trustworthy and willingly perform as much duty as lies in their power; but they are nevertheless exceedingly awkward in everything they attempt. And although they are somewhat industrious they are not made to lead but to follow, and are useful only to stand guard as sentinels to eye the natives or go through the drudgery of an establishment.[71]

Ross further noted that the Islanders were very courageous, expert swimmers, and loyal and zealous in regards to the Company's interests.[72]

Hawaiians also found employment in Nathaniel Wyeth's (American) trading enterprise and 20 of the Islanders came into the Columbia region with the Bostonian in 1834. Some of these traveled as far inland as Fort Hall in southeastern Idaho.[73] Others found work with the Willamette Valley's Methodist mission and at the interior stations of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.[74] During its initial year (1836), two single Hawaiian men were employed by Marcus and Narcissa Whitman at Waiilatpu.[75] In June of 1838, a Hawaiian couple, Joseph and Maria Maki, arrived from Honolulu to further assist the Whitmans.[76] Mungo Mevway, a young mixed Hawaiian-Indian boy, also lived with the Whitmans beginning in 1837. He spent part of 1841-42 with the Elkanah Walkers at Tshimakain before marrying a local Indian woman.[77]

The Hawaiian population was particularly large at Fort Vancouver, where 16 men were serving as laborers in 1830. By 1843 this number had increased to 57. Two years later, a

total of 119 Hawaiians were included in the labor force active at Vancouver and the nearby Cowlitz Farm.[78] One 1842 observer claimed that over 500 Hawaiians were in Company employ at that time; an 1844 Hawaiian newspaper put the total at between 300 and 400.[79] These numbers may reflect cumulative totals as HBC records suggest that 207 Islanders were pursuing Company interests relative to western North America in 1845-46.[80]

Most of these men were first employed while in their twenties and many eventually returned to their island homes.[81] Very few Hawaiian women ever made the trip to the Northwest and the men who remained generally married into the local Indian population.[82] An Indian named "Kanaka" was reported living among the Kootenai in 1891.[83] Church records in British Columbia and the Willamette Valley record the presence of Hawaiian and mixed-Hawaiian persons living among the local Indian populations.[84] Others settled in California and the Puget Sound region.[85] One individual who married a Nisqually woman now has numerous descendants who live on the Warm Springs reservation.[86]

CANADIAN AND AMERICAN COMMUNITIES

FORT VANCOUVER

After the Hudson's Bay Company acquired the western assets of the North West Company in 1821, Fort George served as headquarters for the Columbia Department. The post had been founded by John Jacob Astor's Pacific Fur Company in

1811 and purchased by the North West Company in 1813. In 1824, George Simpson ordered the local seat of Company operations moved inland.[87] The new facility was named Fort Vancouver; it was situated on the north bank of the Columbia River, about 100 miles inland. The initial Fort building site was abandoned in 1829 for a structure slightly to the southwest.[88]

At the time the Hudson's Bay Company established this new headquarters for its Columbia Department, Britain and the United States had agreed to jointly occupy the Oregon Country. The placement of the new Fort was intended to strengthen British claims to the region.[89] A second joint occupancy agreement (the first dated to 1818) was signed in 1827, but in 1846 the two countries agreed to a boundary that was a continuation of the 49th Parallel.[90] Until this time, the HBC had anticipated that the lands north of the Columbia would become a British possession. Although situated on the north bank of the river, Vancouver was 200 miles below the new international boundary. Company operations soon transferred to Fort Victoria in British Columbia. Fort Vancouver continued to function in a much-diminished capacity until 1860.[91]

Prior to 1846, Fort Vancouver was the hub of Euroamerican activity in the Pacific Northwest. In addition to maintaining oversight and distribution of the largest inventory of European-made items in the region, the Fort also sought to produce as many different "country made"

objects as it could.[92] These included axe heads and adzes, garden tools, beaver traps, tin boxes, candlesticks, and measures, canvas shot bags, and various foodstuffs.[93] These enterprises necessitated the presence of many and diverse employees, as noted in 1839. In addition to laborers working on the farm and dairy or in the sawmill,

> [t]he blacksmith is repairing ploughshares, harrow teeth, chains, and mill irons; the tinman is making cups for the Indians, and camp kettles, &c.; the wheelwright is making wagons, an the wood parts of ploughs and harrows; the carpenter is repairing houses and building new ones; the cooper is making barrels for pickling salmon and packing furs; the clerks are posting books, and preparing the annual returns to the board in London; the salesmen are receiving beaver and dealing out goods.[94]

Hudson's Bay Company employees fell into two categories.[95] The highest ranking individuals in the "gentlemen" class were the Commissioned Officers. Paramount in this group were the Chief Factors. They were followed in rank by the Chief Traders.[96] Clerks and Apprentice Clerks were also in the upper class of employees although lower in rank than Factors and Traders. Most Company officers were of Scottish or British ancestry and had received some formal education. The lower class employees, the "servants" or "engagés," were persons with varied responsibilities. Among these (in descending order of rank) were post masters, interpreters, mechanics, guides, miscellaneous boatmen, and laborers.[97] The voyageurs and laborers frequently came from French Canadian, Indian, or mixed-blood backgrounds.

During the mid 1830s, the numbers of Hawaiian laborers employed in the Columbia Department increased as many older Canadians retired.

Due to the size of their community, Vancouver's common laborers lived outside of the Fort in a settlement that was referred to as "Kanaka Village."[98] The Village was in existence by 1830 and it survived well into the 1850s. During its heyday it was home to a ethnically diverse population that included over 530 men, 250 Indian women, and 300 children.[99] The houses were built at their owners' expense; most had only one or two rooms.[100]

Many contemporary accounts described the settlement as it was plainly visible when one approached the Fort from the river. John Kirk Townsend wrote in 1834:

> On the farm, in the vicinity of the fort, are thirty or forty log huts, which are occupied by the Canadians, and others attached to the establishment. These huts are placed in rows, with broad lanes or streets between them, and the whole looks like a very neat and beautiful village. The most fastidious cleanliness appears to be observed; the women may be seen sweeping the streets and scrubbing the door sills as regularly as in our own proverbially cleanly city.[101]

Three years later, 49 cabins were in place. By 1839, the dwellings totalled "53 wooden houses, generally constructed like those within the pickets."[102] Eight years later, Paul Kane reported that "the men, with their Indian wives, live in log huts near the margin of the river, forming a little village--quite a babel of languages, as the

inhabitants are a mixture of English, French, Iroquois, Sandwich Islanders, Crees, and Chinooks."[103] Subsequent studies have suggested that some voluntary or enforced segregation of the different groups was practiced.[104]

The officers assigned to Fort Vancouver resided within the Fort compound and dined each day in an exclusive Officer's Mess.[105] Their families generally ate at home, had little social interaction with visitors, and generally maintained a separate existence.[106] Speaking of his 1832-1833 residency there, John Ball noted that "we saw nothing or little of [the officer's] women, except perhaps sometimes on Sundays out on a horse-back ride, at which they excelled."[107] As late as 1841, it was still "against the regulations of the Company for their officers and wives to take their meals together."[108] The social structure also limited the interaction of officers' wives and women married to Company servants.[109]

Very few engagés came west with Métis or Indian wives whom they had met in Canada; some had left such unions behind.[110] In 1844, the Catholic priest Modeste Demers stated that:

> The conduct of the Canadians on the Columbia is far from edifying....The missionaries have the grief of seeing those who, trampling on the sacred vows of marriage, live with native women, while they have in Canada or on the Red River their legitimate wives and children engulfed in poverty. Through their wicked conduct these unfortunates are always in debt to the Company, which retains a hold on them until they have paid up; some even

> refuse to return when they can, not having the strength to break adulterous bonds.[111]

During their tenure in the Northwest, many Company men acquired spouses from among the local tribes (Appendices 2-7). Prior to the arrival of the Catholic priests, these wives were taken *à la façon du pays* ("according to the custom of the country").[112] John Dunn reported that the wives of the "lower classes of the company's servants" were generally Native women from the tribes of the "upper country."[113] The record shows that women from coastal groups also entered into such domestic unions with some frequency and that those tribal groups whose lands were adjacent to HBC posts provided a majority of spouses.[114]

The wives of gentlemen employees were free to accompany their husbands to each new posting; such privilege did not generally extend to the working classes.[115] This convention may explain a higher percentage of eastern wives in association with the officers of the Columbia Department.[116] The practice of bringing wives and family to the west was officially discouraged and gentlemen were in fact sometimes encouraged to marry locally for the sake of trade.[117] Those with Métis wives were frequently allied with women who were themselves the offspring of chief traders or factors and Indian women. One contemporary account noted that "Cree is the language spoken in the families of many officers and men belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, who have married half-breed wives at the posts

east of the Rocky Mountains."[118] Available evidence nonetheless suggests that this may only infrequently have been the case.[119]

An 1830s description of the mixed-blood wives of Fort Vancouver's officers found that "they generally dress after the English fashion, according as they see it used by the English wives of the superior officers, yet they retain one peculiarity--the leggin or gaiter, which is made...of the finest, and most gaudy coloured cloth, beautifully ornamented with beads."[120] This comment came from John Dunn, who departed Fort Vancouver in 1838.[121] He apparently referred to an eastern practice that was duplicated in the west as no white officers' wives were present in the Columbia Department during his tenure there.[122] The description of local style is confirmed by the *Narrative* of the Wilkes Expedition, which noted that in 1841, mixed-blood women in the sphere of Fort Vancouver wore "bygone" European and American fashions, heavily ornamented leggings of red and blue cloth, in tandem with worked moccasins.[123] The Indian wives of lower class men were said to have copied the dress of the officers' wives as they were able, while also retaining the use of moccasins.[124]

The most prominent of the mixed-blood women at Fort Vancouver was Marguerite Wadin McKay McLoughlin. The future Mrs. John McLoughlin was born about 1875 to a Swiss fur trader, Jean Etienne Wadin, and his country wife. Accounts vary as to the mother's ancestry but she was apparently

full- or mixed-blood Ojibwa or possibly Cree.[125] Marguerite Wadin became the common-law wife of Alexander McKay during the mid 1790s. McKay was then a partner in the North West Company; he later joined John Jacob Astor in the Pacific Fur Company.[126] The couple parted ways several years prior to McKay's 1811 death aboard the Pacific Fur Company's *Tonquin*. Marguerite became the country wife of John McLoughlin about 1810. They were married in civil ceremonies at Fort William and at Fort Vancouver and also exchanged vows in a Catholic ceremony in 1842.[127]

Mrs. McLoughlin's ethnicity and potential artistic influence are important to this discussion. Previously published statements have suggested that she "began to teach beading to girls in the school at the Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Vancouver sometime after her arrival in 1825."[128] Available documents do not support these assertions, however. The initial school at Fort Vancouver was founded in 1832 or early 1833, when a member of Nathaniel Wyeth's commercial enterprise agreed to serve as schoolmaster. As Ball recalled it, McLoughlin "sent the boys to my room to be instructed, all half-breed boys of course, for there was not then a white woman in Oregon."[129] "The scholars came in talking their respective languages,--Cree, Nez Perce, Chinook, Klickitat, etc., etc.... and when I called them to order there was but one who understood me."[130] Over 18 months, the 25 students reportedly learned to speak English; their curriculum also included grammar and arithmetic.[131]

This educational enterprise was, in McLoughlin's own words, "the first Academy in Oregon."[132] Ball was succeeded after about one year by another former Wyeth man, Solomon Smith. Smith also lasted about a year.[133] Cyrus Shepherd, a layman with the Methodist Mission, taught at the Fort until February 1835, when he left to begin teaching at the Mission's Indian Labor School.[134] When the Anglican Chaplain Herbert Beaver arrived in 1836, the conditions were as follows:

> I found a school consisting of about sixty scholars, one third being Girls, of various ages, from five to fourteen years, which, having been under different teachers for some time past, had lately been placed under the management of Mr. John Fisher Robinson. The first and second classes, amounting to fourteen, read well, write tolerably, and begin to cipher, but have received little religious education, the singing of hymns, as I understand, forming nearly the whole. The other classes are in different stages of progress.[135]

Other accounts report that the curriculum included English, reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, religion, and morality.[136] Samuel Parker provided supplemental instruction in sacred music in 1835; Narcissa Whitman and Eliza Spalding followed suit in 1836.[137] Some time was devoted each year to manual labor (farming), and sewing was taught.[138] Reverend Beaver complained about his current teacher: "[I]t is preposterous to see some of the elder [girls], who are verging on womanhood, executing needle-work, however, coarse, under the inspection of a

master, who cannot be supposed to be competent to give instruction in such matters, and is moreover an unmarried man."[139]

Given this situation, it is possible that Mrs. McLoughlin could have taught supplemental needlework skills to female students. Whether that instruction would have included beadwork is open to question.[140] It is unlikely that she provided instruction in academic subjects as she was unable to read or write, nor was she active in a classroom setting before 1832, the year the Vancouver school began.[141] It may also be assumed that she was not involved with the school between 1836 and 1838, as the Anglican chaplain expressed considerable antipathy towards her. Her pedagogical activities would have been noted in his letters home.[142] Given the social structure in place at Vancouver, it seems unlikely that the wife of the post's premier officer would have participated in anything so mundane as public instruction.[143]

Diverse artistic traditions were nonetheless practiced at Fort Vancouver and the Reverend Beaver's correspondence does, in fact, mention beading activity in the McLoughlin home. He complained in an October 1838 letter that a young woman living under the care of Marguerite McLoughlin--"the daughter of an officer of the highest rank in the Service"--was not attending either his Sunday school or the "divine service on the Sabbath." Upon inquiry, he was told that she was absent from Church because "[s]he stayed away to thread

beads."[144]

The woman in question was probably a daughter of Chief Factor John George McTavish.[145] In 1830, McTavish had returned from England with an English wife. He had subsequently put away his métis country wife, Nancy McKenzie.[146] Nancy was married off to a carpenter while McTavish maintained custody of their several daughters.[147] Two of these girls, at the approximate ages of eleven and thirteen, arrived at Vancouver from Moose Factory with the 1836 Express.[148] They then became part of the McLoughlin household.

No conclusive interpretation can be applied to what the "threading" of beads means in this context. Given the heritage of the young woman in question, reference may be made to some sort of activity with a bead loom. The production of beaded appliqué or couching may also be implied. It is further possible that the young woman was threading beads for older women (officers' wives) engaged in either activity.[149] The status of the persons involved makes it doubtful that the activity was related to the commercial production or repair of bead hanks for the fur trade.

Available evidence hints at an active embroidery tradition at Fort Vancouver during the mid 1840s. In 1845 and 1846, the Columbia Department was visited by Lieutenant Henry J. Warre, a British army officer, and Lieutenant Mervin Vavasour of the Royal Engineers. The two posed as

gentlemen of leisure while, in fact, they were making an official military reconnaissance of the region.[150] Vavasour's account upon leaving Vancouver in 1846 reveals that he had $12.22 in Company credit transferred to "Mrs. McIntosh, for needlework" and $7.00 credit transferred to "Mrs. Pambrun for ga[r]nished work."[151] Vavasour had previously purchased a variety of fabrics that may have been the raw materials for Mrs. McIntosh's needlework. These included white blanketing and flannel, grey cotton, and dark blue and scarlet cloth. The garnished work may have been partially produced from the seed beads, garnet beads, silk twist thread, and skein of colored silk that also appear on his account.[152]

VOYAGEUR ATTIRE

Existing Plateau scholarship has argued that the material culture of persons involved in the Columbia River fur trade significantly impacted the development of regional embroidery motifs. Panel or octopus bags that might have been included in Marguerite McLoughlin's baggage when she left Rainy Lake in 1824 have been proposed as possible sources of inspiration.[153] However, the attire of Métis trappers, voyageurs, and their families have figured most prominently in the discussion. The contemporary record suggests that these individuals wore a combination of European fashions and unique indigenous accessories.[154] Paul Kane's painting of the mixed-blood Cree François Lucie

is frequently referenced as containing the basic elements of mid-nineteenth century masculine Métis style.[155] The original sketch was executed at Fort Edmonton in 1846. The later finished oil portrait is less frequently seen and is shown here (Fig. 8).

Voyageurs observed in Canada during this decade were seen wearing cloth coats, striped shirts and corduroy trousers. These were supplemented by tasseled and ribboned hats, scarlet, crimson, or striped worsted belts and the occasional beaded garter. The outfits were made complete with the addition of blue or scarlet firebags "ornamented more or less with flowers and fanciful designs elegantly wrought in the gaily dyed quills of the porcupine."[156]

Red River Métis seen at Fort Berthold in July 1851 were described by Rudolph Kurz.

> All were dressed in bright colors, semi-European, semi-Indian in style--tobacco pouches, girdles, knife cases, saddles, shoes, and whips were elaborately decorated with glass beads, porcupine quills, feather quills, etc., in an artistic work done by their wives and sweethearts, but their clothes were of European rather than western cut.[157]

Isaac Ingalls Stevens and his Pacific Railroad Survey encountered a group of Métis buffalo hunters on the North Dakota plains two years later. A description of their attire complements the previous description.

> The men dress usually in woolens of various colors. The coat generally worn, called the Hudson Bay coat, has a capote attached to it. The

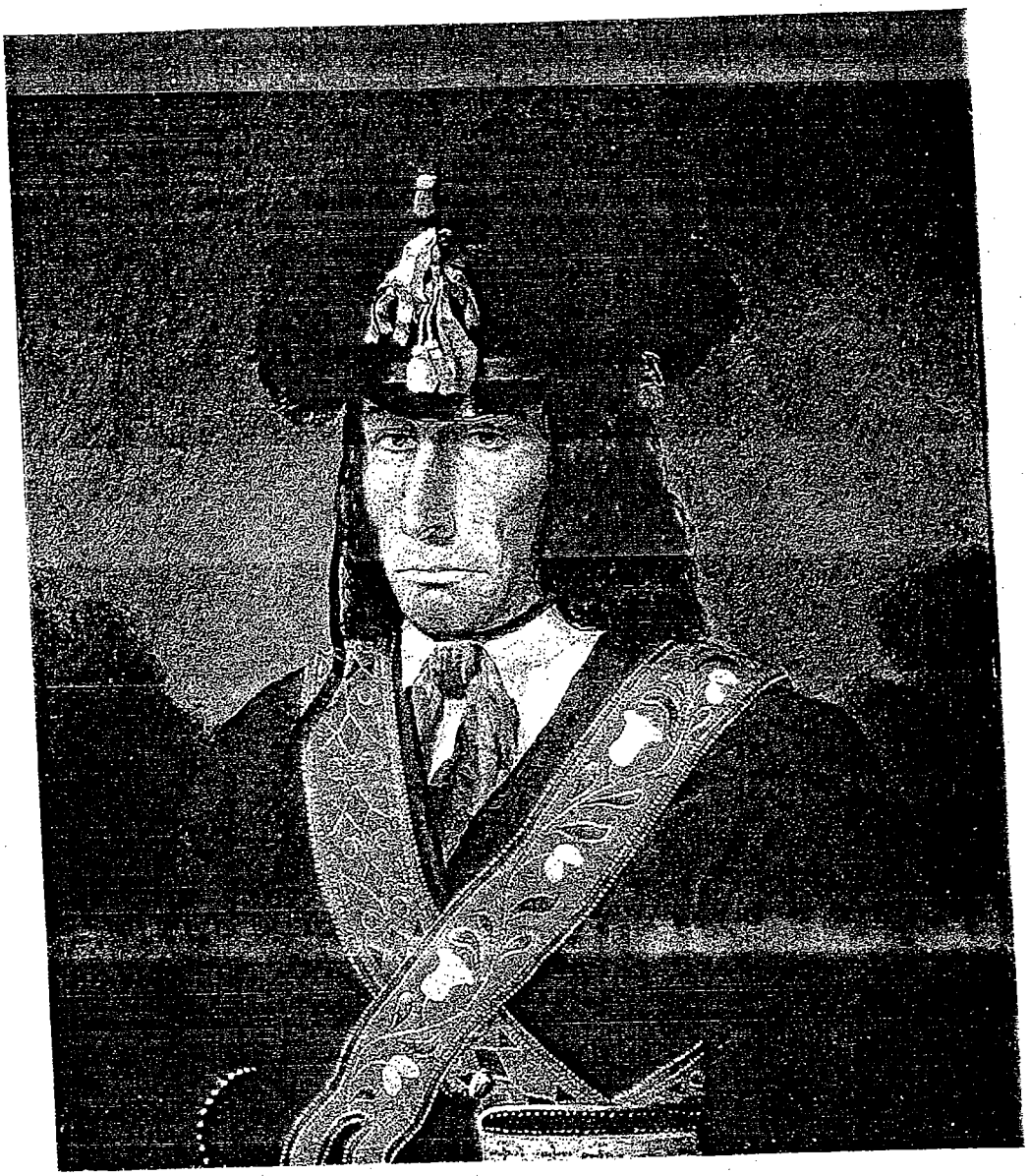


Figure 8. Paul Kane, *François Lucie*, after 1847. Oil on canvas, 30 x 25-3/4 in. ROM #912.1.40; Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.

> belts are finely knit, of different colored wool or worsted yarn, and are worn after the manner of sashes. Their powder-horn and shot-bag, attached to bands finely embroidered with beads or worked with porcupine quills, are worn across each shoulder, making an X before and behind. Many also have a tobacco-pouch strung to their sashes....The women are industrious, dress in gaudy calicoes, are fond of beads and finery, and are remarkably apt at making beadwork, moccasins, and sewing.[158]

At first glance, the uniform seems to have varied very little when it appeared in the Plateau. One northerner in Thomas McKay's 1834 trapping expedition was noted as wearing a scarlet sash and a hat adorned with gaudily colored ribbons.[159] In 1841, the fancy dress of voyageurs leaving Fort Vancouver for the upper Columbia River was noted by Charles Wilkes. The outfits reportedly included feathers, ribbons, ornamented leggings, sashes, and worked tobacco and fire pouches. Wilkes reported:

> The latter is the shape of a lady's reticule, and generally made of red or blue cloth, prettily worked with beads...[The bag] is deemed fully as essential a part of dress in a voyageur's wardrobe as in a lady's. The simple bag does not, however, afford sufficient scope for ornament, and it has usually several long tails to it, which are worked with silk of gaudy colours.[160]

The presence of this description in the historic record does not, however, necessarily support the supposition that Cree-, Ojibwa-, and Métis-made octopus bags influenced Plateau artisans.[161] These claims must be balanced with what is known of the practical workings of the fur trade, particularly the tradition of the voyageurs' "toilet."

Within this context, it can be argued that the bags were only infrequently observed by the Indian populations that lived adjacent to the Columbia River and that they were best known to those who frequented the trading posts at Forts Vancouver, Nez Perces, Okanogan, and Colvile.

By necessity, much of the correspondence moved by the Hudson's Bay Company traveled across the continent in boat brigades. Express boats carrying accounts and ledgers left Fort Vancouver (as they had previously left Fort George) each spring and fall. Travel time to and from York Factory was usually slightly more than three months.[162] Brigades that carried Company officers between posts likewise moved rapidly and with a minimum of encumbrances.[163] The voyageurs seen by Wilkes were set to carry Chief Factor Peter Skene Ogden from Vancouver to Fort St. James.

As Frederick Merk has noted :

> It was a custom among voyageurs to end any extended journey with a flourish. [George] Simpson encouraged the practice, as it cost nothing, gratified the men and impressed the Indians. Preparations consisted of scrubbing and packing away the soiled clothing worn on the journey and donning in its place show garments, including a flashy sash tied about the waist, ribbons braided in the hair, and moccasins embroidered with gay beadwork. Generally a stop was made for the purpose of "changing" shortly before reaching the point of destination...On coming in sight of the place of destination it was customary to set up a chorus of boat song, double the beat of the paddles or oars, and drive the craft with a dash to her landing place.[164]

Archibald McDonald's description of Governor Simpson's 1828 entry into Norway House illustrates this.

> Changed, and dined above the portage. As we waft along under easy sail, the men with a clean change and mounting new feathers, the Highland bagpipes in the Governor's canoe, was echoed by the bugle in mine; these then were laid aside, on nearer approach to port, to give free scope to the vocal organs of about eighteen Canadians (French) to chant one of those voyageur airs peculiar to them, and always so perfectly rendered. Our entry...was certainly more imposing than anything hithero seen in this part of the Indian country.[165]

Ogden's escort had engaged in foppery during the entirety of their stay at Vancouver. Wilkes's diary noted his amusement at their behavior.

> They are to be seen lounging about in groups decked off with feathers ribbons &c. &c. with the conceit and flaunting air of a finely dressed country girl evidently looking down upon all those employes who with their somber and business like air were moving around the fort as if they were total strangers to the pleasure of life while those jovial fellows seemed to have naught to do but att. to the d[eco]rating of their persons and pleasures.[166]

In departing, the boat traveled upstream for a distance before swinging around to catch the current heading in the desired direction. Strong choruses of song accompanied this entire maneuver; these continued until the spectators on shore had been left well behind.[167] In describing the ascent of the Cowlitz River later that same day, Wilkes noted that only *one* of the 14 voyageurs (emphasis mine) had a "pouch bag ornamented *ala* Indians." Furthermore, the record of voyageur adornment that is preserved in Wilkes' personal diary did not make reference to the octopus bags

that are mentioned in the published *Narrative*. It records instead only a prevalence of ribbons and feathers.[168]

On the day following, the voyageurs had "doffed their finery, and their hats were carefully covered with oiled skins. They thus appeared more prepared for hard work." Upon subsequent arrival at Cowlitz Farm, "although there were no spectators, except a few Indians, to be expected, the voyageurs again mounted their finery, and gaily chaunted their boat-song."[169]

THE WILLAMETTE VALLEY

As Hudson's Bay Company personnel began retiring and pursuing other interests, several districts in the general vicinity of Fort Vancouver were considered to be attractive for agriculture. The area of choice and the one that eventually became home to a sizable French Canadian community was French Prairie in what is now Oregon.[170] French Prairie was situated near the northern end of the Willamette Valley, about 30 miles south of Fort Vancouver.[171] It was a lush and fertile grassland that was bounded by the Willamette River along its northern and western expanses.[172]

Prior to 1830, the region had played only a minor role in the economic endeavors of the fur companies. The Pacific Fur Company scouted the area for game in late 1811 and in 1812 founded a small and short-lived trading post (Wallace House) near what is now Salem. The North West Company

established Willamette Post in what was known as the Champoeg or "Campment du Sable" area in 1813 and the facility was used sporadically until 1824.[173] Free trappers hunted the neighborhood for beaver, venison, and leather, and a few apparently lived in temporary shelters there.[174] The region also served as a travel corridor for those HBC Southern Expeditions that trapped the Umpqua drainage and in northern California after about 1830.

The first retiring fur trappers apparently took up permanent residence in the area in 1830 or 1831. The initial settlers are thought to have been Etienne Lucier, Joseph Gervais, and Jean Baptiste Desportes McKay ("Dupatti"). The three men had all been members of the Astorian party that journeyed overland in 1810-1811.[175] They had spent the ensuing years working as free trappers, first for the North West Company, then for the Hudson's Bay Company. A fourth Canadian (and Overland Astorian), Louis Labonte, was also farming in French Prairie by about 1830, although not on his own claim.[176]

The Hudson's Bay Company's charter generally granted it jurisdiction over the enterprises of those British subjects living within its trade boundaries. This control amounted to a monopoly in the lands east of the mountains but was merely a license to trade in the lands of the western slope (and one that forbade interference with Americans).[177] Company policy initially restricted settlement in the Willamette Valley, despite the awareness that local fur

production would soon be in decline.[178] Given that Company employees were signed to fixed-term contracts and that they were required to return to their initial enlistment point for discharge, it was possible to prevent retirees from remaining in Oregon.[179] Several of the early settlers fought this provision and Louis Labonte actually traveled to Canada, received his discharge, and then returned to the Willamette Valley. As a former Astorian, he argued that his enlistment with the North West Company had occurred on the Columbia and that his discharge should also have taken place there.[180]

Settlement of French Prairie eventually commenced with nominal Company assistance.[181] Three or four new farms were established in 1832; seven more were begun in 1833.[182] A Methodist Mission (ostensibly for the education of the local Indian population) was founded in 1834.[183] In 1835, Samuel Parker observed about 20 families in the region; these were mainly comprised of French Canadian men and Indian wives, although a few Americans were then living locally. A grist mill had then been completed and two "common" schools were in session at divergent ends of the Prairie, taught by "American young men."[184] William Slacum's report of 1837 found 30 Euroamerican men in the area (plus missionaries); 13 of these were reportedly Canadian.[185] A count made during the following year found 26 Catholic families.[186]

Charles Wilkes' extensive observations in the

Willamette Valley in 1841 focused considerable attention upon American settlement.[187] He was at that time told, however, that about 30 French Canadian families and 20 single (transient) Canadian laborers were situated therein.[188] In general terms, Wilkes observed the French settlers to be "the most contented, happy, and comfortable," while those of English and American descent "showed more of the appearance of business, and the 'go-ahead' principle so much in vogue at home."[189] In the same year, George Simpson found the Canadian colonists "to be comfortably lodged, with abundance of provisions; and, if not rich, they are at least independent."[190] He counted 60 former HBC employees and 65 newly arrived American settlers in the region and figured the total population at 500.[191] This number was supplemented by an additional 1000 Indian laborers.[192] Estimates made in 1843 reported a total that included 20-35 additional Canadian farmers.[193]

An 1846 account summarized the situation.

> Few of those who filled even so high a post as that of clerk have separated themselves from the company's service and still continue to reside in the Territory; but of the boatmen, trappers, farmers, and stewards, almost every one, upon the expiration of his five years' service, fixed himself upon a piece of land and became a cultivator.
>
> By far the greater part of these are Canadian voyagers...Eight or ten of these persons being annually discharged for twenty years, have become a large item in the population of Oregon. They settled contiguous to each other on the fine lands of the Wilhammete...and form a large majority in Champoeg county; their residence is called the French Settlement, and Canadian French is their

> language....They are all connected with Indian women, and would have united themselves with the tribes to which their women belong but for the advice of Dr. McLaughlin...They are a simple, uneducated people, but very industrious and orderly, and are justly esteemed the best citizens of the Territory. They come under the general designation of half-breeds...
>
> Simultaneously with the Canadians were discharged from the company's service other subjects of Great Britain, as farmers, mechanics, gardeners, dairymen, &c., chiefly from Scotland and the Orkney isles; besides some of the wild offspring from the Earl of Selkirk's emigrants to the Red River settlement...A few American hunters, not numbering over 12 or 15, straggled into the country about the same time, and occasionally runaway seamen from our northwest traders. This heterogeneous population was, in some way or another, dependent on the Hudson's Bay Company....It was not until the year 1839 that any regular emigrating companies came out from the United States; and these were small until 1842, when an annual tide of thousands began to flow towards this western window of our republic.[194]

The growing American population was active in pursuing diverse political agendas. Between 1841 and 1843, a series of meetings were held locally to discuss various issues. These gatherings ultimately led to the formation of a provisional government with American sympathies.[195] To this time, the French Canadian community apparently functioned quite well in the absence of a legislative framework. The influence of the Catholic priests in their midst reportedly provided whatever judicial oversight was needed.[196]

The floodgate of American emigration opened in 1843 (See Appendix 1). Before this date, the local French- and English-speaking populations had grown at a roughly similar

rate.[197] In 1843, however, the first large wave of Oregon Trail emigrants (about 850 persons) entered Oregon and many settled in the Willamette Valley (the number reportedly including 290 males over the age of 16). Americans subsequently gained a significant majority south of the Columbia River.[198] These and later interlopers generally sympathized with the pro-American orientation of the new provisional government. The explosion of growth challenged the French Canadians to work with the evolving governmental framework, despite their various philosophical concerns.[199]

Prior to the arrival of the 1845 emigrants, approximately 85 families and 705 persons were living in the Champoeg region.[200] By 1850, an estimated total of nearly 18,000 people had come to Oregon.[201] The 1850 census shows that 15 percent of these had settled in Marion County (whose current boundaries include the French Prairie region) and that they had helped it become the most populous county in the territory.[202] In the context of this growth, the French Canadian community quickly lost influence. The dilution of the French-speaking percentage within the general population was only one factor that contributed to this. Many of the retired fur company employees had begun farming at an advanced age and, as settlers entered the region, they sold their improved lands at a profit. Others naturally reached the ends of their lives. A few preferred isolated lifestyles and they chose to move further into the frontier. The discovery of gold in California prompted some

to sell their property in order to finance movement to the gold fields. Nearly two-thirds of the male residents of the Willamette Valley were at least temporarily in California after 1849.[203] In addition, the abandonment of British and American joint occupation in 1846 and the passage of the American Donation Land Law in 1850 created a legal environment whereby many French Canadians secured title to their lands only with great difficulty.[204]

In 1834 and again in 1835, the Catholic French Prairie settlers had petitioned the Bishop of Red River for a resident priest.[205] Their second appeal was met with a reply promising that priests would be sent west as soon as some became available. A log chapel was constructed in anticipation of the ultimate arrival of these clergy. Being poorly situated, John McLoughlin suggested that this 30 foot x 70 foot structure be moved to a better location. It was then disassembled, moved several miles to what became St. Paul, and rebuilt.[206] In January 1839, Father Francis Norbert Blanchet arrived in Oregon and soon celebrated Mass for the residents of the French Prairie region. After a month-long stay, the priest left, returning in May. During June he blessed ground at St. Paul for a Catholic cemetery and also secured a sizable land claim there.[207]

A boarding school, St. Joseph's College, was founded at St. Paul in 1843. During its six years of existence, the school provided educational opportunities for 30 mixed-blood male students drawn from nearby farmsteads. In 1844, Father

Pierre Jean de Smet founded the Jesuit St. Francis Xavier Mission, also near St. Paul. During the same year, seven members of the Congregation of Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, recruited from Belgium by de Smet, opened a nearby boarding school, Sainte Marie de Willamette (Fig. 9).[208] A reinforcement of seven additional Sisters of Notre Dame arrived from Belgium in 1847. The following year, the nuns opened a school in Oregon City.

Given the purported impact of French Ursuline nuns upon the needle arts of Indian women in eastern Canada, the early presence of a similar religious community in the Pacific Northwest is of interest.[209] The Sisters of Notre Dame of Namur purposed to provide an education for Indian children as part of their Oregon operations. As the local indigenous population had been significantly diminished by the time of their arrival, the majority of their efforts focused on the mixed-blood offspring of the Canadian fur trappers.

Tremendous ethnic diversity was present in French Prairie households (Appendices 6-7). The Sisters of Namur quickly learned that few families spoke French at home, despite this being the language of the patriarch. As was noted above, most of the retired trappers had taken wives from among the local Indian groups and "according to the custom of the country." Few of these women or their children had prior exposure to French or French Canadian culture or the Catholic religion.[210] The Sisters' initial pedagogical activity was to provide catechism classes for

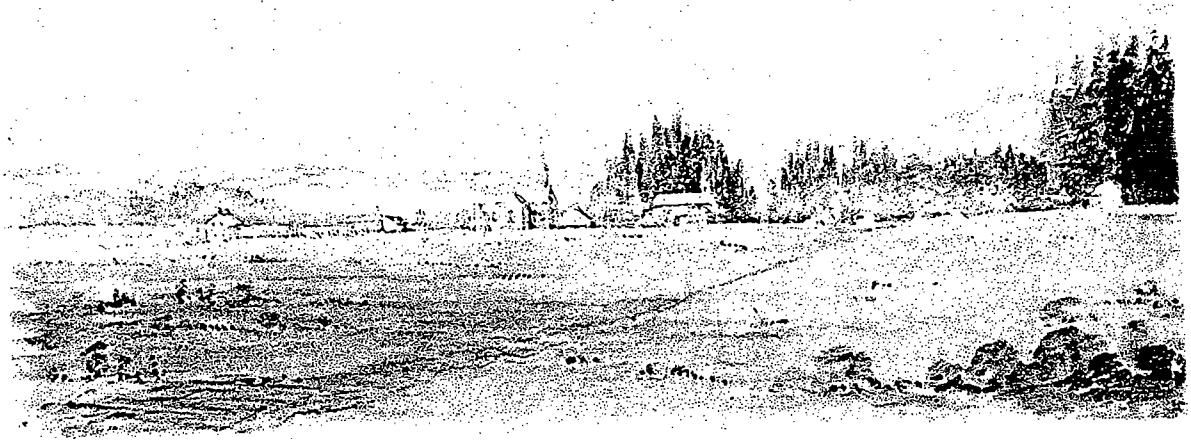


Figure 9. Paul Kane, *St. Paul de Wallamette, Willamette Valley*, 1847. Watercolor on paper, 5-1/2 x 9-1/2 in. ROM #946.15.264; Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.

both adults and children.[211] This instruction was provided in French for the 20 or so who understood the language.[212] An additional number were taught through use of the Chinook jargon. The examination of all of the candidates prior to their First Communion was also conducted by means of the jargon.[213] The nuns subsequently instructed the adult women in a Sunday School.[214]

Sainte Marie de Willamette commenced operation with 11 female students but eventually reached its full complement of 30. Enrollment increased slightly during the second year.[215] The boarders paid for their keep with locally grown produce.[216] It was the intention of the sisters that 30 paying students from among the French Canadian community help support the keep of a small additional number of orphans.[217] The nuns were bemused by their initial contact with their young charges and one wrote home:

> Feminine vanity is noticeable even in the little Indian girls, though the form it takes is peculiar; for instance, the wearing of a bit of red or yellow ribbon. Leather is very scarce. A piece of cloth wound from the foot to the knee serves for both shoe and stocking. The folds are frequently ornamented with colored beads wrought in fanciful designs.[218]

According to a later source, one of these "curious outfits" was sent to Namur.[219] A recent search could not, however, locate it.[220]

The school's curriculum was somewhat varied as "[t]he [local] women know absolutely nothing of housekeeping, and

it is the wish of Father de Smet that we teach the girls to cook, sweep, wash, milk the cows and do garden work."[221] Instruction in the alphabet, catechism, music, and writing was provided.[222] Sewing was also taught, as was decorative embroidery. In an October 1845 letter to Namur describing the end of the previous school year, Sister Loyola wrote, "I should like to send samples of their sewing...Eighty dresses have been made of the material we brought from Europe. These were made by the older girls."[223] Nine months later she reported that some woolen articles made by the pupils had been sold for the benefit of the orphans. Recalling the final fortnight of the first year's academic instruction, she said, "[t]his left us two weeks in which to have the fancy work finished for the exhibition."[224] In July 1846 she added, "[r]eading and needlework appeal strongly to them; many of them will never learn anything more, and we cultivate their tastes in these branches.....The older girls are embroidering a surplice to be presented to Bishop Blanchet on his return from Europe."[225] A subsequent author has reported that the surplice was made of lace.[226]

Other domestic arts were also taught. By 1846, the younger pupils had been taught to spin and some were able to knit mittens, gloves, stockings, jackets, and other clothing.[227] Shoe-making supplies arrived from Belgium in 1847 and the cobbler's craft was subsequently taught in the school.[228] Two weaving looms also arrived with the reinforcements from Namur but one was lost in a fire during

the following year.[229]

Anti-Catholic sentiment as the result of Protestant agitation following the Whitman Massacre undermined the influence of the Church among members of the English-speaking community after 1847. An 1848 fire at St. Paul destroyed many items intended for use in a planned Sisters of Notre Dame academy in Oregon City. In 1849, the California gold fields and a yellow fever outbreak at St. Paul both reduced the size of the local French Canadian colony.[230] As a consequence, St. Joseph's College closed in 1849, St. Francis Xavier Mission ceased operation in 1850, Sainte Marie de Willamette folded in 1852, and the Oregon City academy closed during the following year.[231]

It would seem that the needle art skills taught by the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur had little impact upon regional embroidery. The St. Paul school was in operation for just eight years and the Oregon City academy functioned for only five. The planned enrollment at St. Paul was 30, although it was reportedly higher on occasion.[232] The Oregon City facility, which catered to the burgeoning American community, opened with four paying boarders but soon grew to an average size of 36.[233] During the final years of Saint Marie de Willamette, many of the students' fathers were prospecting (or had died) in California, leaving their mothers to return to their home villages in order to survive.[234] Available records suggest that most of the students who lived to adulthood married men from

local communities and that the "[g]irls educated by the Sisters usually became the wives of white men and the mothers of still more eligible daughters."[235]

THE RED RIVER MIGRATIONS

In the years immediately prior to the commencement of large-scale American emigration, the officials of the Hudson's Bay Company realized that their claims to the Oregon country would be strengthened by a regional population that was predominantly comprised of Company sympathizers.[236] With this in mind, George Simpson began soliciting for individuals who might wish to relocate from the Red River region to western Washington state.[237] In 1839, he instructed the Governor of Assiniboia to begin looking for "steady and industrious" heads of families, "with young growing lads and as few useless hangers-on and children as possible."[238] It was hoped that enough interest could be sustained that an initial migration of 50 families would be followed by annual migrations of 15-20 additional families.[239] As incentive, Simpson offered to provide the new settlers with stock and farm implements, while retaining a half-share in the individual farms.[240] From the outset, the question of land ownership was a concern to those in Red River.[241]

During late spring in 1841, 23 families (121 people, 77 of them children) under the leadership of James Sinclair left Red River for the Columbia.[242] Roughly half were

English-speaking Métis; the remainder had French surnames.[243] On overtaking them several weeks after their departure, George Simpson provided the following description:

> These emigrants consisted of agriculturists and others, principally natives of Red River settlement. There were twenty-three families, the heads being generally young and active, though a few of them were advanced in life, particularly one poor woman, upwards of seventy-five years of age, who was tottering after her son to his new home...[T]he band [also] contained several very young travellers, who had, in fact, made their appearance in this world since the commencement of the journey....
>
> Each family had two or three carts, together with bands of horses, cattle, and dogs. The men and lads travelled on the saddle, while the vehicles, which were covered with awnings against the sun and rain, carried the women and the young children.[244]

No surplus belongings were permitted in the baggage of any family group; cooking gear and tools were kept to a minimum. Likewise, few changes of clothing were carried. By design, individual wardrobes were limited to those changes of clothing considered necessary to endure the extremes of the travel season.[245] The everyday attire of the men was buckskin shirts and jackets, worn with homespun pants and moccasins. Capotes were also carried for the high altitude and late season portions of the trip. Feminine attire included a dark homespun dress, a drab trade shawl, a kerchief at neck or head, and moccasins.[246]

The emigrants abandoned their carts at Edmonton House and proceeded with their belongings packed onto horses and

oxen.[247] They arrived at Fort Colvile in September and traveled on to Fort Nez Perces, arriving at Vancouver on October 13.[248] Within the space of two weeks they realized that no houses at the Cowlitz Portage had been constructed for them to occupy, that no seed wheat, livestock, or other details of their contract had been provided for them. A few families nonetheless went to the Cowlitz region (as independent farmers) while most went to Nisqually. The following year, eleven of the families left Nisqually for the Tualatin Plains (northwest of French Prairie); the remaining six families followed suit in November 1843.[249] The colony near Cowlitz stabilized and slowly grew. It was not overshadowed by an American presence until 1847.[250]

In 1854, James Sinclair again headed west from Red River with a group of Métis emigrants. The multiple destinations of this party included the vacant ranch land of the interior Pacific Northwest, the Willamette Valley, and the gold fields of California.[251] The company of travelers numbered fewer than one hundred, most of whom were English-speaking.[252] A minimum of household goods was again the prescribed limit for a given family's ox-drawn cart.[253] And as occurred in 1841, the carts were eventually abandoned because of the condition of the route. Due to an arduous crossing of the Rockies, the party did not arrive at Fort Nez Perces until December. Members of the group settled near Spokane, Fort Colvile, Walla Walla, at points along the Columbia River, and in the Willamette Valley.[254]

ST. FRANCIS REGIS

One of the earliest communities of former fur trade employees to be established in the Plateau region was founded in Washington's Colville Valley before the mid-1840s. On August 4, 1845, Father de Smet reported, "I left Chaudiere or Kettle Falls...accompanied by several of the Crees to examine the lands they have selected for the site of a village...I gave the name St. Francis Regis to this new station, where a good number of the mixed race and beaver hunters have resolved to settle, with their families."[255] During the next year, he again visited the site, "where already about seventy metis or half-breeds have collected to settle permanently."[256]

Despite de Smet's description, available evidence does not support a significant Cree presence in the Colville Valley. Some of the earliest settlers in the region were descendants of Jacco Finlay, one of the builders of the North West Company's Spokane House.[257] Finlay's first wife was Cree, his second was of unknown ancestry, and his third was Spokane or Kalispel (Pend d'Oreille). Of 18 known offspring, several of his sons and a daughter married locally and settled in the Colville Valley.[258] As occurred elsewhere, the Finlay men and others with Canadian ancestry who settled in the area generally married women with connections to the local Indian populations. Those Company servants whose domestic unions were recorded by priests visiting Fort Colvile between 1838 and 1840 were almost

exclusively allied with Plateau women.[259] Iroquois subsequently appearing in the records of St. Paul's Mission also had wives who came from the surrounding region.[260]

Prior to about 1858, these residents of the Colville Valley were "never troubled by the proceedings of the outer world."[261] An 1860 observer reported that this "curious medley" of regional settlers was still comprised nearly entirely of "old servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, the old trapper, the voyageur, Canadian, French, Iroquois, and half-breeds."[262] As occurred in the Willamette Valley, however, the demographics of the region rapidly changed. Gold discoveries above Kettle Falls and at the mouth of the Pend d'Oreille River in 1854 brought new inhabitants into northeastern Washington.[263] The numbers swelled after 1858, when an edict closing eastern Washington to white settlement was rescinded and miners were able to move freely about. The growth rate continued as prospectors and their camp followers traveled through the Colville region to major strikes in the Fraser River country (1858), the Okanagan Valley (1859), Rock Creek (1860), and the Kootenay River (1863).

As the local population increased, a U.S. military post that eventually assumed the name of the soon-to-be-defunct Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Colvile was established in 1859.[264] American settlers flooded the region in earnest, enough so that Stevens County was created in 1863. The local Indian groups, having escaped the treaty-making frenzy

of Governor Stevens in 1855, suffered removal to reservation lands west of the Columbia River during the early 1870s.[265] Some current residents of the Colville reservation bear surnames that reveal partial descent from the families who settled near St. Francis Regis during the mid-nineteenth century.

FRENCHTOWN AND WALLA WALLA

The community of retired fur company employees who located in the lands east of Fort Nez Perces experienced a history that paralleled that of French Prairie and St. Francis Regis. The first trapper to build a house in the Frenchtown region was probably Joseph LaRocque, who constructed a cabin there about 1824.[266] By the time the Protestant missionaries arrived in 1836, several similar dwellings had been built in the Walla Walla Valley.[267] Some of the French-speaking individuals who settled in the region had been laborers on the Hudson's Bay Company's Umatilla farm; others had moved east because of population pressures experienced in the Willamette Valley.[268] By the mid 1850s, a total of 17 former HBC men and their Indian wives were reportedly living in the Frenchtown district.[269] Their numbers were supplemented by fewer than ten American neighbors, the majority of whom were associated with a livestock enterprise headquartered at the site of the former Whitman Mission.[270] Fighting between local Indians, the U.S. Army, and Oregon and Washington militias in the years

following 1855 prompted some of these settlers to leave the area.[271]

In September 1856, a military post was founded on the site of present-day Walla Walla, Washington. Two years later, the surrounding country was opened for white settlement.[272] The first newcomers were primarily farmers or stockmen and population growth was slow. However, the discovery of gold on the Nez Perce reservation in 1860 and subsequent discoveries elsewhere in Idaho quickly provided Walla Walla area farmers with a growing outlet for their produce. Some also found ready employment as teamsters. Local business opportunities multiplied rapidly as merchants sought to provide outfits for the numerous prospectors.[273] The community developing adjacent to Fort Walla Walla had been selected as the county seat in 1859; the new Walla Walla city became the supply post for the mining country that developed to the east.[274]

Estimates were that 20,000-25,000 miners passed through Walla Walla on their way to the Idaho mines in 1862.[275] During that same year, 80 new buildings were constructed in the town. This more than doubled the total number of existing structures.[276] Gold discoveries in the Boise Basin in 1862 resulted in the founding of another supply center at the mouth of the Umatilla River. While a portion of the commercial activity relative to the Boise mines focused on the Umatilla depot, Walla Walla continued to figure prominently in the trade. Its regional importance

endured as it supplied the many miners who headed to the Kootenay River in 1864 and to Montana in 1865. By 1864, the permanent male population of the Walla Walla region was figured in excess of 600 persons. The number had grown to over 700 by the following year. By 1870, the total population of the city of Walla Walla was nearly 1400.[277]

Throughout this period, the Frenchtown environs were developing into a community with farms and wheat and livestock ranches whose operations were spread out along the Walla Walla River.[278] In 1863, the former HBC families evinced enough of a shared identity to construct a log chapel for Catholic worship.[279] This was replaced in 1876 by a frame church near Lowden that remained in use until about the turn of the century.[280] The Frenchtown mission was dedicated to St. Rose of Lima. The parish occasionally had a resident priest but was often served only by a visiting clergyman.[281]

As early as 1859, the Catholic Church records for Frenchtown reveal that the settlement was evolving into a colony of second-generation métis.[282] As such, the details of ancestry that appeared in earlier ecclesiastical registers were not noted. Available data nonetheless suggests that a majority of the community's women initially came from western tribal groups. As Frenchtown families became integrated into the surrounding population, some of their descendants moved east into the lands adjacent to the Umatilla reservation.[283] As occurred at St. Francis Regis,

some also acknowledged their Indian heritage and accepted reservation allotments.[284]

THE PIERCE MINES AND LEWISTON

The gold rush that prompted mass migration to the interior Northwest in 1861 resulted from clandestine prospecting activity that took place within the boundaries of the Nez Perce reservation.[285] During the fall of 1860, a small party of failed Fraser River miners sneaked into the upper Clearwater River drainage and there found pay dirt.[286] By May of 1861, over 1000 persons had entered the reservation illegally and taken up residence in the mining camps of Pierce City and Oro Fino. One month later the area had 3,000 new residents and was growing fast.[287]

Ambitious prospectors risked confrontation with the Nez Perce and opened two new gold fields--at Elk City and near Florence on the Salmon River--both within the boundaries of the Nez Perce reservation. In early winter 1861, 1200 to 1400 miners were reportedly working in the Salmon River country.[288] By the following summer, upwards of 10,000 people had arrived in Florence. Estimates claim that by that time, the mining region had a total population of 20,000 to 25,000 souls.[289] Newcomers continued to arrive but new fields opening in western Montana (1862), the Boise Basin (1863), and in the Owyhee region (1863) deflected the torrent of growth.

In May 1861, a steamboat successfully navigated the

Columbia and Snake Rivers to the mouth of the Clearwater River and then proceeded 37 miles up that latter stream. The juncture of the two rivers soon came to be considered the head of reasonable navigation, however, and this was the location chosen to be a staging depot for miners and mining supplies. Although the tent city that appeared on the south bank of the Clearwater River was on Nez Perce land, government authorities could not stop the influx of new arrivals.[290] By October, a townsite with the name of Lewiston was being laid out and within the year a city had emerged. The permanent population there exceeded 600 people by 1865.[291]

The cost of provisions in both the Clearwater and Salmon River mining regions was very high, in part because all goods had to be transported into the regions by mule team.[292] The American Board missionaries had encouraged their Nez Perce adherents to pursue a sedentary lifestyle and the promotion of agriculture was essential to this policy.[293] By 1860, numerous farms were situated in the bottom lands along the Snake, Clearwater, and Salmon Rivers.[294] Those Nez Perce who lived adjacent to the mining districts maintained an active trade with the miners and they found Pierce City, Oro Fino, and Florence to be excellent outlets for their fruit, vegetables, poultry, beef, and horses.[295] One contemporary account noted that those Nez Perce who were involved in supplying provisions were "not mercenary, but...shrewd in trade."[296] Another

observer agreed, noting:

> [s]ome of the [Nez Perce] men have acquired the habit of making money, and are fully impressed with the idea of getting all they can out of the "Bostons" who visit their country. This is as it should be; let the Whites pay them for horses, cattle, ferrying privileges, etc., as much as they would pay others when they want an article of the kind, that is, get it as cheap as they can, for the Nez Perce are sharp traders and ask enough first and then gradually lower their figures until a swap is made.[297]

CONCLUSION

The historic record contains abundant data that does not support existing speculation about the impact of eastern Indians upon the artistic traditions of the Plateau. The suggestion that the Iroquois trappers were richly clothed with beaded garments which inspired envy and imitation by bead-poor Plateau peoples is certainly open to question. The much-noted Iroquois propensity for trade would suggest that many of the Iroquois-made accessories these easterners owned were traded away during the protracted process of their migration westward across Canada. Few, if any, Iroquois women appear to have ever entered the Northwest; this would have limited the production of additional examples of Iroquois artistry. The relative poverty of the Iroquois men and their subsequent low social position would not have made them desirable husbands for Plateau women. Available records note few unions between Iroquois men and women of the southern Columbia River region. The poverty

factor further suggests that those women who were wives of Iroquois trappers did not have abundant access to trade goods. The diminished Iroquois presence after about 1835 insinuates that any possible influence upon Plateau motif development had been minimized by an early date. In all, it seems apparent that Iroquois men and their material culture provided little visual inspiration for Plateau artists.[298]

The argument for Cree, Ojibwa, or Métis influences upon Plateau floral design is likewise based on several false assumptions. The first of these is that many women of such ancestry traversed the Plateau in the company of their fur trader husbands. These numbers were supposedly supplemented by women who participated in migrations from Red River in 1841 and 1854. Colonies containing sizeable quantities of Cree, Ojibwa, and Métis individuals have been cited as present at Kanaka Village and in the Willamette Valley before mid-century. Canadian design influence is thought to have emanated from these locations (although they were situated a considerable distance from the Plateau), and also from the school at Fort Vancouver. Here, Marguerite McLoughlin has been said to have systematically taught beading to young Indian women. The most noted Canadian manufacture, the octopus bag, has also been held to have been an everyday fur trade accessory and one that was commonly seen by Plateau women. As such, it, too, has been thought of as providing visual stimulus for subsequent Plateau floral designs.

As the data has shown, very few Cree, Ojibwa, or Métis women ever came to the Northwest in the company of fur trappers. Those Company servants who had wives in the East generally left them there and few returned to them. Upon arrival in the Columbia Department the trappers formed new unions with local women and began new families; many trappers retired there. A handful of Company officers did bring their Canadian wives to the West. Prevailing strictures regarding social status generally limited these women to interaction within their own peer group. They seldom socialized with the wives of Company servants and less so with Native women from the surrounding country. While the Officers' wives did produce embroidery, available evidence suggests that it was for internal use within their families, absorbed into the surrounding Officers' community, or occasionally made for other Euroamericans.

The evidence also suggests that Marguerite McLoughlin did not provide instruction in beadwork at Fort Vancouver. She certainly did not teach beading in the Fort's school during the 1820s as classes did not commence there until 1832. Through the ensuing years of instruction, the teachers and their terms of service are known and Mrs. McLoughlin is not included in this number. Too, issues of status suggest that such an undertaking would not have been in keeping with her position as Chief Factor's wife. In addition, Mrs. McLoughlin's known handiwork skills have not yet been documented as extending to beadwork.

The purported visual impact of octopus bags is open to question for two reasons. The description of these accessories as being a hallmark of voyageur attire has been based on the published comments of Charles Wilkes in describing an 1841 brigade at Fort Vancouver. As noted above, an understanding of the voyageurs' "toilet" makes it apparent that the bags would have been rarely worn, and then only when approaching or leaving a Company post. At other times, they would probably have been packed away and hidden from view. A comparison of Wilkes' 1841 diary with his published comments also makes it evident that at that time, octopus bags were not as "usual" as might be thought. The diary notes reveal that only one of the 14 men manning Wilkes' boat owned such a bag.

The Red River migrations of 1841 and 1854 brought a combined total of 35 adult women to the Pacific Northwest. With very few exceptions, all of these women settled in western Oregon and Washington. Between the dates of the two migrations, American traffic on the Oregon Trail brought over 45,000 other settlers into the Pacific Northwest. This tide of new residents minimized any potential influence of the Métis emigrants and overwhelmed the existing French-speaking communities in the Willamette Valley. By the time of Oregon statehood in 1859, the métis families of French Prairie had been divided into smaller communities spread throughout the Northwest. In time, these enclaves were absorbed into adjacent American populations.

Notes

1. John M. Gogol, "The Archetypal Columbia River Plateau Contour Beaded Bag," *Eye of the Angel: Selections from the Derby Collection*, ed. David Wooley (Northampton, MA: White Star Press, 1990) 30.

2. K. Duncan, "Beadwork on the Plateau" 191.

3. K. Duncan, "Beadwork and Cultural Identity" 108.

4. Mary D. Schlick and Kate C. Duncan, "Wasco-Style Woven Beadwork: Merging Artistic Traditions," *American Indian Art Magazine* 16.2 (Summer 1991): 41.

5. K. Duncan, "Honoring People" 41.

6. Kate C. Duncan, "Images and Objects from Father De Smet and the Indians of the Rocky Mountain West," *American Indian Art Magazine* 18.3 (Summer 1993): 60-61; Schlick and Duncan 41.

7. Duncan and Schlick 41.

8. Duncan and Schlick 41.

9. K. Duncan, "Honoring People" 117 (note 7).

10. Cox 268.

11. A. Ross, *Fur Hunters* 125.

12. A. Ross, *Fur Hunters* 208-209.

13. G. Simpson, *Fur Trade and Empire* 56.
The ethnic diversity was evident in all of the Company's western activities. A trapping party that ventured along the Oregon Coast in 1826 was comprised of five whites, three Iroquois and Abenaki, three Hawaiians, and three local Indians. Ogden, *1826-27* 174 (note 1).
During his famous trip around the world, George Simpson found himself in diverse company while riding in a bateau on the lower Columbia: "Our crew of ten men contained Iroquois, who spoke their own tongue; a Cree half breed, of French origin...a North Briton...Canadians...and Sandwich Islanders...Add to all this that the passengers were natives of England, Scotland, Russian, Canada, and the Hudson's Bay Company's territories... [We] enriched our many clans with one variety more by hiring a canoe, and its complement of Chinooks, to accompany us." G. Simpson, *Narrative* 1: 176-177.

14. C. Simpson 169.

15. T.C. Elliott, ed., "Journal of John Work, Covering Snake Country Expedition of 1830-31," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 13.4 (1912): 365

The party was comprised of 26 Canadians, two Americans, six eastern métis, two Iroquois, and one Nipissing. Elliott, "John Work" 365.

16. Between 1790 and 1815, approximately 350 Iroquois from the villages of Caughnawaga, St. Regis, and the Lake of Two Mountains mission were hired by Montreal-based fur companies or their agents. Trudy Nicks, "The Iroquois and the Fur Trade in Western Canada," *Old Trails and New Directions: Papers of the Third North American Fur Trade Conference*, ed. Carol M. Judd and Arthur J. Ray (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980) 86.

Additional recruits came from the village of Oka. Jack A. Frisch, "Iroquois in the West," *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. ed. Bruce C. Trigger, gen. ed. William C. Sturtevant, vol. 15: Northeast (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1978): 544.

The North West Company arranged contracts of up to three years with the Iroquois whereby the Indians were provided a trapping outfit in exchange for trading rights to all furs retrieved during the contract period. Theodore J. Karamanski, "The Iroquois and the Fur Trade of the Far West," *The Beaver* 312.4 (Spring 1982): 5.

17. Nicks, "Iroquois" 86; Jack A. Frisch, "Some Ethnological and Ethnohistoric Notes on the Iroquois in Alberta," *Man in the Northeast* 12 (1976): 51.

18. The easterners also came to escape encroaching white settlement and to live a lifestyle that was consistent with the one enjoyed by their ancestors. Trudy Nicks and Kenneth Morgan, "Grande Cache: The Historic Development of an Indigenous Alberta Métis Population," *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Métis in North America*, ed. Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer S.H. Brown (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1985) 165; Karamanski 5.

Numerically, the total of the pre-1800 migration has been estimated at 250-300. Nicks, "Iroquois" 86-87.

The combined numbers of Nipissing and Algonquin trappers were about equal to those of the Iroquois. D. Thompson, *Narrative* 229.

19. D. Thompson, *Narrative* 156-157.

The year previous, Thompson had visited two Piegan camps to promote a plan that would allow Iroquois and Northern Ojibwa trappers unhindered access to Piegan territory. Nicks, "Iroquois" 87.

For a discussion of the chronology of Thompson's

Narrative as relates to the large influx of Iroquois, see Nicks, "Iroquois" 86-87 and 97-98 (note 10).

20. D. Thompson, *Narrative* 233.
Thompson commented favorably about the Nipissings and Algonquins and their women, but believed the Iroquois to be proud and found their women to be physically unattractive and shabbily dressed. D. Thompson, *Narrative* 229.
For an overview of Iroquois activity on the Plains, see John C. Ewers, "Iroquois Indians in the Far West," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 13 (Spring 1963): 3-4 and Karamanski 6-7.

21. According to David Thompson, a large group of French-Canadian free trappers was also active in western Montana and northern Idaho during this same decade. From a reduced total of 25 in 1809, they had all died by 1812. D. Thompson, *Travels* 276-277, 286-287.

22. D. Thompson, *Narrative* 302.

23. D. Thompson, *Narrative* 324 (note 1).

24. D. Thompson, *Narrative* 328.

25. D. Thompson, *Narrative* 328.
This second encounter occurred above the junction of the Bush and Columbia Rivers in what is now far eastern British Columbia. One of the Indian trappers had been working in that general area for the three years previous and claimed to have killed 1200 beavers during that time. D. Thompson, *Narrative* 328.

26. D. Thompson, *Narrative* 330.

27. A. Ross, *Fur Hunters* 194.

28. A. Ross, *Fur Hunters* 194.
"They are brought up to religion, it is true, and sing hymns oftener than paddling songs; but those who come here...retain none of its precepts. They are sullen, indolent, fickle, cowardly, and treacherous. And an Iroquois arrived at manhood is still as wayward and extravagant as a lad of other nations at the age of fifteen." A. Ross, *Fur Hunters* 194.
Ross Cox described the Iroquois, Nipissings, and other native Canadians as follows: "These Indians have been all nearly reclaimed from their original state of barbarism, and now profess the Roman Catholic religion. They engage for limited periods in the Company's service as canoe-men and hunters, but on lower terms than are usually allowed to the French Canadians. They are strong, able-bodied men, good hunters, and well acquainted with the management of canoes.

They are immoderately attached to the use of ardent spirits; are rather quarrelsome, revengeful, and sometimes insubordinate...." Cox 364.

29. Richard Somerset Mackie, *Trading Beyond the Mountains: The British Fur Trade on the Pacific, 1793-1843* (Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press, 1997) 62-64.

30. Nicks, "Iroquois" 100-101 (note 47).

31. Ogden was surprised to learn that "the Spanish Settlement where [the American trappers] received their supplies was not more than 15 days march with loaded horses. The place is called Taos." Frederick Merk, "Snake Country Expedition, 1824-1825," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 35.1 (1934): 109.

32. In describing the details of the mass desertion, Ogden reported, "[T]his Villain [John] Grey [an American/Iroquois métis] said I must now tell you that all the Iroquois as well as myself have long wished for an opportunity to join the Americans & if we did not Sooner it was owing to our bad luck in not meeting with them, but now we go & all you Can Say Cannot prevent us, [the American, Johnson] Gardner was Silent having only made one remark as follows, you have had these men already too long in your Service & have most Shamefully imposed on them selling them goods at high prices & giving them nothing for their Skins on which he retired, Grey then said that is true and alluding to the gentlemen he had been with in the Columbia they are Says he the greatest Villains in the World...go we will we are now in a free Country & have Friends here to Support us & if every man in the Camp does not leave you they do not Seek their own interest." Ogden, *1824-1826* 52.

After the North West and Hudson's Bay Companies merged in 1821, the price of a beaver fell below two dollars per skin and the cost of purchasing an outfit increased. The American trading interests were concurrently willing to pay three dollars per pound or five dollars per skin. John C. Jackson, *Children of the Fur Trade: Forgotten Métis of the Pacific Northwest* (Missoula: Mountain Press, 1995) 26.

33. For summaries of Iroquois trapping activity in the Rocky Mountains, see Karamanski 11-12.

Other Iroquois freemen ventured into the Rocky Mountain region independently. Francis Parkman was told by a trader at Fort Laramie that about twenty of the trappers had come into the Upper Missouri region some years prior to 1846, and that they were "braver and more enterprising than any other of the Inds." Francis Parkman, *The Journals of Francis Parkman*, ed. Mason Wade, vol. 2 (New York: Harper, 1947) 440.

34. Ogden, *1827-28* xxxvi.

35. Nicks, "Iroquois" 95.

36. T.C. Elliott, ed., "Journal of Alexander Ross, Snake Country Expedition, 1824," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 14.4 (1913): 371.

37. G. Simpson, *Fur Trade and Empire* 56.
He noted too that "quarrels would follow as a matter of course and the consequences might be fatal both to the Establishment and Expedition." G. Simpson, *Fur Trade and Empire* 56.

38. A. Ross, *Fur Hunters* 109.

39. Elliott, "Alexander Ross" 370.

40. A. Ross, *Fur Hunters* 136.
"I left them therefore as I found them. Iroquois will never do in this country." A. Ross, *Fur Hunters* 136.
Of the 25 trappers, one was killed by the local Indians, two removed themselves to parts unknown, seven remained with the Shoshone, and 15 ultimately rejoined McKenzie. A. Ross, *Fur Hunters* 149.

41. A. Ross, *Fur Hunters* 127.

42. A. Ross, *Fur Hunters* 215-216.

43. Elliott, "Alexander Ross" 373.

44. Elliott, "Alexander Ross" 377.

45. Ogden, *1824-1826* 89, 144.
In the cited instances, Iroquois-Shoshone interaction is what is decried.

46. A. Ross, *Fur Hunters* 129-130.

47. Frisch, "Iroquois in Alberta" 54-56.

48. James A. Teit, "The Shuswap," *American Museum of Natural History Memoir* 4 (1909): 468.

49. Frisch, "Iroquois in the West" 544.

50. G. Simpson, *Fur Trade and Empire* 36-37.
The Iroquois in question were free trappers who had for several years hunted Cranberry and Moose Lakes, Canoe River, and the north branch of the Thompson River.
Not all the Iroquois who traversed the northern Plateau were as fortunate as those who were able to pursue a more

domestic lifestyle. According to Father Morice, a group of Iroquois was killed by Carrier Indians around 1825 "for the sake of their canoes." Alexander F. Chamberlain, "Iroquois in Western Canada," *American Anthropologist* n.s. 6.4 (1904): 461.

51. In 1839, Pierre-Jean de Smet reported that two Iroquois who had been living for "twenty-three years among the nations called Flatheads and Pierced Noses" visited him in the Midwest. Pierre Jean de Smet, *Life, Letters and Travels of Father De Smet*, ed. Hiram Martin Chittenden and Alfred Talbot Richardson, vol. 1 (New York: Arno Press, 1969): 29.

52. James A. Teit, "The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateaus," *Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* 45 (1930): 324.

53. Harry Holbert Turney-High, "Ethnography of the Kutenai," *Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association* 56 (1941): 20.

"Another object connected with [the reorganization of the Columbia Department] was the introduction of Iroquois from Montreal. These people being expert hunters and trappers might by their example teach others." A. Ross, *Fur Hunters* 56.

In 1842, de Smet baptized the Kootenai wife of an Iroquois "who had resided for thirty years with this tribe." This would suggest an entry into the area as early as 1812. De Smet, "Letters and Sketches" 358.

54. Wilfred P. Schoenberg, *Paths to the Northwest: A Jesuit History of the Oregon Province* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1982) 3.

In describing the Nez Perce he observed at the 1836 Rendezvous, Henry Spalding reported, "It is said they observe prayers night and morning, and keep the Sabbath, will not move camp on the Sabbath unless they are with white men, and are obliged to. They are styled by the northern men, Christian Indians. I hope we shall find these reports true, but we must not flatter ourselves, we must not forget that they are Indians...However, one thing looks favorable, their anxiety for instruction, which commenced when they, in connection with the Flatheads, sent to St. Louis to get some information about our religion, still continues, though they have met with one or two disappointments that must necessarily operate against us for a time." J. Orin Oliphant, ed., "A Letter by Henry H. Spalding From the Rocky Mountain Rendezvous," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 51.2 (1950): 133.

While visiting the Nez Perce country earlier that same year, Samuel Parker observed men fashioning a wooden cross to mark the grave of a recently deceased girl--a practice

attributed to Iroquois influence. He subsequently took the cross and "broke it to pieces," informing his hosts that a stone marker at the head or foot of the grave would serve as an appropriate (Protestant) marker. Parker 275-276.

For a contemporary description of Nez Perce communal worship, see Parker 97-98.

55. Expeditions were mounted in 1831, 1835, 1837, and 1839. Of the initial party, two died in St. Louis and two evidently perished during the return trip. In 1835, the Iroquois Old Ignace successfully reached St. Louis with his two sons, who were baptized there. The emissaries of 1837 were killed in Nebraska by some Sioux. The 1839 party was successful in reaching Missouri; one of the two travelers died during the return journey.

For additional commentary on the Iroquois presence among the Salish and Kalispel and for biographies and images of three Iroquois thought to have been members of the St. Louis delegations, see John C. Ewers, "Gustavus Sohon's Portraits of Flathead and Pend d'Oreille Indians, 1854," *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections* 110.7 (1948): 54-62.

Figure 7 shows Aeneas, who traveled to St. Louis in 1839-1840. He accompanied Pierre de Smet to Flathead country in 1840 and was also with the priest during an 1842 visit to the Crows. Ewers, "Sohon" 60-61.

56. Lawrence B. Palladino, *Indians and Whites in the Northwest: A History of Catholicism in Montana, 1838-1891* (Lancaster, PA: Wickersham, 1922) 8-19; Mengarini 27-47; Schoenberg, *Paths* 2-11; Drury *Spalding* 72-90; C. Miller 59-62, 77-95.

See also Josephy, *Nez Perce Indians* 120-284; Jacqueline Peterson and Laura Peers, *Sacred Encounters: Father De Smet and the Indians of the Rocky Mountain West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993) and the special issue: "Catholic Missionizing in the West," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 97.1 (1996).

57. A. Ross, *First Settlers* 219.

58. G. Simpson, *Fur Trade and Empire* 54.

59. During his three years' (1823-1825) tenure as Chief Trader at Fort Nez Perce, John Dease ordered the slaughter of over 700 horses for the purpose of feeding Company personnel. Stern, *Chiefs and Chief Traders* 127.

Late in 1813, Donald McKenzie found the Nez Perce unwilling to trade him the horses he needed to feed his men. He subsequently began shooting Indian horses and leaving an equal value in trade goods on the ground for the owners. Josephy, *Nez Perce Indians* 49-50.

In describing the Canadian voyageurs, Cox stated, "Each man is allowed eight pounds of solid meat per diem, such as

buffalo, deer, horse, &c., and ten pounds if there be bone in it. In the autumnal months, in lieu of meat, each man receives two large geese, or four ducks. They are supplied with fish in the same proportion. It must, however, be recollected that these rations are unaccompanied by bread, biscuit, potatoes, or, in fact, by vegetables of any description." Cox, *Columbia River* 354.

60. Stern, *Chiefs and Chief Traders* 25; Meinig 80. For details of the relative values of horses and itemized inventories of the goods exchanged in three such trades, see Stern, *Chiefs and Chief Traders* 144-146.

61. Irving, *Astoria* 54-55.

62. Irving, *Astoria* 55. The Hawaiians selected for land duty by the Astorian partners had agreed to a three-year term. They were supplied food and clothing for the duration of the time; at the end of the service period they received merchandise equalling $100.00 in value. These wages were subsequently matched by the North West Company but they improved as the Hudson's Bay Company sought new recruits after 1823. At that time, enlistees were offered the wage afforded other Company servants, plus a yearly stipend of 17 pounds. This was reduced to 10 pounds per annum after complaints were received from Canadian and European employees. Irving, *Astoria* 55; Franchère 37; Robert Carlton Clark, "Hawaiians in Early Oregon," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 35.1 (1934): 28-29.

The reduced wage was considered a bargain as the Islanders were deemed better workers than many Indians and métis and the salary was below that afforded French Canadians. New employees often received a higher wage than those reenlisting, in part due a Company practice of getting men drunk and renegotiating their contracts while they were intoxicated. Tom Koppel, *Kanaka: The Untold Story of Hawaiian Pioneers in British Columbia and the Pacific Northwest* (Vancouver, BC: Whitecap Books, 1996) 15-16; 20-22.

The most noted personality among the initial group was John Coxe (Naukane), who was included in the group as a royal observer. After arriving at Astoria, Coxe traveled into the interior with David Thompson. He then crossed the Rockies and went on to Fort William on Lake Superior. He returned to the Columbia by way of Quebec and Portsmouth, England, arriving at Astoria in December, 1813. Coxe ventured back to Hawaii before eventually settling as a swineherd at Fort Vancouver. Paul Kane painted his portrait there in 1847. Janice K. Duncan, "Kanaka World Travelers and Fur Company Employees, 1785-1860," *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 7 (1993): 95-96, 99, 106-107; Robert Clark 27; Koppel 15-16; 27-28; J. Russell Harper, ed., *Paul Kane's*

Frontier (Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum, 1970) 298-299, Fig. 154.

63. Irving, *Astoria* 301.
Most of these individuals were unskilled laborers, although some were employed as boat builders. Robert Clark 27; Koppel 17-18.

64. Robert Clark 27-28.

65. Cox 74.

66. Cox 145.

67. W.T. Atkin, "Snake River Fur Trade," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 35. (1934): 297.

68. A. Ross, *Fur Hunters* 121.

69. Lewis A. McArthur, *Oregon Geographic Names* (Portland, OR: Oregon Historical Society Press, 1974) 563-564.
The date of the unfortunate event is also given as 1820. J. Duncan, "World Travelers" 97-98.

70. This figure comes from Robert Clark 28. Alexander Ross (*Fur Hunters* 194) counted "only about a score of these men in the country."

71. A. Ross, *Fur Hunters* 193.

72. A. Ross, *Fur Hunters* 194.
George Simpson's assessment was this: "A few Sandwich Islanders mixed among the Canadians and Europeans can be usefully employed here as Guards and for common drudgery about the Establishments but they are not generally disposible men being unfit for the laborious duties of the Voyage; they are however valuable in establishing new Countries as they can be depended on in cases of danger from the natives; when they first came here and until last year their terms were merely food and cloathing...[Their pay increased] to £17 p Annum thereby putting them on an equality with the Canadian & European Servants which occasioned much dissatisfaction and very naturally so as they are by no means such serviceable people, we have therefore reduced them to £10 p Annum which satisfies all parties; there are about 35 of them now [1825] on this side the mountain but we can employ 15 more to advantage if the trade is extended..." G. Simpson, *Fur Trade and Empire* 91.

73. Koppel 29.
In November 1834, 12 of this number promptly deserted, each taking a horse. By the following February, seven had

reached Fort Vancouver. John Kirk Townsend, *Narrative of a Journey Across the Rocky Mountains to the Columbia River,* (1839; Fairfield, WA: Ye Galleon Press, 1970) 308; Koppel 29.

74. Janice K. Duncan, *Minority Without a Champion: Kanakas on the Pacific Coast, 1788-1850* (Portland, OR: Oregon Historical Society, 1972) 10-12.

75. Drury, *First White Women* 1: 110.

These men had been hired from Fort Vancouver. They were assisted by an African-American man who had accompanied the Whitmans overland from the Rocky Mountain fur trade rendezvous. Drury, *First White Women* 1: 122, 259.

One of the men was a Hawaiian named John or Jack. He remained with the Whitmans for several years and joined Asa Bowen Smith at Kamiah for the winter of 1839-1840. He left Smith's employ because he had no one with whom he could converse in his native language. Drury, *Marcus and Narcissa* 1: 235, 271; Drury, *Diaries and Letters* 151.

Regarding the imported laborers, Smith explained, "As to economy also, I am satisfied that it is better to have Hawaiian help than to depend on Indians. It requires no small sum in the course of a year for Indian goods to pay for their work & when we get it, it amounts to but little. As we usually pay Indians, it is about half what the wages of a Hawaiian are, & yet all things considered, 4 Indians would not be worth so much as one Hawaiian....One good faithful American I am sure would be worth more that 4 Hawaiians, & 4 Hawaiians would require more food than 8 Americans." Drury, *Diaries and Letters* 152.

76. At the suggestion of John McLoughlin, the members of the Oregon Mission wrote a September 1836 letter to the head of the American Board Hawaiian operations requesting the recruitment of Hawaiian laborers. The Makis were members of an American Board church in Honolulu. Joseph died at the Whitman station in August 1840; his wife then returned to Hawaii in 1841. When the Makis arrived, as many as five Hawaiians may have been employed at Waiilatpu. Drury, *Spalding* 188; Drury, *Marcus and Narcissa* 1: 220, 272; Drury, *Diaries and Letters* 24; Drury, *First White Women* 1: 110.

The American Board had begun operations in Hawaii in 1820 and many of the Islanders who subsequently came to North American were affiliated with Christian endeavors there. On at least one occasion, E.O. Hall, a printer on loan to the Oregon Mission from Hawaii, preached to an audience of Hawaiian fur company employees using their native tongue. In addition, members of the Hawaiian church sent kegs of sugar or molasses to the Oregon missionaries. The royal family (Kamehameha III and his sisters) sent salt and also donated money to assist with the evangelization of

the Oregon Indians. A Hawaiian known locally as Kanaka William was recruited specifically to serve as chaplain to the Hawaiian population at Fort Vancouver. He served in that post between 1845 and 1860. Drury, *Diaries and Letters* 262; Drury, *Marcus and Narcissa* 1: 259, 304; Yvonne Mearns Klan, "Kanaka William," *The Beaver* 309.4 (Spring 1979): 39-43; J. Duncan, "World Travelers" 105.

77. Drury, *First White Women* 2: 14; Drury, *Diaries and Letters* 23.

78. Koppel 20-21.

These men were engaged as cooks, saw mill and agricultural workers, shepherds, swine herds, and carpenters. Robert Clark 29; Koppel 21-23.

"The [Fort Vancouver] saw mill...is a scene of constant toil. Thirty or forty Sandwich Islanders are felling the pines and dragging them to the mill; sets of hands are plying two gangs of saws by night and day. Three thousand feet of lumber per day--900,000 per annum; constantly being shipped to foreign ports." Farnham 98.

79. Mackie 162-163.

The expansion of the Hawaiian labor force is directly attributable to George Simpson's cost-cutting measures of the 1820s. After economic austerity was dictated, many Company employees retired to eastern Canada and elsewhere. When the fur trade subsequently expanded, an inexpensive and available labor pool was much in demand. Mackie 162.

In 1842, Governor Simpson sought to stop employing Hawaiians. John McLoughlin disagreed with this policy and wrote to the Company's governing board in London explaining why he had recruited 50 more. John McLoughlin, *The Letters of John McLoughlin from Fort Vancouver to the Governor and Committee: Second Series, 1839-44*, ed. E.E. Rich, Publications of the Hudson's Bay Record Society 6 (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1943) 182. See also J. Duncan, "Minority" 9-10 and "World Travelers" 103-104.

80. Mackie 163; Koppel 21.

The 152 Hawaiians serving south of the 49th Parallel in 1846 represent almost 40 percent of the HBC work force. Of this number, over 130 were serving as laborers. Koppel 140 (note 4).

81. Koppel 21.

82. Herbert Beaver, *Reports and Letters of Herbert Beaver, 1836-1838: Chaplain to the Hudson's Bay Company and Missionary to the Indians at Fort Vancouver*, ed. Thomas E. Jessett (Portland: Champoeg Press, 1959) 131.

83. Robert Clark 31.

84. Harriet Duncan Munnick, *Catholic Church Records of the Pacific Northwest: St. Paul, Oregon, 1839-1898, Volumes I, II, and III* (Portland, OR: Binford and Mort, 1979) I: 18, 24, 33, 34, 70, 103, 172; II: 63; Harriet Duncan Munnick, *Catholic Church Records of the Pacific Northwest: Oregon City Register (1842-1890), Salem Register (1864-1885), Jacksonville Register (1854-1885)* (Portland, OR: Binford and Mort, 1984) Oregon City 6 and 24; Koppel 65.

See Koppel 65-138 for an extended discussion of Kanaka settlements in British Columbia.

85. Koppel 49-50, 62-64.

86. "Kalama Family Planning June Reunion," *Spilyay Tymoo*, 11 June 1993: 3.

87. Fort George remained in use until 1849 or 1850, when it was occupied by U.S. Army personnel and Customs officials.

For Simpson's contemporary description of the locale around Fort Vancouver and his christening of the post, see G. Simpson, *Fur Trade and Empire* 122-124. See also the commentary in James R. Gibson, *Farming the Frontier: The Agricultural Opening of the Oregon Country, 1786-1846* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1985) 29-43.

88. For an overview of the Fort's physical layout, see John A. Hussey, *The History of Fort Vancouver and Its Physical Structure* (Olympia: Washington State Historical Society, 1957) and John A. Hussey, *Fort Vancouver National Historic Site, Historic Structure Report, Historical Data*, 2 vols. (Denver: National Park Service, 1976).

89. "In compliance with a wish expressed by you at our last interview, Governor Simpson, when at the Columbia, abandoned Fort George on the South side of the River and formed a new Establishment on the North side, about 75 Miles from the mouth of the River, at a place called by Lt Broughton Belle Vue point. Governor Simpson named the new Establishment 'Fort Vancouver' in order to identify our Claim to the Soil and Trade with Lt Broughton's discovery and Survey." J.H. Pelly, Letter to George Canning, 9 December 1825, quoted in "Appendix 'A'" of G. Simpson, *Fur Trade and Empire* 258.

90. For this history, see John A. Hussey, *Champoeg: Place of Transition* (Portland, OR: Oregon Historical Society Press, 1967) 119-122, T.C. Elliott, "The Northern Boundary of Oregon," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 20.1 (1919): 25-34, and Lester Burrell Shippee, "The Federal Relations of Oregon," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 19.2-4 (1918): 89-133, 189-230, 283-333, and 20.1 (1919): 35-93.

91. A U.S. Army post was founded adjacent to the HBC site in 1849. In 1860, the Army obtained possession of the former fur trading facility.

92. For an overview of the diverse economic activities that were linked to Fort Vancouver, see Mackie 184-189. Contemporary descriptions appear in Parker 172-174; Eugene Duflot de Mofras, *Duflot de Mofras' Travels on the Pacific Coast*, trans. and ed. Frederick Webb Hodge, vol. 2 (Santa Ana, CA: Fine Arts Press, 1937) 98-99 and 105-107; and William A. Slacum, "Slacum's Report on Oregon, 1836-7," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 13.2 (1912) 185-186.

93. Hussey, *Historic Structure Report* 1: 247, 291, 292.

94. Farnham 98.

95. For an extended discussion of HBC personnel divisions and their corresponding responsibilities, see G. Simpson, *Fur Trade and Empire* xii-vxii; Susan Kardas, "'The People Bought This and the Clatsop Became Rich': A View of Nineteenth Century Fur Trade Relationships on the Lower Columbia Between Chinookan Speakers, Whites, and Kanakas," diss., Bryn Mawr, 1971, 124-132; Thomas B. Roulstone, "A Social History of Fort Vancouver," thesis, Utah State University, 21-38; and Lester A. Ross, *Fort Vancouver, 1829-1860: A Historical Archaeological Investigation of the Goods Imported and Manufactured by the Hudson's Bay Company*, Part 1 (Vancouver, WA: National Park Service, 1976) 5-10.

96. The Company's 25 Chief Factors and 28 Chief Traders comprised its Field Partners. These men were participants in the annual council and received a portion of Company profits. A Chief Factor's share of this revenue was twice that of the portion awarded a Chief Trader.

97. The details of the Company's social hierarchy have been variously interpreted. Compare G. Simpson, *Fur Trade and Empire* xv-xvii to L. Ross, *Fort Vancouver 1829-1860* 1: 6 (Table 1).

98. The employee population of Fort Vancouver between about 1825 and 1845 was roughly 100-150 persons. Of these, more than half lived in Kanaka Village with their families and slaves (an estimated 25 slaves were present there in the mid 1830s). Bryn Thomas and Charles Hibbs, Jr., *Report of Investigations of Excavations at Kanaka Village, Vancouver Barracks, Washington, 1980/1981* (Olympia: Washington State Department of Transportation, 1984) 32-33, 39.

Slacum estimated 100 laborers and 30 officers in residence at Vancouver. "The laborers and mechanics live outside the fort in good log cabins--two or three families

generally under one roof; and as nearly every man has a wife, or lives with an Indian or half-breed woman, and as each family has from two to five slaves, the whole number of persons about Vancouver can be estimated at 750 to 800 souls." Slacum 186.

Duflot de Mofras estimated 700, of which 25 were Englishmen and 100 were French Canadian engagés. Duflot de Mofras 99.

Regarding slaves, these belonged most frequently to the wives of Company employees. They were reportedly valued at the price of eight to 15 blankets. "The slaves are generally employed to cut wood, hunt, and fish...[and] for any extra work. Each man of the trapping parties has from two to three slaves, who assist to hunt, and take care of the horses and camp; they thereby save the company the expense of employing at least double the number of men that would otherwise be required on these excursions." Slacum 191-192.

Many Chinookan women were the country wives of Company servants. As slavery had traditionally been practiced in Chinookan culture, these women are credited as being substantial slaveholders. Thomas and Hibbs 38.

In 1837, the Anglican chaplain Herbert Beaver had "ascertained the number of slaves to be Eight, belonging to Officers of the Company, and twenty four to the Common Men; some having been parted with." Beaver 31.

99. Kardas 213.

100. Koppel 24; see also Thomas and Hibbs 45-48.

101. Townsend 299.

The author subsequently changed his opinion "after inspecting the internal economy of the dwellings." He determined that his elevated opinion was in comparison to the hygiene he had experienced among the western Indian groups and that "in its proper light...I can confess that my first estimate was too high." Townsend 299.

For a description of everyday life in the village, see Kardas 213-225 and Thomas and Hibbs 30-48.

102. Slacum 185; Farnham 98.

103. Kane 91.

George Simpson had noted this same diversity in 1841, when he described the residents of Fort Vancouver as "Canadians, Sandwich Islanders, Europeans, and half breeds...Most of the men are married to aboriginal or half-breed women." G. Simpson, *Narrative* 1: 246.

For extended discussion of the demographics of Kanaka Village, see Kardas 166-212 and Ron Towner, "Demographics of Kanaka Village," in Thomas and Hibbs 793-811.

104. Thomas and Hibbs 43-44.

105. "At the end of a table 20 feet in length stands Governor McLoughlin--directing guests and gentlemen from neighboring posts to their places; and chief traders, traders, the physician, clerks, and the farmer, slide respectfully to their places, at distances from the Governor corresponding to the dignity of their rank in the service. Thanks are given to God, and all are seated. Roast beef and pork, boiled mutton, baked salmon, carrots, turnips, cabbage and potatoes, and wheaten bread are tastefully distributed over the table among a dinner set of elegant Queen's ware, burnished with glittering glasses and decanters of various colored Italian wines. Course after course goes round, and the Governor fills to his guests and friends; and each gentlemen in turn vies with him in diffusing around the board a most generous allowance of viands, wines, and warm fellow feeling. The cloth and wines are removed altogether, cigars are lighted, and a strolling smoke about the premises, enlivened by a courteous discussion of some mooted point of natural history or politics, closes the ceremonies of the dinner hour at Fort Vancouver." Farnham 99. See also Drury, *Marcus and Narcissa* 1: 214; C. Wilkes, *Narrative* 4: 328-329.

The officers enjoyed further social privilege. "Every evening the young employés assemble in a room called Bachelor's Hall. Here they smoke and discuss their adventures, journeys, and skirmishes with the Indians. One tells how he was reduced to eating leather moccasins, another boasts of such expert rifle-shooting that he aims only at a bear's mouth to avoid damaging the skin. Often Scotch airs will be varied by old French-Canadian tunes when the French spirit of gayety grips these hardy Highlanders." Duflot de Mofras 99-100.

See also, John A. Hussey, "'Unpretending' But Not 'Indecent': Living Quarters at Mid-19th Century HBC Posts," *The Beaver* 305.4 (1975): 12-17; *Historic Structure Report* 1: 87-164, 2: 131-191.

106. This convention is said to have slowly relaxed after about 1836. John A. Hussey, "The Women of Fort Vancouver," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 92.3 (1991): 295-296.

107. John Ball, *Autobiography of John Ball, 1794-1884* (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark, 1925) 93.

108. C. Wilkes, *Narrative* 328. See also Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft, Vol. 29: History of Oregon*, vol. 1: 1834-1848 (San Francisco: History Company, 1886) 26-28 and Elizabeth Vibert, *Trader's Tales: Narratives of Cultural Encounters in the Columbia Plateau, 1807-1846* (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1997) 109-

109. "It is not to be supposed...that merely because the language barrier could be overcome [by Chinook jargon], there was free social intercourse between the women who lived inside the pickets and those who dwelt in the village. Even when the wives in both cases were Indians or mixed-bloods, there was little opportunity to bridge the gap which existed between 'gentlemen' and 'servants' and their respective families. Throughout the companies service a rigid caste system held sway, based on custom and regulation. Tradesmen, *voyageurs*, and laborers--essentially the class of employees who lived in the village--were not permitted, even when invited, to enter the quarters of the officers, clerks, and postmasters who were housed in the fort. 'Gentlemen' were cautioned against making prolonged, frequent, or conspicuous visits to the dwellings of the servants.

There were exceptions: [Anglican services, holidays, horse races]....But on the whole the women of the village and those of the fort revolved in different spheres, although they shared many of the tribulations of frontier life...." John A. Hussey, "The Women of Fort Vancouver," typescript, Fort Vancouver National Historic Site, 46-47.

110. During the 1830s, the common-law Clatsop wife of Basile Poirier, the baker at Fort Vancouver, learned that her husband had a wife then living in Canada. She left him and married the American, Solomon Smith. After learning of the eventual demise of his Canadian spouse, Poirier married a woman from the Celilo Falls area. Harriet Duncan Munnick, *Catholic Church Records of the Pacific Northwest: Vancouver, Volumes I and II and Stellamaris Mission* (St. Paul, OR: French Prairie Press, 1972) A-57, A-76; Munnick, *St. Paul* A-81.

In 1840, the Catholic missionaries found in the Willamette Valley "a Canadian who, after having deserted his wife in Canada, had taken another on the Columbia. His hardened heart showed no desire of abandoning vice to return to virtue." Carl Landerholm, trans. and ed., *Notices and Voyages of the Famed Quebec Mission to the Pacific Northwest* (Portland, OR: Oregon Historical Society, 1956) 53.

111. Landerholm 184-185; see also pages 32-33.

112. Two traits were common to such unions. "None had been formally sanctioned or recorded by a white clergyman or missionary" and "all involved women of Indian descent and generated mixed-blood offspring whose parentage and legal standing might be subject to question by European-based civil or religious authorities." Jennifer S.H. Brown, *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country* (Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia

Press, 1980) 51.

See also Chapter 2, "The Custom of the Country" in Sylvia Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur Trade Society, 1670-1870* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980) 28-52.

For a practical description of this custom as it was manifest at Fort Vancouver before 1836, see Bancroft, *Works* 26-28. By the 1850s, legal marriages had generally replaced country marriages. Hussey, "Women of Fort Vancouver" (*OHQ*) 299.

113. Dunn 148.

114. About half were Chinook (roughly 1/3 were Lower Chinook and 1/6 were Upper Chinook). The next largest segment was Coastal Salish women. Walla Walla, Nez Perce, and Fort Colvile-area women also figured prominently in the totals. Kardas 210-212.

115. Van Kirk, *Tender Ties* 46-47.

The families of regular employees were maintained at a man's own expense. For instance, "you will please observe it a rule at Thompson River that the Men who have Families furnish Horses to transport Provisions for them." John McLoughlin to Samuel Black, 13 July 1830, quoted in John McLoughlin, *Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin Written at Fort Vancouver, 1829-1832*, ed. Burt Brown Barker (Portland, OR: Binfords and Morts, 1948) 114.

116. In the Columbia Department, the gentlemens' wives came variously from Métis roots, from local fur trade families, and from the ranks of local tribal groups. Many of the younger officers were, in fact, unmarried. Domestic unions evident in the Department in 1845 reveal the following partnerships.

Marguerite Wadin, wife of Chief Factor John McLoughlin: Ojibwa métisse.

Amelia Connolly, wife of Chief Factor James Douglas: Cree métisse.

Julia, wife of Chief Factor Peter Skene Ogden: Nez Perce.

Catherine Sinclair, wife of Chief Trader (Willamette Falls) Francis Ermatinger: Métis.

Chief Trader (New Caledonia) Donald Manson: unknown.

Sophia Lolo, wife of Chief Trader (Fort Kamloops) John Tod: Métis-Shuswap.

Josette Legacé, wife of Chief Trader (Fort Simpson) John Work: French Canadian-Spokane.

Maria Pambrun, wife of Surgeon and Clerk Forbes Barclay: daughter of Catherine Humpherville (Cree métisse) and Chief Trader Pierre C. Pambrun.

Charlotte Beaulieu, wife of Clerk (Fort George) James Birnie: Cree métisse.

Clerk Richard Lane: single (engaged to a woman then living at Red River).

Jane Boucher, wife of Clerk William McBean: Métis.

Clerk Angus McDonald (a): unknown.

Sarah Julia Ogden, wife of Clerk (Fort Nez Perces) Archibald McKinlay: daughter of Chief Factor Peter Skene Ogden and his Nez Perce wife Julia.

Clerk David McLoughlin: single.

Clerk Dugald Mactavish: single(?)

Martha Cable, wife of Clerk George B. Roberts: English.

Apprentice Clerk James Allan Graham: single (married Susanne Birnie [daughter of Clerk James Birnie and Charlotte Beaulieu] in 1847).

Apprentice Clerk Thomas Lowe: single (married Rose Birnie [daughter of Clerk James Birnie and Charlotte Beaulieu] in 1849).

Apprentice Clerk Henry N. Peers: single.

Postmaster Charles Forrest had apparently left a family at Red River and formed local liaisons with both a Lower Chinook and a Cowlitz woman.

Postmaster Kenneth Logan: single.

Postmaster Robert Logan: probably single. An illegitimate daughter was born to Logan and Betzy (an Indian woman?) in 1854.

Postmaster (Thompson's River) Patrick McKenzie: unknown.

Apprentice Postmaster William Sinclair, Jr.: single.

Catherine Humpherville, widow of Chief Trader (Fort Nez Perces) Pierre C. Pambrun: Cree métisse.

Charlotte Robertson, widow of Clerk John McIntosh: Métis.

Hussey, *Historic Structure Report* 2: 150-161; "Women of Fort Vancouver," (*OHQ*) 298; Munnick, *Vancouver* A-7, A-8, A-9, A-16; A-22, A-23, A-25, A-26, A-27, A-37, A-51, A-52, A-53, A- 54, A-55, A-60, A-62, A-63, A-75, A-78; Van Kirk, *Tender Ties* 30, 134, 196.

For a subsequent history of the Douglas, Tod, and Work families, see Sylvia Van Kirk, "Tracing the Fortunes of Five Founding Families of Victoria," *BC Studies* 115-116 (Autumn-Winter 1997-1998): 148-179.

117. "We must really put a stop to the practise of Gentlemen bringing their Women & Children from the East to the West side of the Mountain, it is attended with much expense and inconvenience on the Voyage, business itself must give way to domestick considerations, the Gentlemen become drones and are not disposible in short the evil is more serious than I am well able to describe, but a remedy must be applied and if I have not sufficient influence to bring it about I shall be under the disagreeable necessity of soliciting the interference of the Honble Committee." G. Simpson, *Fur Trade and Empire* 131.

Ever watchful for misuse of Company resources, Simpson

had earlier noted, "[T]he Honble Committee would scarcely believe that their business is frequently a matter of secondary consideration compared to little family affairs and domestic arrangements, that their people and Craft are employed in transporting Women & Children with their Baggage Pols Pans Kettles & Bags of Moss and that if these Women and Families were not appendages to the Brigades there would not be so many extra men employed in the Columbia and the Services of the Commissioned Gentlemen would be turned to better account." G. Simpson, *Fur Trade and Empire* 58.

Conversely, "In April, 1825...Simpson suggested to McLoughlin that it would be expedient if John Work took to wife the daughter of a chief of the Cayuse Indians, the expenses to be defrayed by the Company. It was expected that Work would be travelling frequently on the portion of the Columbia River controlled by the tribe, and Simpson pointed out that the connection would afford some protection to the Company's brigades, and advised that the lady should be a passenger on every trip." John McLoughlin, *The Letters of John McLoughlin From Fort Vancouver to the Governor and Committee, First Series, 1825-38*, ed. E.E. Rich, Publications of the Hudson's Bay Record Society 4 (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1941) lvii. See also Van Kirk, *Tender Ties* 29-31.

118. Horatio Hale, *Ethnography and Philology*, United States Exploring Expedition, vol. 6 (1846; Ridgewood, NJ: Gregg Press, 1968) 644.

Hale reported that five languages were in common use at the Fort: English, Canadian French, Chinook, Cree, and Hawaiian. Wilkes, however, noted that "Canadian French is spoken here entirely the servants of the Company being generally of that class & those who come out from England use it." Hale 644; Charles Wilkes, *Diary of Wilkes in the Northwest*, ed. Edmond S. Meany (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1926) 56-71; C. Wilkes, *Narrative* 346-363.

119. This statement regarding the use of the Cree language suggests that the term "Cree" may have loosely encompassed a variety of Canadian dialects. Few women or families with Cree affiliations were in the Columbia Department in 1841.

120. Dunn 148.

121. "Mr. Dunn, a young man whose conduct has given satisfaction, while in the service, declines renewing his agreement & goes home a passenger [on the *Columbia*]." James Douglas, letter to the Governor, Deputy Governor, and Committee, 18 October 1831, quoted in "Appendix 'A'" of McLoughlin, *First Series* 266.

See also Bancroft, *Works* 38.

122. Dunn was joined on his voyage home by Mrs. Herbert Beaver, wife of Vancouver's departing Anglican chaplain. Mrs. Beaver was at Vancouver between 1836-1838 and was the only white woman there during most of that period. For a few months in 1836, the English wife of the Fort's farmer also resided there. Beaver xv, 17, 20, 21, 68, 81; McLoughlin, *Letters, First Series* 161 (note 1).

See Van Kirk, *Tender Ties* 173-200 for a discussion of white women in fur trade society.

123. C. Wilkes, *Narrative* 370.

In 1843, the mixed-blood women at Fort Hall were wearing moccasins with red and blue instep pieces. Jesse A. Applegate, *Recollections of My Boyhood* (Chicago: Caxton Club, 1934) 58.

124. Dunn 148.

125. "She was not the daughter of [Wadin's] wife, Marie Josèphe Déguire, who 'had some Indian blood' and apparently remained in eastern Canada, but of a 'Chippewa or Cree Indian of the Red River Country,' or possibly of a half-breed Chippewa, with whom Mr. Wadin lived while in the fur country. Thus Marguerite was either one-half or one-fourth Indian." Alberta Brooks Fogdall, *Royal Family of the Columbia: Dr. John McLoughlin and His Family* (Portland, OR: Binford and Mort, 1982) 54.

"Wadin's marital selection and family when in the Indian country is unknown, but the strong presumption is that Marguerite's mother was of the extensive and active Cristenaux (Cree) nation residing west of the Great Lakes, and of the Ojibway and Chippewa tribes in Canada and the United States." T.C. Elliott, "Marguerite Wadin McKay McLoughlin," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 36.4 (1935): 345.

No mention of Marguerite can be found in the brief biography of Wadin that appears in W. Stewart Wallace, ed., *Documents Relating to the North West Company* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1934) 504. She is called a "half-breed" in the biography of Alexander McKay (page 473 of the same volume).

Considerable credence must be given to George Simpson's contemporary comments. In his 1832 "Character Book," he noted that Thomas McKay was "A half breed of the Saulteaux Tribe..." This comment is strong evidence that Mrs. McLoughlin was part Ojibwa. Simpson's statement that John McLoughlin "speaks Siaulteaux tolerably well" strengthens this argument although McLoughlin had spent much of 1803-1824 in the Fort William-Rainy Lake area. George Simpson, "The 'Character Book' of George Simpson," *Hudson's Bay Miscellany, 1670-1870*, ed. Glyndwr Williams, Publications of the Hudson's Bay Record Society 30 (Winnipeg: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1975) 176, 221.

Simpson's statements are supported by another

knowledgeable party, Leila McKay, the granddaughter of Thomas McKay. She stated, "My great grandmother, Mrs. Alexander McKay, was a member of the Ojibway tribe." Fred Lockley, *History of the Columbia River Valley from The Dalles to the Sea*, vol. 1. (Chicago: S.J. Clarke, 1928) 67.

Narcissa Whitman, who had enjoyed no prior exposure to either the Cree or Ojibwa, reported in 1836 that Mrs. McLoughlin "speaks a little French, mostly Cree, her native tongue." Three years later, Thomas Farnham stated she was "Cree or Chipeway." Drury, *First White Women* 1: 111; Farnham 88.

The staff at the John McLoughlin House National Historic Site in Oregon City, Oregon maintains that Mrs. McLoughlin was part Cree. They cite statements on file from personnel at Old Fort William in Thunder Bay, Ontario. Nancy Wilson, personal communication, 15 April 1998.

126. After 1793, McKay was assigned to posts west of Fort William. Elliott, "Marguerite Wadin" 341.

127. George B. Roberts, "The Round Hand of George B. Roberts," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 62.2-3 (1963): 216.

128. Duncan, "Honoring People" 117 (note 7); see also page 92.

In describing the history of Wasco/Wishram octopus bags made of woven beadwork and the family that apparently produced them at mid-century, Duncan and Schlick made the following statement: "The stylistic relationship between Ellen Underwood's later work and the mid-century bags led to research into Underwood's family history. Her mother, Mumshumsie, was sent to school at the Hudson's Bay Company post at Fort Vancouver in the early 1830s (Warren 1977). There she would have seen octopus and panel bags worn by trappers and voyageurs at the busy trading post...The young Upper Chinook woman's teacher at Fort Vancouver was Marguerite McLoughlin, the Swiss/Ojibwa wife of Chief Factor John McLoughlin. Warren, working from notes taken by her mother in interviews with Ellen Underwood's daughter Mary, implies that Mumshumsie, already familiar with Chinookan basketry techniques, first learned to use seed beads during this time (1977:93)." Duncan and Schlick 41.

In the "Foreword" to the cited text, Esther Warren makes reference to her mother's research. "The information in this book was gathered over a period of fifty years and covers the period of time up to the twentieth century. Nora Rumbaugh, after she and her husband raised eight children, interviewed many people and gathered data from the National Archives and many books. She visited with Mary Underwood Lane, listening to and writing down stories that Mary told...." Esther Warren, *The Columbia Gorge Story* (Dallas, OR: Itemizer-Observer, 1977) n. pag.

Claims about Mrs. McLoughlin's influence have

subsequently been based on this reconstructed narrative:

"'Where did you get the beads?' asked Isabella who now realized that beads were hard to find.

'We bought them at the Hudson's Bay store. We got some at Bradford's Store and some at Fort Dalles. My father traded beaver skins and salmon for them. Dr. McLoughlin added a box of beads in every trade with the men because he knew the women liked beads,' said Grandmother.

'I made this corn husk bag from the first corn that was grown at Vancouver,' she added as she smoothed the soft texture. 'I was a little girl attending the school for girls at Vancouver. Dame McLoughlin taught us. This feather bag was brought from Sandwich Islands by Elizabeth Bird's mother. She gave me a feather fan also. It is as smooth as silk. The belts and head bands were easily made as we used frames. We had many of these.'"

Bradford's store and inn were established by the brothers Daniel F. and Putnam Bradford some months prior to March 1856, when they served as a refuge for settlers caught in the Indian attack on the Cascades. Fort Dalles was actively manned between 1850-1861. It was intermittently garrisoned until 1867. Corn was first grown at Vancouver in 1825 and the school there began in 1832. Lockley 890-892; Robert W. Frazer, *Forts of the West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965) 127-128; Jack Gibson 38.

129. Ball 93.

John Ball also noted that, "The doctor's wife was a Chippewa woman from Lake Superior." Ball 93.

130. Elwood Evans, comp., *History of the Pacific Northwest: Oregon and Washington*, vol. 1 (Portland, OR: North Pacific History Company, 1889) 117.

131. E. Evans, 118.

132. Quoted in Ball 93.

133. This chronology is a little confused. Ball's own memoirs state that he taught during 1832-1833. In a later publication, he is quoted as having taught for 18 months and as having taught between only January 1 and March of 1833. Another source attributes one year each to Ball and Smith and quotes a family member as stating that Smith's tenure ended in the summer 1834. Leila McKay says Ball taught her father at Vancouver in 1832-1833. Ball 93; E. Evans 118, 182; Harriet D. Munnick, "The Earliest Three R's in Oregon, 1830-1840," *Marion County History* (1959): 53; Lockley 73.

For an overview of the school's history, see Juliet Thelma Pollard, "The Making of the Metis in the Pacific Northwest Fur Trade Children: Race, Class, and Gender," Ph.D. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1990, 284-301, 319-331. See also Roulstone 110-120.

134. Robert J. Loewenberg, *Equality on the Oregon Frontier: Jason Lee and the Methodist Mission, 1834-43* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1976) 81.

135. Beaver 3.

136. Parker 160; Farnham 98.

137. Parker 171; Drury, *Marcus and Narcissa* 1: 214, 217.

The Protestant missionaries provided instruction at McLoughlin's request. Narcissa Whitman reported that she sang with the Fort's children each evening during her 1836 stay there. This incensed the Reverend Beaver and provided the initial fuel for a dispute that was culminated by the Chief Factor physically assaulting the cleric in the Fort's yard. Drury, *First White Women* 1: 105; Drury, *Marcus and Narcissa* 1: 217-218; Beaver xxvi, 7-13, 93-97.

138. Beaver 123-124.

According to Charles Wilkes, the 23 male students spent considerable time in the fields with their instructor. Another 15 girls were then "taught by a female with whom they live and work." C. Wilkes, *Narrative* 332; see also C. Wilkes, *Diary* 52.

139. Beaver 123.

The schoolmaster John Robinson had come to the Columbia as an ordinary seaman although he had formerly served as an officer. Despite expressing initial pleasure with his performance--"as far as I am able to learn, his character is irreproachable"--Beaver later complained that the man was a habitual drunkard. Beaver 3. See also Lockley 73.

Drinking was apparently one of Robinson's lesser faults. After Beaver's departure, the schoolmaster was accused and convicted of sexually molesting several of his female students. Pollard 299-300.

140. Staff at the John McLoughlin House have no evidence of Mrs. McLoughlin's beading activity. They are, however, in possession of her tatting shuttle and know that she practiced embroidery. Nancy Wilson, personal communication, 15 April 1998.

141. Marguerite McLoughlin frequently served as a witness at Catholic baptisms in Vancouver. "Godmother Dame Marguerite McLoughlin who has not known how to sign" is the standard comment in these instances. Munnick, *Vancouver passim*.

142. Beaver's conflict with John McLoughlin centered on the questions of who controlled the Fort's school, whether all students would receive instruction in Anglican

practice and doctrine, and the practice of fur trade marriages. He did not know that the McLoughlins were legally married and singled them out as recipients of his ire. Beaver xvi-xxiii.

Narcissa Whitman served as a private tutor to Eloisa Maria McLoughlin for about a month in September and October 1836. This also upset Reverend Beaver. Drury, *First White Women* 1: 105; Drury, *Marcus and Narcissa* 1: 217.

As to other instructors employed in the school, George B. Roberts "kept School for 2 years" between 1831-1842, probably between Cyrus Shepherd and John Robinson. The chronology is puzzling. In 1844, Roberts' wife (newly arrived from England) founded a short-lived school that charged £5 per head per year. The couple left Vancouver for Cowlitz Farm in 1846. In July of that year, a British engineer named Richard Covington commenced duties as schoolmaster. He was succeeded by his wife (also newly arrived from England) some months later. In 1848, the Covingtons moved the school to their land claim on Fourth Plain. In 1849 it was described as "an excellent seminary where the children from the fort and neighborhood are educated." McLoughlin, *Second Series* 81; Pollard 332; Hussey, "Women of Fort Vancouver" (*OHQ*) 296-298; Osborne Cross, "Journal of Major Osborne Cross," *The March of the Mounted Riflemen*, ed. Raymond W. Settle (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989) 266.

143. C. Wilkes, *Narrative* 332 states that Mrs. James Douglas exercised some oversight of Vancouver's educational endeavors. The comment is a typographical error. In C. Wilkes, *Diary* 52, the author credits "Dr. McL. & *Mr.* Douglass" with placing children in the Fort's manual labor school (emphasis mine).

144. Beaver 116.

145. Beaver 66, 84.

146. Nancy had been McTavish's wife for 17 years and bore him seven children. The affair provoked several of McTavish's old acquaintances. Among these was Nancy's uncle, Donald McKenzie, the Governor of Assiniboia. Van Kirk, *Tender Ties* 182-188; Brown 133-135.

147. Van Kirk, *Tender Ties* 205.

Nancy's new husband, Pierre Leclerc, and four more children died during an 1838 passage to the Columbia. Munnick, *Vancouver* A-54.

148. They were accompanied by a country-born son of George Simpson who had been put away when the Governor married his English cousin. Beaver 84; Van Kirk, *Tender Ties* 187.

One of these daughters, Grace, married a Company officer, Charles Dodd, in 1842. Munnick, *Vancouver* II: 8.

149. Victoria Birnie Andrews, whose father was James Birnie, clerk at Fort George, recalled coming to Fort Vancouver at age seven (1845) to attend school. She reported sorting beads for Mrs. McLoughlin after that time, apparently assisting an assembly of older women who were producing beadwork. David Hansen, personal communication, 9 June 1998.

150. See Madeleine Major-Frégeau, ed., *Overland to Oregon in 1845: Impressions of a Journey Across North America by H.J. Warre* (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, 1976) v-xi; Joseph Schafer, ed., "Documents Relative to Warre and Vavasour's Military Reconnaissance in Oregon, 1845-6," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 10.1 (1909): 1-99; McLoughlin, *First Series* 285-298.

151. Schafer 96.

Ross Cox claimed that the mixed-blood wives of Company officers were as a rule most adept in the needle arts. "The half-breed women are excellent wives and mothers...They are very expert at the needle, and make coats, trowsers, vests, gowns, shirts, shoes, &c., in a manner that would astonish our English fashioners." Cox 359-360. See also Dunn 147.

Charlotte Robinson (or Robertson; Mrs. John) McIntosh was the Métis widow of a Métis Company clerk who had been killed by the Sekani in 1844. She lived at Vancouver with most of her seven children until at least 1850. Hussey, "Women of Fort Vancouver" (*OHQ*) 291; *Historic Structure Report* 2: 160 (note 81).

Catherine Humphreville (Mrs. Pierre C.) Pambrun was born at York Factory. Her father was English and her mother was a Cree or part-Cree woman named Anne. Narcissa Whitman stated that Mrs. Pambrun was "a native From a tribe east of the mountains. She appears well does not speak English but her native language & French." Louis Labonte recalled her as having come from the Red River area. T.C. Elliott, "The Coming of the White Women, 1836," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 37.2 (1936): 100, 37.3 (1936): 172; "Louis Labonte's Recollections of Men," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 4.3 (1903): 265.

Pierre Pambrun arrived in New Caledonia in 1825 and was at Fort Nez Perces in 1832. After his accidental death in 1842, Catherine lived at Fort Vancouver "doing fine needlework to support and educate her young children." Munnick, *Vancouver* A-37; McLoughlin, *First Series* 351-352.

152. Schafer 96.

153. Duncan and Schlick 41.

154. For a brief summary of decorative arts, see Brasser, "Métis Art" 221-229. For a discussion of the diverse everyday clothing in use in the Red River Colony, see Aileen McKinnon, "Dress in Red River Settlement, 1815 to 1835," thesis, University of Alberta, 1992.

155. See Brasser, "Métis Art" 224 and Plate 1, *"Bo'jou, Neejee!"* 196, and Peterson and Peers 79.

For Métis fashions of the 1820s, see Alvin M. Josephy, Jr., *The Artist was a Young Man: The Life Story of Peter Rindisbacher* (Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum, 1970).

156. Robert M. Ballentyne, quoted in David W. Rickman, *The Sutter's Fort Costume Manual: A Guide to the Clothing Worn in California and the Far West, ca. 1845* (Sacramento: Sutter's Fort State Historic Park, n.d.) 84.

The account refers to the years 1841-1846.

157. J.N.B. Hewitt, ed., *Journal of Rudolph Friederich Kurz*, trans. Myrtis Jarrell (1937; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970) 82-83.

158. H. Stevens 1: 336.

159. Townsend 213.

160. C. Wilkes, *Narrative* 370.

161. See Duncan, "Beadwork on the Plateau" 191, 195; Duncan, "Beadwork and Cultural Identity" 108; Duncan, "Honoring People" 92; Peterson and Peers 79.

The unique Upper Chinookan panel and octopus bags described in Duncan and Schlick may reasonably be seen as an exception to this rule.

162. Mackie 61-62. See also Slacum 187-188.

The brigades traveled with a minimum of baggage. Inventories of the baggage and stores that accompanied George Simpson from York Factory to Fort Langley in 1828 appear in Archibald McDonald, *Peace River: A Canoe Voyage from Hudson's Bay to the Pacific* (1872; Rutland, VT: Charles E. Tuttle, 1971) 1, 8, 22.

Express brigades were generally limited to two or three boats. Companies carrying freight were comprised of 60-80 boatmen and 10-12 water craft. They obviously traveled at a slower pace. Duflot de Mofras 92.

Bateaux or canoes laden with furs and goods did not generally travel beyond the boundaries of the Columbia River region as the Company's ocean-going vessels frequently called at Fort Vancouver. The supply vessel from England (the "London Packet") usually arrived each spring.

"One of these ships arrives at Fort Vancouver in the spring of each year, laden with coarse woolens, cloths,

baizes, and blankets; hardware and cutlery; cotton cloths, calicoes, and cotton handkerchiefs; tea, sugar, coffee, and cocoas; rice, tobacco, soap, beads, guns, powder, lead, rum, wine, brandy, gin, and playing cards; boots, shoes, and ready-made clothing, &c.; also, every description of sea stores, canvas, cordage, paints, oils, chains and chain cables, anchors, &c. Having discharged these supplies, it takes a cargo of lumber to the Sandwich Islands, or of flour and goods to the Russians at Sitka or Kamskatka; returns in August; receives the furs collected at Fort Vancouver, and sails again for England." Farnham 97. Slacum 186-187 appears to be original source of this data.

For a description of warehousing and shipping details, see Hussey, *Historic Structure Report* 1: 244-251. L. Ross, *Fort Vancouver 1829-1860*, Parts 1 and 2 contain an overview of the diverse products imported to Vancouver.

163. The brigade that carried Ogden to Fort St. James and Archibald McKinlay to Fort Nez Perces "consisted of nine boats, rowed by sixty voyageurs, eight of whom had their Indian wives with them." C. Wilkes, *Narrative* 379.

164. G. Simpson, *Fur Trade and Empire* 64 (note 122).

That fancy dress should not be worn every day seems obvious. "Europeans have no conception of the dangers and hardships involved in this mode of travel. Days and often entire nights must be passed in crowded boats, exposed to winds and torrents of rain; innumerable rapids and endless cascades must be crossed; long portages must be made on foot, often with hatchet in hand, opening a path though woods, or over rocks and swamps. Frequently the traveler must camp in winter out in the open, in damp, cold places, or in summer along the banks of streams infested with poisonous snakes where the air is thick with mosquitoes. Moreover, he must usually subsist on inadequate and invariably unpalatable food and even at times must ward off attacks by hostile Indians." Duflot de Mofras 92-93. See G. Simpson, *Fur Trade and Empire* 348-349 for another description of this arduous life.

165. Archibald McDonald 4; see also pages 24-25.

George Simpson makes another reference to the use of such songs in an account of his 1841 arrival at Vancouver. "Being anxious to approach head-quarters in proper style, our men here exchanged the oar for the paddle, which, besides being more orthodox in itself, was better adapted to the quick notes of voyageur songs." G. Simpson, *Narrative* 1: 172.

One Colin Fraser was brought from Scotland for the express purpose of serving as the Governor's personal piper. According to McDonald, the bagpipes "went off very well to the ear of a Highlander, but as yet makes but a poor accordance with either the pole or the paddle." Archibald

McDonald 2; George Simpson, *Part of Dispatch from George Simpson Esqr, Governor of Ruperts Land, to the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, London*, ed. E.E. Rich, Publications of the Hudson's Bay Record Society 10 (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1947) 248-249; "Piper to Sir George," *The Beaver* 266.2 (September 1935): 46-47. See also D. Geneva Lent, *West of the Mountains: James Sinclair and the Hudson's Bay Company* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1963) 130.

166. C. Wilkes, *Diary* 72.

167. C. Wilkes, *Narrative* 371; C. Wilkes, *Diary* 76.

168. C. Wilkes, *Diary* 75, 77; C. Wilkes, *Narrative* 371.

169. C. Wilkes, *Narrative* 371-372.

170. Although the term "French Canadian" is used throughout this discussion, a great many of these were of mixed French and Native ancestry.

171. For discussion of various aspects of the settlement of this region, see William A. Bowen, *The Willamette Valley: Migration and Settlement on the Oregon Frontier* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1978); Hussey, *Champoeg*; Lou Ann Speulda, *Champoeg: A Frontier Community in Oregon, 1830-1861*, Oregon State University Department of Anthropology, Anthropology Northwest 3 (1988); J. Neilson Barry, *The French Canadian Pioneers of the Willamette Valley* (Portland, OR: Sentinel Press, 1933).

Early estimates of the size of the indigenous (Kalapuyan) population of the Willamette Valley vary widely. Observers all agree, however, that a series of major epidemics in the early 1830s and smaller outbreaks during the 1820s and 1840s significantly reduced the numbers. In 1856, the surviving Kalapuyans were resettled on the Grande Ronde reservation along with the remnants of other Native groups from interior western Oregon. See Henry B. Zenk, "Kalapuyans," *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. ed. Wayne Suttles, gen. ed. William C. Sturtevant, Vol. 7: Northwest Coast (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1990) 547-553 and Harold Mackey, *The Kalapuyans: A Sourcebook on the Indians of the Willamette Valley* (Salem, OR: Mission Mill Museum Association, 1974).

172. The extensive grasslands were a byproduct of systematic Indian burnings of the area. The region's openness and fertility were also attractive to the waves of overland emigrants who began settling in the area in earnest during the 1840s. Wilkes, *Narrative* 358; Jack Gibson 128-129.

173. In 1814, Alexander Henry reported that the North West Company's Willamette station was tended by 30 men, 2 clerks, "and two huts of freemen and Nepisangues as hunters." A. Henry 814.

174. See Jack Gibson 130.

The Willamette Valley freemen were a recognized entity by the mid 1820s. In 1825, Governor George Simpson "had an interview with the Wilhamot Freemen and sounded them about joining our Expedition to the Umpqua; they were rather shy on account of their numerous Families and the hostile character of the Natives." G. Simpson, *Fur Trade and Empire* 124.

By 1826, a settlement in the area was known as the "Freemen's Encampment." Hussey, *Champoeg* 43.

175. McKay's participation in this enterprise is assumed but undocumented. He was, however, at Astoria by the winter of 1813-1814. Hussey, *Champoeg* 54.

176. Hussey 55.

For biographies of these four early settlers, see Harriet D. Munnick, "Etienne Lucier" and "Louis Labonte," in LeRoy R. Hafen, ed., *The Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West* (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark) vol. 6 (1968) 247-258 and vol. 7 (1969) 191-199; Kenneth L. Holmes, "Joseph Gervais," in Hafen 7: 131-145; Harriet D. Munnick, "'Dupatti' (Jean Baptiste Desportes McKay)," *Marion County History* 6 (1960): 27-32.

The biographies of other French Prairie settlers (Michel Lamframboise, Thomas McKay, Joseph McLoughlin, Robert Newell, Pierre Pariseau, and François Rivet) appear variously in Hafen, vols. 5-9.

177. Barry, *French Canadian Pioneers* 1-2.

178. Jack Gibson 131.

On learning that Thomas McKay and James Birnie had settled in the Willamette in 1833, the Governor and Committee wrote to John McLoughlin, "[W]e have not as yet had an opportunity of looking or inquiring into the objects those gentlemen have in view of settling there, and desire that no Officer or Servant be permitted to remain in the Country after the expiration of his engagement, without our sanction or that of Governor Simpson." McLoughlin, *First Series* 348.

James Douglas summarized subsequent Company thinking in an 1838 letter to London: "The interests of the Colony, and Fur Trade will never harmonize, the former can flourish, only, through the protection of equal laws, the influence of free trade, the accession of respectable inhabitants; in short by establishing a new order of things, while the fur Trade, must suffer by each innovation." McLoughlin, *First*

Series 242.

179. The reasons for this are given as "(1) [to] protect the company against the employes [sic] becoming free trappers and trading with competitors; (2) avoid releasing bad men among the Indians; and (3) protect employes against being abandoned in the wilderness." Oswald West, "First White Settlers on French Prairie," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 43.3 (1942): 202.

180. Hussey, *Champoeg* 53; Barry, *French Canadian Pioneers* 2. See also Bowen 9.

181. McLoughlin provided Etienne Lucier with farming implements as he believed that if he did not, Lucier would ally himself with the next competing fur enterprise to appear in the region. The Chief Factor subsequently argued that if retirees could meet certain prerequisites, they ought to be allowed to remain in the Willamette. He reasoned that this would promote good will and loyalty towards the Company and keep the land from being taken by those who felt differently. He also suggested that the Company might make a profit from marketing the grain grown by the new settlers. McLoughlin, *First Series* 173-174.

For further discussion of Hudson's Bay Company policy and other details of early Company relations with the settlers, see Jack Gibson 130-131; Hussey, *Champoeg* 48-53; Lyman 88-89; Slacum 197; Herbert O. Lang, ed., *History of the Willamette Valley* (Portland, OR: G.H. Himes, 1885) 228-232.

182. Hussey, *Champoeg* 55; Jack Gibson 131.

183. The Methodists' school was founded in 1835 and students were provided food, clothing, and an education. The initial curriculum included "spelling, reading, committing catechism, singing hymns, &c. &c." Theressa Gay, *Life and Letters of Mrs. Jason Lee* (Portland, OR: Metropolitan Press, 1926) 21.

Within two years, the enterprise was described as follows: "Their family at present consists of 3 adults, and 19 full blooded, and 4 half breed Indian children, 10 of whom are orphans. 7 girls and 15 boys attend the school; likewise 8 half breeds' children of the neighboring settlers. The children are all taught to speak English. Several of them read perfectly well. They are all well clothed and fed, and are already very cleanly in their habits. The larger boys work on the farm in fine weather. They can plough, reap, and do all ordinary farm work well. Several of them evince good mechanical genius. Mr. [Jason] Lee assures me that most of the boys have earned their board, clothing, and tuition, estimating their labor at the lowest rate of wages allowed by the Hudsons' Bay Company."

Slacum 194.

An in-house review conducted in 1844 provided a grimmer picture. "The prevailing attitude [among the Methodists] was that all or nearly all the good that had resulted from it was that quite a number had experienced religion here and died when in school and hopefully gone to heaven. All agreed the Indian community had not been benefitted by any one who had left the school and returned to the various walks of life. If they have distinguished themselves in any way it is for their depravity. Four only have left the school regularly. Some of them have run away and many of them have died. The dead have been decently buried. Runaways have been punished as criminals. The most of them have taken their stolen budget and when found have been brought back, put in chains, severaly whipped, &c., &c., guarded and kept within a high enclosure, like prisoners." George Gary, "Diary of Rev. George Gary," part 1, *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 24.1 (1923): 84.

At this point, the institution was a manual labor school. In addition to labor skills, reading, writing, spelling, and geography were also taught. By this time, some students had been attending classes for a period of six years. Total enrollment was 23; many of these were seriously ill. Gary 1: 86-88, 91.

For additional information about the school's activity, see Pollard 331-337.

184. Parker 164.

A school had convened in 1834 in the home of Joseph Gervais. The schoolmaster was Solomon H. Smith, formerly the teacher at Fort Vancouver. The enterprise probably taught basic reading, writing, and mathematics, apparently with little lasting impact. During 1835-1836, Philip Edwards provided classes for 13 pupils near Champoeg. Again, the long-term effects seem to have been minimal. Munnick, "Three R's" 52-56.

185. Slacum 210.

186. De Smet, *Oregon Missions* 126.

187. C. Wilkes, *Diary* 56-71; C. Wilkes, *Narrative* 346-363.

188. C. Wilkes, *Narrative* 350.

The source of this data was the Catholic priest at St. Paul, Francis Norbert Blanchet. Blanchet reported a total of about 60 white settlers and missionaries in the area that included French Prairie, the Yamhill Plains, Willamette Falls, and the Cowlitz Farm. The region was also home to between 400-500 Indians of "all tribes, sexes, and ages." Wilkes, *Narrative* 350.

189. C. Wilkes, *Narrative* 358.

Indeed, one settler recalled life on French Prairie as being "entirely Arcadian." Lyman 88.

190. G. Simpson, *Narrative* 1: 249.

Another member of the U.S. Exploring Expedition concurred, noting that the French Canadian settlement seemed to be "very comfortable and thriving" and that it was "the largest and most prosperous settlement in all Oregon." George M. Colvocoresses, *Four Years in the Government Exploring Expedition* (New York: R.T. Young, 1853) 275.

The level of material wealth was judged differently by a Catholic nun who wrote contemporaneously (1845), "On account of the scarcity of manufactured goods, even the children of the wealthy are not properly clothed. It is next to impossible to obtain cloth of any kind." Clarence B. Bagley, *Early Catholic Missions in Oregon*, vol. 2 (Seattle: Lowman and Hanford, 1932) 97-98.

191. This number apparently came from Father Blanchet. See Landerholm 94.

192. During that season, the Hudson's Bay Company purchased 4000 bushels of surplus Willamette Valley wheat for sale to distant markets. Much of the grain was sold to Russian concerns in Alaska although Slacum had suggested Hawaii and Peru as other possible markets. This amount formed part of the year's estimated total of 35,000 bushels. Simpson noted that "from us almost every settler receives his supplies of imported goods, at prices not much higher than those paid by our own servants." Jack Gibson 140; Slacum 197; G. Simpson, *Narrative* 1: 249-250.

The Company paid for grain at a price they determined. Half of the compensation was given in cash or script and half was given in credit for discounted goods at the Fort Vancouver store. Loewenberg 217; Hussey, *Champoeg* 112-113.

193. Landerholm 145, 173, 185.

A list of 60 French-speaking individuals known to have resided in the region by 1843 appears in West 207. Another list provides the names of 121 who had lived there by 1844. Barry, *French Canadian Pioneers* 5-6.

In an 1842 letter to John McLoughlin, George Simpson reported, "The desire throughout the service on both sides [of] the Mountains, for permission to retire and settle as Agriculturists on the Shores of the Pacific, amounts at present almost to a mania..." Quoted in "Appendix 'A'" of McLoughlin, *Second Series* 271.

194. Neil M. Howison, "Report of Lieutenant Neil M. Howison on Oregon, 1846," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 14.1 (1913): 23-25.

195. Prior to this time, the Hudson's Bay Company was the only regional entity powerful enough to perform police functions. See, for instance, Jonathan R. Dean, "The Hudson's Bay Company and Its Use of Force, 1828-1829," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 98.3 (1997): 262-295. The fact that the HBC was a monopolistic British operation (and one with supposed Catholic connections) made it odious to many of the early American arrivals, including some who had directly profited from the charity, courtesy, and concern of John McLoughlin.

For detailed and recent discussions of the factors influencing the formation of Oregon's provisional government, see Hussey, *Champoeg* 119-191 and Loewenberg 140-228.

196. Duflot de Mofras 113-114.

According to Charles Wilkes, this judicial power was exercised by the officials of the Hudson's Bay Company. C. Wilkes, *Narrative* 392.

197. Jack Gibson 136.

198. Hussey, *Champoeg* 164; see also Lang 275-277.

199. Hussey 165-167; Barry, *French Canadian Pioneers* 7-13.

See also P.J. Frein, trans., "Address" (Canadian Settlers to American Settlers on Proposed Political Organization), *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 13.3 (1912): 338-343.

200. Lang 288.

A small Iroquois community was situated on the Yamhill River, northwest of French Prairie proper. Munnick, *St. Paul* xvii.

By 1846, the Canadian population of the northern Willamette Valley comprised only one-fourth of the local total. Jack Gibson 136.

201. John D. Unruh, Jr., *The Plains Across: The Overland Emigrants and the Trans-Mississippi West, 1840-60* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1979) 119-120.

202. *Illustrated Historical Atlas Map of Marion and Linn Counties, Oregon* (San Francisco: Edgar Williams, 1878) 100.

The county had a total of 7022 white residents by 1860. *Historical Atlas Map*, 100.

203. "Immediately all the settlements were in a ferment. Oregon was a young country; its inhabitants were not rooted to the soil....Wild dreams of fortunes amassed in a day disturbed the calm of the settlement at St. Paul's.

Numbers of its inhabitants set out blithely on the long perilous journey to the Sacramento Valley. Either not wishing to be incommoded with their families, or realizing the difficulty or impossibility of transporting them to the mining camps, these Canadian farmers and trappers left their Indian and half-breed wives to manage the plantations, and confided the care, and to a great extent the support, of their children to the charity of the Jesuits and the Sisters of Notre Dame." Sister Anthony, S.H., *In Harvest Fields by Sunset Shores* (San Francisco: Gilmartin Company, 1926) 119.

204. Munnick, *St. Paul* xx, A-1 through A-96 *passim*; J. Jackson, *Children* 223-229; Barry, *French Canadian Pioneers* 6.

In truth, many Americans resented the Canadian presence, in part due to racial prejudice and in part because the earliest settlers had claimed the superior land. See Pollard 432-441.

205. The chronology of early Catholic activity in the Willamette Valley comes from Munnick, *St. Paul* xvii-xxi; M. Leona Nichols, *The Mantle of Elias: The Story of Fathers Blanchet and Demers in Early Oregon* (Portland, OR: Binfords and Mort, 1941) 79-231; Edwin V. O'Hara, *Pioneer Catholic History of Oregon* (Paterson, NJ: St. Anthony Guild Press, 1939) 20-57, 82-98, 117-123; and Bagley.

206. Harriet D. Munnick, "Physical Aspects of the Mission du Willamette St. Paul in 1847," *Marion County History* 12 (1977-78) 6-7; Fr. Gregory Moys, "The Catholic Church at St. Paul, Oregon," *150th Anniversary of the First Mass in Oregon* (St. Paul, OR: St. Paul Church, 1989) n. pag.

207. Moys, n. pag.; Munnick, "Physical Aspects" 7.

Blanchet and his companion, Father Modeste Demers, were constantly on the move, overseeing Catholic polity not only in the Willamette Valley, but also at Fort Vancouver, the farms at Cowlitz and Nisqually, and elsewhere.

208. For the activities of the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur in Oregon, see "Sister Mary Catherine Cabareux," *Women of the West*, ed. Cathy Luchetti (St. George, UT: Antelope Island Press, 1982) 91-97; Bagley 91-114; Sister Anthony 37-131; Sister Mary Dominica McNamee, *Willamette Interlude* (Palo Alto: Pacific Books, 1959); and Rebecca McClelland Poet, "Women of Valor: The Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, St. Paul, Oregon, 1844-1852," thesis, Oregon State University, 1996.

The view shown in the Paul Kane sketch looks north with the brick church slightly to the left of center (Fig. 9). This building remains in active use; it has received minor architectural modifications over the years. The school of the Sisters of Notre Dame is the large building to the right

of center. St. Joseph's College is out of the picture to the right.

209. The Ursuline order was founded by St. Angela de Merici in Brescia, Italy in 1535. It is devoted to the educating of young girls. The Congregation of the Sisters of Notre Dame of Namur was established in 1806 under the leadership of St. Julie Billiart. It is dedicated to the Christian education of girls, especially those who are poor, and to the training of religious teachers. Mother Mary Fidelis, "Ursulines," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 15 (New York: Robert Appleton, 1912) 228-229; Sister of Notre Dame, "Julie Billiart," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 8 (New York: Robert Appleton, 1910): 559-560.

210. "It was such a great day [the first mass on the Willamette] for them and their wives!--for them who had not seen priests for 30, 40, and 50 years; for the wives that were beholding at last those whom their husbands had predicted so long ago!....The poor Canadians, in their wish to have their wives and children taught and not allow them to miss a single lesson wanted them to move from their houses and live in tents or lodges near the chapel during the whole of the mission. The lodges were particularly for the women, girls, and children; the men would go to their homes from time to time to prevent the waste of grain by their hired hands or by their native slaves." Landerholm 11.

211. "Sister Mary Catherine" 93; Bagley 92.

Initial attendance included "nineteen pupils whose ages range from sixteen to sixty." An increased total of 33 women received their First Communion after about one month's time. Bagley 92, 94.

212. "The half Canadians were my portion. About twenty understood French [which] I spoke simply to them. Nearly all were married and brought their babies with them.

Sister Mary Cornelia had the best portion, which consisted of about a dozen old Indian women who did not know a word of French, yet were requested to know their prayers in that language." "Sister Mary Catherine" 93.

213. Bagley 94.

The text says "Chinook language" rather than jargon. As it continues, "This language is spoken by the Indians here and by those of the Rocky Mountains," it may be assumed that the author (Sister Loyola) refers to Chinook jargon, the *lingua franca* of the western fur trade.

The sisters sought to learn Chinook jargon and one of their number (Sister Mary Catherine Cabareaux) subsequently recalled, "The great drawback in the beginning was our ignorance of their dialect." Nonetheless, French reading

and language skills were encouraged and use of the trade language was forbidden by degrees. "Sister Mary Catherine" 94-95; Bagley 94.

214. Bagley 100.

215. Bagley 97, 100, 107.

216. See Bagley 93 for an inventory of the average fees for a trimester.

217. Bagley 93.
Three orphans were among the initial enrollees. This number grew to six then eight during the second year. Bagley 97, 108, 114.

218. Bagley 98.

219. McNamee 160.

220. Sister Colette Valschaerts, SND, e-mail correspondence, 15 May 1998.

221. Bagley 99.

222. "Sister Mary Catherine" 95, 97; Bagley 98-99.

223. Bagley 105.

224. Bagley 104.

225. Bagley 114.

226. Sister Anthony 85.

227. Bagley 114.

228. McNamee 193, 195.

229. McNamee 191, 192, 196.

230. A large May 1849 expedition of French Prairie residents went to California. Forty of these died in a yellow fever epidemic in the gold fields; half of this number were heads of households. McNamee 202; see also J. Jackson, *Children* 209-210.
The sickness that ravaged St. Paul is also identified as cholera. Fourteen students at Sainte Marie de Willamette died during the epidemic. Sister Anthony 121.
For a description of the impact of these two events upon the Willamette Valley's French-speaking community and local Catholic education, see Pollard 344-347, 438-439.

231. O'Hara 123; Poet 31-33; Nichols 202-213; Sister Anthony 106-131; McNamee 189-267.

Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary from Montreal reopened the Oregon City school in 1860. They reopened the St. Paul school the following year. A flood in 1861 caused the St. Paul facility to be relocated to Portland. O'Hara 160-161.

232. A total of 42 was recorded in June 1845. Landerholm 234.

233. McNamee 200, 210.

234. McNamee 202; Sister Anthony 120.

235. Munnick, "Three R's" 55.

No attendance lists are available for Sainte Marie de Willamette but the 1850 Census recorded the names of 11 boarders then living at the school. One of these (Catherine Monique [Iroquois-Chinook]) died during the following year. Of the remaining number, no further biographical details are evident for three: Victoire Masta, Angelique Plamondon (French-Métis/Cree), and Marie Pressee. Angele Poirier (French-Chinook) married the prosperous Vancouver resident Charles Desroches. Helene St. Andre (French-Chinook) also moved to Vancouver after marriage. Lizette Wagner (Canadian-Chinook) is probably the Elizabeth Wagner who married a Canadian (Red River Métis?) named Elie Peland. She died and was buried at St. Paul in 1863. Josephte Laviguer (French-Colville) lived in the Willamette Valley and western Washington with a succession of four husbands. Rosalie Plouff (French-Owyhee/Chehalis) moved to the Umpqua country and remained there with a sequence of male companions. Esther Béleque (French-Chinook) married and then relocated to Walla Walla. Catherine Brisbois (French-Cayuse) married in Wasco County, Oregon, at age 15 (1861). Several years later (1868) she was remarried and also living near Walla Walla.

The names of four other Sainte Marie students who died shortly before 1850 appear in the St. Paul ledger. Three of these (Rose Finlay, Catherine McPhail [Scottish-Cascades], and Rosalie Calispell [Kalispel]) died in 1849. Elizabeth McKay (métis Iroquois-Chinook) died the year before. Munnick, *St. Paul* xix; II: 22-23, 135; A-6, A-57, A-63, A-68, A-69, A-75, A-80, A-81, A-87, A-94; *Vancouver* A-11, A-67, A-72.

A partial list of alumni of the Oregon City academy appears in McNamee 228-229. Of these, Margaret Cosgrove married Theodore Poujade of Gervais and her sister Ann married Edward Eldridge of the same parish. Mary Cavanaugh married a Cosgrove brother, James; Matilda Klingler became the wife of another Poujade brother. A second Klingler (Christina) married a man from her home community of

Molalla. Mary Spence married Charles McKay; McKay's sister Christina became Mrs. J.N. Harty. Adele Pambrun became the wife of a sea captain from Baltimore and then a merchant from London; she died in Portland. Munnick, *Oregon City* 13, 14, 21; *St. Louis* 42; *St. Paul* II: 34, 44, 104; A-18, A-19, A-30, A-82, A-83; *Vancouver* A-61.

236. For an overview of the Company's perspective, see J. Jackson, *Children* 85-95.

237. It was hoped the settlers would help develop the resources of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company. This organization was established in 1839 to produce wool, hides, tallow, and other farm produce for English and other markets. The two major development sites were at the Cowlitz Portage and on the Nisqually Plain. McLoughlin, *Second Series* 15-16 (note 2). See also John S. Galbraith, "The Early History of the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 55.3 (1954): 234-259 and Jack Gibson 85-124.

238. Quoted in Jack Gibson 110.

239. J. Jackson, *Children* 92-93; Jack Gibson 111-112.
The numbers were dictated by two considerations. The increase in settlement was controlled by how many could be absorbed into the operations of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, and free settlement was not to be permitted. It was contrary to the interests of the fur trade. Galbraith 249.

240. "The emigrants to the Columbia are to take farms on halves; houses will be erected for them; stock such as cattle, sheep, horses, etc. provided; likewise agricultural implements without any advances being required from them. In fact, the Company is willing to provide them with capital; their proportion of the capital being labour, and the Company looks to be repaid for their advances in the shape of produce, say half the increase of stock and produce of every kind...." George Simpson, quoted in Lent 102.

241. Jack Gibson 110-112; McLoughlin, *Second Series* 78 (note 3).
In order to secure recruits, Duncan Finlayson eventually promised that as soon as the Columbia Department became British territory, the land that was being developed would be sold to individual farmers. Jack Gibson 113.

242. For descriptions of the journey, see Lent 107-158, J. Jackson, *Children* 99-111, and William J. Betts, "From Red River to the Columbia," *The Beaver* 301 (Spring 1971): 50-55.

243. For a list of the emigrants, see J. Jackson, *Children* 94-95.

244. G. Simpson, *Narrative* 1: 89-90.

245. Lent 109-110.

246. Lent 110.

In general terms, English Métis are said to have preferred European-style clothing while French-speaking Métis wore clothing influenced by Indian fashions. McKinnon 41.

For discussion of the costume described here (homespun cloth, woolens, capotes, and handkerchiefs), see McKinnon 17-19, 33-34, 36-41, 49-51.

247. Betts 54; Lent 134.

248. Two families remained in the Spokane area because they were unable to proceed "on account of sickness." Betts 54.

In her diary entry of September 21, 1841, Mary Richardson Walker noted the presence of the Red River emigrants. "There are a hundred and twenty five, 80 of whom are children. The women are mostly half-bloods." Henry Spalding's diary for September 10 recorded that the colonists were "to settle on the Cowlitz as half servants of the company." Drury, *First White Women* 2: 220; Drury, *Diaries and Letters* 322.

249. Jack Gibson 115-116.

"The fact is, from the first moment I saw them, after their arrival from Red River, from their manner of speaking, I felt convinced they were desirous of going to the Wallamette..." McLoughlin, *Second Series* 120.

A lawsuit charging the Puget Sound Agricultural Company with breach of contract was settled in 1855 in the Company's favor. John C. Jackson, "Red River Settlers vs. Puget Sound Agricultural Company, 1854-55," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 85.3 (1984): 279-289.

250. Jack Gibson 116.

251. Lent 233; John V. Campbell, "The Sinclair Party: An Emigration Overland Along the Old Hudson's Bay Company Route from Manitoba to the Spokane Country in 1854," *Washington Historical Quarterly* 7.3 (1916): 187.

252. See the list in Campbell 197-198.

253. Lent 235; Campbell 187.

254. Campbell 193-194; Lent 263, 265.

255. De Smet, *Oregon Missions* 110.

St. Francis Regis was located near present-day Chewelah, Washington. It was the fourth Jesuit mission founded in the Pacific Northwest. A resident priest arrived and remained there for about a year, beginning in 1848. The site was then visited every two weeks during the 1850s by priests from St. Paul's Mission at Kettle Falls. Claudia Himmelberg, "St. Francis Regis Mission Site (I)," Community Cultural Resource Survey, Washington State Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, Olympia, Washington, 1-2.

Other sources date the abandonment of the original facility to about 1850. An 1849 decommissioning date appears in Robert C. and Eleanor R. Carriker, *Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the Pacific Northwest Tribes Missions Collection of the Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 1987) 34. The closure is given as 1851 in Walt E. Goodman, "Chewelah and Vicinity Before 1968," typescript, Northwest Room, Spokane Public Library, 3.

A second St. Francis Regis was established about six miles east of the Columbia River in 1869. It moved to a nearby site several years later. A boarding school for Indian boys operated in this third location until 1908. A school for girls run by the Sisters of Charity of Providence was in session there between 1873 and 1921. It educated Indian women until 1908. Carriker and Carriker 34; Claudia Himmelberg, "St. Francis Regis Mission Site (II)," Community Cultural Resource Survey, Washington State Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, Olympia, Washington, 1-2; Goodman 4.

256. De Smet, *Oregon Missions* 243.

257. Himmelberg, "St. Francis Regis Mission Site (I)" 2.

The Scottish-Ojibwa Jacques Raphael "Jacco" Finlay had a noted career in the fur trade of the interior Pacific Northwest. For brief biographical information, see J. Jackson, *Children* 35-41; Rowland Bond, *Early Birds in the Northwest* (Nine Mile Falls, WA: Spokane House Enterprises, 1971) 20-27; J.A. Meyers, "Jacques Raphael Finlay," *Washington Historical Quarterly* 10.3 (July 1919) 163-167.

258. A hand-drawn Finlay family tree is in the possession of the Midwest Jesuit Archives. A copy may be found in Special Collections at Gonzaga University.

The records of St. Paul's Mission for 1847 note marriages between Augustin Finlay and Clementine (Pend d'Oreille), Joseph Finlay and Angelique (Kootenai), and Alexander Guerette *dit* Dumond and Josephine Finlay. The combined St. Paul/St. Francis Regis register for the following year notes the union of Jacque Finlay and a

Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus, microfilm roll 22: 330; "St. Paul's Mission and St. Francis Regis Mission Marriage Records, 1848-1879," *Pacific Northwest Tribes Missions Collection of the Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus*, microfilm roll 23: 671.

Josephine Finlay also appears in Church records made in 1838 at Fort Colvile. In addition, Rose Finlay's first marriage (to Antoine Duquet) was recorded there in August of 1840. Munnick, *Vancouver* I: 15; 61.

259. The exception would appear to have been Pierre Lacourse, whose wife was initially listed as Cree (elsewhere she is called Chinook and Chehalis). Common sources of wives were the Okanagan (4), Kalispel (3) Kettle Falls (3) groups. Munnick, *Vancouver* I: 15-16, 52-57, 60-62 *passim*; A-44.

260. "St. Paul Baptism Register," *Pacific Northwest Tribes Missions Collection of the Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus*, microfilm roll 22: 326-372 *passim*.

261. Charles Wilson, *Mapping the Frontier: Charles Wilson's Diary of the Survey of the 49th Parallel, 1858-1862*, ed. George F.G. Stanley (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1970) 110.

Wilson's comment may also include the 30 or so retired Hudson's Bay employees (including some from the Willamette Valley) who settled on White Mud Plains near Fort Colvile in about 1855. See Pollard 442-443.

262. C. Wilson, *Mapping the Frontier* 110.

Wilson reported that a "grand ball" was held at Fort Colvile in February 1861 and that "all the old trappers & voyageurs of the Company drove over in their sleighs, some from a distance of over 30 miles...such a wonderful collection of people, from the light-hearted trapper with his gaudy moccasins & leggings, through all shades of colour to the dusky hue of the Indians; songs & dancing were the order of the evening; some of the Canadian boat songs sung by a lot of voyageurs were capital....The great difficulty was in conversing, amongst so many outlandish tongues..." C. Wilson *Mapping the Frontier* 141.

263. For an account of Spokane Indian reaction to local white settlement, including the fact that local French Canadians were thought to have secured deeds to their Colville Valley lands while the local Indians were attending the 1885 Walla Walla Treaty Council, see H. Stevens 2: 133-140 and Kent D. Richards, *Isaac I. Stevens: Young Man in a Hurry* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1979) 250-251.

Installation (1859-1865) was founded as Hatley Depot before becoming Camp Colville, then Fort Colville. This facility was situated several miles east of the present town of Colville and about 10 miles east of the fur company fort. David H. Chance, *People of the Falls* (Kettle Falls, WA: Kettle Falls Historical Center, 1986) 69-92; Frazer 172-173.

265. Chance, "People of the Falls" 105-106.

266. The name is given as LeBroque in Mildred Searcey, "Frenchtown" and "The Bergevins," *We Remember* (Pendleton: East Oregonian, 1973) 42, 50. A list of early settlers includes an "L. Rocque" who is said to have come to the district about 1823. This latter name also appears in a list of 1855 residents, with an Indian wife and three children being present in the household. "The Frenchtown Story: Community, Not a Town," Walla Walla *Union Bulletin*, 27 August 1967, 30; Frank T. Gilbert, *Historic Sketches of Walla Walla, Whitman, Columbia, and Garfield Counties, Washington Territory* (Portland, OR: A.G. Walling, 1882) 164.

Two of the three or more Joseph LaRocques who appear in the historic record had wives from the Walla Walla region. Joseph Sebastian LaRocque was an HBC middleman who was employed by the Company between 1827-1831. He began trapping as a freeman in 1832 when he became a member of John Work's Southern Brigade. At that time, he was accompanied by a very young Cayuse woman named Marianne. After participating in the Snake Country Brigades yearly between 1834-1846, he was said to have settled in the Willamette Valley. Munnick, *St. Paul* A-56; Towner 805; Alice Bay Maloney, ed., *Fur Brigade to the Bonaventura: John Work's California Expedition, 1832-1833, for the Hudson's Bay Company* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1945) 101 and *passim*; C. Simpson 184, 186, 188, 190, 191, 193-197, 268.

Another Joseph LaRocque was already living at St. Paul in 1841; his wife Elizabeth (Lizette) was a Walla Walla woman. The couple vanished from the local record after 1843 and it is possible that they returned to the Walla Walla region after that time. Joseph Sebastian LaRocque and Marianne (also called Flathead and Walla Walla) frequently appear in the St. Louis parish records between 1847 and 1853. Their 1845 marriage is recorded in field notes attached to the St. Paul register. They, too, could have returned to Frenchtown by 1855. One account combines the details about Joseph and Joseph Sebastian, making Lizette the wife of Joseph Sebastian. Munnick, *St. Paul* I: 30, 89, 116-117, A-56; *St. Louis* I: 5, 14, 21, 40, 42, 44; J. Jackson, *Children* 144-145.

A third Joseph LaRocque (retired and in Montreal or Paris) was the benefactor of the Jesuit St. Joseph's College

at St. Paul. Munnick, *St. Paul* xix, A-56.

One LaRocque family (there were also several others) was also present for a time in the California gold country. A diarist referred to an unnamed Oregon LaRocque (with Indian wife and adolescent son) as "Old Rock." Maloney 101; Charles Edward Pancoast, *A Quaker Forty-Niner* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1940) 323-324.

A home belonging to the Pellisier family is additionally referred to as one of the oldest in Frenchtown, although this name does not appear on any available early list. Harriet D. Munnick and Adrian R. Munnick, *Catholic Church Records of the Pacific Northwest: Missions of St. Ann and St. Rose of the Cayouse, 1847-1888; Walla Walla and Frenchtown, 1859-1872; Frenchtown, 1872-1888* (Portland, OR: Binford and Mort, 1989) "Annotations," n. pag.

267. Searcey, "Frenchtown" 42.

The Frenchtown district was about eight miles long. It stretched from just east of the Whitman Mission site at Waiilatpu westward to a point between present-day Lowden and Touchet. Larry Dodd, e-mail correspondence, 24 June 1998.

268. Munnick and Munnick xii.

269. Gilbert 164-165.

The Pacific Railroad Survey reported that, in 1853, the area between Waiilatpu and the mouth of the Touchet River had "many farms mostly occupied by the retired employes of the Hudson Bay Company." I. Stevens 152-153.

Gilbert's list of "Ex-Hudson's Bay Company French Employes Living Near French Town on the Walla Walla River" in 1855 included the following names. Several of the individuals had little or no French ancestry. All except Pambrun and "Nichelo Findlay" were said to be living with Indian wives.

E[duoard Beauchemin] Beauchemir; married to Marianne (Walla Walla). Records show he was employed as an HBC middleman in 1837. Towner 800.

[Thomas] Brancheau, whose wife was Angelique Koatsteps (Nez Perce, also called Shoshone).

Oliver Brisbois; his first wife was Catherine Cayuse. In 1852 he married Jane Flett, who came west as an infant in the 1841 Red River migration.

Lewis [Louis François] Dauny; married to Susanne Walla Walla.

Etteyne

Mignan Findlay (probably Michquam Finlay, who was married to a Kutenai woman). Miquam had been a free trapper in the 1828-1832 Snake Country Brigades. C. Simpson 247.

Nichelo (Nicholas) Findlay. Finlay lived near the Whitman Mission for some years and was suspected of complicity in the killings there.

J[ean] B[aptiste] Ignace (Iroquois); married to

Angelique (Pend d'Oreille or Spokane).

A[mable] LaCourse; his wife was Madeleine ("daughter of Techanapam and a mother of the Walla Walla nation").

William McBean, clerk at Fort Nez Perces between 1846-1851. His wife was Jane Boucher, the daughter of Baptiste Boucher and Nancy McDougall (Métis).

T[oussaint] Morisette; married to Adele Waptai Milkestize (Walla Walla).

[Pascal Pacquet?] Pacquette

A[ndre] D[ominique] Pambrun, clerk at Fort Nez Perces between 1851-1855. He married Maria (Mary) Cook at Red River in 1843.

[Jean?] Poirier

Narcises Remond; married to Pauline Walla Walla. Raymond had served as an interpreter during the 1844, 1845, 1847, and 1848 Snake Country Expeditions. C. Simpson 195, 196, 198, 199.

L. Rocque [LaRoque]; see footnote above.

[Louis] Tellier; married to Marguerite Des Chaudiere (Kettle Falls). Munnick, *Vancouver* II: 106, A-5, A-10, A-11, A-18, A-44, A-52, A-53, A-62, A-69; Munnick and Munnick, "St. Ann" I: 18, 24, 25, 38, 40, 46, "Walla Walla II" 40; J. Jackson, *Children* 253.

Additional French, English, and American names appear in the ledger of the Missions of St. Ann and St. Rose of the Cayouse between the dates 1847-1856. Some of these individuals had apparently been associated with the fur trade. Entries include mention of Jean Baptiste Dorion (interpreter at Fort Nez Perces; married to a Cayuse or Walla Walla woman); Louis Davis (married to a Siskiyou woman); James Filane, whose Iroquois or part-Iroquois wife was named Agnes Jacque; Antoine (Laferté *dit*) Placie, who married Angelique, daughter of Peo-Peo-Mox-Mox (Walla Walla); a man named Lane (married to Marguerite [Walla Walla]), and Jean and Elizabeth Fildne (Finlay) Gingras. Munnick and Munnick, "St. Ann" I: 12, 21, 39, 43, 46; Munnick, *Vancouver* I: 35, A-31, A-45.

A list of early settlers appearing in "The Frenchtown Story" supplements the names given by Gilbert with the following:

J[ean] M[arie] Abadie; arrived 1855. Abadie first appears in local Church records in 1860. Munnick and Munnick, "Annotations" n. pag.

J. Beauchamp; arrived 1837 and a resident in 1857. A Jean Baptiste Beauchamp was a freeman attached to the 1824 and 1825 Snake Country Expeditions. C. Simpson 216.

F. Chartier; a resident in 1847.

M. McDoughfin; arrived 1835.

A. Morrin; arrived 1836 and a resident in 1847.

B. Remond; arrived 1857.

270. Gilbert 163-165.

Three of these men appear in the Catholic mission records. They were William McKay, who operated a trading post near present-day Pendleton; W. Alfred Tallman, an employee of Brook, Bumford and Noble and married to Julie (Cayuse-Shasta); and Louis Raboin (an American of French descent), who lived on the Tucannon River with Scholastique, his Flathead wife. Munnick and Munnick, "St. Ann" I: 30, 34, 36.

271. "The small colony of Hudson's Bay people, who had settled along the Walla Walla, and on the Touchet, and Brooke, Bumford & Noble, the cattle-ranchers, had struggled almost heroically to save their homes, and some part of the little property they had accumulated, but they had been despoiled both by the Indians and the soldiers, during the years of [General John E.] Wool's command, and most of them had been forced to leave the country. Those who had remained were so far impoverished that they were compelled to begin again, with almost as little as when they had first arrived on the ground." Clinton A. Snowden, *History of Washington: The Rise and Progress of an American State*, vol. 4 (New York: Century History Company, 1909) 73.

272. The treaties worked by Isaac Ingalls Stevens were not ratified by Congress until early 1859.

273. "This influx of gold seekers from Oregon and California, coming up the Columbia river, passed through Walla Walla where they purchased mining outfits of provisions, tools, camp equipage, and animals to pack the same to the mines. Thus a home market was created, and the farmer who had anything to sell was a fortunate man." Gilbert 225-226.

In the March 1861 words of a local resident, "Times are good here now. There is great excitement about the mines. This valley will be deserted in a few days. There are some 300 who have gone already, 83 left to-day. I am going to start on the 7th, in company with 50 or 60 others. The town is full of pack animals. There is not a pick, shovel, gold pan, or any quick silver to be had here at any price. Those who have gone, have completely drained the town of these articles. Goods of all kinds are scarce." John R. Bernfeil, quoted in "News from the Nez Perce Mines," *Idaho Yesterdays* 3.4 (Winter 1959-60): 23.

274. Gilbert 222.

275. Gilbert 228.

276. Gilbert 229.

277. Gilbert 233, 234, 236.

278. Diverse enterprises included the growing of tobacco, melons, potatoes, corn, and possibly broom corn. Larry Dodd, 24 June 1988.

279. Munnick and Munnick xii.

The building was situated on the property of William McBean. McBean also taught at a school built to serve the Frenchtown community in 1871. Wilfred P. Schoenberg, *A Chronicle of the Catholic History of the Pacific Northwest, 1743-1960* (Portland, OR: Catholic Sentinel, 1962) 71.

280. This building was situated on the land claim of Narcisse Raymond. It was near where the current highway marker (U.S. 12) commemorates the Frenchtown Cemetery and the 1855 killing of the Walla Walla chief Peo-Peo-Mox-Mox. Searcey, "Frenchtown" 44.

At the time of the construction, Frenchtown's Catholic community consisted of about 200 persons. The church was built under the direction of a newly appointed resident priest, Father Charles Richard, OMI. It was dismantled in 1910. Schoenberg, *Chronicle* 81, 265.

281. Munnick and Munnick, "Introduction," "Walla Walla II," n. pag.

282. Munnick and Munnick, "Walla Walla II" *passim*.

283. The Pambrun, Cornoyer, LaCourse, and Lavadeur families were among those associated with the Umatilla County, Oregon region. Munnick, *Vancouver* A-62; *St. Paul* A-18; Munnick and Munnick, "Annotations" n. pag; "French Breeds," Walla Walla *Union Bulletin*, 11 June 1978, 33, 38-39.

The Bergevin family owned ranch land and other commercial interests in Umatilla County but apparently did not relocate here. Searcey, "Bergevins" 48, 50.

284. Two of William McBean's sons enrolled on the Umatilla reservation. Henry was Walla Walla Allottee No. 385 and John was Cayuse Allottee No. 388. Elizabeth McBean Plucker also lived on the reservation; her husband taught at the Indian school there. By the 1960s, the descendants of a fourth McBean sibling, Sophia McBean Morrell Brown, were living on or near the Spokane reservation. Donna Mae Rickard, letter to Mabel Turner, 11 October 1968, William McBean biography file, Eastern Washington State Historical Society Library, Spokane, Washington.

Members of the Lavadeur (Lavadour) family also enrolled on the reservation; see "French Breeds" 33, 38-39.

285. Data for this discussion of the gold mines on the Nez Perce reservation comes from *History of Idaho Territory* (San Francisco: W.W. Elliot, 1884) 64-69; Hiram T. French,

History of Idaho, vol. 1 (Chicago: Lewis Publishing, 1914) 26-29; James H. Hawley, ed., *History of Idaho: The Gem of the Mountains*, vol. 1 (Chicago: S.J. Clarke, 1920) 100-107; Carlos A. Schwantes, *In Mountain Shadows: A History of Idaho* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991) 50-53; Leonard J. Arrington, *History of Idaho*, vol. 1 (Moscow, ID: University of Idaho Press, 1994) 183-193.

286. For a first-person description of the events, including the response of Indian agent A.J. Cain, see Ralph Burcham, ed., "Orofino Gold!: E.D. Pierce's Own Story," *Idaho Yesterdays* 4.3 (Fall 1960): 2-5, 8-9.

287. Many in this ground swell came from the gold fields of California and the Fraser River.

One packer stated that the July 1861 population of Oro Fino was 1200 and Pierce City was of an equal or greater size. The surrounding region was estimated to have a population total of 12,000. About 400 houses and tents had been erected at Oro Fino by August.

In Oro Fino "[t]here were some fifteen or sixteen different stores of various kinds; about eighteen or twenty saloons, six bakeries, four hotels, three meat markets, five laundries, two bankers, four doctors and two express offices....The buildings were mostly frames covered with canvas, or log shacks. Lumber was very scarce and expensive, as it all had to be whipsawed by hand." All of the goods that supplied this settlement, Pierce City, and the surrounding country were carried in by mule. James W. Watt, *Journal of Mule Train Packing in Eastern Washington in the 1860's* (Fairfield, WA: Ye Galleon Press, 1978) 10.

288. "Containing the Latest News to date from Oro Fino and Salmon River Mines," *Portland Daily "Times" News Letter*, 18 February 1862, 1.

News of the newly opened gold fields was treated with great interest. An unusually severe winter in 1861-1862 caused great loss of life to regional livestock herds, threatened some human lives, made travel difficult, and generally restricted the travel of many who wished to prospect in the Idaho mountains.

289. French 29.

Other estimates hold that in late June 1862, 8000 people were in Florence. Of this number, 6000 departed within a matter of two weeks. Schwantes 52.

290. The U.S. Indian Agent posted the following notice but to no avail: "The settlement made at the junction of the Snake and Clearwater rivers is in violation of United States Law and cannot be permitted under any circumstances." Quoted in Schwantes 258 (note 2).

291. Watt 17.

292. During the summer of 1861, there was an "abundance of provisions" in Oro Fino. Beef cost about $0.15 per pound and flour was as low as $0.16 per pound. By November, the cost of flour had risen to $0.25 per pound and beef was $0.30 per pound. Coffee and candles were said to be unavailable and sugar, beans, and bacon were very hard to find. In December, the per pound cost of coffee was given at $0.50, and sugar, beans, and bacon were $0.40-$0.50, $0.25-$0.30, and $0.50-$0.60 per pound respectively. Food costs were two to four times higher at Florence just three months later. Watt 11; *History of Idaho Territory* 65, 67.

293. Drury, *Spalding* 167, 170, 181, 185, 301-302.

294. Donald N. Wells, "Farmers Forgotten: Nez Perce Suppliers of the North Idaho Gold Rush Days," *Idaho Yesterdays* 2.2 (Summer 1958): 29.

For instance, in 1855 the Pacific Railroad Survey described one Nez Perce farm on Alpowa Creek (a small tributary of the Snake River in southeastern Washington). The enterprise included twenty irrigated acres of corn and some "tolerably well set out" fruit trees. I. Stevens 12.1: 198.

Describing nearby lands along the Snake in 1861, a Portland newspaperman noted that "Indian farms planted with corn and vegetables are seen at every two or three miles; many of them of considerable extent." One Indian farm on the lower Clearwater was then found to be several hundred acres in size. He summarized, "The Indian farms are, for the most part, fenced with rails. I noticed a good variety of garden vegetables, and some fine patches of green corn. The land is closely cultivated, and is as clear of weeds as any I ever saw. These farms are seen at almost every available point from Palouse to the forks of the Clearwater." Henry Miller, "Letters from the Upper Columbia," *Idaho Yesterdays* 4.4 (Winter 1960-61): 18, 19, 21.

295. Wells 29, 32; William Armistead Goulder, *Reminiscences: Incidents in the Life of a Pioneer in Oregon and Idaho* (1909; Moscow, ID: University of Idaho Press, 1989) 260.

The Kamiah Nez Perce were reported to have developed such a good trade relationship with the residents of Pierce City that they prevented an attack upon that settlement during the troubles of 1877. Goulder 305.

296. H. Miller 21.

297. C.L. Goodrich, quoted in "News from the Nez Perce Mines" 26.

298. One writer has speculated that Iroquois women may have influenced Plains and Great Basin embroidery based on the following 1849 description of Mrs. Richard Grant, wife of the factor at the HBC's Fort Hall: "Grant is a Scotchman...His wife is an Iroquois...Her handywork,--of bead embroidered articles are very ingenious and beautiful;--pouches, sashes, mocasins, etc. etc..." The observation did not come from a trained ethnologist but from an individual traveling to California for the Gold Rush. In truth, Grant had married Helene McDonald (the widow of William Kittson) at Fort Vancouver in 1845. Helene was the daughter of the North West Company's Finan McDonald and a Pend d'Oreille woman named Marguerite. James A. Hanson, "Laced Coats and Leather Jackets: The Great Plains Intercultural Clothing Exchange," *Plains Indian Studies: A Collection of Essays in Honor of John C. Ewers and Waldo R. Wedel*, ed. Douglas H. Ubelaker and Herman J. Viola, Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology 30 (1982): 116; J. Jackson, *Children* 197; T.C. Elliott, "Richard ('Captain Johnny') Grant," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 36.1 (1935): 3-5.

CHAPTER IV: ORNAMENT AND DRESS IN THE SOUTHERN PLATEAU, 1805-1880

INTRODUCTION

While exploring the southern margin of Montana's Bitterroot Valley, Lewis and Clark and the Corps of Discovery became the first Euroamericans to record contact with Native people of the Columbia River Plateau. Under the date of September 4, 1805, William Clark's journal entry described the meeting:

> ....we met a part of the Flathead nation, of 33 Lodges about 80 men 400 Total and at least 500 horses, those people recved us friendly, threw white robes over our Sholders & Smoked in the pipe of peace, we Encamped with them & found them friendly but nothing but berries to eate a part of which they gave us, those Indians are well dressed with Skin Shirts & robes, they Stout & light complected more So than Common for Indians....I was the first white man who ever wer on the waters of this river.[1]

During the following weeks, the explorers noted that select items of European origin were present in the Indian communities they visited.[2] Nonetheless, the Native peoples of the Columbia-Snake drainage generally used and enjoyed objects of their own manufacture. During the next half-century, a flood of traders, settlers, and other interlopers passed through the region. Plateau lifestyles, material culture, and adornment changed dramatically in response to the social, commercial, religious, and political pressures wrought by these outsiders.

The written record contains many of the primary clues to the developments in personal adornment and changes in clothing styles and preferences that occurred between contact and 1860. This is supplemented somewhat by the imagery made by the few contemporary artists who visited the region. Complementary texts record activities during certain time periods and in specific locales. (See Fig. 4.) Lewis and Clark made prodigious descriptive notes as they traveled along the Snake and Columbia Rivers in 1805 and 1806. Between 1810 and 1830, various American Fur, Hudson's Bay, and Northwest Company employees kept and published accounts that included descriptions of Native life. The geographical focus of these writings was again on the Columbia and Snake River systems. During the 1830s, most of what was written about Plateau peoples came from the pens of individuals who encountered them at the Rocky Mountain rendezvous of the American fur trapping companies. Federally sponsored endeavors, notably the Wilkes Exploring Expedition, the Pacific Railroad Survey, and the 1855 Treaty Councils, resulted in some significant writings during the 1840s and 1850s. Nevertheless, by far the greatest volume of data from these years was recorded in emigrant diaries describing Indian-white contact along the Oregon Trail route in northeastern Oregon and along the Columbia River between Fort Nez Perces and The Dalles.

Although the information preserved in all these accounts provides valuable insight into the historic

progression of regional clothing and adornment, the writings present many contextual difficulties.[3] Most descriptive material was written by passive or amateur observers. The few trained eyewitnesses who visited the region were botanists, ornithologists, geologists, or the like. The bulk of the historic accounts were written as diaries; some of these were produced with an eye toward publication in the popular press. In these cases the descriptive data is often included as an afterthought.

As the Plateau could not be entered before 1860 except by means of arduous overland or riverine travel, many writers responded to the region's inhabitants by comparing them with Native groups encountered previously, most often on the Great Plains or downstream on the Columbia. As a consequence, Plateau dress is frequently described comparatively, such as containing more or less of certain elements than had been previously observed among the Plains peoples, the Shoshone, or Chinookan peoples.

The comparative isolation of the Plateau also guaranteed that by the time they entered it, a great many observers were no longer enamored with their adventure or the curiosities it would bring. Diarists whose accounts are rich with description during the early days of travel were often making brief entries by the time they entered the Columbia River drainage. In addition, nearly all of the writers were involved in some economic venture--fur trapping, emigration, exploration--apart from the specific

study of Native people. The time and attention applied to ethnographic observation was, therefore, often minimized and the linguistic effort required to pursue detailed inquiries appears to have generally been avoided.

JEWELRY AND PERSONAL ADORNMENT

The wearing of jewelry and the decoration of both hair and body apparently reflected individual status and preference although some intergroup similarities presented themselves to the earliest observers. In 1805, Lewis and Clark reported that the Nez Perce were wearing blue and white beads as ear pendants and as ornaments around the neck.[4] The following year, the explorers recorded single dentalium shells in use as nose ornaments, combinations of pearls and beads serving as earrings, bracelets made of beads, and beaded sashes being worn on opposite shoulders and crossing at the chest.[5] Bear claw collars were also commonly worn by men.[6]

David Thompson, writing in 1811, found prodigious use of dentalium among people living along the Columbia River between the Okanogan and Snake Rivers. The great map maker noted several villages where the women were wearing dentalium fillets (headbands), dentalium bracelets, and dentalium arm bands.[7] Many women along this same stretch of river also wore the shells in their noses.[8] Several years later, Alexander Ross reported Okanagan women wearing dentalium belts around their buckskin dresses.[9]

Hair ornamentation and face painting were both prevalent and idiosyncratic. Lewis and Clark found the Nez Perce decorating their hair with mother-of-pearl, dentalium, and feathers; they most frequently used white, green, and light blue paints.[10] These decorative pastimes were summarized in Samuel Black's 1829 Report on the Fort Nez Perces district.

> They use a great many ornaments of diff kinds in the Hair on the Head. diff Colored Beads in bands &c porcupine & other Quill Work, bits of Tin, Brass, Small Buttons &c anything polished Sparkling or Shining they can pick up. I saw one with the Socket of a Brass Camp Candlestick dangling in his Hair. They have fine Colored Earths on their Lands, White Red Green Blue Yellow &c & with which & Charcoal or Lamp or Kettle Black they paint their faces in the most strange fantastical manner possible. I have seen them with one side of the face painted White & the other Green but the most general way is a ground of Red with spots and streaks of black white &c....[11]

The trader further noted that black lines passing across the eyelashes and lines running across the temple from eye to ear were "a favorite mark of beauty amongsts the Males."[12] In the same vein as the aforementioned brass candlestick, David Thompson encountered some years previously and in the same locale a man wearing the handle of a tea kettle in his hair.[13]

Describing the Indians of the Plateau as he observed them during the mid 1830s, the Protestant missionary Samuel Parker stated his belief that they tended to paint themselves less than the Indians living east of the Rockies,

"but still at their toilet, vermillion, mixed with red clay, is used not only upon their faces, but also upon their hair."[14] He found feathers, beads, buttons and porcupine quills in frequent use as hair decoration.[15] A Catholic missionary, writing during the next decade, interpreted the attention given to personal adornment as a manifestation of pride as a dominant vice. He too noted the widespread use of vermillion and also the utilization of a wide range of natural and manufactured trade items.[16] In 1860, Charles Wilson of the British North American Boundary met a man at The Dalles whose face was painted in halves of red and brown and whose hair was "carefully oiled and tied up on the crown of his head."[17] Speaking of the Salishan peoples living near Fort Colvile in the years immediately thereafter, Wilson noted that hair braids were generally bound with "brass keeper[s]," beads, ribbon, or other ornaments.[18] Grizzly bear claws were frequently worn around men's necks, and women wore "armlets and rings, and strings of hawk bells, large beads, or thick rolls of small beads, round the neck."[19]

WOMEN'S CLOTHING

HEADGEAR

One of the accessories described in the early accounts is the *patl'aapa*, the fez-shaped twined basketry hat that was once a trademark of Plateau women.[20] While among the Nez Perce on his trip home, Meriwether Lewis noted that the

women "wear a cap or cup on the head formed of beargrass and cedar bark."[21] Similar headgear was noted by William Price Hunt in January 1812. The Overland Astorian observed Cayuse people living near present-day Pendleton, Oregon, and wrote: "The women have caps of willow twigs very neatly made and ornamented with designs. The vessels for holding water are also of willow...."[22]

Over 30 years later, the Presbyterian missionary Henry Harmon Spalding described three woven hats he had collected from the Nez Perce on the Clearwater River as "the work of the lower Indians, used also for water cups."[23] His language thus implied that the hats were produced by Palouse, Cayuse, Walla, Umatilla, Yakima or other peoples who traded them to the Nez Perce.[24] Modern knowledge of the western range of the hat form was supplemented the following year (1847) by the artist Paul Kane (Fig. 10). A watercolor of a Nisqually woman shows her wearing what Kane described as "a cap made of grass of different colours, much used by the women."[25] Prevalent use of this headgear along the southeastern Puget Sound apparently stemmed from intermarriage between Nisqually, Puyallup, and Duwamish with Yakima peoples.[26]

In 1851, an Oregon Trail emigrant traveling through the Grande Ronde Valley confirmed Spalding's comment about the usefulness of the hats as drinking vessels. Referring to Indians she believed to be Nez Perce (although they were more probably Cayuse or a combination of both groups),



Figure 10. Paul Kane, *Saddled horse and Indian woman* (sketch; near Fort Nez Perces?), 1847. Watercolor on paper, 5-1/2 x 9-1/2 in. ROM #946.15.162; Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.

Harriet Talcott Buckingham noted in her diary that the hair of the Indian women was "braided into two long plain plaits that hang down & on top of their head is a gay little hat shaped like a flower pot--made of woven grass--it serves to pick berries in or drink water out of, as it holds water it being so closely woven."[27]

Kerchiefs as feminine headcoverings appear in the historic record beginning in the 1830s. In 1805, William Clark reported that Nez Perce women did not ornament their heads.[28] The following year, Meriwether Lewis noted the use of "a bando of some kind" around the head. This was "most frequently the skin of some fir animal as the fox otter &c. tho' they have them also of dressed skin without the hair."[29]

It appears that the headscarf fashion had its origin with the wives of Rocky Mountain fur trappers. A variety of writers record the fact that these free trappers were quite "prodigal" when purchasing goods for their Native spouses.[30] Descriptions of these same women often note that the wearing of kerchiefs on the head was a style common among them.[31] The practice was contemporaneously common among women associated with Hudson's Bay Company employees.[32] During the 1830s, "gaily colored kerchiefs" were popular trade items at the Rocky Mountain rendezvous.[33] During the following decade, the missionary accounts also note their popularity as articles of exchange.[34] By the time of the 1855 Walla Treaty Council,

headscarves had become standard attire for Nez Perce, Walla, Umatilla, and Cayuse women. One account notes that women and children departing from the treaty grounds were "decked with bright calico shirts and kerchiefs."[35] By this time, however, kerchief usage was not restricted to the top of the head. The scarves were also frequently worn tied around the neck.[36]

BUCKSKIN ATTIRE

Everyday attire was generally unadorned and decorated clothing was reserved for special occasions.[37] A fringed, loose-fitting, leather dress was the standard feminine garment throughout much of the southern Plateau during the early nineteenth century.[38] Meriwether Lewis described Flathead attire as follows:

> the Chemise is roomy and comes down below the middle of the leg the upper part of this garment is formed much like the shirt of the men....the sides tail and upper part of the sleeves are deeply fringed and sometimes ornimented in a similar manner with the shirts of the men with the addition of small patches of red cloth about the tail edged around with beads. the breast is usually ornament with various figures of party colours rought with the quills of the Porcupine. it is on this part of the garment that they appear to exert their greatest ingenuity. a girdle of dressed leather confines the Chemise around the waist...."[39]

William Clark noted that Nez Perce dresses were additionally "ornemented with quilled brass, Small peces of Brass Cut into different forms, Beeds, Shells & curios bones

&c."[40] In contrast to Flathead garments, more blue and white beads, brass, copper, and shell were evident.[41]

Several years later (1811), Alexander Ross observed the attire worn by women camped at the mouth of the Walla River. He found the dresses "richly garnished" with beads, dentalium, and "other trinkets."[42] Contemporary Flathead garments were "ornamented with fringes, beads, hawk-bells, and thimbles."[43] Okanagan women of the same period wore fringed dresses with beads and large dentalium attached. Their belts were trimmed with animal teeth, beads, and other objects.[44] The clothing was routinely cleaned through the application of white clay.[45]

Samuel Black, in a description of the Indian community that frequented Fort Nez Perces during the late 1820s, commented:

> The women's shirts particularly the girls are ornamented [with] beads, haiquas, thimbles, &c by way of fringes [with] large necklaces or bunches of stringed haiquas & beads about their necks hanging down their breasts. The men also have always a good supply of haiquas about them in the garnishing way in their hair, ears, etc.[46]

This style was maintained through the next decade when John K. Townsend reported that the dress yokes seen in a Cayuse camp at the mouth of the Umatilla River were "more or less ornamented with beads and *hyquas*." The edges of these were "cut into strings, to which a quantity of blue beads are generally attached."[47]

Dentalium remained a valued decorative item through the

1840s, when Henry Spalding reported that "The Aquois from a single dress were once taken to the mountains by a man who lives near, & sold in small parcels for $1600.00 sixteen hundred dollars."[48] Spalding simultaneously noted the use of the ivory teeth of the bull elk, a decorative application previously noted among the Flathead by Father de Smet.[49]

By the 1830s, a variety of beads were common throughout the Plateau. Larger beads were popularly applied to dress yokes. Indian woman associated with the Rocky Mountain fur trade--Nez Perce and Flathead among them--often sported garments "decorated about the neck and shoulders with all the beads they can procure...Their dresses are sometimes loaded with some eight or ten pounds of large cut glass beads of various colors."[50] Such profuse ornament was often apparent among women of status. An 1853 meeting between one of Owhi's daughters-in-law and members of the Pacific Railroad Survey produced a report that she was "a very pretty woman, [who] wore a dress stiff with beadwork and porcupine quills."[51] By the 1860s, in at least the Fort Colvile area, silk thread had been added to the inventory of decorative devices. At that time, Charles Wilson noted a prevalence of dresses (and leggings and moccasins) "tastefully decorated with beads, or flowers worked in with silk."[52]

Several examples from the visual record suggest that many early dress yokes were embroidered in highly contrasting and parallel rows.[53] A woman shown in the

Wilkes Expedition *Narrative* resembled an "aboriginal belle" encountered in the Upper Yakima River region (Kittitas Valley) in 1841 (Fig. 11).[54] Her dress displays three parallel, horizontal double-rows of what appear to be large trade beads; her shoulder seam is additionally embroidered. Contemporaneous Nicolas Point drawings of Flathead women reveal similar decorative traditions.[55] In September 1847, Paul Kane observed a scalp dance near Fort Colvile. His resultant imagery suggests that tail dresses with horizontal yoke decorations were a standard of the regional feminine wardrobe.[56]

TRADE CLOTH DRESSES

As was evident with headscarves, the Indian wives of fur trappers helped set the standard for changes in dress styles. By the early 1830s, such women had begun wearing trade cloth dresses "fashioned somewhat after that of the whites."[57] These were generally sewn with gray, green, scarlet, or blue broad cloth. Warren Ferris observed them to either be constructed entirely of blue material or to be made in a green and scarlet combination with the waist and sleeves in one color and the skirt in the other.[58] During the same decade, some Nez Perce women were reportedly wearing bodices made of "linen stuffs."[59]

By the early 1840s, the American Board missionaries had begun contributing to a creeping revolution in Plateau fashion. From the early days of their arrival they had



FEMALE COSTUME.

Figure 11. Female Costume (typical Plateau feminine dress, 1841); from C. Wilkes, *Narrative* 399.

purchased Hudson's Bay Company goods for use in the Indian trade. Throughout their tenure they also exchanged clothing made from trade cloth and their old garments for food and labor. Children's clothing was in particular high demand.[60] In 1842, Mary Augusta Dix Gray recorded giving sewing instruction to Indian women at Waiilatpu. She taught European sewing techniques and pattern usage and her diary specifically mentions assisting with dress and bonnet construction.[61]

During the previous year, a visitor to the Clearwater Mission recorded that Eliza Spalding was teaching a variety of young women to card, spin, weave, and knit and that Henry Spalding had made numerous handlooms to assist the enterprise.[62] Mrs. Spalding, writing to her sister shortly thereafter, commented on the activity:

> with my assistance [the women] have made 24 yards of good substantial woolen cloth, it is some less than 3/4 [of a yard] in width....They look to me much more comfortable and respectable in these dresses than in any others I have ever seen them wear. They have also knit for themselves yellow stockings....[and three] have knit themselves leggins....Some appearances of civilization and improvement I think, we now really see.[63]

Published Nez Perce accounts record the tradition that the missionaries held Native dress to be inherently evil and tools of the devil.[64] Cultural change is recalled as having being promoted even through the use of physical force. Nonetheless, Henry Spalding appears to have been favorably impressed by Nez Perce fashions. Shortly after

arriving at Fort Nez Perces in 1836, he wrote to friends:

> Let me tell the dear Christian ladies who lay out the Lord's money to appear fine, could they see a Nez Perces woman with herself and [horse] equipped, pass through one of their cities, they would go to their drawing room, take down their sham trappings and cast them into the fire, as not worth noticing in comparison with the splendid equipage of a Nez Perce lady and her milk-white steed.[65]

His attitude appears to have remained unchanged during his decade at the Clearwater Mission. Regarding the dresses he sent to Dudley Allen he wrote, "A young lady...in one of these dresses, upon a firey horse well equiped with saddle and crouper, makes a fine appearance."[66]

MEN'S CLOTHING

OTTERSKIN TIPPETS AND PERFORATED SHIRTS

Two masculine clothing items--the otterskin tippet and the perforated shirt--appear as standard attire in the earliest accounts but disappear from the written record by mid-century. Speaking of Nez Perce men, Meriwether Lewis noted that:

> the article of dress on which they appear to bstow most pains and ornaments is a kind of collar or brestplate; this is most commonly a strip of otterskin of about six inches wide taken out of the center of the skin it's whole length including the head. this is dressed with the hair on; a hole is cut lengthwise through the skin near the head of the animal sufficiently large to admit the head of the person to pass. thus it is placed about the neck and hangs in front of the body the tail frequently reaching below their knees; on this skin in front is attached peices of pirl,

> beads, wampum peices of red cloth and in short whatever they conceive most valuable or ornamental.[67]

Lewis had previously observed ermine-trimmed tippets as they were worn by Shoshone men and he collected one such collar from among that people.[68] Later writers failed to include otterskin tippets in the Plateau male wardrobe. Karl Bodmer nonetheless sketched a Siksika (Northern Blackfoot) man wearing a similar item at Fort McKenzie in 1833 (Fig. 12).[69]

Perforated shirts also vanished from the written record at an early date. In about 1821, Alexander Ross provided a description of what he had observed to be basic attire for a Walla, Cayuse, or Nez Perce war chief. In addition to headdress and other accessories, such a warrior wore "a shirt or garment of thin draped leather, cut and chequered into small holes, painted or tattooed with a variety of devices."[70] Almost contemporaneously, Samuel Black noted that some of the men who traded at Fort Nez Perces had the bodies of their shirts "Cut into small Holes of diff forms; rounds, squares, &c it looks like net work thrown over them..."[71]

A similar garment was described a quarter century later as it was worn by the Delaware Tom Hill. Hill was at the time an influential Nez Perce leader.[72] As he and his followers enjoyed a feast at the Waiilatpu mission station of Marcus Whitman, Hill was noted to have been "richly and



Figure 12. Karl Bodmer, *Ihkas-Kinne, Siksika Blackfeet Chief*, 1833. Watercolor and pencil on paper, 17 x 11-7/8 in. 1986.49.285; Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska; Gift of Enron Art Foundation.

gorgeously dressed....in full Indian costume. His hunting shirt was of deerskin, stained slightly red, cut full of holes and fringed. This was worn over a striped shirt. His pants were of the same material as his hunting shirt, fringed down the side."[73] The following year, Paul Kane painted both a Nez Perce and a Spokane man wearing similar garments (Fig. 13).[74] The shirts were apparently common articles of wear, yet they do not seem to appear elsewhere in the historic record.

BUCKSKIN SHIRTS

William Clark observed the fringed buckskin shirt to be a winter garment, one that was generally worn with robe, leggings and painted moccasins.[75] As with subsequent observers, he noted that men's blouses were quite similar to women's dresses, only cut shorter.[76] About Nez Perce men, Meriwether Lewis noted, "They are generally well cloathed in their stile. their dress consists of a long shirt which reaches to the middle of the thye...these are formed of various skins and are in all rispects like those particularly discribed of the Shoshones."

Shoshone shirts, first seen in 1805, were described in this way:

> The shirt of the men is really a commodius and decent garment. it roomy and reaches nearly half way the thye, there is no collar, the apperture being sufficiently large to admit the head and is left square at top, or most frequently, both before and behind terminate in



Figure 13. Paul Kane, *I-e-ash, Nez Perce Indian*, 1847. Watercolor on paper, detail of 5-1/4 x 8-7/8 in. sketch. 31.78/15, WWC 15 (right); Stark Museum of Art, Orange, Texas.

> the tails of the animals of which they are made....the sholder straps are wide and on them is generally displayed the taste of the manufacterer in a variety of figures wrought with the quills of the porcupine of several colours; beads when they have them are also displayed on this part.[77]

The Corps of Discovery found similar buckskin shirts to be the masculine fashion as far west as The Dalles of the Columbia. The explorers noted that these garments were generally well ornamented with porcupine quills.[78]

Twenty years later, Samuel Black described male garments as seen at Fort Nez Perces.

> Their shirts as well as their leggings are Often Garnished in Porcupine Quill Work and Other Ornaments, Hair of Scalps, human Hair or Horse Hair by way of Fringes Some times a back of Scarlet Cloth....The Shirt has also a neck (some times before & behind) running into a point down the Middle of the Back & breast fringed or indented garnished &c."[79]

This masculine attire remained common throughout the region well into the 1830s. At that time Samuel Parker found male dress to generally consist of "a shirt worn over long, close leggins, with moccasons for the feet."[80] After noting the long fringe present on the garment borders, he continued: "They are fond of ornaments, and their heads and garments are decorated with feathers, beads, buttons, and porcupine quills; these last are colored red, yellow, blue, and black, and worked with great skill and variety of design."[81]

The visual record reveals that triangular neck flaps

continued to be popular until after mid-century. Narrow idiosyncratic embroidery bands were also the norm for Plateau buckskin shirts from the mid 1830s to the 1860s. Alfred Jacob Miller's 1837 portrait of a Nez Perce man attending the Rocky Mountain fur trading rendezvous includes a shirt that adheres to these formulas.[82] Clothing seen in the paintings of Paul Kane confirms the styles, as do the surviving 1847 works of John Mix Stanley.[83] Among these latter images is a Stanley rendering of Jean Baptiste Dorion, son of the Overland Astorian Pierre Dorion and his Iowa wife, Marie (Fig. 14). The younger Dorion possessed some fluency in Indian languages and found occasional employment as an interpreter. He was a farmer near St. Paul, Oregon, in the early 1840s. His wife, who may have been responsible for making the shirt he wore for this 1847 portrait, was a Cayuse or Walla (or possibly Nez Perce) woman named Josephine.[84]

Renderings made by Gustav Sohon during 1854-1855 also testify to the popularity of triangular neck flaps and embroidered bands on male shirts. A variant of the style also appears in an 1860-1861 British North American Boundary Commission photograph of a Kalispel man.[85] Nicolas Point's 1840s renderings of Flathead and Pend d'Oreille men tend to show only broadly drawn embroidery panels and few other decorative details.[86]

An 1853 John Mix Stanley sketch of Plateau men reveals a preponderance of shirts with what appear to be decorative



Figure 14. John Mix Stanley, *Baptiste Dorion*, 1847. Oil on paper, 9-1/4 x 12-3/4 in. 31.23/15; Stark Museum of Art, Orange, Texas.

rosettes on the faces of their garments.[87] Other styles included open-faced apparel with embroidered decoration. One such garment was worn by the Yakima leader Owhi; it appears in portraits by both Sohon and Johnson Kelley Duncan. In this instance, the embroidery seems to take the form of epaulets (Fig. 15).[88] A similar garment was worn at the 1855 Walla Treaty Council by the Nez Perce known as James.[89] By the mid-1870s, the occasional shirt was fringed with ermine skins.[90]

MISCELLANEOUS ACCESSORIES

ROBES AND BLANKETS

In 1805, William Clark found white buffalo robes or elk skins to be common masculine attire among the Nez Perce.[91] When the Corps of Discovery reached the junction of the Snake and Columbia Rivers, John Ordway observed that buffalo robes were no longer in use, but that red and blue cloth blankets were occasionally present.[92] Several years later, all of the men in a camp at the mouth of the Walla River were seen to be wearing buffalo robes.[93] Nearby Cayuse also sported a number of bison skins when encountered during subsequent years. Alexander Henry reported that these came from the Nez Perce, who by 1814 were annually hunting on the Plains with the Flathead.[94]

In the mid 1830s, Samuel Parker noted that Plateau women all wore "frocks" and that many also wore large capes, "often highly ornamented with large oblong beads of blue,

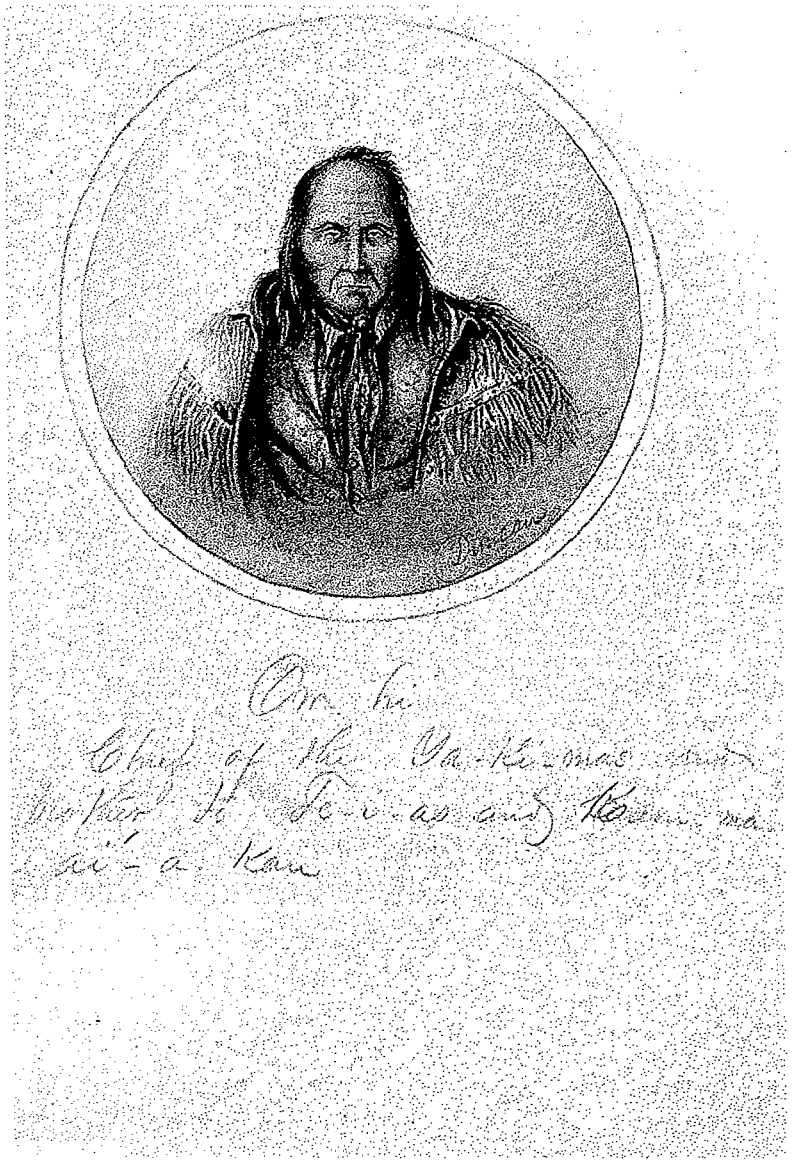


Figure 15. Johnson Kelley Duncan, *Ow-hi, Chief of the Ya-Ki-mas*, 1853. Colored pencil and watercolor on paper. 5 x 5 in. overall. Mss. 130,305-DD; National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.

red, purple, and white, arranged in curved lines covering the whole."[95] Several years later another writer remarked on robes worn by Cayuse at the Whitman Mission: "The snow white flesh side was fringed with the dark fur that crept in sight around the edges, and their...own long black glistening tresses fell over it far down the back."[96] In the early 1840s, Nicolas Point observed that the Flatheads reserved the finest winter buffalo hides for their wearing robes. The more opulent of these were painted; some were also embroidered with quills or beads and fringed with various materials.[97]

Navajo or Spanish blankets were also available after Plateau people made peace with the Shoshone during the 1820s.[98] The Hudson's Bay Company was trading green, rose, "Plain" and Hudson's Bay blankets at Spokane House during the same decade.[99] By the 1830s, wool blankets were available from both British and American fur traders. Red, blue, green, and other colors were common.[100] At the conclusion of the 1855 Walla Treaty Council, blanket robes were seen to be in frequent use.[101] Some of the blankets in use by this time bore additional ornament.[102]

Robes and blankets were still universally used in the early 1860s. Describing contemporary dress near Fort Colvile, Charles Wilson noted:

> The common dress of the men [includes] a blanket or buffalo robe, reaching from head to foot, and fastened by a sash tied round the waist so that the upper half can be wrapped round the body in

> wet or cold, and in fine weather be allowed to fall over the legs like a long kilt, disclosing the finery of the striped cotton shirt, breech clouts of blanketing, richly ornamented leggings, and elk skin moccasins.[103]

The "one unvarying fashion" of the Nez Perce who had not adopted white clothing by 1860 was "leggins that come up to the thighs; the breech-cloth, a shirt, blanket, and moccasins."[104] Blankets remained a popular part of non-treaty Nez Perce dress into the next decade, enough so that a contemporary account of the non-treaty people attending the November 1876 Lapwai council with General Howard described them as "all rolled up in blankets and robes."[105]

Some of the non-treaty Nez Perce did continue to hunt buffalo into the 1870s. As a consequence of this activity, buffalo robes were still in use at that time. During this period, many robes were decorated with beaded blanket strips. Referring again to descriptions of the non-treaty Nez Perce attending the November 1876 Lapwai council, Emily FitzGerald observed that "[s]ome of them had very handsome robes. I saw one squaw with a robe tanned almost as white as muslin (they always wear them with the fur turned in) with a band of heavy bright beadwork, six or eight inches wide, all around it."[106] Another man (Ollokot or another of Young Joseph's male relatives) "had on a robe very elaborately painted with hieroglyphics."[107] Figures 16 and 17 show groups of non-treaty Nez Perce. Figure 16 dates to about 1876; Figure 17 reflects the 1878-1881 time period.

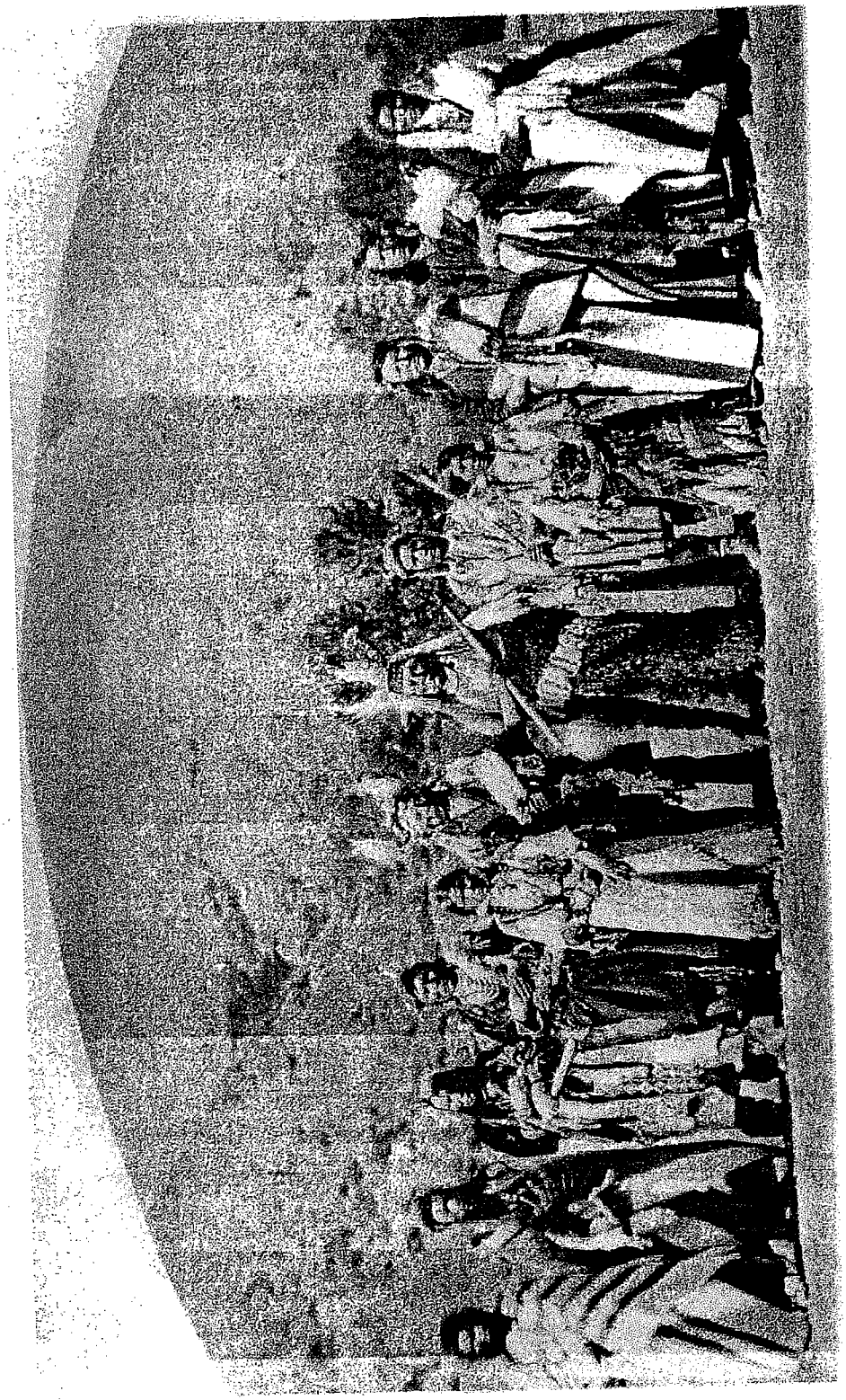


Figure 16. Pre-War Nez Perce Dreamers, c. 1876. 82-026; Historical Photograph Collections, Washington State University Libraries.



Figure 17. Non-Treaty Nez Perce, 1878-1881. 93-141; Historical Photograph Collections, Washington State University Libraries.

Note the frequent appearance of blankets and the beaded strip on the robe carried by the central person in Figure 16.[108]

LEGGINGS

In 1805, Flathead women's leggings were seen to reach the knee, where they were held by a garter. They were unfringed and lacking in ornament.[109] Nez Perce men's leggings were conversely long, extending upwards to the waist. According to Lewis and Clark, these resembled the Shoshone style, and thus would have been formed of a full antelope (or other animal) skin with appendages attached. They were worn with the tail up and the neck down; the neck region either had quilled decoration or was fringed and allowed to drag on the ground.[110] The legging sides were generally fringed and ornamented, occasionally with scalp locks.[111]

Flathead men were observed wearing fringed leggings a few years later.[112] During the late 1820s, men's leggings from the Fort Nez Perces region were seen to be constructed as follows:

> They wear their leggings from the sole of the foot to the upper part of the Thigh (tied to a slip of Leather tied round the Body for the purpose) Open on the Inside of the Thigh to near the Knee outside seams fringed, at the lower part about the Ankles (is left in purpose when dressing) a border of short Hair which they cut like Toes Covering part of the Shoe & looks like an Owls foot.[113]

"Long, close leggins" were considered standard attire in the interior Northwest during the 1830s.[114] Flathead and Nez Perce men observed contemporaneously in the Rocky Mountains were wearing leggings ornamented with fringe, colored scalp locks and porcupine quills, and small blue and white beads.[115] An account from 1853 describes Yakima men as wearing handsomely beaded leggings with breechclouts made from cedar bark.[116]

Written evidence supports a long tradition of decoration on regional feminine leggings. Around 1815, Okanagan women were applying "all the showy ornaments of Indian fancy" to their leg coverings.[117] Quilled and beaded leggings were apparently still the norm two or three decades later.[118]

MOCCASINS

Lewis and Clark found that Flathead moccasins were generally quilled in a variety of designs.[119] Some Nez Perce moccasins were additionally decorated with paint.[120] In 1811, Alexander Ross observed moccasins as they were worn in a camp at the mouth of the Walla River. The men's shoes were "trimmed" with porcupine quills and painted red; the women's footwear was similarly decorated.[121] Nonetheless, in January of the following year Wilson Price Hunt found the inhabitants of a village only a few miles down the Columbia to be shoeless.[122]

During the 1830s, Rocky Mountain free trappers were

wearing profusely beaded moccasins.[123] The shoes of the Indian women associated with that region's fur trade were also seen to be ornamented with quills or "small" beads.[124] In 1842, Mary Augusta Dix Gray commissioned moccasins from the Shoshone wife of a free trapper who was temporarily living in the vicinity of Waiilatpu. The four pair were finished and "wrought with beads," contrary to Mrs. Gray's wishes.[125]

BAGS AND QUIVERS

The written record contains little mention of either men's bags or quivers. Small tabbed tobacco bags were evidently favored accessories of many Plateau Indian men. This conclusion can be drawn from the comments of Henry Miller, an 1861 visitor to the lower Clearwater River region. Miller encountered the Nez Perce treaty chief Lawyer (Hallalhotsoot) in the general vicinity of Lapwai. In addition to carrying his "plain hickory cane" and Indian pipe, Lawyer was seen holding what Miller referred to as "the usual three-tailed tobacco pouch."[126] In a photo taken early in the 1860s, Lawyer is shown holding the cane, pipe, and wearing a bag of unknown manufacture with floral decoration (Fig. 18).[127] The visual record contains representations of a variety of other bags although the imagery generally lacks specifics of both construction and decoration.[128]

Descriptions of quivers appear infrequently in the

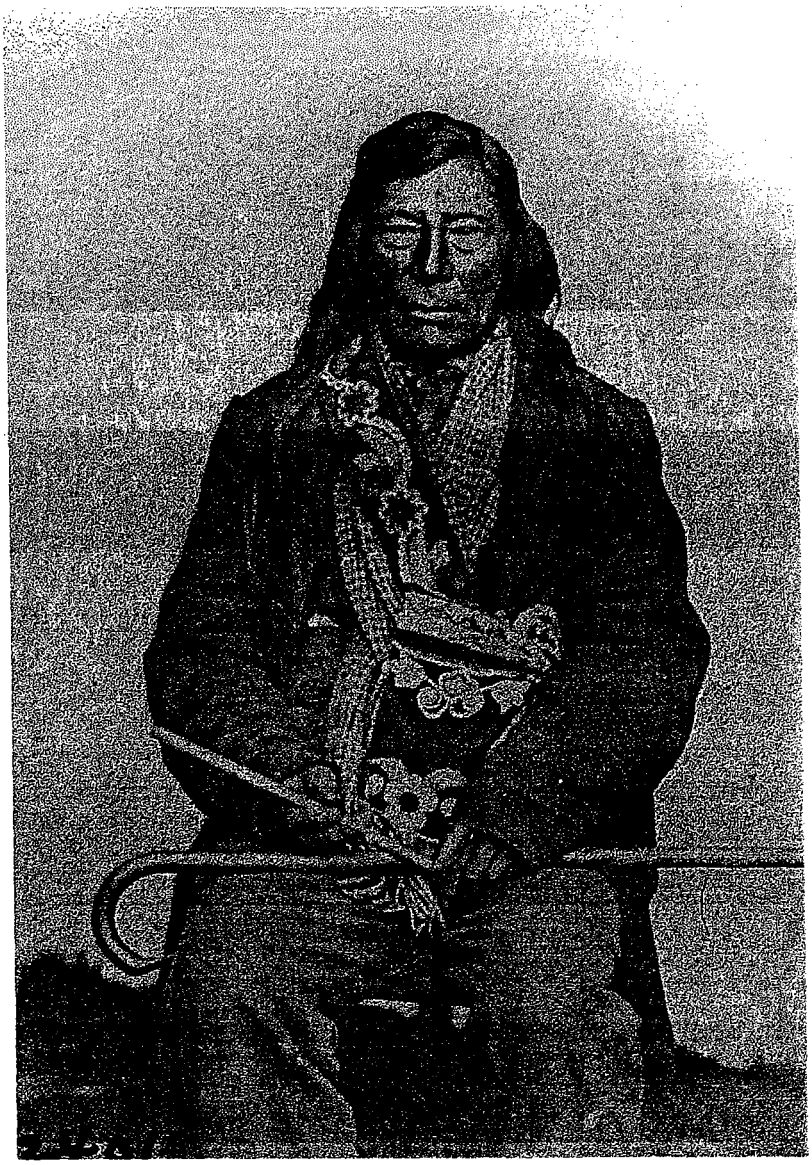


Figure 18. Lawyer, c. 1860-1865. Courtesy Northwest and Whitman College Archives, Penrose Library, Whitman College, Walla Walla, Washington.

nineteenth-century accounts although by 1876, the quivers of non-treaty Nez Perce men "were all highly ornamented with beads."[129] Quivers and bow cases often appear on the 1840s Flathead subjects of Nicolas Point.[130] They are here shown with large decorated straps that are worn across the chest. Their openings are decorated, as are adjacent appendages. Quiver straps or bandoliers may also be referenced in descriptions of men affiliated with Owhi's band in 1853. A Spokane observed at Fort Nisqually in 1853 wore "[a] broad-beaded band across his chest, like the ribbon of an order of nobility."[131] Other men were "gorgeous with frippery, and each wore a beaded order."[132]

CRADLES

The early observers also noted cradleboard construction. During the 1830s, the Flathead used "a sack or bag, made of leather, which closes on one side by strings; this is fastened to a board near three feet long by one wide."[133] A more detailed account recorded the following:

> The Indian women carry their nurslings in a case of buffalo hide consisting of a long leather piece with a projection below as foot rest. On this back piece the youngster is laid flat. In front is an arched piece of leather fastened to both sides of the back of the case, enclosing the whole body from the neck to the feet. Only the uncovered head is free, protruding from this little box.[134]

Another description that incorporates mention of Nez Perce

practices notes that cloth coverings and linings were occasionally used, as was a wicker cover or head protector.[135]

While afoot, women carried cradles by means of tumplines crossing their foreheads or chests.[136] Women riding astride horses sometimes attached cradles to their backs by means of a blanket slung over her shoulder.[137] The standard equestrian practice was to leave "the papooses done up in proper Indian fashion and hung to the horns of the saddle, where they bobbed up and down in no easy fashion, especially when the ponies were in full gallop, as they were most of the time."[138] The attaching of cradles to the saddle horns was reportedly a practice learned from the Indians of the Plains.[139]

A cradle decorated with beaded floral designs appears in a photograph made in 1860 or 1861 by members of the British North American Boundary Commission (Figure 19). Entitled *Half-Breed Child in Cradle, with Indian Ornamental Trappings*, the photograph may have been taken at the Boundary Commission's winter quarters near present-day Marcus, Washington, but it was more probably made at the nearby Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Colvile. The internal and external evidence suggest that the items in the photograph belonged to Catherine McDonald, the wife of Fort Colvile's Chief Trader, Angus McDonald.[140] Catherine was the daughter of a French-Mohawk fur trapper and a Nez Perce mother. In her youth she had attended various of the Rocky

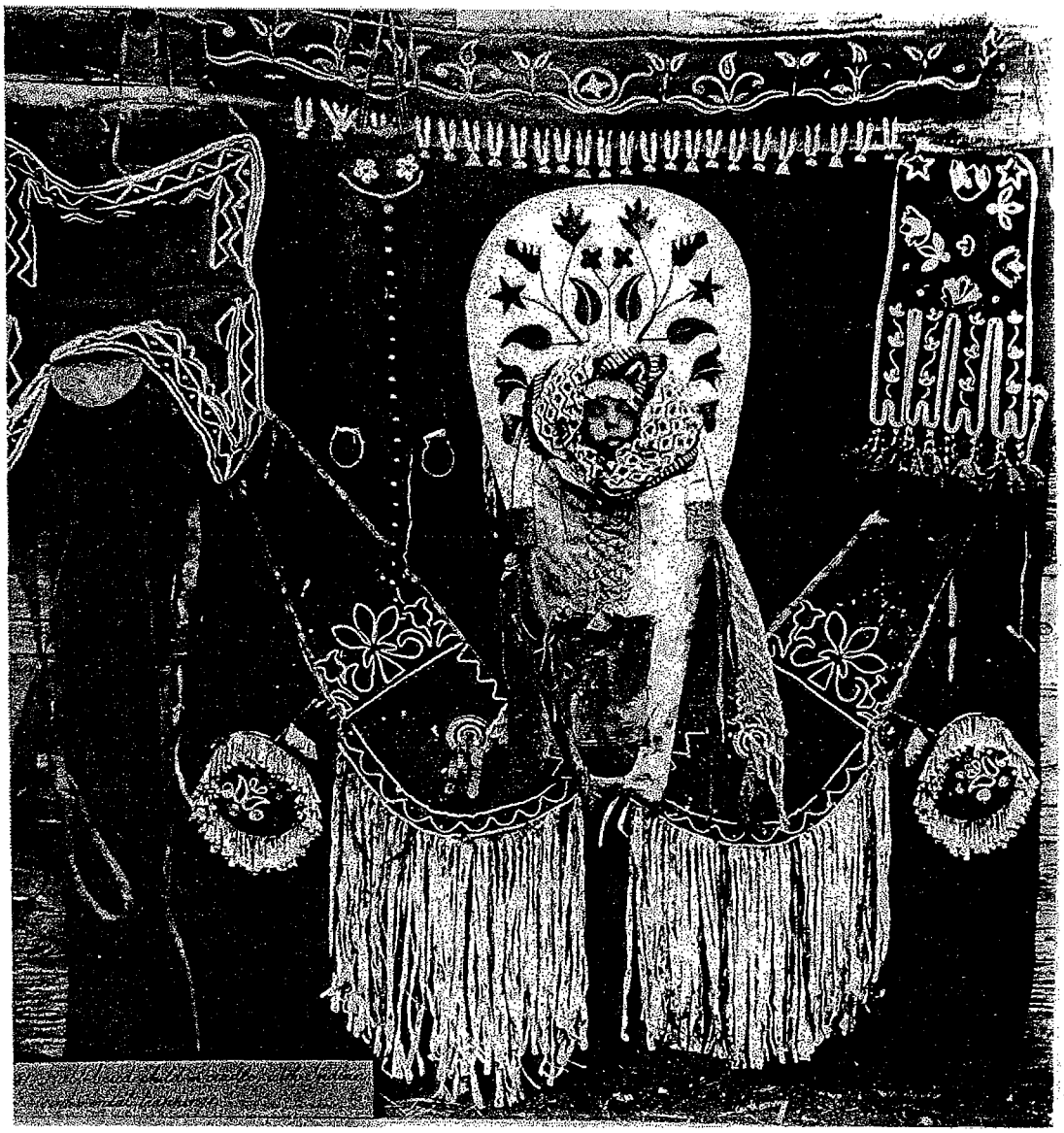


Figure 19. *Half-breed child in cradle, with Indian ornamental trappings*, 1860-1861. Courtesy Royal Engineers Library, Chatham, Kent, England.

Mountain fur trade rendezvous and accompanied her father on extended trapping expeditions. She married Angus McDonald at Fort Hall, Idaho, in 1842. The pair generally lived at Fort Colvile between 1852 and 1871 although their extended regional travels were noted in several period accounts.[141]

The cradle (and accompanying crupper and horse collar) may represent "prime objects" in the development of Plateau floral design.

> Prime objects resemble the prime numbers of mathematics because no conclusive rule is known to govern the appearance of either, although such a rule may someday be found....Prime numbers have no divisors other than themselves and unity; prime objects likewise resist decomposition in being original entities. Their character as primes is not explained by their antecedents, and their order in history is enigmatic.[142]

If these items belonged to Catherine McDonald, her unique social and economic situation may explain their archetypal qualities. By virtue of her birth she was linked to a prominent Nez Perce family and was related to various important tribal leaders. As a result of her marriage to a Hudson's Bay Company officer she had unusual access to beads and other trade goods. She also lived in a household that was, for that time period, furnished with an unusual amount of British goods. During her residence at Fort Colvile the post served as the social and commercial hub of the Upper Columbia River region. As a consequence, she would have had the opportunity for extraordinary exposure to contemporary European and American decorative trends.[143]

HORSEGEAR

As early as 1813, Flathead women were applying beads, hawk-bells and thimbles to their clothing, and these same materials were also used in the decoration of horse gear. The wealth of the southern Plateau peoples lay in their horse herds and favored mounts were often richly dressed. Again, descriptions of trappers' wives suggest that Native women associated with white men set the initial standard for opulence.[144] In the early 1830s, the Nez Perce wife of a free trapper was noted as being the owner of a horse accoutred with a "headstall, breast-bands, saddle, and crupper," all "lavishly embroidered with beads, and hung with thimbles, hawks' bells, and bunches of ribands."[145] A description of saddle bags ("panniers" of painted rawhide) penned a decade later notes that these were suspended from the saddles of the "more elegant individuals."[146]

Among the Nez Perce and Cayuse women present in Nathaniel Wyeth's 1834 trading expedition to the Columbia, the primary feminine equestrian decorations were apparently saddles "garnished with dozen's of little hawk bells."[147] A woman encountered in the Grande Ronde Valley that same year had "a superabundance of finery," which is described as being a horse "whose head and tail were decorated with scarlet and blue ribbons" and whose saddle was ornamented with both beads and hawk bells.[148] Contemporary Flathead women were riding saddles "abundantly decorated with fringe, tassels, bells, etc." and Samuel Parker considered horses

throughout the Plateau to be "finely caparisoned with blue and scarlet trimmings about their heads, breasts, and loins, hung with little brass bells."[149]

Saddle design itself was also noted.[150] Lewis and Clark found "a pad of dressed skin stuffed with goats hair with wooden stirrups" to be the standard construction of Indians along the middle Columbia River.[151] The contemporaneous device used by Nez Perce women was reportedly "made of wood nicely jointed, and then covered with raw skins, which when they become dry, bind every part tight, and keep the joints in their places. The saddles rise very high before and behind..."[152] These elevated pommels and cantles were elsewhere gauged at two feet in height.[153] A blanket or robe generally covered the lower extremities of a woman situated thereon.[154] Saddle construction was little changed by the increasing presence of white settlers. In the 1850s, the members of the Pacific Railroad Survey described the standing riding gear of the Yakima and Klikitats to be "a hair rope knotted around the under jaw for a bridle. The men used a stuffed pad, with wooden stirrups. The women sit astride, in a saddle made with a very high pommel and cantle..."[155]

Some of the more detailed descriptions of Plateau horse gear come from accounts of the Rocky Mountain fur trade. Rendezvous trade influences were not limited to goods imported by American and British concerns. One woman at the 1834 Rendezvous rode astride "a handsome horse, most

elegantly caparisoned, saddle, bridle, and accoutrements shining with silver; she, herself, decked in corresponding attire..."[156] As early as 1806, John Ordway of the Lewis and Clark Expedition had observed Spanish dollars and Spanish bridles among the Nez Perce.[157] Initially obtained through the Shoshone, items of Spanish, Mexican, and New Mexican manufacture were readily available from the Taos-based traders who frequented the Rendezvous.[158]

A final noteworthy accessory--a horse mask--was described in connection with a non-treaty Nez Perce in 1876. The man "had a headpiece for his horse that covered his horse's whole head. It was just covered with beads. There were holes for the eyes, and it really was very showy."[159]

EUROAMERICAN CLOTHING

Native interest in clothing of European and American manufacture began with contact and early visitors quickly realized the value of garments given in trade or as gifts.[160] Samuel Black, writing from Fort Nez Perces in the late 1820s, noted:

> These Indians have also European Clothing of Course which (except the Blankets they are fond of) they like as a Change & Badge of Riches, but return to their own dresses. The above description is applicable to the Nez Perces Cayouse & some of the more opulent of the other Tribes, but the poor in general are clothed in leather...[161]

Buckskin attire remained prevalent through the 1830s,

but styles had begun to change by the 1840s. An 1841 visit by members of the U.S. Exploring Expedition to Fort Nez Perces and the ABCFM mission stations left an impression that many Indian men regularly dressed in European clothing, notably blanket coats (Fig. 20).[162] Nonetheless, the Expedition *Narrative* reported that "this slight approximation to civilized habits" did not disguise "the air of the Indian, strongly marked, about them."[163] An early emigrant reported in the same year that the Cayuse "evince a strong desire to imitate the whites in everything they do. This is shown in a remarkable degree, by their fondness for our dress, the meanest portion of which...they have the strongest passion for...[T]hey uniformly charge a *shirt* for every service they perform."[164]

Two years later, Eliza Spalding described the Nez Perce to a friend in Ohio.

> The native women and children generally dress in skins, except a blanket, which they throw about their shoulders when they ride or walk out....The men pretty generally wear cloth shirts, vests, and coats, which they obtain from traders with their furs and horses. Their pants and leggins are ornamented with porcupine quills.[165]

In contrast, one writer suggested that at this time, at least among the Cayuse and Walla, only wealthy men were in the habit of wearing European costumes.[166] Another observer found the preference for the new styles to rest primarily with older people.[167] Divergent descriptions of the individuals involved in the 1847 Walla-Cayuse cattle-



Figure 20. Male Costume (typical Plateau masculine dress, 1841); from C. Wilkes, *Narrative* 398.

Another family reportedly faced starvation after all of their spare clothing had been traded away.[181]

The stylistic result of this trade can be seen in a missionary account of Indians at The Dalles in 1846.

> One who has seen them five years ago, poor and almost naked, and who beholds them now, discovers with a peculiar feeling of humor and delight, the entire change in their external appearance, a complete metamorphosis, as Ovid would say. Their dresses are of the most grotesque character, regardless alike of their appropriateness to sex or condition of life. A masquerade character, as we understand it, will at least exhibit unity of design; but this Indian masquerade sets all unities at defiance. A stout, swarthy Indian, steps proudly by you, apparently conscious of the dignity conferred on him by his new acquisitions--a roundabout much too small for him, a pair of tights with straps, with an intervening space showing the absence of linen, form his body dress, while an old fashioned lady's night-cap with large frills, and if he be rich enough, a sailor's glazed cap carefully balanced above it, constitute his head dress; a pair, and sometimes half a pair of brogans, complete the ludicrous appearance of this Indian dandy. Some appear parading thro' the camp in the full dress of a wagoner, others in a mixture composed of the sailor's, the wagoner's, and the lawyer's, arranged according to fancy; but the favorite article of ornamental dress appears to be the night-cap with its large frills; some again with only one article of dress. I have seen an old Indian showing off a pair of boots to the best advantage, as they formed the only article of his wardrobe then on his person. Indian squaws are seen attired in long calico gowns, little improved by the copious addition of fish oil, with which the taste or negligence of the present owners besmeared them; occasionally, if they can afford it, to this is added a vest, a flannel or great-coat. The dalles at present, form a kind of masquerading thoroughfare, where Indians and emigrants meet, it appears, for the purpose of affording mutual aid. When the Oregon emigrants arrive here, they are generally in want of provisions, horses, canoes, and guides--these wants the Indians supply, receiving in exchange the old travelling clothes of the doctors,

> lawyers, farmers, Germans, Frenchmen, spaniards, &c., that pass through the dalles on their westward route. Hence the motley collection of pants, coats, boots, of every form and size, comforters, caps, and hats of every fashion.[182]

The preference for European clothing is evident in the portraits of Indian leaders drawn by Gustavus Sohon in western Montana in 1854 and at the Walla Treaty Council in 1855. In addition to cloth shirts, peaked "Scotch bonnets" are visible upon the heads of many prominent individuals.[183] Like calico shirts, these caps had long been a Hudson's Bay Company trade item and they were commonplace in the Plateau by the 1840s.[184] They appear frequently in the imagery of Nicolas Point and the representative Plateau man rendered in the *Narrative* of the Wilkes Expedition was shown wearing one.[185] The 1853 Pacific Railroad Survey also carried a number of the caps for trading purposes and several were included in a gift given to Kamiakin by George B. McClellan.[186] A John Mix Stanley portrait of a Palouse man made during the Survey shows the subject wearing a Scotch bonnet (Fig. 21).[187] Gustavus Sohon's drawings make it evident that tacks were sometimes added to the leather visors (peaks) and that otter or other fur trim often surrounded the bodies of the hats.[188]

buying expedition to California agree that most wore dressed skin clothing.[168] An 1860s observer in the Fort Colvile region noted that striped cotton shirts were universally worn by men. Caps, coats, and trousers of European manufacture were "often worn by the chiefs and dandies" and that such women as were unable to secure European clothing wore leather dresses.[169]

During the 1830s, striped cotton and calico shirts were the universal attire of the Euroamerican men working in the southern Plateau.[170] The Hudson's Bay Company Snake Country Expeditions had carried a stock of such shirts as trade items as early as the 1820s and their popularity among Indian men was soon noted by the Protestant missionaries.[171] Henry Spalding requested and received quantities of "[c]oarse common shirts rather long, calico or domestic" from his eastern supporters as he found them "useful for Indian trade."[172] The missionary's Indian laborers were paid with them at a rate of a single shirt for four to five days' work.[173]

Indian demand for European clothing outstripped the reserves held by the fur companies and the missionaries. Nonetheless, ever-increasing numbers of Oregon Trail emigrants supplied great quantities of the desired items. Arriving in the Grande Ronde and Umatilla River valleys in the fall of each year after 1841, the settlers met and traded with local Indian people.[174] The Cayuse profited so much in respect to clothing and cattle that some Lapwai Nez

Perce complained about the location of the emigrant road. Their preference, shared with Joel Palmer, was that the white people leave the country rather allow the perceived injustice to continue.[175]

Regarding the Cayuse whom they met in the Grande Ronde Valley, diarists noted variously that they were "dressed as the white man, and the squaws wore calico dresses instead of blankets," "[t]his tribe dresses like white people," and, "[t]hey are more civilized than any [Indians] we have seen before."[176] Specific apparel included one woman described as wearing "a white satin dress with pink rosebuds on it, and a hat to match" and another seen in a black velvet dress.[177] A Cayuse man encountered at the western base of the Blue Mountains in 1839 was wearing "a green camlet frock coat, a black vest, striped cotton shirt...and a white felt hat."[178]

The trade phenomenon continued downstream along the Columbia. In 1845, Joel Palmer noted that "[t]he Indians were constantly paying us visits, furnishing us with vegetables...they would in turn demand wearing apparel, until by traffic, we were left with but one suit."[179] After an 1847 crossing of the Deschutes River, another emigrant wrote, "[A]ny body in preparing to come to this country should make up some calico shirts to trade to the indians in cases of necesity you will have to hire them pilot you a cross rivers a gainst we got here my folks were a bout striped of shirts trousers jackets and wamases."[180]



Figure 21. John Mix Stanley, *Palous*, 1853. Graphite on paper, 7 x 10 in. Mss. 130,305-Z; National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.

CONCLUSION

The contemporary literature suggests that between 1805 and 1880, personal adornment and decoration in the Plateau progressed from the use of found, collected, and traded natural objects to a sequence of manufactured Euroamerican trade items that included cotton and wool cloth, bells, thimbles, various sizes of glass beads, silk thread, and similar items. During the time period, traditional headgear was frequently supplanted by kerchiefs and cloth hats or caps. The quantity of adornment on women's dress arguably increased. By mid-century this seems to have focused on bodices bearing sharply contrasting and alternating horizontal rows of quills and/or beads. In some instances, dresses were constructed of trade cloth rather than leather

Men's shirts generally displayed triangular flaps at the front and back of the neck opening and narrow, idiosyncratic embroidery bands of quillwork or beads adorned the arms and shoulders. The prevalence of buffalo robes increased although these were eventually supplanted by blankets in popularity. Long-term interest in robes and blankets was apparently restricted to non-treaty groups. The coverings eventually became a signature garment for this segment of the population.

The prevalence of European clothing grew as increasing numbers of the garments became available. Some of these items were modified to reflect the preference of their Native owners. Embroidered leggings and moccasins remained

in use and appear to have continued to be standard attire in combination with cotton and wool garb. Over time, the popularity of a variety of indigenous dress styles decreased and some types of garments seem to have disappeared entirely.

As regards floral-design decoration in the southern Plateau, such motifs appear in the written and visual records only after 1860. A photograph made by the British North American Boundary Commission in 1860 or 1861 suggests that floral decoration may have been practiced by at least one Nez Perce woman, although her general living situation and access to beads were somewhat atypical. A member of the Boundary Survey reported the contemporaneous production of floral-design embroidery among women in the Fort Colvile region, although such designs appear to have been worked in only in silk thread. Floral motifs also appear during the same decade on bags popular with the Nez Perce treaty chiefs. Whether made locally or imported from another region of North America, the presence of the bags is significant in that they are identified with that portion of the Indian population that was on the vanguard of the acculturative process.

Notes

1. Lewis and Clark 5: 187.

2. "[T]hey have pleanty of beeds Copper & brass trinkets, about them which they Sign to us that they got them from Some tradors on a River to the North of this place" (written at the juncture of the Columbia and Snake Rivers, October 16, 1805). John Ordway, *The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, ed. Gary E. Moulton, Vol. 9: The Journals of John Ordway, May 14, 1804-September 23, 1806, and Charles Floyd, May 14-August 18, 1804, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995) 239.

3. See Vibert for an analysis of some of the problems inherent in the texts.

4. Lewis and Clark 5: 289.

5. Lewis and Clark 7: 224.
The "pearls" were probably mother-of-pearl from freshwater clams.

6. Lewis and Clark 7: 224.

7. D. Thompson, *Narrative* 344, 345, 348.

8. D. Thompson, *Narrative* 348; D. Thompson, *Journals* 149.

9. A. Ross, *First Settlers* 296.

10. Lewis and Clark 5: 258.

11. Samuel Black, "Fort Nez Perces, Report on District, 1829," Hudson's Bay Company Archives (Microfilm copy), B/146/e/2, n. pag.
For a variety of painted facial designs as recorded by Paul Kane from among the Indians of the Fort Colvile region, see Harper 226 (Fig. 128).

12. Black n. pag.

13. D. Thompson, *Journals* 149.

14. Parker 229.

15. Parker 229.

16. Landerholm 187.

17. C. Wilson, *Mapping the Frontier* 95.

18. Charles W. Wilson, "Report on the Tribes Inhabiting the Country in the Vicinity of the 49° Degree Parallel," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society* (London) n.s. 4 (1865): 292.

19. C. Wilson, "Report on the Tribes" 299.

20. For a discussion of this hat form, see Mary Dodds Schlick, *Columbia River Basketry: Gift of the Ancestors, Gift of the Earth* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994) 25-45 and Marcia N. Lehman-Kessler, "The Traditional Nez Perce Basketry Hat: Its Modal Style and Cultural Significance," thesis, Washington State University, 1985.

21. Lewis and Clark 7: 254.

22. Wilson Price Hunt, "Wilson Price Hunt's Diary of His Overland Trip Westward to Astoria in 1811-12," in Stuart 302.

23. Henry Harmon Spalding, letter to Dudley Allen, April 27, 1846, Autograph File, Records of the Oberlin College Library (RG 16), in the Oberlin College Archives, Oberlin, Ohio.

The former Anglican missionary Herbert Beaver recalled the following when addressing the Aborigines' Protection Society of London in 1842: "The Chinook women wear nothing on their heads, and those of the men are often without a covering; but the female Klickatack has always a cap of plaited grass, and the male one of fur or some other material." Nellie Pipes, "Indian Conditions in 1836-38," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 32.4 (1931): 335.

24. The "lower" Indians were those living downriver from the Nez Perce. It is also possible that Spalding meant the "Lower" (and ultimately non-treaty) Nez Perce who occupied the Wallowa and Salmon River county. Ida Blackeagle, a twentieth-century woman noted for her hat-making skills, was a granddaughter of Young Joseph and a descendant of the Lower Nez Perce tradition. It is important to note that the Wallowa band had a high incidence of intermarriage with the Cayuse, a people with known hat-making skills. See *sapatq'ayn: Twentieth Century Nez Perce Artists* (Seattle, WA, and Lewiston, ID: Northwest Interpretive Association and Confluence Press, 1991) 6-7 and Walker, "Nez Perce" 436-437.

An informant in James 9-10 defines "Down-river Indians" as those living in the Lapwai-Spalding-Lewiston area, around Asotin, and "down towards the Grande Ronde." Allen Slickpoo, Sr. defines the Upper Nez Perce as inhabiting "primarily the Lapwai region" while the Lower Nez Perce occupied the Wallowa region. See also Steven Ross Evans, *Voice of the Old Wolf: Lucullus Virgil McWhorter and the Nez*

Perce Indians (Pullman, WA: Washington State University Press, 1996) 133-134.

25. Kane 99.
Kane's sketch of the Nisqually woman is reproduced in Harper as Plate 48. In addition to the image reproduced here as Figure 9, a Kane watercolor entitled *The Wife of Til-au-kite* (Stark Museum WWC28) shows a Cayuse woman wearing one of the hats.

26. This intermarriage is noted in other contexts in H. Stevens 2: 157 and George Gibbs, "Report of Mr. George Gibbs to Captain McClellan, on the Indian Tribes of the Territory of Washington," *Reports of Explorations and Surveys...for a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean*, U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Executive Document No. 91, 33rd Congress, 2nd Session (Washington, DC: A.O.P. Nicholson, 1855) 411.

27. Harriet Talcott Buckingham, "Crossing the Plains in 1851," *Covered Wagon Women: Diaries & Letters from the Western Trails, 1840-1890*, ed. Kenneth L. Holmes, vol. 3: 1851 (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark, 1984) 49.
A Wishram story quoted in Schlick, *Columbia River Basketry* 27 also implies that woven hats were used as drinking cups.

28. Lewis and Clark 5: 259.

29. Lewis and Clark 7: 253.

30. Irving, *Bonneville* 114, 148, 156; Drury, *First White Women* 3: 80; Marsh 11.

31. Ferris 286; Wislizenus 84.

32. Lent 110.

33. Wislizenus 89.

34. Drury, *First White Women* 3: 151, 317-318.

35. H. Stevens 2: 66.

36. This seems to at least have been masculine practice, as evident in Gustav Sohon's portraits of Indian leaders from the 1855 Walla Treaty Council. David L. Nicandri, *Northwest Chiefs: Gustavus Sohon's Views of the 1855 Stevens Treaty Councils* (Tacoma: Washington State Historical Society, 1986) 66, 68, 71, 72, 91.

37. Ross Cox observed that among the Flathead (before 1820), individuals generally owned two or three changes of clothing. Cox 135.

38. The predominant method of construction resulted in what is now often called a "tail dress" or "deer-tail dress." Made from two animal skins, the untrimmed hides were sewn together hair-side in and tail-side up. The shoulder seams were stitched horizontally some inches below the tails and the tail portions were folded down. The tails were thus at the center of the bodice decoration and ornamentation tended to follow the natural contours of the hides. For overviews of this and other dress styles and construction diagrams, see Stephen Douglas Shawley, "Nez Perce Dress: A Study in Culture Change," thesis, University of Idaho, 1974, 77-94. See also Richard Conn, "Plateau Native Leather Clothing" 74-79; Donna Marie Demerling Pree, "Nez Perce Feminine Aboriginal Clothing," thesis, Washington State University, 1970; and Kathleen Kearney and Janet Miller, "Defining a Nez Perce Feminine Dress Style," *Northwest Anthropological Research Notes* 28.1 (1994): 1-27.

For a discussion of the distribution of this dress style, see Clark Wissler, "Costumes of the Plains Indians," *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 17.2 (1915): 65-91.

In 1805, Lewis and Clark contrasted Nez Perce women with those living near the confluence of the Columbia and Snake Rivers. "The Dress of those natives differ but little from those on the Koskoskia and Lewis's rivers, except the women who dress verry different in as much as those above ware long leather skirts which highly ornimented with beeds shells &c. &c. and those on the main Columbia river only ware a truss or pece of leather tied around them at their hips and drawn tite between ther legs and fastened before" (Lewis and Clark 5: 289). The following year they observed these downstream peoples as generally better dressed. This was seen to be the result of a successful winter's hunt. Lewis and Clark 5: 145, 183.

In 1812, Wilson Price Hunt described the residents of a camp at the junction of the Columbia and Umatilla Rivers in this way: "[T]heir clothing consists of only a scanty mantle of the skin of bison, deer, rabbit or fox or else of duck. They sometimes add to this a pair of sleeves of wolfskin...They usually are naked; some few have a scrap of robe which covers their shoulders, but all have around the waist a leathern belt which passes between their thighs." Hunt 304.

39. Lewis and Clark 5: 134.

40. Lewis and Clark 5: 259.

41. Lewis and Clark 5: 222.
Lewis later observed that "their ornaments consist of beads shells and peices of brass variously attached to their dress, to their ears arrond their necks wrists arms &c." Lewis and Clark 7: 253.

42. A. Ross, *First Settlers* 127.

43. Cox 135.

44. A. Ross, *First Settlers* 296.
In context, the description refers to a diverse number of groups whose descendants now live on the Colville Reservation and elsewhere.

45. Cox 135; De Smet, *Life, Letters and Travels* 3: 1001; Franchere 129.

46. Black n. pag.

47. Townsend 350.

48. Spalding, letter to Dudley Allen, April 27, 1846.
The individual referred to here was probably William Craig. Craig, a former mountain man married to a Nez Perce woman, became Spalding's neighbor in 1839.

49. Spalding, letter to Dudley Allen, April 27, 1846; De Smet, *Life, Letters and Travels* 3: 1002.

50. Ferris 291-292.
For a contemporary and analogous image showing the dress of the Shoshone wife of an American Fur Company employee, see William H. Goetzmann, David C. Hunt, et al, *Karl Bodmer's America* (Joslyn: Joslyn Art Museum, 1984) Plate 259.

51. Gibbs, "Report" 411.

52. C. Wilson, "Report on the Tribes" 299.

53. In describing tail dresses, Wissler noted: "In contrast to men's ponchos, we find the tail of the elk falling in the center of the breast, but like them in the tendency toward horizontal decorations with quills and beads...[T]he general tendency is to bead or quill more or less the entire yoke." Wissler, "Costumes of the Plains Indians" 67.

54. "The pride of the village was an aboriginal belle, and we were permitted a sight of herself and finery; her dress was of buckskin, and entirely resembled the Oregon female dress figured in the fourth volume of the *Narrative*."

Barry, "Pickering's Journey" 411.

55. Peterson and Peers 58, 72.

56. Compare the watercolor sketch of the event (reproduced on Harper 226 [Figure 127]) with the finished oil painting of the scene (Harper 227 [Figure 129]).

57. Irving, *Bonneville* 114.

58. Ferris 286.

59. Townsend 272.

60. Drury, *First White Women* 1: 256, 258; 2: 318.

61. Drury, *First White Women* 1: 256, 260, 262.
Mrs. Gray also gave instruction in straw braiding to at least one Waiilatpu-area woman. Drury, *First White Women* 1: 259.
Another of the missionaries, Sarah White Smith (Mrs. Asa Bowen Smith), was also an accomplished seamstress. While at the 1838 Rocky Mountain rendezvous, she made four calico dresses ("one being much ruffled") for the wives of various free trappers. Drury, *First White Women* 3: 93.

62. "Mrs. S[palding] has regularly about her a number of young females, which she is teaching to Card, Spin, Weave Blankets & Knit stockings. Mr. S[palding] has made a great many hand Looms, & he showed me blankets which have been wove[n] by a Native on one of these which was not much inferior to Mackinaws." O.B. Sperlin, ed., "Our First Official Horticulturist--The Brakenridge Journal," Part 3, *Washington Historical Quarterly* 22.1 (1931): 51-52.
By 1847, the weaving enterprise had been abandoned. Drury, *Spalding* 326.

63. Drury, *First White Women* 1: 215.

64. Allen P. Slickpoo, Sr., "The Nez Perce Attitude Toward the Missionary Experience," *Idaho Yesterdays* 31.1-2 (Spring-Summer 1987): 36-37; Slickpoo and Walker 75-76; Shawley 259; James 155-156.

65. "Letters of Reverend H.H. Spalding and Mrs. Spalding, Written Shortly After Completing Their Trip Across the Continent," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 13.4 (1912): 376.

66. Spalding, letter to Dudley Allen, April 27, 1846.

67. Lewis and Clark 7: 253.

Regarding a second style of Nez Perce tippet, William Clark wrote, "I observed a tippet worn by Hohastillpilp [Red Grizzly], which was formed of Humane scalps and ornemented with the thumbs and fingers of Several men which he had Slain in battle." Lewis and Clark 7: 255.

68. A watercolor portrait of Lewis wearing a Shoshone tippet was painted by Charles Balthazar J.F. de Saint-Memin in 1807. The image (from the collection of the New York Historical Society) is reproduced in Lewis and Clark 5: xiii.

"The tippet of the Snake Indians is the most eligent peice of Indian dress I ever saw, the neck or collar of this is formed of a strip of dressed Otter skin with the fur. it is about four or five inches wide and is cut out of the back of the skin the nose and eyes forming one extremity and the tail the other. beginning a little behind the ear of the animal at one edge of this collar and proceeding towards the tail, they attach from one to two hundred and fifty little roles of Ermin skin...." Lewis and Clark 5: 127.

69. About the Blackfoot tippet shown in Figure 12, Maximilian wrote, "He wore an otter's skin over his shoulders, with the tail hanging down before, and which was ornamented all over with pieces of shell." Maximilian 2: 155.

70. A. Ross, *Fur Hunters* 201.

71. Black n. pag.

72. In 1846, Hill had a following that included the residents of 100 Nez Perce lodges. Palmer, *Journal* 114 (in sequence). See also Francis Haines, "Tom Hill--Delaware Scout," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 25.2 (1946): 139-148.

73. Catherine Sager, "Catherine Sager's Account," *The Whitman Massacre of 1847*, by Catherine, Elizabeth, and Matilda Sager (Fairfield, WA: Ye Galleon Press, 1981) 34-35.

74. The finished oil rendering of the sketch that appears as Figure 13 is published in Harper 232 (Figure 141). The Spokane image appears as Harper 171 (Plate 33).

A November 1918 photograph of a Yakima perforated shirt that may date to 1855 is in the L.V. McWhorter collection of the Washington State University Library Special Collections (Neg. 91-109). The image shows Schyler Colfax in a perforated shirt that reportedly belonged to Qalchan, son of Owhi. Qalchan was executed without a trial by militia volunteers in 1858.

Two Jane Gay photos include a later Nez Perce shirt (c.

1889). They are Idaho State Historical Society Library and Archives #62-221.292 and 62-221.294.

75. Lewis and Clark 5: 258-259.

76. Lewis and Clark 5: 134. See also G. Simpson, *Narrative* 1: 91; Cox 88, 135; Parker 229.

For construction details, see Shawley 143-167.

77. Lewis and Clark 5: 126-127.

78. Lewis and Clark 7: 124-125, 145, 148.

Three Coeur d'Alene men were also observed wearing the same clothing style. Lewis and Clark 7: 216.

79. Black n. pag.

"They wear a Dress Deer Skin Leather Shirt reaching to the Middle of the Leg cut in the lower part into long points the longest point hanging down (2 before 2 behind) along part of the Thighs & part of the leg. Close breasted open enough about the Neck to admit the Head, the Sleeves loose [wide at shoulder] or tucked about the wrists. Open on the inside of the arm Seams fringed outside . . . The dress of the women is Nearly the Same as the men the shirt longer, to their Heels & not so much in points as the mens . . ." Black n. pag.

80. Parker 229.

81. Parker 229.

82. Gilcrease Museum 236.1017. A later image (c. 1858-1860) of the same subject shows a broad rosette on the face of the shirt (reproduced as Plate 89 of Ron Tyler, ed., *Alfred Jacob Miller: Artist on the Oregon Trail* [Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum, 1982]).

83. A Kane portrait entitled *Peo-Peo-mox-mox* (Harper 233 [Fig. 142]) shows the Walla leader in a shirt with a broadly rounded and unadorned triangular neck flap. The location of the original sketch for this work is unknown and the initial image may not have included this particular shirt. In his *Wanderings of An Artist* (p. 94), Kane noted "The dress which Casanov is represented as wearing, in the picture, being one that was presented to him by a friend from Walla." The shirt worn in the finished portrait of the Chinook leader (ROM #912.1.76) is not in the artist's field sketch of the subject (see Harper [Plate 36]). Its similarity to the garment appearing in the finished portrait of Peo-Peo-Mox-Mox suggests that Kane was approximating the contemporary Walla style in the finished views of both individuals.

For other Kane sketches containing Plateau shirts with

triangular neck flaps, see Harper 223 (Fig. 122) and 232 (Fig. 140).

84. The portrait shown in Figure 14 was called *Indian Man* in Julie Schimmel, *Stark Museum of Art: The Western Collection, 1978* (Orange, TX: Stark Museum of Art, 1978) 225. It was titled *Cayuse Man* in Julie Schimmel, "John Mix Stanley and Imagery of the West in Nineteenth-Century American Art," diss., New York University, 1983, 390, and in subsequent publications. The identification of subject as given here is based on inscriptions in the lower left and right corners of the painting: "Batise Duion" (sp) and "Oregon City." The painting was executed in Oregon City in 1847. For data on Dorion's (c. 1813-c. 1850) local whereabouts prior to that date, see Munnick, *St. Paul* I: 29, B-36; I: 61, B-82; I: 91, B-7; I: 108, M-9; I: 123, B-106; A-26.

Most of John Mix Stanley's 1847 portraits of Plateau people were destroyed in the Smithsonian fire of 1865. Two extant 1847 paintings of Cayuse men, *Wai-e-cat, or One That Flies* and *Shu-ma-hici, or Painted Shirt* are reproduced on page 261 of Drury, *Marcus and Narcissa* 2. The sketches were made at Waiilatpu; they are currently in a private collection. A shirt similar to the one worn by Wai-e-cat appears on the Spokane man shown in George Catlin's, *Spokan Chief, Two Warriors and a Boy.* The painting was made by Catlin after 1855. It is reproduced in Plate 127 of George Catlin, *Episodes from Life Among the Indians and Last Rambles*, ed. Marvin C. Ross (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959).

Additional 1847 Plateau imagery by Stanley includes *Wap-tis-tokene, or War Eagle* (Cayuse?; Stark Museum 31.23/12) and *Tin Malikin, or Stong Breast* (Spokane; Detroit Institute of Arts 38.103). The clothing details in these paintings are minimal.

Stanley also made daguerreotypes of a variety of Native subjects during the 1853 Pacific Railroad survey. See Robert Taft, *Photography and the American Scene: A Social History, 1839-1889* (Macmillan, 1938) 261-262. For additional information on the artist's work in the Pacific Northwest, see Nellie B. Pipes, "John Mix Stanley, Indian Painter," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 33.3 (1932): 250-258, and David L. Nicandri, "John Mix Stanley: Paintings and Sketches of the Oregon Country and Its Inhabitants," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 88.2 (1987): 149-173.

85. For the Sohon imagery, see the portraits of Capon Rouge (Red Head; Nez Perce) and Camaspello (Walla) from the June 1855 Walla Treaty Council in Nicandri, *Northwest Chiefs* 67, 69. See also the sketch of the Flathead leader Bear Track (Soey-te-sum-'hi), made in western Montana in 1854. Ewers, "Sohon" Plate 13.

The Boundary Commission photo appears in Sylvester L.

Lahren, Jr., "Kalispel," *Handbook of North American Indians*," vol. ed. Deward E. Walker, Jr., gen. ed. William C. Sturtevant, vol. 12: Plateau (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1998) 291.

86. A photo caption on page 41 of Elizabeth L. White, "Worlds in Collision: Jesuit Missionaries and Salish Indians on the Columbia Plateau, 1841-1850," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 97.1 (1996) suggests that a Point sketch of Victor documents the integration of Catholic symbolism into Flathead clothing decoration. The drawing in question (which also appeared as an introductory illustration in the initial [1844] French edition of De Smet's *Letters and Sketches*) may actually present a metaphorical depiction of the subject. Victor was for many years an advocate of Catholic missionary activity among the Salish. The pierced heart and garland on his hat band, the crosses in his embroidered shirt and quiver strap decorations, and the foliage in his hand should be considered in light of Point's embellishment of Victor's name in the missionary's 1841 chart of the Flathead chiefs (White 41; the two images also appear in tandem in Peterson and Peers 101).

A color image of this same portrait appears in Point 48. On this and the adjacent page, three Salish are portrayed wearing top hats bearing combinations of the pierced heart and garlands. The band on Victor's top hat was unadorned when drawn by Gustav Sohon in 1854. Ewers, "Sohon," Pl. 8.

87. For the field sketch, see William H. Goetzmann, "The Grand Reconnaissance," *American Heritage* 23.6 (October 1972): 54-55. A refined copy appears in I. Stevens Plate 33.

See also Point 63.

88. Compare Figure 15 with Nicandri, *Northwest Chiefs* 93. "[Owhi] wore a handsome buckskin shirt, heavily epauletted and trimmed along the sleeves with fringes." Theodore Winthrop, *The Canoe and the Saddle, or Klalam and Klickatat*, ed. John H. Williams (1862; Tacoma: John H. Williams, 1913) 51.

Owhi was on another occasion noted to have been attired "in a full American suit." Gibbs, "Report" 411.

89. Nicandri, *Northwest Chiefs* 82.

90. Emily McCorkle FitzGerald, *An Army Doctor's Wife on the Frontier: The Letters of Emily McCorkle FitzGerald from Alaska and the Far West, 1874-1878*, ed. Abe Laufe (1962; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986) 223.

91. Lewis and Clark 5: 258.

92. Ordway 240.

93. A. Ross, *First Settlers* 127.

94. Hunt 302; Alfred Seton, "Life on the Oregon," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 36.2 (1935): 202; A. Henry 663.
Describing the Indians in the vicinity of Fort Nez Perces (c. 1828), Black noted that buffalo robes were procured from "their Neighbors the Snake Ind[s] or Nez Perces that go to Buffaloe." Black n. pag.

95. Parker 229-230.

96. Farnham 77.

97. Point 128.
Point's visual record also suggests that at this time, embroidered blanket strips such as those used on the Plains were in use on the Plateau. See Peterson and Peers 101.

98. "[W]e saw some tracks of horses...[and] had hopes of it being our men, but on examining the Road we found a piece of Spanish Blanket which makes us conclude it must be Snakes [Shoshone]." Written near the headwaters of the Burnt River (southwest of present-day Baker City, Oregon), June 29, 1826. Ogden, *1824-1826* 196.
What appears to be a First Phase Navajo chief blanket appears in a Karl Bodmer painting of 1833. The subject is a Piegan man who lived near Fort Clark, North Dakota. Goetzmann, Hunt, et al 257.

99. "Standard of Trade, Columbia River, 1824-25," in G. Simpson, *Fur Trade and Empire* 172.

100. Work 62; De Smet, *Life, Letters and Travels* 3: 1001.

101. H. Stevens 2: 66.

102. Gibbs, "Report" 411.

103. C. Wilson, "Report on the Tribes" 299.

104. H. Miller 21.
Speaking elsewhere of a party of Nez Perce whom he encountered, Miller noted that "[t]he everlasting blanket was wrapped around each one of them." As he saw it, the "dress of the Indians stands in the way of their physical improvement" because it did not allow the "freedom of action so necessary to the laborer." H. Miller 19-21.

105. FitzGerald 220.
See FitzGerald 214, 220, and 228 for contemporary descriptions of reservation-style dress.

106. FitzGerald 221.

107. FitzGerald 221.

108. The image in Figure 16 is generally dated to about 1876. See Horace P. Axtell and Margo Aragon, *A Little Bit of Wisdom: Conversations With a Nez Perce Elder* (Lewiston, ID: Confluence Press, 1997) photos following page 116.
Figure 17 shows a group of non-treaty Nez Perce flanked by Indian Agent Charles B. Warner (at right; identified as "Warren"). Warner served at Lapwai between April 22, 1879 and June 30, 1882. Erwin N. Thompson, *Spalding Area, Historic Resource Study*, Nez Perce National Historical Park, Idaho (Denver: National Park Service, 1972) 157-160.
Duplicates of these and other photos in the collections of Washington State University, the University of Idaho, and the Idaho Historical Society appear to have originally come from the collection of George L. Deffenbaugh. Deffenbaugh was a Presbyterian missionary on the Nez Perce reservation for about ten years, c. 1880-1890. He served as mission treasurer for a portion of this time. In 1891 he began his tenure as superintendent of the boarding school on the Umatilla Reservation (shortly before the departure of Lee Moorhouse as Indian Agent there). These images were apparently made at Lapwai by Lewiston's Engstrom Studio prior to 1882. An original print in this same format and attached to an original studio card is in the collection of the Idaho State Historical Society Library and Archives.

109. Lewis and Clark 5: 134.

110. Lewis and Clark 5: 127, 7: 253.

111. Lewis and Clark 5: 127.

112. Cox 135.

113. Black n. pag.
For similarly constructed leggings from near Fort Colvile, see Harper 227 (Fig. 130).

114. Parker 229.

115. Ferris 291.
The description also applies to shirt decoration.

116. James Longmire, "Narrative of James Longmire," *Told By the Pioneers: Reminiscences of Pioneer Life in Washington*, vol. 1 (Olympia: Works Progress Administration: 1937) 130.

117. A. Ross, *First Settlers* 296.

118. Ferris 292; Simpson, *Narrative* 1: 91.

119. Lewis and Clark 5: 134.

120. Lewis and Clark 5: 258.

121. A. Ross, *First Settlers* 127.

122. Hunt 304.

123. Irving, *Bonneville* 69.

124. Ferris 292.

125. Drury, *First White Women* 1: 260.
A dress pattern was given as payment for the footwear. The seamstress, in company with her husband (Mr. Thompson) and others (Mr. Banks and a Shoshone wife and Mr. Mart) had arrived at Waiilatpu from New Mexico in late July 1842. Drury, *First White Women* 1: 258-259.

126. H. Miller 20.
Lawyer was also said to be wearing an "alpaca sack." From the context, this probably refers a wool jacket (as opposed to an unadorned shoulder bag).

127. The bag shown in the photo is of a construction similar to another bag that is also associated with Lawyer (d. 1876). The second bag was loaned to Nez Perce National Historical Park as the current study was concluding. It is of rectangular shape with short fringe along the bottom edge. It is decorated with simple floral (tulip) and foliage motifs worked in embroidered bead outlines.
An 1868 A.Z. Shindler photo, taken during the visit of a Nez Perce delegation to Washington, DC, again shows Lawyer with the cane and pipe, but wearing a floral beaded octopus bag (Blackmore Collection A29/1708). The bag appears on Timothy (Tamootsom) in another Shindler photo (National Anthropological Archives 2923-a). It probably belonged to a member of the Nez Perce group and was not a studio prop. Paula Fleming, personal communication, June 25, 1997.

128. For instance, see the Nicolas Point images in Peterson and Peers 60, 104, 108.

129. FitzGerald 223.

130. See Peterson and Peers 54-55, 60, 74, 75, 101, 104; Point 179, 183, 191; Midwest Jesuit Archives, DeSmetiana Collection, IX-C9-87 (*Meeting of Two Friends*). See also Harper Plate 33.

131. Winthrop 47.

132. Winthrop 51.

133. Leonard 16.
For Nicolas Point renderings of Plateau cradles, see Peterson and Peers 54 and 60 and Point 127 and 157. For imagery of a cradle by Paul Kane, see Harper 227 (Fig. 130). A John Mix Stanley sketch appears in Goetzmann 54-55 and in I. Stevens as Plate 33. Gustav Sohon's renderings have been published opposite page 50 in John Mullan, *Report on the Construction of a Military Road from Fort Walla to Fort Benton* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1863).

134. Wislizenus 93.

135. Parker 98; see also C. Wilkes, *Narrative* 398.

136. Wislizenus 93.

137. Gibbs, "Report" 405.

138. Longmire 130. See also C. Wilson, *Mapping the Frontier* 165; Wislizenus 93; Spalding, letter to Dudley Allen, April 29, 1846.

139. Barry, "Pickering's Journey" 60.

140. The photographers associated with the British North American Boundary Commission represented a select group and very few made the journey to the Pacific Northwest to assist the Boundary Commission. See David Mattison, "Arthur Vipond's Certificate of Competency in Photography," *History of Photography* 13.3 (1989): 224, 230; Andrew Birrell, "Survey Photography in British Columbia," *BC Studies* 52 (Winter 1981-1982): 34-48; Mark Haworth-Brown, *The Golden Age of British Photography, 1839-1900* (Millerton, NY: Aperture, 1984) 114-117.
The exact identities of those whose who served as photographers for the Boundary Commission are not known but Lt. Charles Wilson figured prominently in the enterprise. In his published journal (C. Wilson, *Mapping the Frontier*), Wilson includes a diary entry for "October 28th to 31st [1859]. Tolerably fine weather, during which I have been taking a few photographs." On September 3, 1860 he also mentions "a photo of myself which I enclose taken just after my return in my travelling costume." C. Wilson, *Mapping the Frontier* 75, 129, and frontispiece.

During the time he was stationed in the Fort Colvile area (July 1, 1860-April 2, 1862), Wilson and his colleagues had frequent and pleasant social interaction with Angus McDonald and his family. C. Wilson, *Mapping the Frontier* 113, 134-135, 140-141; F.W. Howay, William S. Lewis and Jacob A. Meyers, ed., "Angus McDonald: A Few Items of the West, *Washington Historical Quarterly* 8.3 (1917): 200-201.

The Royal Engineers' formal photo portraits of Indian people were made at Fort Colvile, and Angus McDonald supplied props for at least one of the images. McDonald's eldest daughter, Christine, also posed for a portrait. This last photo and the image shown here in Figure 19 appear in sequence as the final two items in the Boundary Commission's photo albums now in the Royal Engineer's Library (vol. 3, nos. 80-81). Birrell 46; John Keast Lord, *The Naturalist in Vancouver Island and British Columbia*, vol. 2 (London: Richard Bentley, 1866) 250-252; Elsie Turnbull, "Fort Shepherd," *The Beaver* 290 (Autumn 1969): 43; "List of Photographs, taken during the Operation of the North American Boundary Commission in the years 1860, 1861," Royal Engineers Corps Library, Brompton Barracks, Chatham, Kent, England.

As to the internal evidence, the cradle is constructed in the Nez Perce style of the 1860s and later. Compare it to an 1860-1861 Royal Engineers photo of a Colville cradle, shown in Dorothy Kennedy and Randall T. Bouchard, "Northern Okanagan, Lakes, and Colville," *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. ed. Deward E. Walker, Jr., gen. ed. William C. Sturtevant, (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1998) 243. The crupper is constructed in a fashion similar to a crupper now associated with the Spalding-Allen collection of 1840s Nez Perce material (although it is not detailed in the contemporary inventory). Given that Angus McDonald was Scottish and that his wife was French-Mohawk and Nez Perce, their children would have been of mixed blood. A child, Alexander, was born to the McDonalds at Fort Colvile on August 6, 1861. He was nearly three months old when Charles Wilson noted the following in his diary entry for November 1, 1861: "We had a rather amusing scene here the other day...the departure of Macdonald, the Hudson's Bay officer here, and his family on a hunting excursion. They went off mounted by twos and threes; Mrs. Macdonald, a French half-breed, leading, perched high up on a curious saddle used by women here, one of here younger daughters behind her and the baby swinging in its Indian cradle from the pommel..."

It is argued here that this "curious saddle" and "Indian cradle" are the ones shown in the Royal Engineers photo.

141. Winona Adams, ed., "An Indian Girl's Story of a Trading Expedition to Southwest," Frontier Omnibus, ed. John W. Hakola (Missoula: University of Montana, 1962) 121-138. See also Caroline C. Leighton, *Life at Puget Sound with*

Sketches of Travel in Washington Territory, British Columbia, Oregon, and California, 1865-1881 (Boston and New York: Lee and Shepard and Charles T. Dillingham, 1884) 75-78; Christina MacDonald McKenzie Williams, "The Daughter of Angus MacDonald," *Washington Historical Quarterly* 13.2 (1922): 107-117 and Albert J. Partoll, ed., "Angus McDonald, Frontier Fur Trader," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 42.2 (1951): 138-146.

A general history of the McDonald family appears in James Hunter, *Scottish Highlanders, Indian Peoples: Thirty Generations of a Montana Family* (Helena: Montana Historical Society Press, 1996).

142. George Kubler, *The Shape of Time: Remarks on the History of Things* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1962) 39.

143. Transfer-printed English earthenwares were daily used by the few Company officers in residence at Fort Colvile and they were also utilized at many of the social events hosted by the Fort. The appearance of a symmetrical floral arrangement upon a light ground follows the formula used on many Spode/Copeland ceramics. These same earthenwares also employed foliate arrangements whereby leaves on the same bough appeared in frontal, three-quarter, and/or profile view. The use of a light ground is in direct contrast to most contemporary Subarctic and Great Lakes floral beadwork, where dark woolen backgrounds were the norm. This is illustrated by the octopus bag in the upper right hand corner of Figure 19.

Current British publications circulated with some regularity through the post, enough so that despite his remote station, Angus McDonald was considered to be "well up in the politics of the day." Remnants of an issue of *Punch* were recovered during excavations at Fort Nez Perces and copies of *Punch* and the *London Illustrated News* were received and circulated by members of the British Boundary Commission. Hunter 137; C. Wilson, *Mapping the Frontier* 135; Thomas R. Garth, "Archaeological Excavations at Fort Walla," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 43.1 (January 1952): 47.

The presence of these publications suggest that other journals may occasionally have been found locally. The light-on-dark beaded outlines evident on the crupper and horse collar mimic decorative braiding patterns that appeared in contemporary women's magazines such as *Godey's Lady's Book*. Although executed in reverse when actually created with fabric, the printed patterns were published in white lines on a dark ground. The motifs on the crupper, particularly the tulip designs, bear a marked resemblance to this mid-Victorian decorative tradition.

144. Marsh 98; Drury, *First White Women* 3: 84; Wislizenus 84.

145. Irving, *Bonneville* 114.

146. Point 128.
Nicolas Point's renderings of feminine equestrian adornment are reproduced in Peterson and Peers 58, 60, 72.
Gustavus Sohon's view of Nez Perce entering the Walla treaty grounds is reproduced in Nicandri, *Northwest Chiefs* 12. Horse collars are visible on several of the mounted figures. Another horse collar is visible in Nicolas Point's *Meeting of Two Friends* (Midwest Jesuit Archives, DeSmetiana Collection, IX-C9-87).
Plains cruppers are visible in Harper Plate 20 and 204 (Fig. 90); Plains men's horse collars appear in Harper 203 (Fig. 89) and 204 (Fig. 90); Metis pad saddles are shown on Harper 191 (Fig. 67).

147. Townsend 196.

148. Townsend 272.

149. Ferris 327; Parker 230.
"A [Flathead] takes as great pains in decorating his courser as with his own person; the animal's head, chest and flanks are covered with hangings of scarlet cloth, embroidered with pearls [beads] and adorned with long fringes, to which they attach little bells." De Smet, *Life, Letters and Travels* 3: 1002.

150. For discussions of relevant saddle construction, see Clark Wissler, "Riding Gear of the North American Indians," *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 17.1 (1915): 7-17 and John C. Ewers, "Saddles of the Plains Indians," *Man Made Mobile: Early Saddles of Western North America*, ed. Richard E. Ahlborn, Smithsonian Studies in History and Technology 39 (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1980) 72-84.

151. Lewis and Clark 7: 165.

152. Gass 224.

153. Ferris 327.
See the Sohon image reproduced in Mullan, opposite 50. Comparatively, note the Plains woman's saddle and crupper in Goetzmann, Hunt et al 276.

154. Spalding, letter to Dudley Allen, April 27, 1846.

155. Gibbs, "Report" 405.

156. William Marshall Anderson, *The Rocky Mountain Journals of William Marshall Anderson: The West in 1834*, ed. Dale L. Morgan and Eleanor Towles Harris (San Marino, CA:

The Huntington Library, 1967) 139.

157. Ordway 309; Gass 235.
"They said they got the [Spanish] dollars from about a Snake Indian's neck, they had killed some time ago." Gass 235.

158. Spanish goods also circulated contemporaneously and perhaps even more frequently on the Northern Plains. Maximilian noted about the Piegan, "They likewise trade...with the Spaniards of Santa Fe, as appears from the Spanish blankets, crosses, etc., which they wear. There is, probably no reason to doubt that they take most of these things in war, for the rifles, compasses, etc., which we found in their possession, were marked with the names of the owners." Maximilian 96.

159. FitzGerald 223.

160. For instance, Alexander Henry's journal records an 1814 Northwest Company list of "Presents given to the different Chiefs &c. &c." Many of the individuals lived on the lower Columbia River but the types of gifts they received are nonetheless instructive. The inventory includes gingham shirts, cloth jackets and trousers, and "Soldier's" coats. A. Henry 747-748.

161. Black n. pag.
In making a differentiation (in another context) between the dress of the rich and the poor at Fort Nez Perces, Black noted that the dresses of poor women were shorter than those of wealthy women and that poor people devoted much less attention to face painting and the application of hair ornaments. Black n. pag.

162. In addition to the typical Plateau man pictured in the Exploring Expedition *Narrative*, the Nez Perce Looking Glass (Apashwyakaikt) was sketched wearing a similar garment at the 1855 Walla Treaty Council. Nicandri, *Northwest Chiefs* 85.

163. C. Wilkes, *Narrative* 398.

164. G. Wilkes 77.

165. Eliza Hart Spalding, letter to C. Allen, July 29, 1843, typed copy, Spalding Collection, Northwest and Whitman College Archives, Penrose Library, Whitman College, Walla, Washington.

166. A. Allen 244.
Allen (p. 184) noted that the Cayuse Five Crows (Five Ravens; Hezekiah; Pakhat Qo) appeared at the 1842 Lapwai

Council "neatly attired in English costume."

167. Gibbs, "Report" 411.

168. Edwin Bryant, *What I Saw in California* (1849; New York: D. Appleton, 1949) 344.
The exceptions to this were the "chiefs clad in English costume." A. Allen 244.

169. C. Wilson, "Report on the Tribes" 299.

170. Writing to her sister in 1838, Myra Fairbanks Eells noted, "The men of this country all wear striped cotton or calico shirts, sleep in Indian blankets and in buffalo skins..." Drury, *First White Women* 2: 119.
Free trappers at the 1830s Rocky Mountain rendezvous frequently wore shirts of ruffled calico or brightly dyed cloth. Irving, *Bonneville* 69.

171. Ogden, *1827-28* 185, 187-188.
By the late 1840s, the stock of the Hudson's Bay Company store in Oregon City routinely included "striped hickory shirts" (and moleskin corduroy pants). Eva Emery Dye, "Boone Family Reminiscences as Told to Mrs. Dye," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 42.3 (1941): 223.

172. Eliza Warren 100.

173. Eliza Warren 81.

174. Trade eventually expanded so that within a decade, white traders were also situated at regular intervals between the Grande Ronde Valley and the Columbia River. By 1852, trading stations were located on either side of the Grande Ronde Valley. In the following year, one diarist noted from a camp two days west of the Utilla Agency, that posts had been encountered on almost every one of the eight days that had passed since leaving the Grande Ronde. Martha S. Read, "A History of Our Journey," *Covered Wagon Women: Diaries and Letters from the Western Trails, 1840-1890*, ed. Kenneth L. Holmes, vol. 5: 1852: The Oregon Trail (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark, 1986); Celinda Hines, "Life and Death on the Oregon Trail," *Covered Wagon Women: Diaries and Letters from the Western Trails, 1840-1890*, ed. Kenneth L. Holmes, vol. 6: 1853-1854 (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark, 1986) 122.
Additional posts were also situated downstream along the Columbia River. Winthrop 289.

175. Palmer 114.
According to the author, white people were still a novelty in the Lapwai area. Palmer 113.

176. Martha Hill Gillette, *Overland to Oregon and in the Indian Wars of 1853* (n.p.: Lewis Osborne, 1975) 48; L. Williams 144; Cecelia Adams and Parthenia Blank, "Twin Sisters on the Oregon Trail," *Covered Wagon Women: Diaries and Letters from the Western Trails, 1840-1890*, ed. Kenneth L. Holmes, vol. 5: 1852: The Oregon Trail (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark, 1986) 304.

177. Gillette 49; Conyers 493.

178. Farnham 75.
For information about this individual, see Stern, *Chiefs and Change* 68-69.

179. Palmer 52.
The year previous, an emigrant noted that the Indian population retained surplus trade goods and attempted to trade them back to the whites. "...Indians swarm around again to trade. Some have salmon skins, rabbits and one a mink. Yesterday one had a weasel. An iron spoon, an old pair of scissors, a penknife, butcher knife, a sausage cutter and a roundabout were included in their stock in trade which they had bought of the companies before." Edward Evans Parrish, *The Oregon Trail Diary of Rev. Edward Evans Parrish in 1844* (Central Point, OR: Webb Research Group, 1988) 74.

180. Elizabeth Dixon Smith, "The Diary of Elizabeth Dixon Smith," *Covered Wagon Women: Diaries and Letters from the Western Trails, 1840-1890*, ed. Kenneth L. Holmes, vol. 1: 1840-1849 (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark, 1983) 139.
A wamus is a kind of cardigan or tough outer jacket.
In this instance, the pilots were probably Walla Wallas. "There are also 2 [trading] houses at DeChute river and some tents belonging to the Walla indians who do some ferrying and act as guides to those who ford." Adams and Blank 309.

181. John Minto, "Mrs. Nancy Morrison: The Oregon Pioneer Woman," *Transactions of the Oregon Pioneer Association for 1890* (Portland, OR: Anderson and Company, 1892) 68.

182. De Smet, *Oregon Missions* 233-234.
See also G. Wilkes 77.

183. See Ewers, "Sohon" Plates 9, 10, 13, 15, 20, and Nicandri, *Northwest Chiefs* 70, 73, 81, 83, 84, 88, 91.
In addition to cotton shirts, Sohon's sketches of the Walla Treaty Council record the Kalispel Big Canoe wearing a double-breasted military style coat and Hirom, a man from near Kettle Falls, as also wearing a coat of Euroamerican manufacture. Nicandri, *Northwest Chiefs* 64, 66.

184. Landerholm 183; Hussey, *Historic Structure Report* 1: 251.

See also the c. 1845 Henry James Warre watercolor, *Old Cree Guide*, reproduced on the cover of Warre.

185. Point 168, 172. See also Peterson and Peers 54, 74, 75, 104; Midwest Jesuit Archives, DeSmetiana Collection, IX-C9-87 (*Meeting of Two Friends*); and Washington State University Library Special Collections, De Smet Papers, Box 7, Folder 6, No. 57 (*The Chief Reports to His Camp that Buffalo are in Sight*).

See also Honoré-Timothée Lempfrit, *Honoré-Timothée Lempfrit, O.M.I., his Oregon Trail Journal and Letters from the Pacific Northwest, 1848-1853*, ed. Patricia Meyer, trans. Patricia Meyer and Catou Lévesque (Fairfield, WA: Ye Galleon Press, 1985) 130.

186. Philip Henry Overmeyer, ed. "George B. McClellan and the Pacific Northwest," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 32.1 (1941): 30.

187. A contemporaneous Johnson Kelley Duncan sketch entitled *Kap-sin-i-ka, Ya-ki-ma of the Lakes* shows a similar subject (National Anthropological Archives 130,305-GG).

188. Another style of Euroamerican headgear that occasionally appears in the visual record is the top hat, often seen with feathers attached. See Peterson and Peers 101, 108; Point 48-49; Ewers, "Sohon" Plate 8, and Nicandri, *Northwest Chiefs* 78.

CHAPTER V: REGIONAL TRADE GOODS AND OTHER INTRODUCED MANUFACTURES

INTRODUCTION

The development of Plateau floral design appears to have coincided with the dramatic growth in numbers of Americans entering the region. Therefore, an examination of the decorative treatment evident on contemporary Euroamerican material culture is essential. This analysis is intended to offer a basis for determining the likelihood that Indian artists were influenced by the introduced objects that they observed or gained through trade, purchase, or other means.

An analysis of nineteenth-century Euroamerican decorative arts reveals that floral motifs were "the most memorable feature" of the period's design style and that flowers frequently appeared in home furnishings, in dress, and in paintings.[1] This preponderance of floral patterning was also evident in the domestic arts of the same century as flowers appeared on quilts, on coverlets, and in various types of needlework. Despite being located on the fringe of white settlement, diverse commercial and homemade manufactures bearing floral decoration were present in the Columbia River Plateau prior to 1880. Certain varieties of objects, notably cotton cloth and ceramic wares, were first imported to the Northwest during the fur-trade era. Other types of items, particularly homemade textiles, came west

with overland emigrants and were then produced locally. Some mass-produced goods such as floral wallpapers and related home furnishings appeared at a late date, as settlement and commerce increased. The designs evident on all classes of these articles did, however, reflect the mainstream enthusiasm for floral motifs.

As is evident with contemporary items of Indian origin, few well-documented examples of regional Euroamerican material culture survive from the mid-nineteenth century. The population of the Northwest during the two decades following 1843 was comprised largely of Oregon Trail emigrants and their descendants; census records from 1850 and later years offer insight into the demographic composition of this community. Such information is useful in assessing the artistic traditions that were represented in local pioneer culture.

In his analysis of the Oregon Territory's 1850 census, Jesse Douglas noted that over 85 percent of the region's 11,592 white residents were born in one of ten eastern states: Virginia, Pennsylvania, New York, Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, and Iowa. Of this number, however, three-fourths were children. Among the adults, over 40 percent were born in one of the Atlantic states and, when those who were natives of Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee were added to this total, the aggregate amount equalled almost three-quarters of Oregon's adult population. A vast majority of the dependents enumerated in the 1850

census were born in a "child belt" that stretched across the frontier from Texas to Michigan.[2]

> Generally speaking, Oregon's population, prior to its final trek across the plains, moved in a fan-shaped pattern from the East and South toward Iowa, Missouri, and Illinois. The very high percentage of children born on the frontier shows conclusively that most of the adults had migrated from the older to the newer sections of the country at a relatively early age...Thus, although the number of children born in the Atlantic and Gulf states indicates that a small proportion of families migrated directly from these sections, most of the family relationships among the early immigrants appear to have been established in the Middle West...[3]

At the time of the 1870 census, slightly less than half of Oregon's white residents had been born in the state and roughly one-third were natives of one of five states: Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, or Iowa.[4]

COMMERCIALLY PRODUCED MATERIALS

PRINTED CLOTH

"Of all the commodities imported by the HBC, fabrics and clothing were the most common and valuable."[5] The cloth imported by the Company came in a variety of types and was procured from nearly 30 different sources.[6] In addition to plain, plaid, checked, and striped fabrics, printed cottons were also available. "Calico cotton" referred to as "dyed" and "stout grey 3/4" was brought into the Columbia Department, as was "printed cotton" in "common," "fine 7/8," "furniture" and "navy blue"

varieties.[7] The Spring 1844 combined inventories of the Vancouver, Fort George, and Fort Umpqua Indian Trading Shops show that "7-1/2 pieces printed Cotton" were on hand while two and 10/28 pieces of common printed cotton were in stock a year later.[8]

Little research has specifically addressed the types of decoration that appeared on the printed cottons used in the Indian trade. Calico was the cotton cloth most commonly used in Indian clothing in the central United States and extant data does record some of the preferences of the Indians of the upper Midwest.[9] Lawrence Ermatinger, supplier to Michilimackinac, requested the following in an 1770 order to London: "15 pcs. Callicoe, Black and red small flowers, thick work....20 pcs. White ground, blue flowers, small work....55 pcs. of different patterns...."[10] In 1771, a Philadelphia supplier reportedly sent "Callicoes with large red, blue or purple flowers" to Illinois for use in the Indian trade.[11] Other traders noted a subsequent demand for prints with small but distinct figures.[12]

Prior to the first quarter of the nineteenth century, British mills produced much of the cotton fabric used by Americans. A pre-Revolutionary War prohibition on the export of British fabric finishing machinery insured that country's monopolization of the colonial market.[13] During the late eighteenth century, efforts at domestic fabric finishing and printing were aggressively pursued. This process was encouraged by the appearance of bootlegged

technology and skilled British craftspeople who had relocated to North America.[14] The developing American industry was also indebted to Great Britain for design inspiration and small floral patterns figured prominently in this borrowing.[15] British- and American-made calicoes of the 1830s were frequently decorated with various arrangements of small floral motifs. After 1840, some of these designs became larger while the grounds became bolder.[16] The patterns shown in Figure 22 reproduce some of the types of cotton prints sold by the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Vancouver in 1845.[17]

> Almost all of the dress fabrics used by American women from the early 1800's to 1880 were these one color (sometimes two), small-patterned cotton prints; they were used for children's clothes and for women's everyday dresses. They were the patterns that gave most of us our mental picture of the word "calico" today.[18]

Floral motifs continued to regularly appear in American printed cottons until well after 1880. Shirting and simple dress prints were often decorated with small floral sprigs while fabric intended for interior furnishings was adorned with larger and more exuberant designs.[19] The supremacy of English chintzes dictated their continued importation for home furnishing use, however.[20] The floral sprig motif was so popular on summer clothing that the cloth upon which it was printed came to be known as "sprigged cotton."[21]

Although the majority of cotton cloth that had been available in the Plateau before 1843 was of British

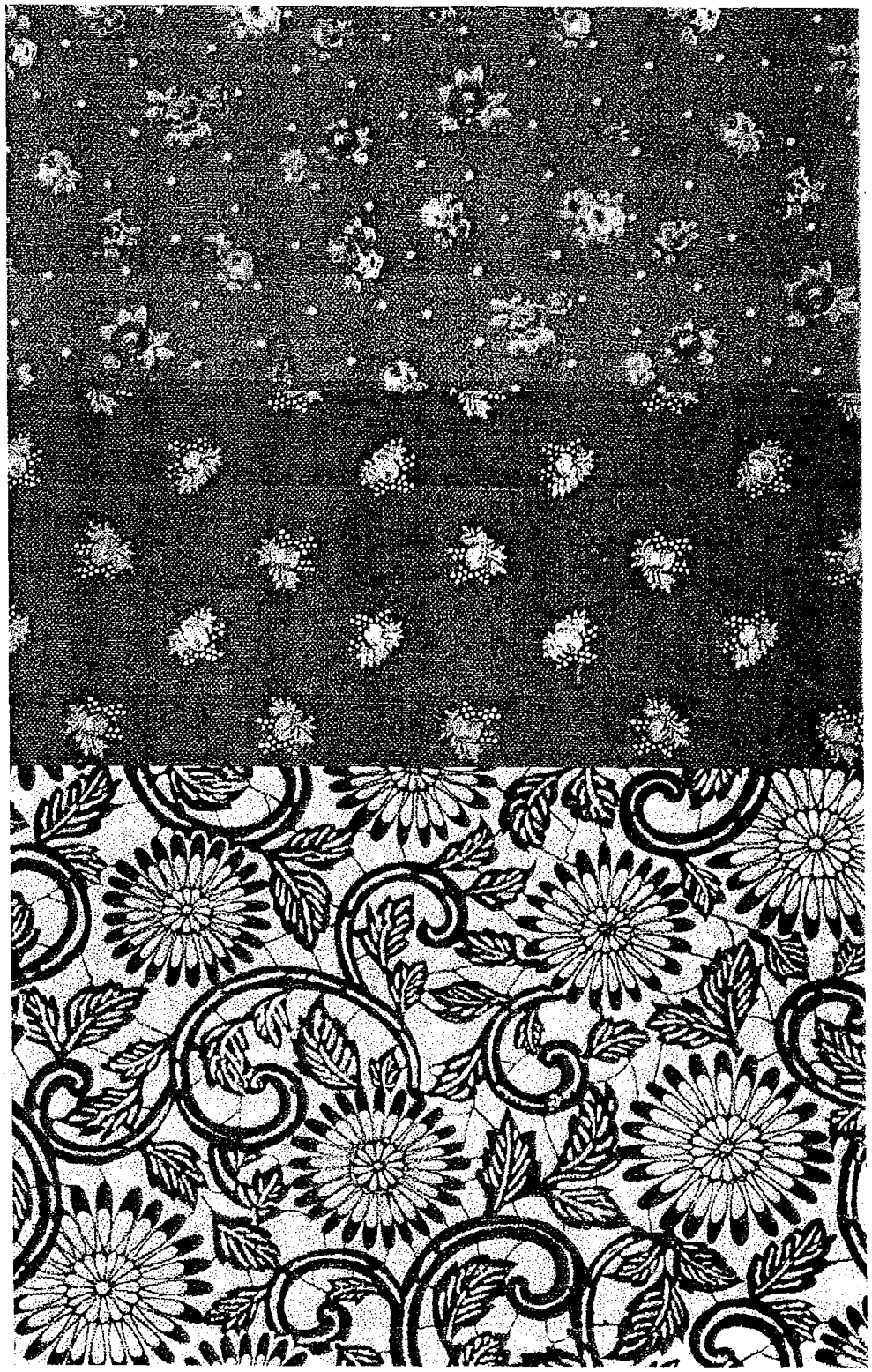


Figure 22. Floral designs on printed cotton of the type traded at Fort Vancouver, 1845.

manufacture, American fabrics eventually came into the region in great quantities. By the late 1830s, the American Board missionaries had discovered that calico dresses and shirts were valued trade items. "Chintz, calico of all sorts of patterns and ginghams were the prevailing 'dress goods'" of the women who traversed the Oregon Trail.[22] The trade value of garments made of these textiles is so evident as multiple references cited above attest that by the mid 1850s, local Indian men and women were frequently observed wearing articles made of the cloth.[23] The contemporary feminine Métis preference for "gaudy" calico has also been noted.

TRANSFER-PRINTED CERAMICS

For the half century following 1800, transfer-printed earthenwares were the ceramics of choice for table and toiletry needs in both Great Britain and America.[24] The historic and archaeological records make it evident that this "crockery" was widely circulated in the Plateau during the nineteenth century. The Hudson's Bay Company began shipping ceramics to the Columbia Department in the 1820s; after 1835 Spode pottery of Staffordshire became the Company's commissioned supplier of ceramic tableware.[25] Transfer-printed white earthenware was the product generally supplied by Spode/Copeland and large quantities of these ceramics have been recovered from over 20 Company sites in North America, Forts Vancouver, Nez Perces, Okanogan, and

Colvile among them.[26]

"A certain standard of life was observed at the posts....Table service was important, and heads of districts usually had their monogrammed silver, and plate chests, and there was crystal on their tables."[27] Fort Vancouver offered no exception to this rule. The amount of earthenware used in the Officer's Mess there was considerable, given that it was the seat of the Columbia Department. An 1839 description of the Fort included the comment:

> At the end of a table 20 feet in length stands Governor McLoughlin--directing guests and gentlemen....Roast beef and pork, boiled mutton, baked salmon, carrots, turnips, cabbage and potatoes, and wheaten bread are tastefully distributed over the table among a dinner set of elegant Queen's ware, burnished with glittering glasses and decanters of various colored Italian wines.[28]

A previous visitor had recorded, "we were all seated around a long table 18 of us, the table set with blue."[29] Narcissa Whitman noted the abundance of tableware in use in the Officer's Mess. After the main course at breakfast was finished, she recalled that

> our plates are changed & we make a finish on bread and butter. For dinner we have a greater variety....After our soup dishes are removed, then comes a variety of meats to prove our tastes. After selecting and tasting, change plates and try another if we choose, & so at every new dish have a clean plate.[30]

The use of earthenware at remote posts was a concern to

Company officials. In an 1844 letter, George Simpson had written:

> The Table Appointments throughout the Country have hitherto been upon much too large a scale, far exceeding the consumption of most respectable families in the civilized world, & I think you may safely reduce the usual supplies by 50 p Cent--the descriptions to be of the cheapest, vizt. Tin plates: E ware Cups & Saucers...No E ware Dishes: a few Tumblers which answer for Wine glasses.[31]

Fort Vancouver's "Inventory of Sundry Goods" for that year included the following articles in use in the kitchen and pantry:

1/4	dozen E[arthen]	Ware	Butter Plates
2-1/2	"	"	deep Do
4	"	"	dessert Do
4	"	"	flat Do
2-1/2	"	"	Cups and Saucers....
12	E. Ware Dishes		
3	" Water Jugs		
7	" milk Jugs....		
5	E. Ware Sugar Basins[32]		

Despite Simpson's comments, the following year's inventory recorded an increase in the totals of almost all types of earthenware accessories.[33]

The gentleman class at Vancouver was not the only echelon of society that used imported ceramics. The 1974 excavations of Kanaka Village uncovered a great amount of earthenware and other pottery that was associated with those Company servants that lived near the Fort. In fact, "fragments of ceramic dishes and other vessels" were "one of the most common artifacts" retrieved from habitation layers

associated with the fur trade.[34] A total of 86 types of transfer-printed ceramics were recovered, most of them of British manufacture.[35] In addition to other ceramic types, hand-painted (floral) earthenwares, Majolicas, and some china and porcelain were also salvaged from Company deposits.[36]

That British ceramics were used by all segments of Vancouver society stems from the fact that the earthenwares were available for purchase at the Fort. In comments describing the Fort's commercial enterprises in 1841, Charles Wilkes noted, "[e]very thing may be had within the fort....English manufactured articles may be purchased at as low a price if not cheaper than in the United States, consisting of cotton and woollen goods, ready-made clothing, ship chandlery, earthen and iron ware, and fancy articles."[37]

The combined Spring 1844 "inventory of Sundry Goods..remaining on hand" in the Sales Shops of Forts Vancouver, George, and Umpqua included six colored earthenware wash basins, nine dozen earthenware dishes of miscellaneous shapes and sizes, three single quart jugs, 105 "large Earthenware deep Plates," 54 flat plates, and six tea pots.[38] At the same time, an additional 32 butter boats, 12 sugar bowls, 782 cups and saucers, and 231 dishes in various sizes were in the Company depot awaiting shipment to interior posts.[39] The Indian store had a trio of three-quart earthenware jugs and six earthenware cups and saucers

on hand.[40] The following year, two hand basins, three more three-quart jugs, and four one-quart and six one-half quart "fancy lustre" jugs appeared in the inventory.[41]

Excavations conducted at Fort Nez Perces in 1949 and 1950 unearthed quantities of transfer wares. Over 25 distinct Spode/Copeland designs were counted in the recovered material. Included were portions of two meat platters, a pouring saucer, pitchers, basins, bowls, cups and saucers, and portions of various plates (Figs. 23-24).[42] Sherds of imported ceramics were likewise found to be "one of the largest artifact classes" in the excavations conducted at Fort Okanogan. Many of these were earthenware pieces bearing what appeared to be a variant of Spode/Copeland's "Willow" pattern. In addition to glazed earthenwares and other ceramics, soft porcelain sherds (so-called "Canton Ware") were also recovered there.[43] Over two dozen transfer-printed designs were additionally recovered from excavations at Fort Colvile. This diversity equalled that of Fort Nez Perces although the inventory of patterns recovered from the two Forts did not duplicate each other (Appendix 8). The examples of earthenware shown in Figures 23-24 were excavated from Fort Nez Perces and show patterns common to Forts Vancouver, Nez Perces, and Colvile.

Earthenware was a commodity that interested the American Board missionaries who arrived in 1836 and 1838. Writing to her sister in the latter year, Myra Eells noted, "Mrs. S[palding] and W[hitman] have obtained some



Figure 23. Spode/Copeland transfer-printed plates from Fort Nez Perces. "British Flowers" (top) and "Blue Rose" patterns, 10 in. and 7 in. diameters. Acc. 4107a-h and Acc. 4999; Whitman Mission Natl. Hist. Site, Walla Walla, WA.

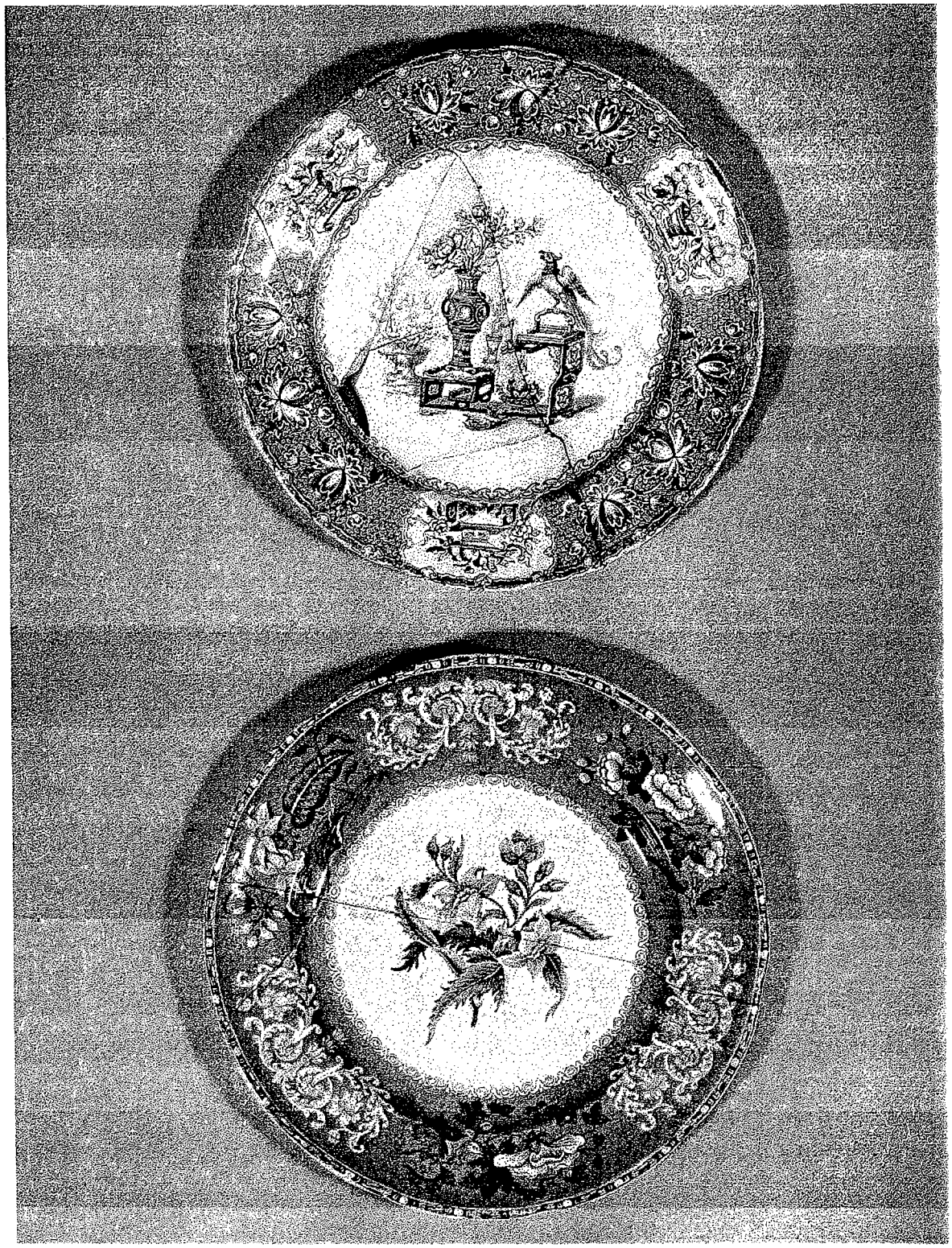


Figure 24. Spode/Copeland transfer-printed plates from Fort Nez Perces. "Macaw" (top) and "Camillia" patterns, 10 in. diameters. Acc. 5003 and Acc. 5001; Whitman Mission National Historic Site, Walla Walla, Washington.

earthenware dishes, but think it doubtful whether we can have any until we order them from England or the States."[44] A preliminary excavation at the Spalding Mission recovered earthenwares bearing a diversity of blue-on-white patterns, possibly including some Chinese porcelain.[45] The Whitman Mission site revealed pottery that was "predominantly English" with patterns "mostly in light blues, and practically all sherds show decoration."[46] Half of these were apparently Spode/Copeland pictorial wares; Ross reports that these were in the "Chinese Plants" (Aster) and "Portland Vase" patterns.[47]

As occurred elsewhere, transfer-printed earthenwares were one of the largest groups of artifacts recovered from the site of the Methodist Mission in the Willamette Valley. Over 40 percent of the vessels found there proved to be of this type.[48] In addition to blue, red, green, black, and brown transfer patterns occurred. The technology associated with these production colors suggests that the ceramics used by the Methodists had been recent purchases and that they were not heirloom pieces.[49] The evidence further suggests that the missionaries purchased only a modest portion of their earthenwares from Fort Vancouver and that the bulk of their ceramics were secured from another source.[50] An 1837 supply shipment brought $54.34 worth of "crockery" from the eastern United States. This material was supplemented by "dishes" (thought to be Chinese porcelain) purchased en route in the Hawaiian Islands.[51]

Like many of the previously mentioned sites, excavations at Sainte Marie de Willamette resulted in a large body of ceramic artifacts. Of these, transfer-printed wares comprised the largest single group represent about 30 percent of the ceramic material.[52] The majority of patterns were again the work of Spode/Copeland potteries. A total of 21 patterns were identified on a minimum of 46 different vessels.[53] Many of the supplies brought by the Sisters of Notre Dame and the neighboring Jesuits were shipped directly from Europe although it appears some of their household goods were purchased locally.[54] Transfer-printed wares recovered from various home sites of French Prairie residents generally date to the 1830-1850 time period and over 40 percent of the patterns can be identified with the Spode/Copeland pottery. The Spode wares were of Hudson's Bay Company origin; the remaining ceramics came from a total of 25 other English sources.[55] The evidence suggests that most of the earthenware was purchased haphazardly or as the supply allowed and used in mismatched sets.[56]

The availability of ceramics remained limited in the Willamette Valley during the 1830s and 1840s, although the Methodist Mission, the Hudson's Bay Company, and private American concerns were all operating stores in Oregon City and/or Champoeg after 1843. As a byproduct of the California gold rush, local mercantile interests and goods finally became more diverse and plentiful after 1850.[57]

Earthenwares were of interest to many of Oregon's pioneer residents as most emigrant guidebooks had discouraged the use of ceramics during the overland journey. As Joel Palmer recommended, "[p]lates, cups, &c., should be of tin ware, as queensware is much heavier and liable to break, and consumes much time in packing."[58] Overton Johnson and William Winter agreed, suggesting that, "[c]ooking utensils should be such as are in character with a camp; light, simple, and not liable to be broken."[59] One woman's record noted, however, that she planned to "start with good earthen dishes and if they get broken have tin ones to take their place."[60]

These ceramics were apparently known to and valued by the Native population as records describing the chronological extremes of this study reveal. According to Alexander Henry, the North West Company was including "Canton Plates" in its gifts to prominent Indian leaders as early as 1814.[61] An 1877 description of Nez Perce caches ransacked by Army troops after the Battle of Clearwater included the comment, "[w]e found tons of Indian goods in 'CACHES'....It was a great pity to see the hoardings of years, including articles of great value, such as silver and gold spoons and dishes burned and destroyed..."[62] The silver tableware, and one might suppose the dishes, were judged to date "from an early Hudson's Bay period."[63]

WALLPAPER

Commercially printed wallcoverings began appearing in the Pacific Northwest after about 1850. Despite the founding of Walla Walla, Lewiston, and other settlements, the white presence in the Plateau lagged far behind the colonization that occurred on the west side of the Cascades, but wallpaper did appear in the region's Euroamerican domestic interiors well before 1880. By mid century, Portland had begun to replace Vancouver and Oregon City as the focal point of regional commerce. In her "Wallpaper in Portland, Oregon, 1850-1900," Rosemary Bullough concluded:

> [T]here seems to be little variation between the wallpaper used in Oregon and that used in the eastern United States. Wall coverings were an important part of home interiors and were continuously imported from the East and San Francisco, reportedly in the latest styles and patterns. If there was a time lag involved in availability of the wallpaper before 1885, it was probably only a year or two...[64]

By 1854, city merchants were advertising their wallpaper stock.[65] Three years later, an announcement in the Portland *Oregonian* stated that Frank Baker had recently received 300 cases (6000 rolls) of French and American paper hangings.[66] Local demand evidently continued to increase as advertisements for Portland's Walters Brothers franchise trumpeted the December 1862 arrival of 20,000 rolls of wallpaper and borders and their February 1865 receipt of more than 50,000 rolls of the material.[67] By 1880, Portland boasted over 20 different businesses that had at

some point provided wallpaper or paper hanging services.[68]

During much of the nineteenth century, the majority of paper wallcoverings bought by the American market showed design influences of workshops in France.[69]

> Of all their eye-fooling productions of mid century, the French wallpaper manufacturers' realistic portrayals were their most magnificent and also their most popular. French wallpaper designers arranged flowers in stripes, in spotted patterns, or in meandering masses. They strung them out in leafy lines to form the borders for panels dividing a wall into a series of vertical rectangles. They showed flowers growing artfully on imitation trellises and pillars. They entwined flowers with scrollwork in endless variations--a favorite theme for the American market....Machine-printed American derivations from the French florals were less beguiling, but sold in larger numbers because they were cheaper.[70]

The gaudy floral paper patterns produced between the 1840s and 1860s were much criticized by contemporary English critics.[71] By the 1850s, British designers had responded by moving away from naturalistic representations to more geometrical and stylized motifs.[72] During the 1870s the American public began decrying "densely scrolled and flower-strewn designs," instead buying the patterns that were based on abstracted natural forms.[73] William Morris was prominent among the English designers who created these new wallpapers and his designs were widely imitated. Despite the revised presentation, the subject matter remained constant as nearly all of Morris' patterns "use motifs of flowers, fruits, and foliage, either in continuous graceful patterns...or organised in loose bunches of grass and

foliage."[74]

The available evidence suggests that floral wallpapers were predominant among the types that were the first to arrive in the Pacific Northwest. Bullough's survey of (1850-1900) regional advertisements, photographs, and surviving paper samples found that floral elements appeared in roughly half of Portland's nineteenth-century wallpaper. Related designs--arabesques and foliates--comprised an additional one-third of the total pattern sample. Design styles often associated with floral motifs (Empire/French, Rococo, Transitional, Arts and Crafts) represented about half of the collected material.[75]

Very few examples of early wallpaper have survived in the Pacific Northwest. The two fragments shown in Figure 25 come from the Grant House. Constructed in 1849, the building was one of the initial dwellings built at the U.S. Army's Vancouver Barracks. These wallpapers represent an early period in the houses's interior decoration; they are thought to predate 1875. Although nearly obliterated, an asymmetrical and realistic floral pattern is faintly visible underneath a coat of white paint. A paper containing a two-dimensional floral spray motif constitutes a second, later layer.

As the commercial supplier for the interior Columbia River region, the popular tastes and the goods of Portland reflected what was preferred and available in growing communities throughout the Plateau. By December 1861,

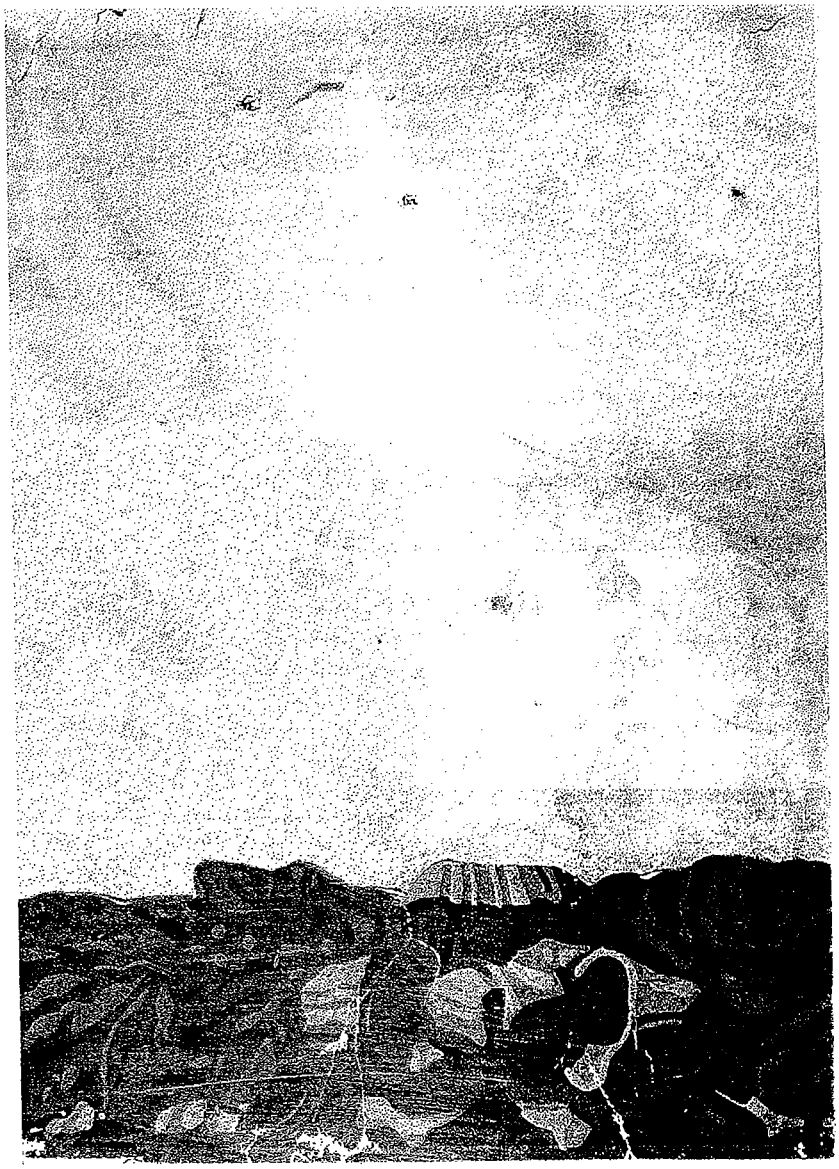


Figure 25. Floral wallpaper fragments from the Grant House, Vancouver Barracks, Vancouver, Washington, 1849-1875.

paperhanging services were being advertised in the Walla Walla newspaper: "H. Ackley, House, Sign, Ornamental, and Carriage Painting. First Street, adjoining Moss & Brooks' Carpenter Shop, Walla Walla. Glazing and Paper Hanging Done in the best style and on short notice."[76] One week later the same paper contained an ad belonging to H. J. M. Troutt, who was located on Front Street in Portland. Troutt sold wallpaper and other interior adornments and proclaimed that "[a]ll orders from the interior [will be] filled with care and dispatch."[77] Other Portland merchants promised similar service. Burnham's ran an ad in Walla Walla in 1863 that pledged to fill "[a]ll orders from the country...with dispatch."[78] Two years later, Emil, Lowenstein, & Co. advertised "[p]aperhangings, etc., etc., Constantly on hand, and sold at San Francisco Price...All orders from the upper country will be promptly attended to."[79]

By the end of the decade, local supplies had evidently increased. A. W. Robinson on Walla Walla's Main Street advertised the following in the October 16, 1869 Walla Walla *Statesman*:

> Paints & Paper Hangings. The undersigned takes pleasure in announcing to the citizens of Walla Walla and vicinity that he has just received and will keep constantly on hand a complete and well selected stock of Wall Paper, Borders, Window Shades, Fire Board Patterns, Window Cornices, and Fixtures. English and American Paper and Borders.[80]

The same issue of the paper contained an ad from Everts and

Abel (Main Street, opposite the Oriental Hotel) that informed readers "[w]e also keep on hand a full Stock of Wall Paper, Window Shades, Picture Frames, &c., &c."[81]

Descriptions of habitations at the opposite end of the wall-decorating scale reveal the use of other printed materials. Hudson's Bay Company decorations were officially limited to maps and paintings although portions of a copy of *Punch* were found during excavations at Fort Nez Perces.[82] The British Boundary Commission's Charles Wilson combined utility, curiosity, and anglophilia when decorating his lodgings near Fort Colvile in 1860.

> The interior of my room or hut at present looks more like a pawn broker's establishment or collection of curiosities than anything else; old clothes..., well worn saddles, bridles, saddle bags, leather shirts, guns, rifles, pistols, Indians hats, beaded shirts, embroidered leggings and tobacco bags....& last though not least a most gorgeous picture gallery at the fire end of the room, which is papered with a select collection from *Punch* and the *Illustrated London News*.[83]

HOMEMADE ITEMS

QUILTS AND WOVEN COVERLETS

The arduous journey undertaken by those who traveled overland on the Oregon Trail was generally accomplished only with careful preparation and planning. The space and weight restrictions imposed by the size of a wagon box and the strength and endurance of livestock dictated which possessions would make the journey. Numerous heirloom

textiles made the trip because they were light and functionally necessary. In addition to serving as bedding, they were also used to create ersatz shelters, as packing for fragile items, and as shrouds for the dead. Some quilts had great sentimental value and were doubly treasured through their associations with families and communities that were being left forever behind.[84]

One of the first white women to make the overland journey--Myra Eells of the American Board's Tshimakain Mission--made the following recommendation in October 1838. In writing to her sister she suggested:

> For the horseback journey, they ought to have good colored clothes....A lady should have a good green merino or pongee [raw silk] dress, and a loose calico dress to wear....They should have a small dark bed-quilt, a pr. of sheets, 4 prs of pillow cases and two pillows. Calico cases are best for the journey.[85]

Subsequent travel guides describing the necessities of the emigrant enterprise also recommended that quilts be included in the baggage. Randolph Marcy's *The Prairie Traveler: A Hand-Book for Overland Expeditions* (originally published 1859) advised that, "[t]he bedding for each person should consist of two blankets, a comforter, and a pillow..."[86] Joseph Ware's advice was, "[d]o not encumber yourselves with any thing not absolutely essential to your comfort; take blankets, sheets, quilts, coverlets and pillows, (omit beds)..."[87] He further suggested that 45 pounds of bedding was a reasonable amount for the needs of

three persons for one year.[88]

Although many of the quilts that crossed the Plains had been pieced to form geometric designs, many others displayed floral designs sewn in applique. The thirty-year period that gave rise to the heaviest traffic on the Oregon Trail (1840-1870) was squarely in the middle of the period when quilt making was considered an American "rage."[89] The same trio of decades also coincided with the "golden age" of classic floral quilt construction.[90] The blossoms that appeared in these midwestern-made quilts were "conventionalized: simplified, flat, and two-dimensional, yet still recognizably floral. They cannot confidently be identified as a particular flower but instead are generic."[91] Some of these bedcoverings also contained stray figurative elements such as birds, animals, or urns. Quilts produced in the style were often made by women of Germanic background; they have most frequently been associated with the states of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.[92]

Figures 26-28 represent some of the floral design quilts that made the Oregon Trail journey. The applique quilt in Figure 26, a Red and Green Tulip design, was made about 1840. It crossed the Plains in 1844 with the Perkins family, who left Tippecanoe County, Illinois, in that year.[93] Figure 27 reproduces a Rose Variation quilt that was made about 1850. It is thought to have come overland from Missouri with the Samuel Stone family in 1853.[94]

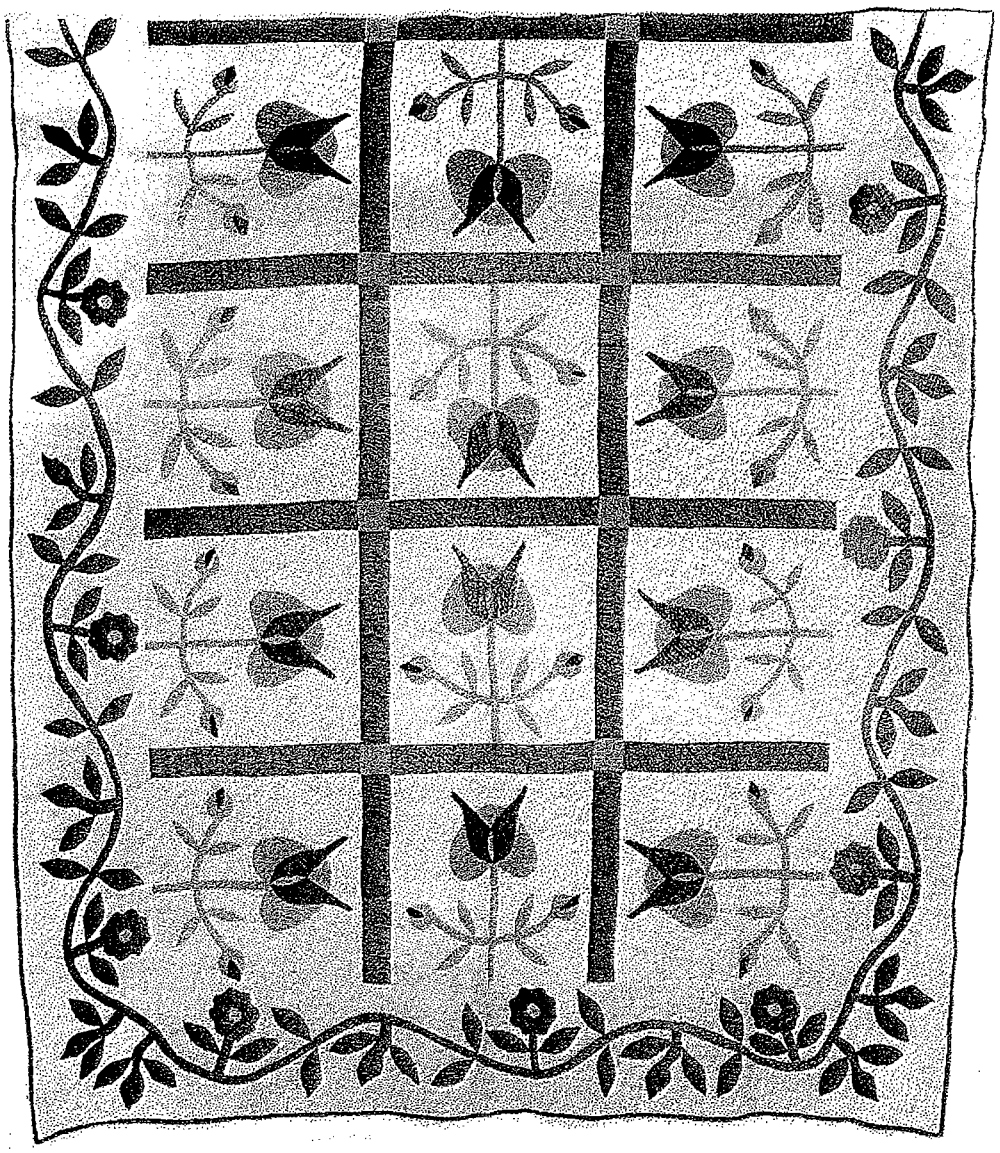


Figure 26. Red and Green Tulip quilt, c. 1840. Applique, 82 x 70 in. Courtesy Yamhill County Museum, Lafayette, Oregon. Photo by Bill Bachhuber.

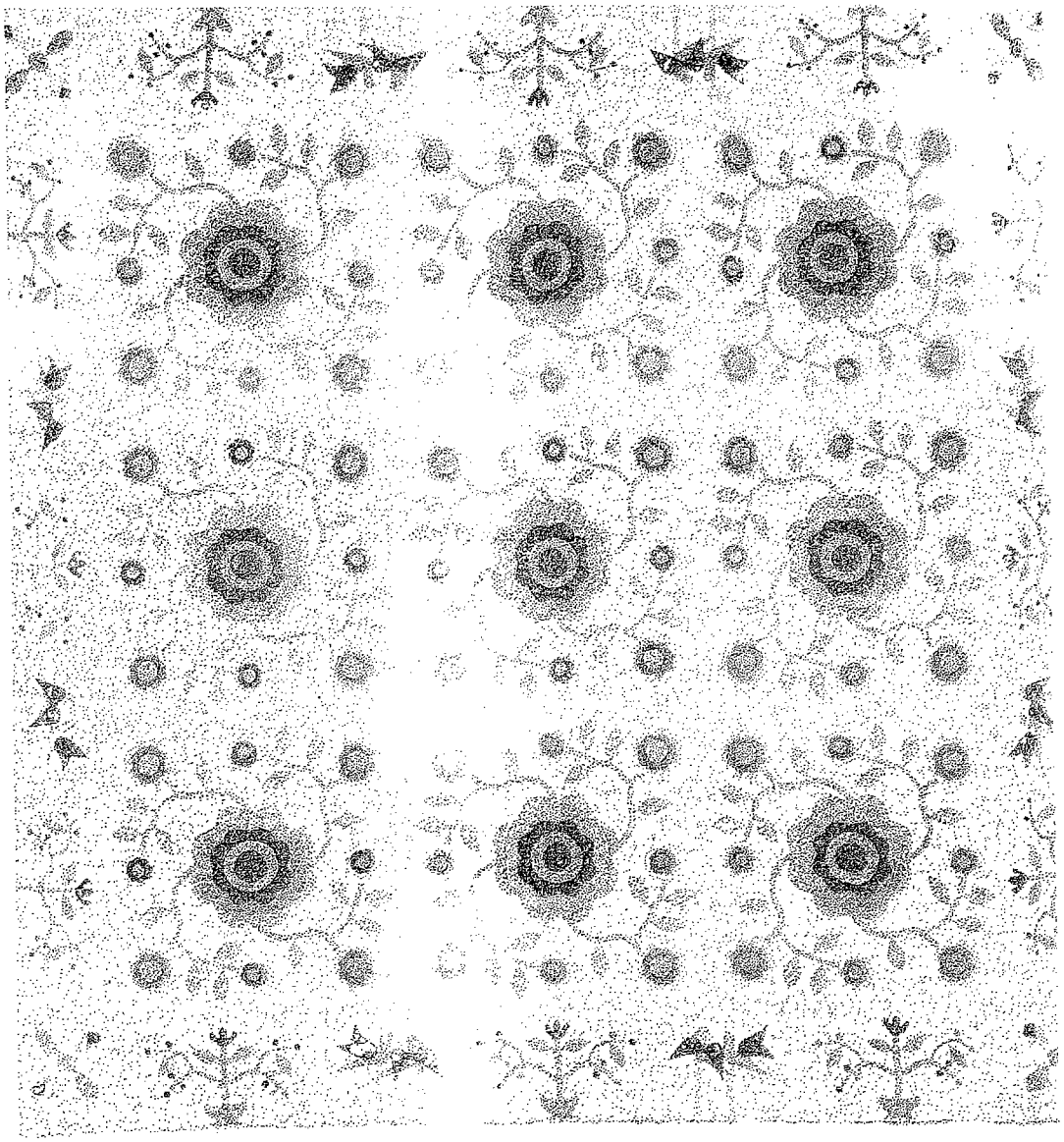


Figure 27. Rose Variation quilt (detail), c. 1851. Applique, 90 x 90 in. Oregon Historical Society, Object No. 67-500.

Figure 28 shows an "Oregon Rose" quilt that accompanied the Jacob Robbins family from Decatur County, Indiana, to the Willamette Valley in 1852. The quilt was made as a parting gift from the Robbins' Indiana friends and neighbors in 1851.[95]

A second type of pioneer textile that frequently contained bold and simplified floral motifs was the woven coverlet. Although originally produced with geometric designs, developments in weaving technology during the 1820s prompted a dramatic increase in the number of coverlets that displayed figurative motifs.[96] Domestic output received a further and concurrent boost as numerous weavers from the British Isles, Germany, and Scandinavia immigrated to America at about the same time.[97] By the end of the Civil War, mechanization could provide consumers with less expensive factory-made textiles, and coverlet production effectively ceased.

In many cases, the individuals who commissioned these textiles were responsible for providing the wool used in their creation.[98] The coverlets were then woven by professional or semi-professional weavers. Some workshops employed a weaver and assistants who together worked multiple looms. Other weavers plied their craft only in wintertime and spent their summers in farming. Many wove year-round while pursuing some sort of secondary employment.[99] By the 1830s, many of the European craftspeople who were the prime coverlet producers had

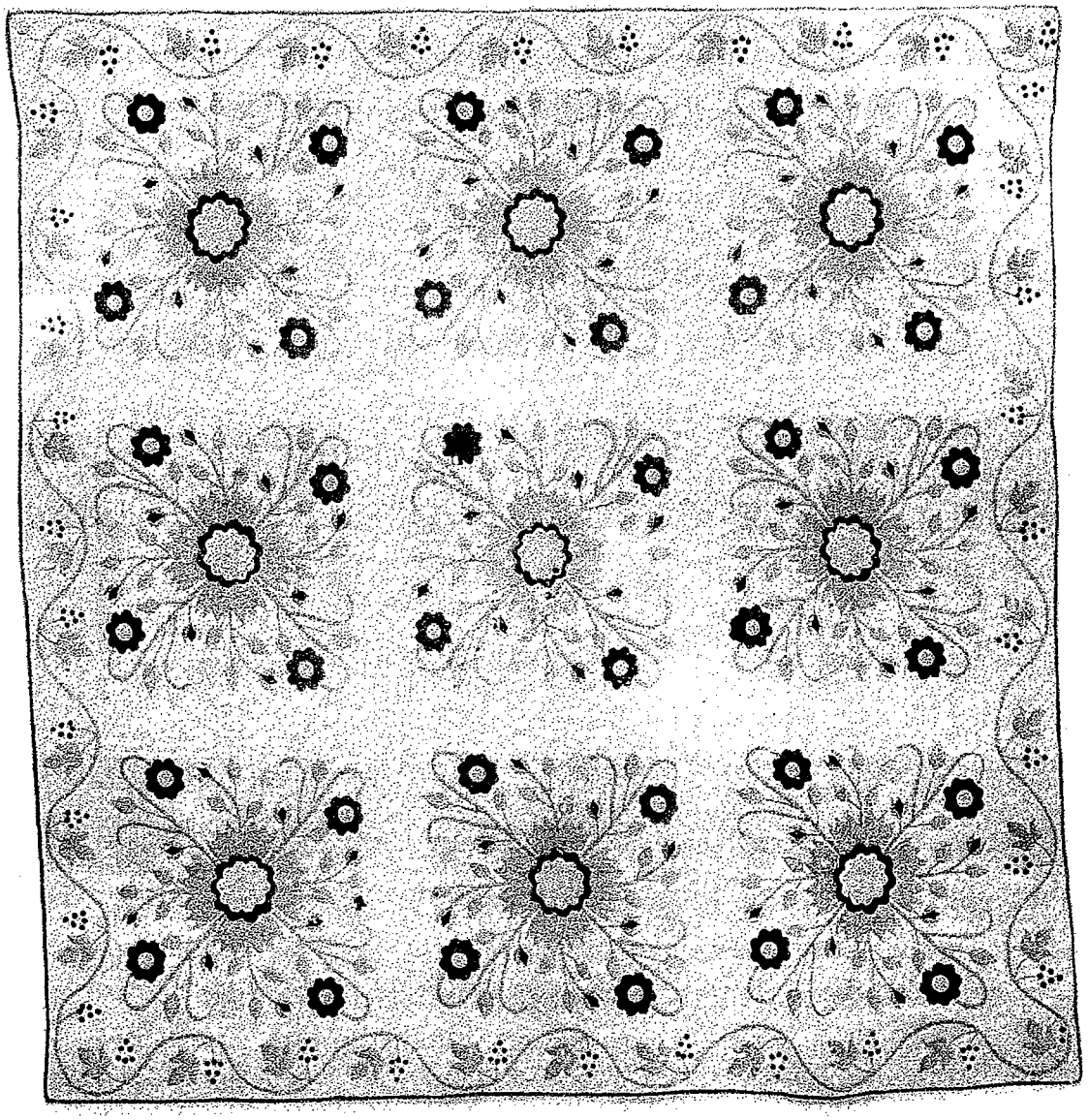


Figure 28. Oregon Rose quilt, 1851. Applique, 88-1/2 x 84 in. The Oregon Rose quilt is part of a collection owned by the Molalla Area Historical Society. Photo by Bill Bachhuber.

settled in the midwestern states which yielded high percentages of overland emigrants. As the decades that coincided with the heaviest activity on the Oregon Trail also spawned the greatest production of quilts created in classic floral patterns, so did the same time span give birth to the period of the weaving of the most complex and ornate coverlet designs. As a consequence, many of the coverlets that came west were richly decorated in the figurative style.

The woven format of the coverlet required both a moderately simplified rendition of given motifs and a bilaterally symmetrical arrangement of designs. Writing in 1912, the novelist Eliza Calvert Hall described the visual vocabulary evident in the weavings.

> Looking at the designs of these coverlets is like walking in strange gardens. Here flits the Bird of Paradise, here bloom thistles, roses, lilies, and clematis, and the wild cactus shows both flower and fruit; here are flower and leaf conventionalized beyond recognition, and in the coverlet's border you will find things as interesting and mysterious as the hieroglyphics of Egypt. History, politics, and masonry jostle each other; there are churches and dwellings...palm trees and pine trees, an American eagle and a ridiculous jackanapes...[100]

Figure 29 shows portions of three Jacquard coverlets that were made in Ohio between 1840 and 1856.[101] Figure 30 illustrates a coverlet that was begun in Indiana by fifteen-year-old Mary Bryant. She completed it after her family emigrated to Oregon in 1852. The Jacquard loom upon which

the textile was woven also made the trip.

Quilts and coverlets were desired trade items and many found their way into Indian hands. In September 1850, Dr. David Maynard reported trading with Indians in the Umatilla River Valley. He obtained a mare, a colt, and an Indian dress in exchange for "a brass kettle, two blankets, a shirt, etc."[102] Describing an exchange made in the same locale during the previous summer, William Watson had "traded for some potatoes, peas, and corn, which [the Indians] brought with them. The articles which they wished for most, were cows, blankets, shirts, and knives." Watson further noted that a $100.00 horse was worth four blankets and two shirts.[103] A September 1853 account of trading in the Grande Ronde Valley noted that, "[i]n Course of the day there was A great many Indians About the camp were Busy trading for Guns Clothing Blankets and Sutch Like Articles."[104] Figure 31 shows a man identified as the Palouse leader Kamiakin (d. 1878) wrapped in a Jacquard coverlet.

As occurred elsewhere in Native North America, quilting traditions were eventually incorporated into the Plateau expressive vocabulary. Some of the oldest known examples of Plateau Native quilt making came from the Umatilla reservation. Tamastslikt Cultural Institute now owns several objects (blankets and garments) created in the style of crazy quilts and fashioned from buckskin pieces and beads. The items date to the early twentieth century.[105]



Figure 31. Tish Kamiakin(?), c. 1864. From a tintype. Neg. No. 91-108; Historical Photograph Collection, Washington State University Libraries.

MISCELLANEOUS NEEDLEWORK

Most sources agree that after 1830 or 1840, American embroidery and other fancywork styles underwent a significant transformation. It would appear that Victorian era needle arts were influenced to some extent by changes in feminine social status and the beginnings of mass-marketing programs. Newly available women's magazines and a diversity of commercially produced instruction manuals and needlework patterns shaped the production of period handiwork.[106] The creation of multitudinous domestic accessories was promoted, and Berlin work, a wool on canvas embroidery, became immensely popular after mid century. "[L]arge, garishly colored flowers, especially overblown roses, and exotic birds" were among the favored Berlin work patterns.[107]

> Inherent in the view that *Godey's* and others set forth was the idea that the home was a kind of sanctuary, a place where all must be peaceful and beautiful, and that the homemaker's job was to make it that way. Decorating their homes with the myriad objects pictured in magazines like *Godey's* became the primary occupation of large numbers of women....Covering up ugly furniture, window frames, or mantels was a job that kept women constantly supplied with handiwork....No matter that the parlor was already more than filled with textiles in varied forms; contemporary taste dictated that more was better.[108]

While this description is undoubtedly valid, it most specifically describes those women who were living in eastern urban areas rather than those who were rural residents of the Midwestern and Western frontiers. Few of the domestic knickknacks in vogue in urban centers were

included among the spare equipment planned for overland travel and, after arriving in the West, little time or interest was reserved for them. Geographic distance and survival concerns kept many of the western women temporarily isolated the style trends popular in eastern cities.[109]

Of interest, therefore, are needlework items that can be identified with the Oregon Trail era. Figure 32 shows a sampler that was made in 1838 by Mary S. Garrison, whose family came to Oregon from Indiana in 1852. The sampler shown in Figure 33 was worked by Sally Fairfield prior to her 1850 overland journey from Ohio to Oregon.

Needlework of a slightly later period can be associated with the Aurora Colony of Oregon's Willamette Valley. These colonists were a communal religious sect that was predominantly comprised of persons of German descent. About 100 members of the group crossed the Plains in 1855, settling first along the Washington coast before moving on to western Oregon. The Oregon settlement was founded in 1857 and subsequent reinforcements arrived by wagon train in 1863, 1865, and 1867.

In addition to two Rose of Sharon design quilts, a variety of needlework survives from the colony's history.[110] In a review of feminine handiwork produced in the settlement between 1857 and 1877, Audrey Buhl found that surviving embroidery samplers contained a variety of birds, fruits, trees, and flowers. Roses, morning glories, cornflowers, and tulips were the figures that appeared most

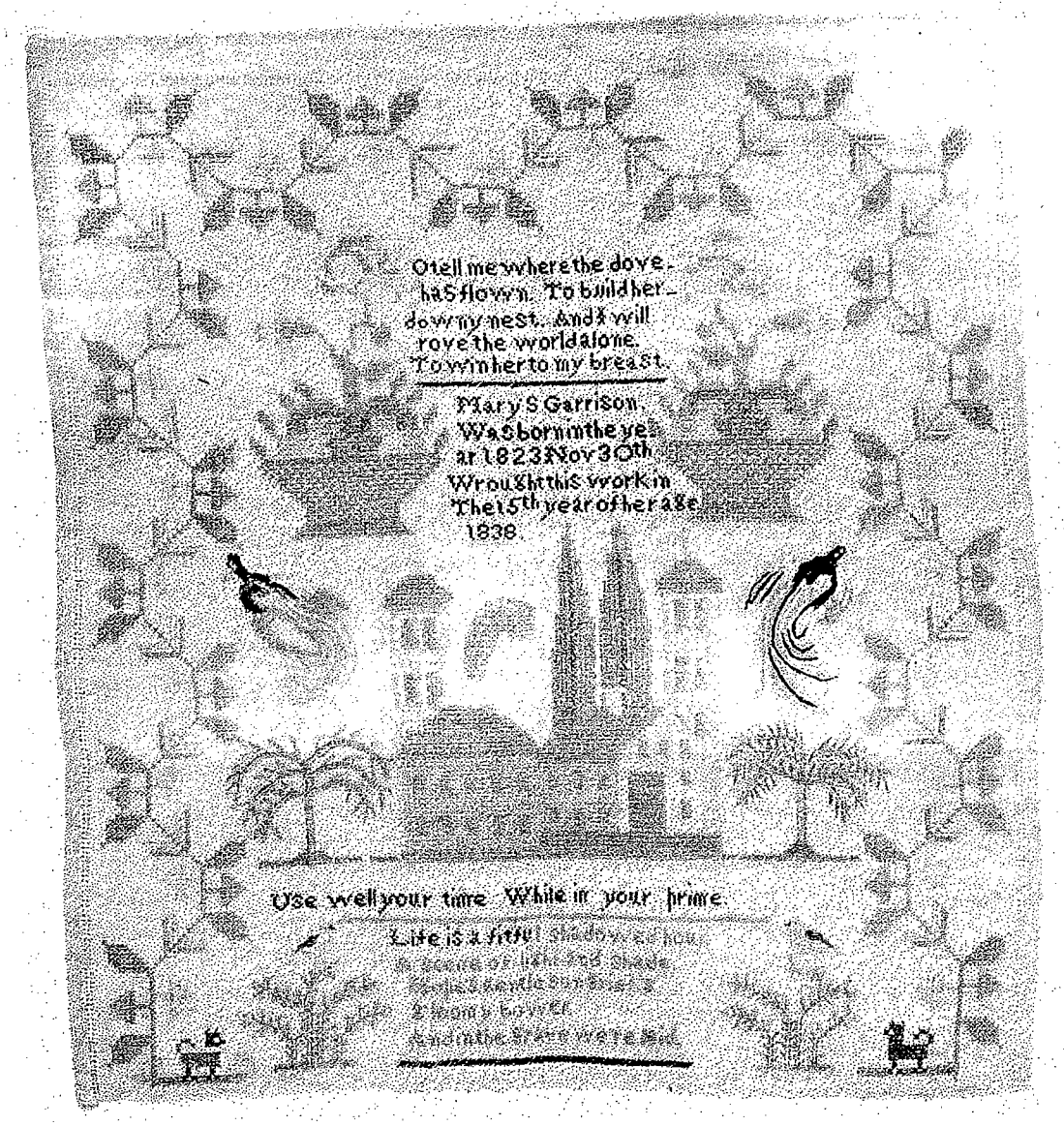


Figure 32. Needlework sampler, 1838. Silk thread on linen cloth, 18-3/8 x 16-1/2 in. Oregon Historical Society, Object No. 749.

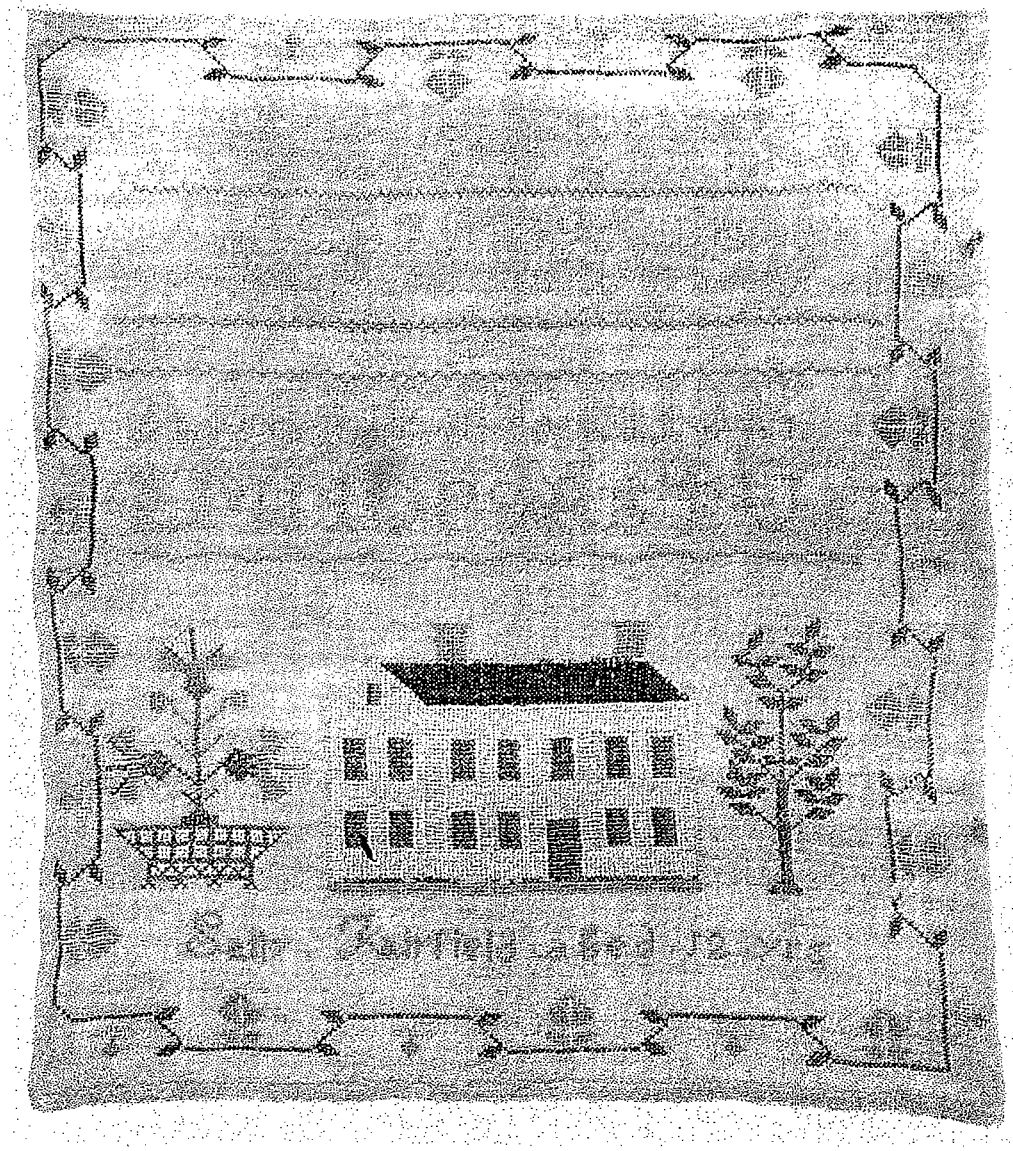


Figure 33. Needlework sampler, before 1850. Silk thread on linen cloth, 20-5/16 x 17-11/16 in. Oregon Historical Society, Object No. 1126.

frequently.[111] Floral embroidery also appeared on such items as aprons and pillow covers, and flowers were "frequently" apparent in surviving needlepoint.[112] In all, design elements were most frequently drawn from nature, with roses being the most commonly occurring figurative motif. Buhl concluded that while select imagery may have reflected affinities with Pennsylvania Dutch textiles, "the embroidery work of the Aurora Colony was...similar to that done in other parts of the United States."[113]

GLASS BEADS

A brief chronological review of the regional appearance of trade beads provides an additional context for assessing the development of Plateau floral design. Of concern here is the approximate date that significant numbers of seed beads became part of the local trading network. This date may appropriately be seen as preceding the development of Plateau floral design since seed beads were technically necessary for the style to evolve. As was evident with the discussion of calico trade cloth, Plateau bead research is in its infancy.

The majority of glass beads that were available in the Plateau before about 1845 were obtained from Hudson's Bay Company posts. The Company acquired much of its bead stock from a variety of British suppliers and from Chinese concerns. Few if any beads were made in Britain and it is thought that the supply houses in that country obtained

their wares from manufacturers in France, Italy, and Bohemia.[114] Most of the European beads sold by the HBC were produced using the drawn glass or tubing technique.[115] Over 100,000 beads were found at Vancouver; the types and quantities of retrieved material suggest that the HBC maintained a large inventory of select varieties of beads at the Fort.[116]

Over 90 percent of the beads recovered from archaeological activity at Vancouver came from one of three locales: the sites of two buildings that had been the successive homes of Indian Trade Store (c. 1829-1853) and the location of the structure that had housed the 1829-1860 Euroamerican Sale Shop. Hot tumbled beads represented the vast majority of recovered material; these beads generally had diameters ranging from 1.0-5.0 mm. Within these extremes, the most prevalent sizes measured 1.5, 1.9. 2.5, and 3.0 mm across. Beads in these four sizes are considered seed beads although the larger two sizes represent what are now often referred to as "pony beads."[117] According to Ross,

> [t]he most common bead classes were plain single-layer and plain double-layer hot tumbled beads in blue (60%) and white (25%) colors. These colors categorically reflected the color preferences within the Pacific Northwest, and other colors of secondary importance consisted of green, purple, red, and black....White and blue beads retained their popularity throughout the entire 30-year period at Fort Vancouver, whereas green and red beads declined in popularity during the latter 15 years.[118]

As regards larger bead types, it appears that an increasing volume of "necklace" style beads were available at the Fort after 1845. This trend may represent the buying preferences of growing numbers of Euroamerican settlers.[119] Wound blue beads with diameters ranging from 3.1-6.3 mm to 8.5-10.4 mm are thought to represent some of the "Canton" beads of Chinese manufacture. According to archaeological data from diverse sites, "this bead variety was the most common in Pacific Northwest sites of the early nineteenth century."[120] Single faceted, single-layer cane beads (often called "Russian beads") were also among the beads found at the Fort. Ross noted, "[I]n the northwestern region of the continental United States, this bead class was primarily associated with post-1820 fur trade and Native sites..."[121]

The excavation of Fort Okanogan (1811-c. 1835) offered analogous findings relative to the popularity of small blue and white beads. Over 80 percent of the drawn seed beads recovered there were blue. Another 12 percent were white, with red and green being the other colors of note. Of the pony beads (over 5.0 mm), 80 percent were again blue, 10 percent were red, and five percent were white.[122]

Fort Okanogan was one of several sites considered by Guy Moura in his "Washington Trade Bead Chronology." In this initial study, the author reviewed material from four different sites that had been continuously occupied between "short, precise dates." No seed beads were uncovered at

Spokane House (1812-1826) and those retrieved from Fort Nisqually (1833-1843) were reportedly "very small" (1.7-2.3 mm diameter) seed beads.[123] Moura subsequently determined:

> Seed beads were not present prior to 1826. Until 1835, they made up less than 10% of an assemblage, after that date the percentage rises rapidly until Seed beads dominate collections. Prior to 1845, Seed beads are usually blue or white. After 1845, blue and white are still most common, but 10% or more may be pink, yellow, black, red, green, or colorless.[124]

He further suggested that the very small seed beads were introduced after 1828 and that some of the larger bead varieties, including "Russian" blue beads, did not arrive locally until about 1845. A noticeable shift in bead types that occurs after that latter date may be linked to the changing commercial climate precipitated by the establishment of the international boundary at the 49th Parallel, the diminished economic influence of the HBC, and an increasing American trade presence.[125]

Many Plateau people had begun interacting with American traders in the Rocky Mountain region during the 1830s. Bead chronologies for the interior reveal parallels with what occurred on the Plateau although various people groups appear to have maintained preferences for specific types of beads. The summary description of beads retrieved from Fort Union stated:

> Pound beads were introduced at the turn of the nineteenth century and dominated the trade from circa 1800 to 1840. Between 1840 and 1850, a

> bead of various smaller sizes began to appear in large numbers (although they had always been present at earlier dates as well), eventually replacing the pound beads in popularity. These smaller "seed" beads varied from 1/16 in (1.59 mm) to 3/32 in (2.38 mm) in diameter.[126]

In 1835, the official yearly estimate of the Superintendency for Indians at St. Louis had reported that 4500 pounds of blue and white pound beads and only 25 pounds of seed beads had been traded during the year.[127] In the years immediately following this, however, seed beads appear to have grown in popularity.[128] The initial Fort Union invoice detailing the presence of seed beads dated to 1840, and, although their quantities grew during the ensuing decade, seed beads continued to comprise only a minor portion of the Fort's bead total.[129] Demand for small beads appears to have begun among the southern Cheyennes during the 1830s, among the western Sioux during the following decade, among the Blackfoot only around 1875, and among the Subarctic Athapaskans around 1890.[130] Conn saw the 1870s as being the transitional decade in the interior Northwest, although he determined that pony beads remained a desired ornament for southern Plateau women's dresses and horse trappings.[131]

CONCLUSION

The decorative arts of the Plateau's nineteenth-century Euroamerican community contained numerous and diverse objects bearing floral designs. Printed cotton trade cloth

and transfer-printed ceramics were present in the region from the early days of the fur trade. The availability of these items increased as the overland emigrants began to appear. The new settlers also brought a diverse supply of objects decorated with new types of floral patterns and worked in new mediums. Some of this material was traded to the Indian population; other portions of it were visible but not exchanged. As settlement increased, additional quantities and types of commercial manufactures and handiwork appeared in the Plateau. Given the context of their widespread popularity in the East and Europe, floral motifs were ubiquitous.

In formal terms, the motifs that appeared on commercial productions were compositionally symmetrical and asymmetrical and both realistic and abstract in execution. Floral species were represented as genuine specimens and generic types. Flowers appeared as solitary blossoms, in tandem with blooms of like kind, and assembled into bouquets with diverse varieties. Floral combinations appeared as central and dominant figures in given groupings, in decorative borders, and with vines, tendrils, and all types of foliate arrangements.

As noted, floral motifs on period quilts were "simplified, flat, and two-dimensional." In most cases, quilt designs were bilaterally symmetrical; many had a running border combining vine and blooms. Blossom colors were often arranged in concentric circles. All stages of

development from bud to bloom could occur on the same vine. Multiple species could also spring from the same stem. Jacquard coverlets likewise displayed a symmetrical arrangement of motifs. Here, too, the imagery was simplified and flat in its appearance. The other needlework belonging to the emigrant population appears to have primarily been represented by central motifs and decorative borders applied to garments and utilitarian linens. Compositional layouts were again both symmetrically and asymmetrically arranged. Motifs were rendered in outline, as flat objects, or naturalistically. On occasion, all classes of handmade textiles additionally contained simple figurative elements.

During the late 1840s, the fur trade era in the Plateau began to decline and the period of white settlement began its ascendancy. This same decade also ushered in a new period for trade beads. The available evidence suggests that 1845 is an approximate date for the local increase in the presence of seed beads. With the growing American presence, many new commercial enterprises commenced in the region, governmental annuities began, and new settlements appeared. Access to trade goods (including needles and thread) increased, as did the need for cross-cultural interaction of a previously unknown scale. Although blue and white remained the most popular seed bead colors until 1860 or afterward, additional colors did begin to appear from new and sundry sources. This increased availability of

diverse colors and visual stimuli slowly provided impetus for the development of new artistic traditions.

Notes

1. Françoise Teynac, Pierre Nolot, and Jean-Denis Vivien, *Wallpaper: A History* (New York: Rizzoli, 1981) 141.

2. Jesse E. Douglas, "Origins of the Population of Oregon in 1850," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 41.2 (1950): 105-108.

3. Douglas 108.

4. *Historical Atlas Map* 100.

5. L. Ross, *Fort Vancouver, 1826-1860* 2: 570.

6. See L. Ross, *Fort Vancouver, 1826-1860* 2: 570-583 for an inventory of suppliers and fabric types.

7. L. Ross, *Fort Vancouver, 1826-1860* 2: 576-577. The fractions represent percentages of ell width (36 inches), thus 3/4 equals 27 inches and 7/8 is equivalent to 31-1/2 inches.

8. Hussey, *Historic Structure Report* 2: 92, 95. A piece was generally 20 to 30 yards. "7-1/2 pieces printed cotton" thus equaled at least 150 yards of the fabric.

9. For discussion of 1830s use of checked, striped, and plaid cottons among the peoples of the Southeast, see Rita J. Adrosko, "A 'Little Book of Samples': Evidence of Textiles Traded to the American Indians," *Textiles in Trade*, Proceedings of the Textile Society of America Biennial Symposium, 1990 (Los Angeles: Textile Society of America, 1990) 65-74.

10. Charles E. Hanson, Jr., "Printed Calicos for Indians," *The Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly* 24.3 (Fall 1988): 3.

11. C. Hanson 3.

12. C. Hanson 3, 5.

13. Florence M. Montgomery, *Printed Textiles: English and American Cottons and Linens, 1700-1850* (New York: Viking Press, 1970) 83.

14. Florence H. Pettit, *America's Printed and Painted Fabrics, 1600-1900* (New York: Hastings House, 1970) 182-183, 185, 192-193; Montgomery 85-103.

15. Pettit 207-209, 212.

16. Jeanette Turner Bowker, "American Cylinder Printed Calicoes: A Search for and an Evaluation of Calicoes Printed Before 1850," thesis, University of Rhode Island, 1974, 59-70.

See Montgomery 295-331 for a variety of more complex printed patterns of the 1825-1850 time period.

17. Rebecca Peck, personal communication, 20 October 1998.

For examples of contemporary American printed textiles, see Jeremy Adamson, *Calico and Chintz: Antique Quilts from the Collection of Patricia S. Smith* (Washington DC: Renwick Gallery, 1997). Reproductions of a variety of relevant nineteenth-century American printed cottons are currently being produced by RJR Fashion Fabrics of Gardena, California.

18. Pettit 212.

Indeed, one of the dictionary descriptions of calico is "any of various cheap cotton fabrics with figured patterns." *Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary* (Springfield, MA: G. & C. Merriam, 1974) 157.

19. Diane L. Fagan Affleck, *Just New From the Mills: Printed Cottons in America* (North Andover, MA: Museum of American Textile History, 1987) 62-65.

20. Pettit 212.

21. Susan Meller and Joost Elffers, *Textile Designs* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1991) 121.

A variety of examples of the design type appear on this page.

22. K. Keith Richard, "Of 'Gingham,' 'Barn Doors,' and 'Exquisites': George H. Himes on Pioneer Fashion," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 90.4 (1989): 388.

See also Elizabeth Gedney, "Cross Section of Pioneer Life at Fourth Plain," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 43.1 (1942): 14; J.H. Horner, "Early Wallowa Valley Settlers and How They Lived," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 43.3 (1942): 225; and Maria Barbara McMartin, "Dress of the Oregon Trail Emigrants, 1843 to 1855," thesis, Iowa State University, 1976.

23. The Indian interest in calico was also something that had been noted by the U.S. Government. A gift of goods made to Kamiakin by the 1853 Pacific Railroad Survey included "24 yds. (3 dresses) calico." Overmeyer 30 (note 105).

24. Judith Sanders Chapman, *French Prairie Ceramics: The Harriet D. Munnick Archaeological Collection, circa 1820-1860*, Anthropology Northwest 8 (Corvallis, OR: Oregon State University Department of Anthropology, 1993) 43.

25. L. Ross, *Fort Vancouver, 1826-1860* 2: 235; Lynne Sussman, *Spode/Copeland Transfer-Printed Patterns Found at 20 Hudson's Bay Company Sites*, Canadian Historic Sites: Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History 22 (Hull, Quebec: Canadian Government Publishing Centre, 1979) 9; L. Ross 235.

Between 1833 and 1847, the company was known as "Copeland & Garrett." It was known as "W.T. Copeland" from 1847 to 1867 and "W.T. Copeland and Sons" thereafter.

Some Chinese ceramics were also imported, purchased in Hawaii from American middlemen. L. Ross, *Fort Vancouver, 1826-1860* 2: 237-241.

26. Sussman 9-19.

27. Margaret Arnett MacLeod, ed., *The Letters of Letitia Hargrave* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1947) lvi.

"One of the rewards for achieving advancement to the position of chief trader was to have the most nicely furnished quarters in the establishment [Fort Nez Perces] and the use of beautiful chinaware, glassware, and more elaborate furnishings." Garth, "Walla Walla" *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 43.1 (1952): 47.

28. Farnham 99.

29. Gay 152-153.

30. Drury, *First White Women* 1: 106.

31. Quoted in Hussey, "'Unpretending'" 16.

32. Hussey, *Historic Structure Report* 1: 179.

33. Hussey, *Historic Structure Report* 1: 181-182.

34. David H. Chance and Jennifer V. Chance, *Kanaka Village/Vancouver Barracks, 1974*, Reports in Highway Archaeology 3 (Seattle: Office of Public Archaeology, Institute of Environmental Studies, University of Washington, 1976) 61.

35. "Chatsworth" and "Queen Mary" were among the most common pattern types. Chance and Chance, *Kanaka Village* 70-75 contains a full inventory of relevant pattern names.

36. Chance and Chance, *Kanaka Village* 64, 65, 68.

37. C. Wilkes, *Narrative* 328.

38. Hussey, *Historic Structure Report* 1: 218-222.

39. Hussey, *Historic Structure Report* 1: 262-265.
For a summary of data on the ceramics excavated at Vancouver, including objects for domestic use, diverse manufacturers, and various ceramic types and decorative patterns, see L. Ross, *Fort Vancouver, 1826-1860* 2: 187-539.

40. Hussey, *Historic Structure Report* 2: 92-93.

41. Hussey, *Historic Structure Report* 2: 94-95.

42. Garth, "Fort Walla Walla" 47-48.
Of the designs pictured, "British Flowers" was produced after 1829; "Blue Rose" between about 1825 and 1833; "Macaw" between about 1838 and 1872; and "Camillia" after 1833. Sussman 57, 61, 83, 146.

43. Frederick Garland Grabert, "Archaeological Excavations at Fort Okanogan, Washington: A Contribution to the Ethno-history of the Sinkiaetk," thesis, University of Washington, 1965, 156-160.

44. Drury, *First White Women* 2: 119.
The Gray, Walker, Eells, and Smith families had purchased six earthenware and 12 pewter plates prior to leaving Independence, Missouri in 1838. Drury, *First White Women* 3: 247.
John Lee Lewes, Chief Factor at Fort Colvile in 1846, gave the Walkers a gift of four cups and saucers in September of that year. Drury, *First White Women* 2:301.

45. David H. Chance and Jennifer V. Chance, *Exploratory Excavations at Spalding Mission, 1973* (Moscow, ID: Laboratory of Anthropology, 1974) 91-94.
Spalding's 1849 inventory of the property lost when he abandoned the Clearwater Mission contains no mention of ceramic dinnerware.

46. Thomas R. Garth, "The Archaeological Excavation of Waiilatpu Mission," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 49.2 (June 1948): 135.

47. Thomas R. Garth, "A Report on the Second Season's Archaeological Excavations at Waiilatpu," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 40.4 (October 1949): 306; L. Ross, *Fort Vancouver, 1826-1860* 2: 258.

48. Judith A. Sanders, Mary K. Weber, and David R. Brauner, *Willamette Mission Archaeological Project*, Anthropology Northwest 1 (Corvallis, OR: Oregon State

University Department of Anthropology, 1983) 102-103.

49. Sanders, Weber, et al 119-121.

50. Sanders, Weber, et al 123.
Methodist missionaries and mission supplies arrived by ship intermittently after 1837. After about 1838 and 1841, the Mission operated a store that sold goods to a variety of local people. Most of the sale items were originally secured from East Coast markets. Sanders, Weber, et al 24-31.

51. J. Chapman 20.
Hand-painted earthenware with floral motifs and Chinese porcelain were both excavated at the mission site. Sanders, Weber, et al 132-137.
See J. Chapman 90-94 for discussion of Chinese porcelain from French Prairie sites.

52. Poet 57-58, 110-111.

53. Poet 59.
See Poet 60-65 for an inventory of patterns.

54. J. Chapman 30-31; Poet 107-109.

55. J. Chapman 50-51; see also Speulda 55, 74.
The Hudson's Bay Company ceased the importation of Spode ceramics after 1853 due to the imposition of American tariffs.

56. J. Chapman 51.

57. See J. Chapman 22-39 for a history of early commercial ventures in the northern Willamette Valley.

58. Palmer 127.

59. Overton Johnson and William H. Winter, *Route Across the Rocky Mountains, with a Description of Oregon and California* (Lafayette, IN: John B. Semans, 1846) 144.

60. Keturah Belknap, "The Commentaries of Keturah Belknap," K. Holmes, *Covered Wagon Women* 1: 217.
In 1845, Joel Palmer (p. 49) reported that the Indians in the Grande Ronde Valley greeted the emigrants with "wheat, corn, potatoes, peas, pumpkins, fish &c. which they were anxious to dispose of for cloths, calico, nankins, and other articles of wearing apparel." Two contemporary types of items were named after the Chinese city of Nanking. Blue on white Chinese porcelain was often referred to as "Nankin." A rough and uncolored cotton cloth and items (particularly trousers) made from this fabric were called

"nankeens." The written context suggests that the latter class of articles is referred to here. As noted above, Palmer had used the term "queensware" to describe earthenwares.

When John McLoughlin reported to the Governor and Committee that three survivors from the 1834 wreck of a Japanese junk had been redeemed from the Indians near Cape Flattery, he noted that the boat's cargo had been comprised of "[r]ice nankeens and porcelain ware." McLoughlin, *First Series* 129.

61. A. Henry 747-748.

62. Collection notes, typescript; Harry Lee Bailey collection, Allen County Historical Society, Lima, Ohio, 7.

63. Harry Lee Bailey, quoted in McWhorter, *Hear Me* 322.

64. Rosemary Price Bullough, "Wallpaper in Portland, Oregon, 1850-1900: A Resource for Historical Restoration," thesis, Oregon State University, 1982, 85.

Although they will not be discussed here, wallpaper was also used to create window shades. Catherine Lynn, *Wallpaper in America, From the Seventeenth Century to World War I* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1980) 333, 365-366.

65. Bullough 70.

66. Portland *Oregonian*, 17 January 1857, quoted in Bullough 84.

67. Portland *Oregonian* for 23 December 1862 and 20 February 1865, quoted in Bullough 84.

68. Bullough 63-64.

69. Catherine Lynn Frangiamore, *Wallpapers in Historical Preservation* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1977) 21; Richard C. Nylander, *Wallpapers for Historic Buildings: A Guide to Selecting Reproduction Wallpapers* (Washington, DC: Preservation Press, 1992) 100.

70. Lynn 338.

For representative images of mid-century examples of the layouts described here, see Lynn 322-324, 331-332; Nylander 102-141; Richard C. Nylander, Elizabeth Redmond, and Penny J. Sander, *Wallpaper in New England* (Boston: Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, 1986) 150-207. For French-manufactured arabesques with floral motifs, see Véronique de Bruignac, "Arabesques and Allegories: French Decorative Panels," *The Papered Wall: History, Pattern, Technique*, ed. Lesley Hoskins (New York:

Harry N. Abrams, 1994) 80-86. English wallpapers from 1837-1852 are reproduced in Victoria and Albert Museum, *Colour Book of Ornate Wallpapers* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1986) plates 1-36. See also "The Flower as a Recurrent Motif in Wallpaper," in Teynac, Nolot et al 205-212.

"In these [French] designs, 18th-century freshness has given way to a somewhat heavier, agreeable sensuous hothouse atmosphere: the multiplicity of blooms, the richness of the colours, and the fact that not a single leaf or petal is in less than perfect condition combine to create a slightly artificial atmosphere, like the immaculately tended world of a conservatory, with the same hint of airlessness. In a word, these flowers are too beautiful to be true." Bernard Jacqué, "Luxury Perfected: The Ascendancy of French Wallpaper, 1770-1870," *The Papered Wall: History, Pattern, Technique*, ed. Lesley Hoskins (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1994), 64.

71. "As early as 1839 the Art Union had warned, in relation to the competition from French manufacturers, that through 'the non-employment of artistic skill on our part we find ourselves considerably in the background....' Florid naturalism and pictorial designs were especially deplored by those intent on improving design standards." Victoria and Albert Museum 8.

For an extended discussion, see Lynn 367-396.

72. Joanna Banham, "The English Response: Mechanization and Design Reform," *The Papered Wall: History, Pattern, Technique*, ed. Lesley Hoskins (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1994) 141-145.

73. Lynn 316, 383-384.

For comments related to trends in American wallpaper decoration between 1850-1870, see Gail Caskey Winkler and Roger W. Moss, *Victorian Interior Decoration: American Interiors, 1830-1900* (New York: Henry Holt, 1986) 70-75. For discussion of post-Victorian wallpaper preferences, see Jan Jennings, "Controlling Passion: The Turn-of-the-Century Wallpaper Dilemma," *Winterthur Portfolio* 31.4 (Winter 1996): 243-264.

74. Teynac, Nolot, et al 146.

For examples of designs by Morris, see Teynac, Nolot, et al 144-150, Lynn 345-347 and 371-372, and Charles C. Oman and Jean Hamilton, *Wallpapers: An International History and Illustrated Survey from the Victoria and Albert Museum* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1982) 369-388.

75. Bullough 56.

Some vintage wallpapers remaining in Salem, Oregon's Bush House (built 1877-1878) are printed in asymmetrical designs with flowers and Japanese-inspired elements. The

papers were made by a New York company that ceased operation in 1882. Lynn 392, 396-399.

76. Washington *Statesman*, 13 December 1861, 3.

77. Washington *Statesman*, 20 December 1861, 4.

78. Washington *Statesman*, 27 June 1863, 4.

79. Walla Walla *Statesman*, 17 March 1865, 4.

80. Walla Walla *Statesman*, 16 October 1869, 1. The ad was dated 9 April 1869.

81. Walla Walla *Statesman*, 16 October 1869, 2.

82. L. Ross, *Fort Vancouver, 1829-1860* 2: 636-637; Garth, "Fort Walla Walla" 47.

John McLoughlin reportedly displayed a copy of the "Catholic Ladder" in his Vancouver quarters after about 1841 (Drury, *First White Women* 1: 221). Other religious imagery may also have served as regional wall decor and the popularity of holy cards has been noted in the above discussion of the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur.

83. C. Wilson, *Mapping the Frontier* 135.

84. For a discussion of quilts within the context of the emigrant experience, see Mary Bywater Cross, *Treasures in the Trunk: Quilts of the Oregon Trail* (Nashville: Rutledge Press, 1993). The text includes images of a variety of quilts produced by and for women who made the overland journey and dated c. 1825 to 1900. For a further review of regional pioneer quilting traditions, see Betty Thiessen Meloy, "Quilts and Quilt Making in the Willamette Valley of Oregon," thesis, Oregon State University, 1973.

Further contextual discussion of nineteenth-century quilting traditions in the states that produced significant numbers of Oregon Trail emigrants, see Ricky Clark, George Knepper, and Ellice Ronsheim, *Quilts in Community: Ohio's Traditions* (Nashville: Rutledge Hill Press, 1991); Indiana Quilt Registry Project, Inc., *Quilts of Indiana: Crossroads of Memories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991); E. Duane Elbert and Rachel Kamm Elbert, *History From the Heart: Quilt Paths Across Illinois* (Nashville: Rutledge Hill Press, 1993); Betina Havig, *Missouri Heritage Quilts* (Paducah, KY: American Quilters' Society, 1985); Kentucky Quilt Project, *Kentucky Quilts, 1800-1900* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982).

85. Drury, *First White Women* 2: 119.

The American Board missionaries were in possession of a variety of quilts. In addition to those they may have taken

with them on their transcontinental journeys, others were included in missionary barrels sent during subsequent years. Eliza Spalding received at least one from a missionary sewing circle in Holland Patent, New York. A letter dated 28 August 1844 that was included in a barrel sent from that place stated: "Your Mother then gave me the calico out side covering for your quilt which she said was pieced partly by yourself when quite a child, & finished by your Sister, for you...I added the cotton, and the Ladies quilted it in the lecture room." "Letters to Mrs. H.H. Spalding, 1844-1847" *1997 Northwest and Whitman College Archives Newsletter 20* (1997): 43.

Spalding supporters from the Kinsman, Ohio, Presbyterian Church also included quilts in a missionary barrel sent in August of 1847, although this shipment arrived in Oregon only after the closing of the Clearwater Mission. Steven L. Grafe, "'Our Private Affairs in Way of Barter': Correspondence Between Dudley Allen and Henry Harmon Spalding, 1838-1848," *Idaho Yesterdays* 40.3 (Fall 1996): 8.

Although no available data has supported the idea that the members of the Oregon Mission taught quilt-making, their colleagues in the Hawaiian Islands had begun holding quilting bees as early as 1820. Patsy Orlofsky and Myron Orlofsky, *Quilts in America* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1974) 72-73.

86. Randolph B. Marcy, *The Prairie Traveler: A Hand-Book for Overland Expeditions* (London: Trübner and Co., 1863) 19.

87. Joseph E. Ware, *The Emigrant's Guide to California* (St. Louis, MO: J. Halsall, 1849) 14.

88. Ware 13.

89. Orlofsky and Orlofsky 60.

90. Ricky Clark, *Quilted Gardens: Floral Quilts of the Nineteenth Century* (Nashville: Rutledge Hill Press, 1994) 4.

According to this text (p. 3), "classic" floral quilts are generally appliqued and have a predominantly red and green color scheme on a white ground. They contain repeated blocks surrounded by a related border, utilize conventionalized botanical motifs, and have a red or green binding.

Another quilt type made popular and even necessary by the mass migrations of the mid-nineteenth century was the friendship quilt. See Pat Ferrero, Elaine Hedges, and Julie Silber, *Hearts and Hands: The Influence of Women & Quilts on American Society* (San Francisco: Quilt Digest Press, 1987) 50-54 and Ricky Clark, "Mid-19th-Century Album and Friendship Quilts, 1860-1920," *Pieced by Mother: Symposium*

Papers, ed. Jeanette Lasansky (Lewisburg, PA: Oral Traditions Project, Union County Historical Society, 1988) 77-85.

91. Ricky Clark, *Quilted Gardens* 21.

92. Ricky Clark, *Quilted Gardens* 77.
Of 92 documented classic floral appliqued quilts inventoried during the course of the Kansas Quilt Project, only six had their origins in Kansas. The others came from eastern areas, most notably from Ohio (31), Indiana (14), and Illinois (10). Ricky Clark, *Quilted Gardens* 93.

93. M. Cross, *Treasures* 10.

94. M. Cross, *Treasures* 62.

95. M. Cross, *Treasures* 64.

96. For brief discussion of the Jacquard attachment that revolutionized this industry, see Mildred Davison and Christa C. Mayer-Thurman, *Coverlets* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1973) 70-72 and Judith Reiter Weissman and Wendy Lavitt, *Labors of Love: America's Textiles and Needlework, 1650-1930* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987) 87-89.

97. Davison and Mayer-Thurman 72.
For figurative coverlets produced in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and Missouri between 1837 and 1872, see Davison and Mayer-Thurman 150-225.

98. Weissman and Lavitt 82-84; Eliza Calvert Hall, *The Book of Handwoven Coverlets* (1912; New York: Dover, 1988) 39.

99. Davison and Mayer-Thurman 72-73; Weissman and Lavitt 82.

100. Hall 47.

101. The outer coverlet is Ohio Historical Society H7027. Woven by John Jacob Heibronn (1809-1842) for Rhoda Kelly (1815-1900), it bears the inscription, "Rhoda Kelly Fancy Coverlets Wove by J.J. Heibronn Basil Ohio 1840."
The middle coverlet is Ohio Historical Society H7011. It was possibly woven by Adam Wolf (born c. 1816) and contains an inscription stating, "Woven. By. H. Wolf. Ohio. A.D. 1856 For Mary Pask."
The front coverlet is Ohio Historical Society H7001. It is the work of Jacob and Michael Ardner (born c. 1817 and c. 1821). The inscription reads "W. In. Mt Vernon. Knox County. Ohio. By Jacob. And. Michael. Ardner. 1855." Collection Information for Catalogue Numbers H7027, H7011,

and H7001, Ohio Historical Society, Columbus, Ohio.

102. Prosch 60.
In contemporary nomenclature, the word "blanket" generally referred to a quilt (whole-cloth, pieced, or otherwise). Mary Bywater Cross, e-mail correspondence of 10 October 1998.

103. Watson 40.
Quilts and coverlets were also used in trade between whites. See M. Cross, *Treasures* 98-99.

104. George N. Taylor, diary entry for 10 September 1853, Mss 1508, typescript, Oregon Historical Society Archives, 24.

105. The objects in question came from tribal member Vivian Minthorn and were created by her mother-in-law or an earlier family matriarch. A quilt that by appearances was made by this same woman was purchased by Hermiston, Oregon, collector Doris Bounds and is now catalogued as The High Desert Museum 9.3.12. It has been published on three occasions with a Sioux misattribution. See Ferrero, Hedges, et al 66; Marsha L. MacDowell and C. Kurt Dewhurst, *To Honor and Comfort: Native Quilting Traditions* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1997) 6; Vivian M. Adams, "In a Spiritual Way: A Portrait of Plateau Spirituality in Traditional Art," *Native Arts of the Columbia Plateau: The Doris Swayze Bounds Collection*, ed. Susan E. Harless (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998) 33.
MacDowell and Dewhurst contains an important summary of Native quilting traditions, including mention of activity on the Warm Springs reservation (pp. 54, 184-185, 187).

106. See Weissman and Lavitt 133-141; Georgiana Brown Harbeson, *American Needlework: The History of Decorative Stitchery and Embroidery from the Late 16th to the 20th Century* (New York: Coward-McCann, 1938) 113-124; Margaret Vincent, *The Ladies' Work Table: Domestic Needlework in Nineteenth Century America* (Allentown, PA: Allentown Art Museum, 1988) 23-35.

107. Weissman and Lavitt 140; see also the summary in Harbeson 120-121.

108. Weissman and Lavitt 135-136.
"But no matter how much ornamental handwork was turned out by earnest ladies, these knickknacks were but the froth on the main wave of Victorian decorative preoccupation--a feverish devotion to a form of handworked textile known as 'Berlin-work.' By the time the wave ran its course,it had almost succeeded in covering nearly everything in its path with a woolly layer of this textile of tedious make....

"After the wool-work mania subsided in the large cities (at least in the 'better classes'), it became epidemic in the rural districts, where supplies were difficult to obtain...." Frances Lichten, *Decorative Arts of Victoria's Era* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1950) 10-11.

109. "While they were familiar with the ideology of domesticity, rural women certainly did not view their role as lying there in the creation of private retreats. Instead they viewed themselves as partners in the farm enterprise. It appears that rural women were struggling with this new ideology emanating from the east and the urban middle class and were not exactly sure how it applied to their own lives." Christopher Carlson, "The Rural Family in the Nineteenth Century: A Case Study in Oregon's Willamette Valley," quoted in M. Cross, *Treasures* 130.

110. See M. Cross, *Treasures* 72-73 for another quilt associated with Aurora Colony.

111. Audrey Ann Buhl, "Clothing and Household Textiles of Aurora Colony, Oregon, 1857 to 1877," thesis, Oregon State University, 1971, 101-106.

112. Buhl 106-115.

113. Buhl 126-127.

114. L. Ross, *Fort Vancouver, 1829-1860* 2: 668-669 and Lester A. Ross, "Trade Beads from Hudson's Bay Company Fort Vancouver (1829-1860)," *Beads: Journal of the Society of Bead Researchers* 2 (1990): 31-32.

115. The tubing process is described in L. Ross, *Fort Vancouver, 1829-1860* 2: 679-684.

116. L. Ross, *Fort Vancouver, 1829-1860* 2: 673-674, 684, and L. Ross, "Trade Beads" 34-35.

117. "Pony beads" are 3.5 mm or larger in diameter. "Seed beads" generally have a maximum diameter of slightly more than 2.0 mm. The term "pony bead" has no historic antecedent and appears to be the invention of mid-twentieth century Indian hobbyists. "Pound bead" and "real bead" seem to be the terms that were used historically. Charles E. Hanson, Jr., "Pound Beads, Pony Beads," *The Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly* 25.4 (Winter 1989): 1-3.

Dick Conn previously described beads with a diameter falling between 1.0-5.0 mm as "tube beads." Those with a diameter greater than 3.0 mm were defined as pony beads and those with a 2.0 mm or less diameter were called seed beads. Richard Conn, "The Pony Bead Period: A Cultural Problem of Western North America," *Society for Historical Archaeology*

Newsletter 5.4 (1972): 7.

118. L. Ross, *Fort Vancouver, 1829-1860* 2: 677.
"[O]n the basis of the archaeological record...both white and blue, plain, single or double-layer, hot tumbled glass tube beads were the most desired beads for trade in the Pacific Northwest during the mid-nineteenth century. Historically, through examinations of surviving building inventories from the mid-1840's...white, blue, green and purple beads were listed in the highest frequencies." L. Ross, *Fort Vancouver, 1829-1860* 2: 677-678.

119. L. Ross, *Fort Vancouver, 1829-1860* 2: 678.

120. L. Ross, *Fort Vancouver, 1829-1860* 2: 746-747; L. Ross, "Trade Beads" 48.

121. L. Ross, *Fort Vancouver, 1829-1860* 2: 691; L. Ross, "Trade Beads" 37-38.
Although associated with the Russian American Fur Company, these beads were probably made in western Europe. Arthur Woodward, *Indian Trade Goods* (Portland, OR: Oregon Archaeological Society, 1993) 17.

122. Grabert 172.

123. Guy F. Moura, "Washington Glass Trade Bead Chronology," *Archaeology in Washington* 3 (1991): 18, 21.

124. Moura 21.

125. Moura 24.
Moura (p. 24) notes the appearance of "Russian" blue beads in the material excavated from the Methodist Mission site in the Willamette Valley (1834-1841; Sanders, Weber, et al 78-84). These may have been a byproduct of Methodist importation of American goods. Beads found at Champoeg were consistent with HBC types. Speulda 42-45.

126. Steven Leroy DeVore, *Beads of the Bison Robe Trade: The Fort Union Trading Post Collection* (Williston, ND: Friends of Fort Union Trading Post, 1992) 61.

127. C. Hanson, "Pound Beads" 4.

128. C. Hanson, "Pound Beads" 5.

129. DeVore 119-127.

130. C. Hanson, "Pound Beads" 2; Conn, "Pony Bead Period" 10.

131. Conn, "Pony Bead Period" 11.

CHAPTER VI: THE MATERIAL RECORD: DOCUMENTED PRE-1880 PLATEAU OBJECTS

INTRODUCTION

In order to describe developments in nineteenth-century southern Plateau floral design, a database of reasonably well-documented objects from public collections has been assembled. Items have been selected on the basis of their association with known dates, known collectors, and known contexts. The limitation of discussion to these few articles does not imply acceptance of the sample as being entirely representative of regional or temporal artistic production. There is no question that additional objects would provide a more concise understanding of motif development both among diverse groups and at specific times. Nonetheless, the manufacture dates of the objects included in the sample can be assumed to have occurred within a fairly narrow time frame.

The chronological nature of this inquiry requires that a defensible linear arrangement of material be gathered in order to address the questions at hand. The danger of working with a restricted amount of data is here seen as preferable to attempting to analyze all potentially relevant objects based simply on their existing attributions. Anyone with experience in handling museum collections can testify to the subjectivity and inaccuracy of such assignations. This is nowhere more evident than in the southern Plateau

where many artistic expressions bear similarity to work produced by the Crow people and are often misidentified as such.

In reviewing the following items, several concerns relative to the early appearance of Plateau floral designs are of primary interest. What dates signal the approximate advent and subsequent mass acceptance of large trade beads, pony beads, and seed beads? Does the use of glass beads appear to supplement or replace traditions of quilled embroidery? Do floral motifs appear first as simple designs that become more complex over time? Do they evince a growing concern with realism? Is there evidence of a common tradition of design development throughout the region or does the data support the presence of individual and local variations in the burgeoning style? Finally, do floral motifs appear only on specific classes of items or are they found to be universal in their application?

PRE-1880 PLATEAU OBJECTS

In addition to providing the initial written description of regional peoples, Lewis and Clark have the distinction of being the first Euroamericans to collect ethnographic material in the Plateau. Unfortunately for this study, the sole surviving item known to have been collected by the Corps of Discovery is a twined Wasco-Wishram sally bag now in the collection of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology. According to Mary

Schlick, the bag was probably secured on the north bank of the Columbia River at a settlement situated slightly above the mouth of the Deschutes River. At that point on October 21, 1805, the explorers obtained food from the local inhabitants. The bag may have served as a container for these provisions.[1]

Additional materials with Plateau origins were collected by Lewis and Clark. These are known to have included neck ornaments, a woven cup, a woven hat, and perhaps other clothing.[2] Some objects were given to the Peale Museum in Philadelphia and ended up with the sally bag at the Peabody Museum.[3] Other Columbia River items eventually appeared in William Clark's Indian Museum in St. Louis. Certain of these are thought to have transferred to the collection of George Catlin before ending up at either the U.S. National Museum or the Peabody Museum.[4]

The earliest known embroidered Plateau items to which dates can be attached were collected over one-third of a century after Lewis and Clark. These objects were reportedly obtained in 1841 or 1842 by E.M. Hopkins of the Hudson's Bay Company.[5] During portions of those years, Hopkins served as personal secretary to George Simpson while accompanying that worthy on the first leg of a whirlwind trip around the world.

On March 3, 1841, Simpson and Hopkins, in the company of several HBC men and one employee of the Russian-American Company, left London for Liverpool.[6] In that port they

boarded a ship and arrived in Montreal (via Halifax and Boston) three weeks later. On May 4, the two men left Lachine for the Red River settlement and arrived there on June 11.[7] They remained in the Red River-Fort Garry area for three weeks, during which time Simpson presided over the 1841 Council of the Northern Department.[8] Travel between Red River and Fort Vancouver occupied the days between July 3 and August 25.[9] Simpson then headed for Sitka, leaving Hopkins in charge of Nisqually.[10] In late November the men sailed for California and Hawaii. Hopkins left Oahu for the Columbia River in mid March 1842 after a month's stay in the Islands.[11] Simpson continued his journey around the globe via Siberia and Russia.[12]

Upon arrival at Vancouver, Hopkins joined the eastbound Express.[13] He sailed for England from York Factory on about September 10, 1842. In a letter written the day before, Letitia Hargarve described him as follows:

> Mr Hopkins who came as Secre^{ty} to Sir George, left him in California I believe & returned to go by our ship. He is or was a "reporter" but is as different from what I had imagined a Parliamentary reporter to be as can be conceived. He seems 23 or 24, very dandified or rather peculiar in his style of dress & uncommonly nice looking, but with a volubility of speech that I have never heard equalled, & a willingness to communicate what he knows that surprised me, who am used to such reserve.[14]

Hopkins arrived in London in late October, where he again met Simpson.[15] The two returned to Canada during the spring of 1843 where Hopkins continued to serve as the

Governor's secretary. He was promoted to Chief Trader in 1847 and to Chief Factor in 1853.[16] After the death of Simpson in 1860, Hopkins headed the Montreal Department until his own 1870 retirement. He then settled in England, where he lived until 1893.

The Pitt Rivers Museum at Oxford University possesses a body of ethnographic material apparently collected by Hopkins during his 1841 and 1842 trips across North America. Given Hopkins' long residence in eastern Canada and his attendance at annual Council meetings in diverse locations, some of the objects could theoretically have been collected at later dates and from second parties. However, the evident antiquity of the items and their correspondence with people groups encountered during Hopkins' travels in the Pacific Northwest suggest that they were procured at that time.[17] The 1893 catalogue entries for the objects after their acquisition by the Pitt Rivers Museum noted that they were collected during 1842.[18]

In addition to a Western Great Lakes-Eastern Plains item that will be discussed below, Hopkins also collected a woman's dress and leggings with a Pend d'Oreille association (Figs. 34-35).[19] Simpson's journal of the 1841 overland trip (kept by Hopkins) noted an August encounter with a band of Pend d'Oreille while the sojourners were traveling along the Pend d'Oreille River west of Lake Pend d'Oreille (50-75 miles east of Fort Colvile).[20] The published record of the meeting included a description of Pend d'Oreille dress.

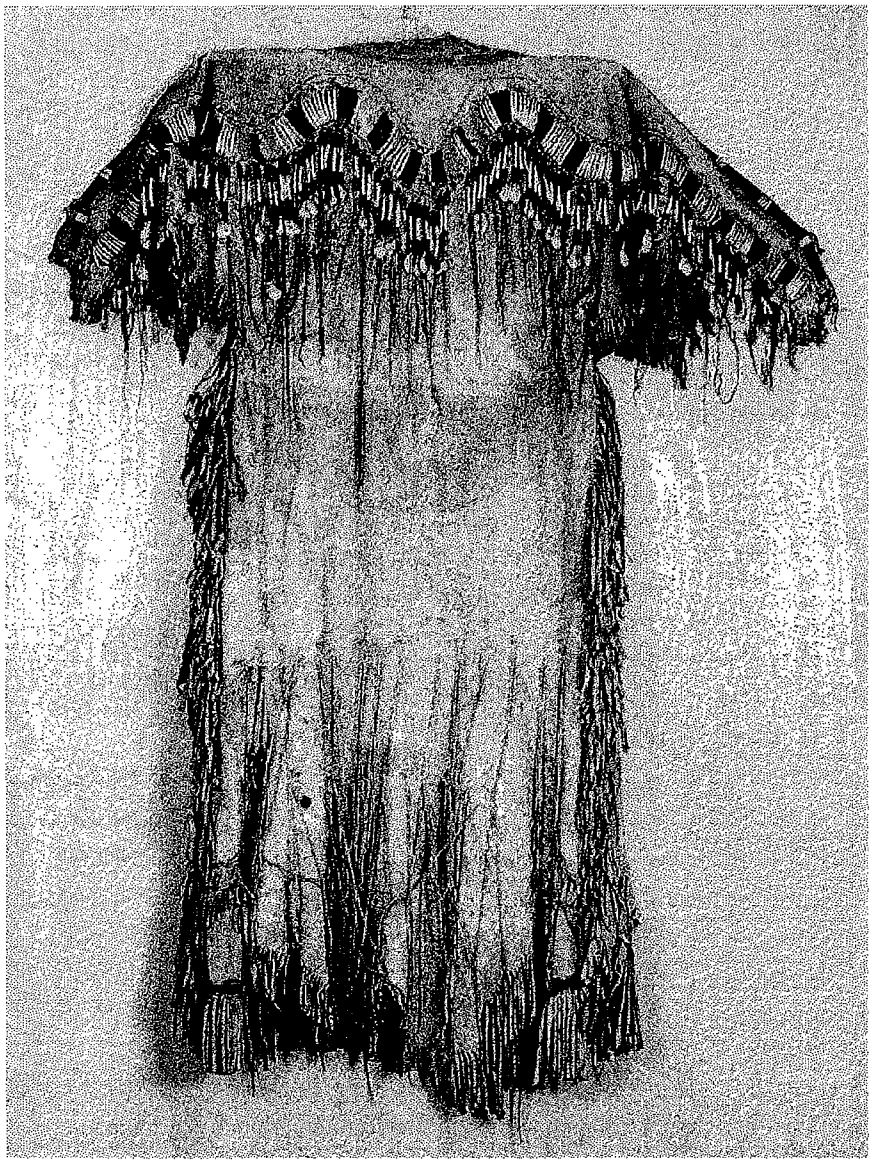


Figure 34. Pend d'Oreille woman's dress, before 1841. Mixed media. Acc. No. 1893.67.7; Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.



Figure 35. Pend d'Oreille woman's leggings, before 1841. Mixed media. Acc. No. 1893.67.7; Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.

> Some of the Indians were almost destitute of clothing; some had blankets, and others had shirts. The prevailing dress, however, was the native costume, which, when clean, might be deemed classical. It consists of a tunic reaching to the knees, leggings of dressed skin and moccasins, the whole being fringed and garnished according to the taste or means of the wearer...The apparel of both sexes is pretty much the same, excepting that the tunics of the ladies are longer and gayer than those of the gentlemen.[21]

The garments now at Oxford are consistent with this description. The decoration on the dress yoke is executed in a broad lane of alternating sections of dentalium and dark pony beads. These follow the contour of the underlying animal skin. Dentalium, faceted trade beads, and elk teeth adorn the fringe. A narrow band of seed beads additionally trims the bottom of the dress. A similar row of seed beads ornaments the fringed leggings.

The most significant collection of Plateau material that can be dated to the first half of the nineteenth century was assembled by the Presbyterian missionary Henry Harmon Spalding (1803-1874) during the years 1841-1846.[22] After spending almost a century and a half in Ohio, the objects returned to Nez Perce ownership in 1996. They are currently housed in the collection of the Nez Perce National Historic Park in Spalding, Idaho.

Although a native of New York, Henry Spalding enrolled in Ohio's Western Reserve College in the fall of 1831. During the first of his two years there, he became friends with one Dudley Allen (1814-1898), who was then a senior.

Upon graduation from Western Reserve in 1832, Allen pursued medical training in Cincinnati and Philadelphia. He eventually returned to Kinsman, Ohio, and a family medical practice.[23]

Upon completion of his own undergraduate studies, Henry Spalding spent two years at Cincinnati's Lane Seminary.[24] He was ordained a Presbyterian minister shortly after leaving that institution. While preparing for missionary work among the Missouri Osages in 1836, Spalding and his wife Eliza accepted an appointment from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to work among the Indians of the Oregon Territory. The Spaldings stopped at the Allen home in Kinsman and had a wagon outfitted during the early stages of their trip to Oregon.[25] Henry Spalding and Dudley Allen did not meet again for 35 years although they maintained an active correspondence.

In 1840 or 1841, this correspondence apparently included Allen's suggestion that Spalding begin collecting Indian curiosities.[26] By February 1842, Spalding had begun his collecting. At that time, he wrote to Allen, "I am making out a box of Indian clothing and implements to send to you and hope to get it ready to send next fall....I do not know as I shall meet your expectations, do not put them high. I am send one to the city of Washington by the request of Lieut. Johnson."[27]

The collection did not, however, grow as fast as was hoped. A July 1843 letter informed Allen, "I am ashamed to

say that I have not yet made up a box of specimens for you, more from the indescribable press of business of all kind translating, Printing, (not used to the business) Preaching, Building, farming, and the sick; this last takes most of my time."[28] Ten months later, Spalding reported that only a few things had been secured as it was "very difficult to obtain curiosities of the Indians who are exhorbitant in their prices."[29] By October 1845, the package was still being assembled. At that time, the missionary reported that his two oldest children were "often gathering stones and stone arrow points to put in Dr. Allen's box, which I have concluded not to send this fall, but take it with me next summer to the Willamette hoping to find something in the lower country to put in."[30]

Most of the assembled material appears to have been secured through trade and some of the items were gained during the course of routine activities and at little expense. Spalding's diary entry for March 9, 1842 reveals that he spent that day trading garden produce and ammunition for Indian-produced goods.[31] In the process, a woven bag and hat were obtained for Dr. Allen. The bag was secured for two knives and 10 loads of ammunition; the hat was procured for the same price.[32]

On occasion, the collection process was more arduous.

> It is no easy matter to obtain these things from the natives as they always want to extort a great price as soon as they find I want them. Some times for a small stone a shirt is demanded,

> which of course is not given, & perhaps an important Geological specimen is taken away and sold to some other person who cares nothing about it, for a single flint.[33]

Two boxes filled with Indian items were finally sent in April 1846. A letter carried overland shortly thereafter outlined the shipping arrangements and inventoried the objects.[34] Spalding reported that two gray bear skins and a pack saddle had been returned from the Waiilatpu as it was thought that they might be destroyed by rats aboard ship. His hope was that these could be included in a later shipment, along with other items recently secured.

Allen came to suppose the boxes were lost, but in August 1847 he learned that they had arrived in port on Lake Erie.[35] He retrieved them within the week. Writing to Spalding on August 30th, he described their arrival.

> Ten days ago I rec^{d} your Boxes- came to house in bad state- One containing the saddle had been broken to pieces- You *should hoop-* with *raw leather* or *iron-* or *wood-* any boxes for the W. States. The skin had bread moths & was spoiled & the moths had hurt the dresses &c, eat up the woolens ornaments &c & injured the skins some. *Still they look handsome.* I thank you for them. I regret that your minerals & labels were all in a *conglomerate mess.* Will you try your hand again at minerals, if you have leisure & find materials. The clays &c are uninjured. I want more. They are all worth the *having*!! I will try and pay for them all in due course of time. If you see proper you will oblige me by any *different curiosities,* that you can send me.[36]

After initially acknowledging receipt of the items, Allen mentioned them in subsequent correspondence. Comments

added to the letter of August 14 and 30 suggested that if Spalding were to collect more extensively, Allen would be willing to serve as a broker for additional items. They also reveal that the Nez Perce clothing was displayed in the doctor's "cabinet," or study.[37] Correspondence sent in March of 1848 again noted the condition of the packages upon arrival.

> I rec^{d} Your 2 Boxes at last. They were badly broken, especially the one containing the saddle & minerals; the last were nicely conglomerated. Moths hurt the dresses much. Still, I prize them more than the cost! At minerals and curiosities try your hand again if opportunity offers. The clays were all safe. The dresses look tolerable. If you ever send anything animal (wool) insert in it Tobacco. I place Camphor in Yours, but T- is as good.[38]

By the time this letter was received, Henry Spalding was no longer able to try his hand at further collecting. He was then teaching school near Brownsville in the Willamette Valley. The killings of Marcus and Narcissa Whitman and others at Waiilatpu in November 1847 prompted the American Board to suspend the activities of the Oregon Mission.[39]

In October 1870, Spalding returned to the East for a short while, this time riding cross-country on a train. During an eleven-month sojourn he visited many of his former haunts and old friends, among them Dudley Allen. Allen was then living in Oberlin, Ohio.[40] During a May 1871 visit, the missionary again saw the Indian items he had collected

years before and he related stories of his life and adventures among the Nez Perce.[41] The Indian objects remained in the Allen home for twenty more years. Then, in 1893, Dudley Allen donated them to Oberlin College. The Accession List of the Oberlin College Museum records that in May of that year, "1 lot Indian clothing, trinkets, etc." was given to that institution by "Dr. D. Allen, Oberlin, Ohio."[42]

In 1936, Clifford Merrill Drury published the biography *Henry Harmon Spalding: Pioneer of Old Oregon*. In the text, Drury briefly mentioned the Indian items that had been sent by Spalding to Allen and that they were then owned by Oberlin. He stated, "[t]hey are undoubtedly the best assortment of old Nez Perce articles in existence today."[43] An accompanying footnote directed readers to the relevant description that had been published several years before in *The Oberlin Alumni Magazine*.[44]

Drury subsequently described the collection to Jack R. Williams, superintendent of Nez Perce National Historic Park. In 1969, Williams began the process of locating the items.[45] They could not be found for several years as Oberlin had loaned them to the Ohio Historical Society in 1942. When their whereabouts became known, they were loaned to Nez Perce National Historic Park for a number of years, prior to their 1996 purchase by the Nez Perce Tribe.[46]

Spalding's comments regarding the collected objects serve as a contemporary introduction to the items.

Description of the things sent. Two womens Dresses worn by the rich, often the value of 3 horses. The Aquois a row of which is on one, are very costly shells, found in a small lake between this & Pugets Sound, obtained by diving, contains a small insect. The Aquois from a single dress were once taken to the mountains by a man who lives near, & sold in small parcels for $1600.00 sixteen hundred dollars. A young lady (Red one) in one of these dresses, upon a firey horse well equiped with saddle & crouper, makes a fine appearance. The Elk teeth upon one dress as also upon the cradle are obtained only from the Buck Elk, two from an animal, after & before certain ages, like the horse. The bags are made of the hemp of the country & used for packing roots &c. One hair rope of Buffalo & one of horse hair, yellow--the latter colored by moss from the pine tree. Common riding rope, tied to the under jaw a sufficient distance from one end to come over the head loop into the long part which trails when the rider is off allowing the horse to feed around, carried in hand when riding, used also for throwing & catching the horse often at the distance of 40 feet & upon the runn. The woman's saddle you will see is an improvement upon our side saddle if we consult the ease of the woman. A blanket or robe is always thrown over the saddle covering the lower part of the person, even the feet, In my opinion the more modest way of riding as also the more natural & comfortable. The womans hats are the work of the lower Indians, used also for water cups. Small baskets work of lower Indians, used for water Large size formerly used for boiling food by means of hot stones thrown in. Whip of Elk horn work of a deaf & dumb man my horse querd. Cradle made for the occasion, rather short often much larger in this the young infant is lashed tight, face only out, often a heavy bandage over the forehead which flattens it, lower Indians much. This cradle with its victime is hung upon the horn of the saddle when camp moves, hangs upon the mothers back when she goes for of wood, sits in the sun against a rock through the day whiles she digs her two or three bags of roots, going now & then to nurse it, or against the root of a tree while she cuts & binds up a bundle of wood weighing from 150 to 200 lb, to warm a gambling son or husband who may be at home a sleep. When the great pile is swung upon the back the belt coming over the head, the cradle & with child is laid upon the top. The woman's dress would sell I learn in the southern states

for $50.00 or $60.00 a piece.

Price of things As nigh as I can recollect.

2 Dresse Woman	$27.00
1 pr Men's Leggins	2.50
Red Bear Skin	.50
Childs Cradle	3.00
Womans Leggins	2.50
6 pr Mocisons	1.50
3 Woman's hats	0.60
2 small Baskets	0.40
1 Whip	30
3 Hemp Bags	4.00
2 Men's Shirts	$14.25
1 Womans saddle	4.37
2 Hair cords	0.38

Some tapa, native cloth of the Sand Wich Islands is also sent, with a few specimens of coral & shells from the Islands & the coast. I have some that carrying upon the horse the stones got loose and have recked some things.[47]

The women's dresses are of a standard construction. One of the garments is made of elk or bighorn sheep hide. Its yoke is decorated with faceted trade beads that are placed in parallel horizontal rows alternating in light and dark blue. This pattern highlights the original contours of the animal skins. Seed beads also cross the yoke and shoulders; the fringe is decorated with elk teeth and large and faceted green and yellow beads.[48] A similar seed bead pattern appears on the upper yoke and shoulders of the second dress but this yoke is worked in parallel rows of light and dark beads and dentalium. Faceted beads and elk teeth again appear on the fringe, as do Hudson's Bay Company brass thimbles.[49]

The decoration of the child's cradle closely resembles the decor on the second dress.[50] Elk teeth and the same faceted beads appear on the fringes of both items.

Dentalium are present on the yoke of the dress and on the headboard of the cradle. Triangular motifs worked in seed beads appear on the yoke and shoulders of the dress and also on the cradle headboard. The cradle was apparently commissioned specifically for Dudley Allen as Spalding's comments state, "Cradle made for the occasion & rather short often much larger." Its marked similarity to the one dress and the fact that both dresses share common traits suggest that several of the items may have been produced specifically as curiosities. This thought is bolstered by Spalding's 1846 comment to.Allen, "I have some more things *finished* since the Boxes went, Which with the Bear skins and other things I may be able to collect may fill another box" (emphasis mine).[51]

Men's clothing is represented in the collection by a pair of leggings and two shirts, although no mention of these items appeared in Spalding's commentary.[52] The leggings are fringed and have quilled bands running from knee to ankle.[53] One shirt has beaded arms strips (worked in black and white seed beads) and quilled shoulder strips. The triangular neck flaps at front and back are edged with white seed beads; quilled-wrapped horsehair rosettes appear in the middle of each flap.[54] The second shirt has quilled arm strips and mismatched quilled shoulder strips (Fig. 36). Quilled rosettes appear at front and back on wool cloth neck flaps. In the case of both shirts, the neck flaps are an extension of the hides that form the body of the garments.

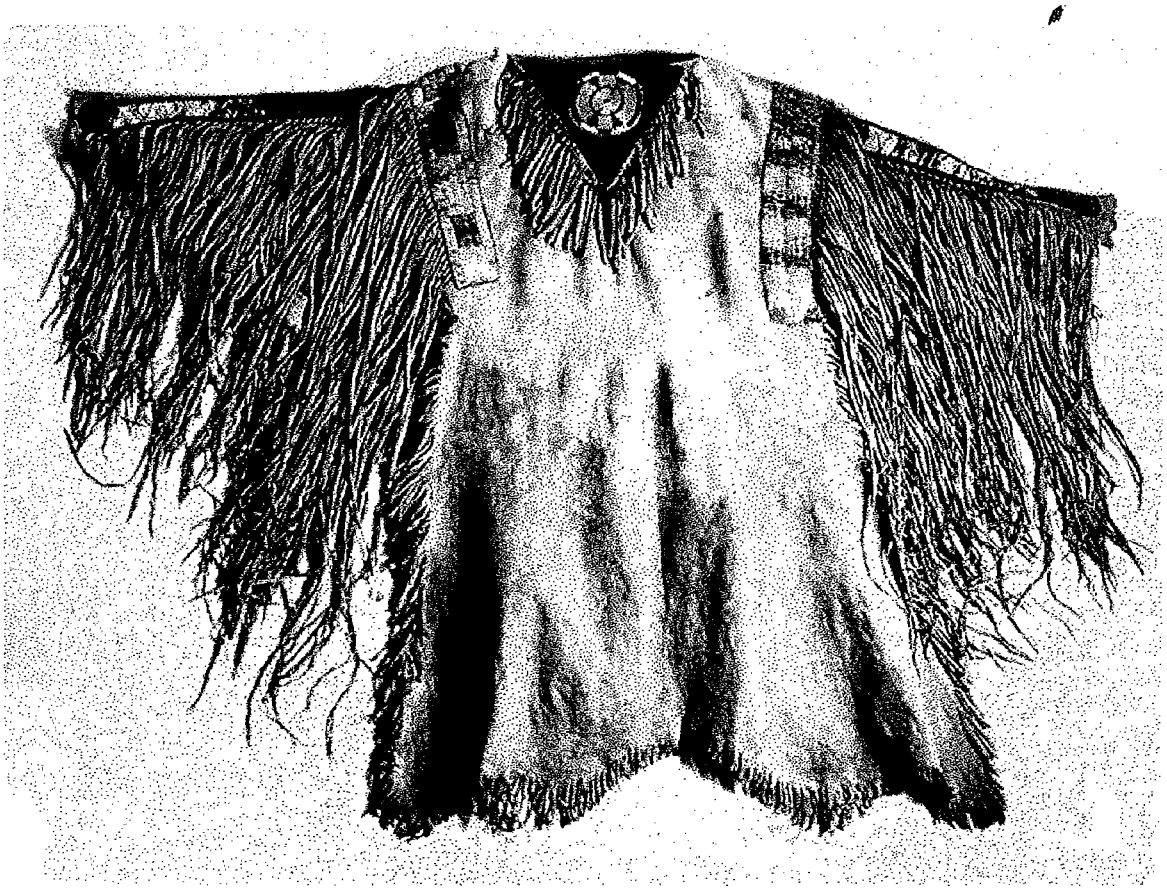


Figure 36. Nez Perce man' shirt, before 1846. Mixed media, 37 x 57-1/2 x 23-5/8 in. Catalogue No. 8759; National Park Service, Nez Perce National Historical Park, Spalding, Idaho.

Apart from the clothing and cradle, the major item in the collection is a woman's saddle.[55] The design and construction of the riding apparatus is consistent with what was in use throughout the region. The painted rawhide skirts attached to the saddle seem unusual although Spalding did not reference them as such. This example is one of perhaps a half dozen known instances of similarly decorated saddle skirts and the only one that can be attributed to the Plateau.[56]

Other items in the original shipment included a quirt with a handle of elk horn, two hair ropes, a pair of woman's leggings, six pairs of moccasins, three twined bags, three twined hats, and two small baskets.[57] The quirt was probably made by a Nez Perce man who had worked around the Spalding house.[58] The bags were also of Nez Perce origin, but Spalding's description leaves the origins of the other objects open to question. He reported that the hats and baskets were "the work of the lower Indians." As noted above, the use of the term "lower," probably refers either to Nez Perce people living in or near the Wallowa country or to groups residing downstream from the confluence of the Clearwater and Snake Rivers.

The United States Exploring Expedition, under the leadership of Lieutenant Charles Wilkes, began a four-year-long around-the-world journey in 1838. This enterprise collected thousands of zoological and botanical specimens. It also secured a large amount of ethnographic material,

most notably from the South Pacific Islands and the Northwest Coast of North America. Between May and July of 1841, five expedition members and their attendants traveled from Puget Sound to the Yakima River Valley, then on to Fort Colvile, the various American Board mission stations, and Fort Nez Perces, before returning westward.[59] The party apparently collected very little material while in the inland Northwest. This may have been partially due to the fact that Henry Spalding volunteered to collect objects for them, a project that he apparently never completed.[60]

Nonetheless, two items collected by the Exploring Expedition and now in the collection of the National Museum of Natural History may have had Plateau origins. One of these is a fringed rawhide bag of unknown manufacture.[61] The other is a model cradle whose provenience is likewise unknown.[62] It is decorated with beads displaying a similarity to those appearing on objects in the Spalding-Allen Collection (Fig. 37).[63]

A woman's saddle that was constructed similarly to the saddle mentioned above (although without rawhide skirts) can be dated to at least 1849 (Figs. 38-39).[64] It was collected by Major Osborne Cross, an 1825 graduate of the U.S. Military Academy. In 1849, he served as Quartermaster for five companies of Mounted Riflemen who traveled overland from Fort Leavenworth, Kansas to Fort Vancouver.[65] Cross' dairy entry for September 9, 1849 noted the previous day's trading activity in the Grande Ronde Valley. He observed

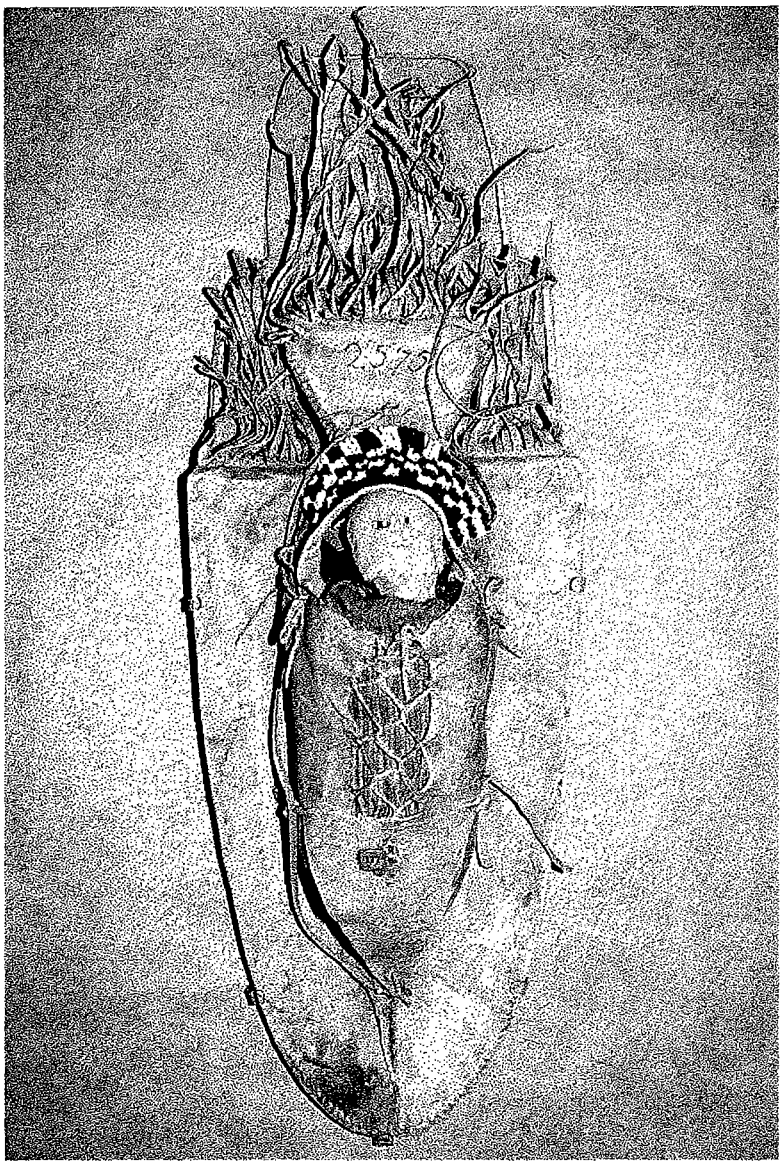


Figure 37. Miniature cradle, before 1841. Mixed media. Catalogue No. E2575; Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution.

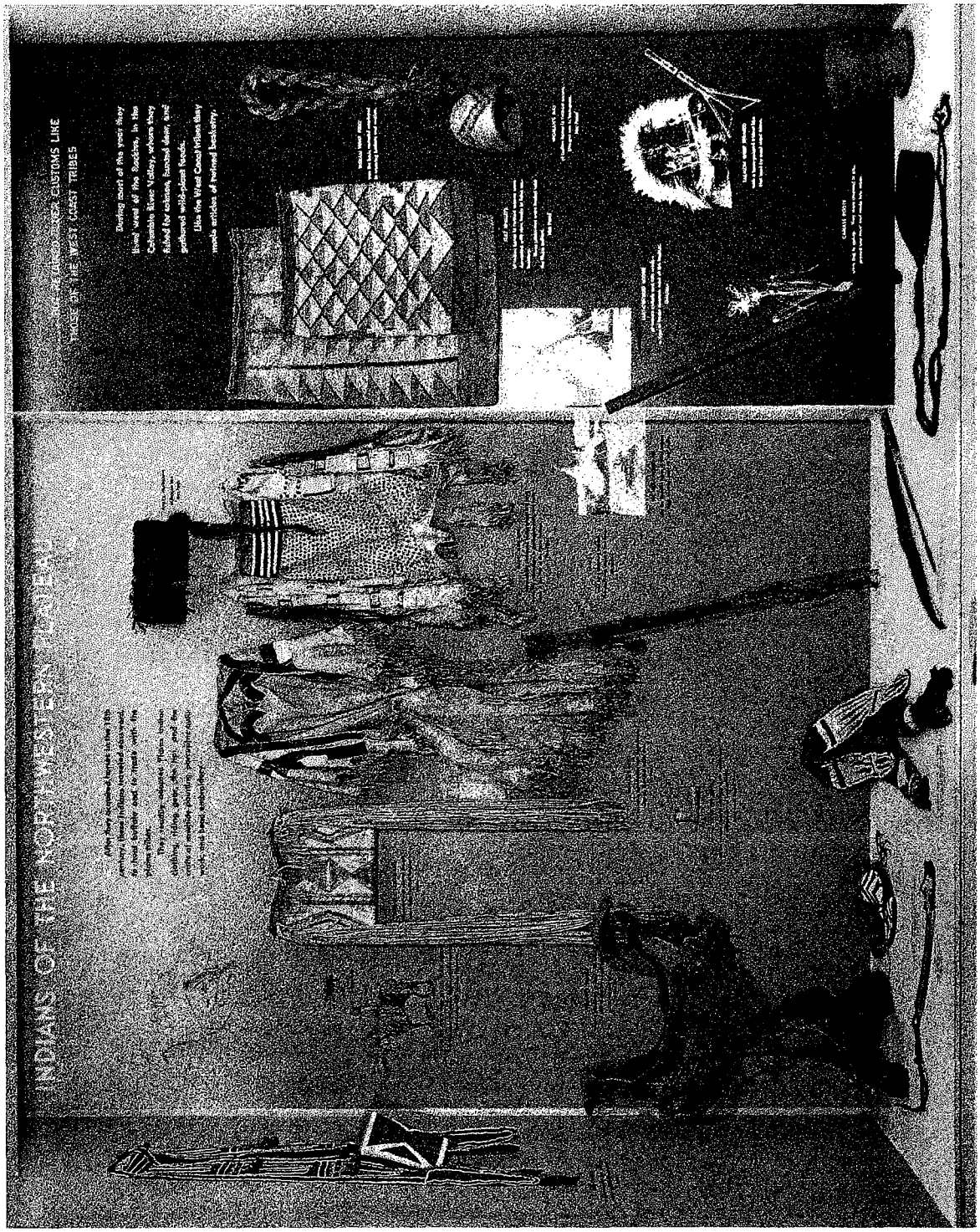


Figure 38. "Indians of the Northwestern Plateau" display, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, c. 1955. Smithsonian Institution Photo No. MNH.036.

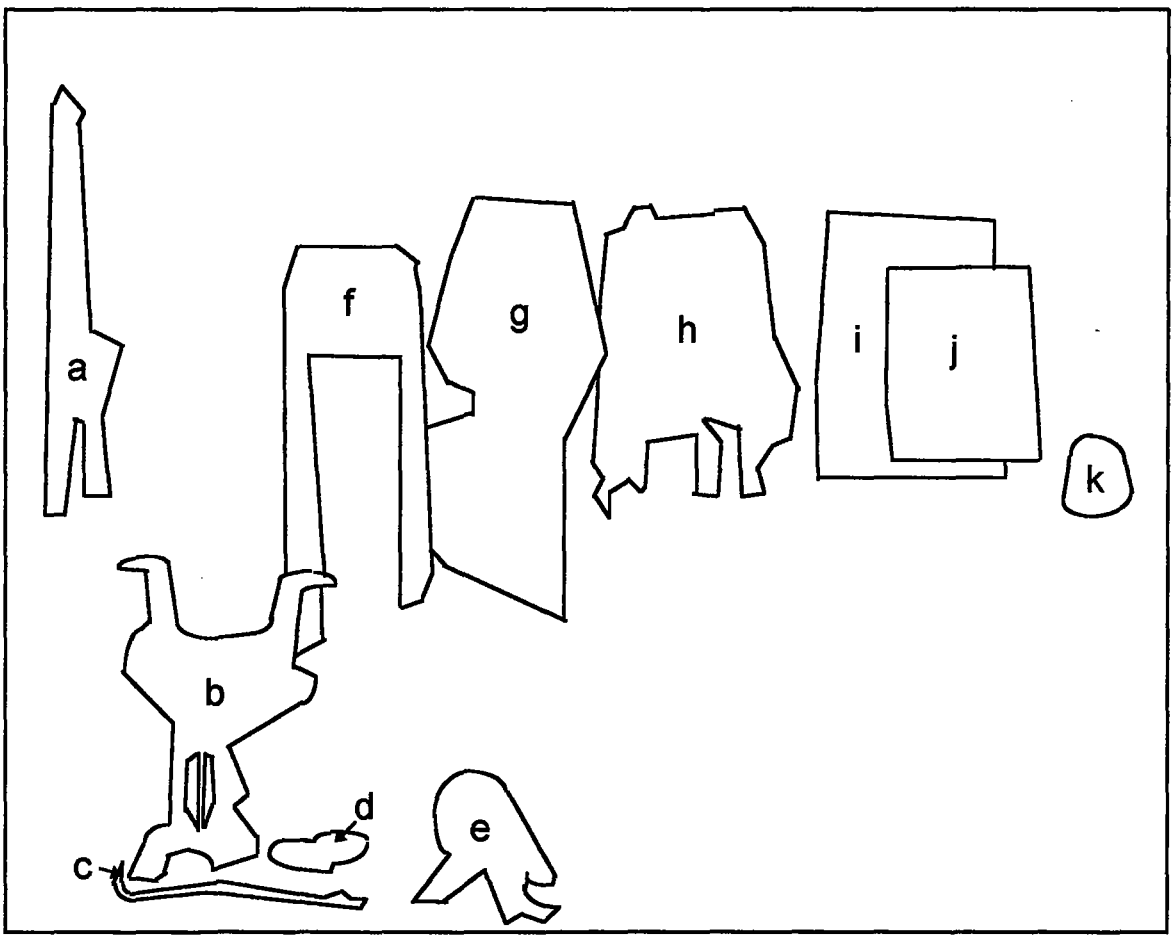


Figure 39. Key to Figure 38. a: Nez Perce horse collar, collected 1876 (NMNH E23854); b: Cayuse or Nez Perce saddle, collected 1849 (NMNH E2541); c: Nez Perce quirt, collected before 1869 (NMNH E9042); d: Nez Perce moccasins, collected 1876 (NMNH 23855); e: Nez Perce quiver and bow case, collected 1876 (NMNH E23843); f: Yakima rawhide saddlebag, collected 1876 (NMNH E23873); g: Nez Perce woman's dress, collected 1876 (NMNH 23852); h: Nez Perce man's shirt, collected 1876 (NMNH 23851); i: Nez Perce twined flat bag, collected 1866-1869 (NMNH E9026); Nez Perce twined flat bag, collected 1877 (NMNH L38); k: Nez Perce basketry hat, collected 1876 (NMNH E23857).

that the Indians wished to trade what he considered "inferior horses" for "blankets, tobacco, and trinkets....They are generally ridden with a lariat fastened simply round the lower jaw, while a small pad with wooden stirrups constitutes the saddle."[66] From the Grande Ronde Valley, Cross was ordered to make haste to The Dalles. He arrived there five days later, having recorded only a single encounter with any of the local Indian population.[67]

The saddle was probably secured in either the Grand Ronde or Umatilla Valleys and from either a Cayuse or Nez Perce owner. It was donated to the Smithsonian Institution in 1851, where it was recorded as the type "used by Columbia River women."[68] Previous diary entries make it evident that during this trip, Cross was collecting geological and zoological specimens with an eye toward depositing them in the National Museum.[69] He is known to have donated additional ethnographic materials from the Columbia River region but their current whereabouts are unknown.[70]

A second individual who was attached to the regiment of Mounted Riflemen was George Gibbs.[71] Upon learning of the discovery of gold in California, Gibbs abandoned his law practice and headed west, joining the party of dragoons at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. He remained in the Northwest until 1860 and became a serious student of the indigenous languages and cultures of the region.

Throughout the decade of the 1850s, Gibbs was actively involved in a variety of local treaty negotiations. He was

a member of the 1853 Pacific Railroad Survey and he also served on the 1857 Northwest Boundary Commission. During this time, he collected a body of ethnographic objects that now resides at the National Museum of Natural History. The items are diverse, have unusual visual merit, and come from a variety of West Coast regions.[72] With the exception of a parfleche collected near Fort Colvile, perhaps while Gibbs was involved in the business of the railroad survey, none of the material is from the Plateau.[73] A pair of Chinook moccasins described as having come from the Columbia River can only be assigned a pre-1860 date (Fig. 40). They are decorated with seed beads worked in a symmetrical proto-floral design and are very similar to a pair collected by Jean Pierre de Smet in 1859.[74] Other items from the lower Columbia River region tend to be made of carved wood or bone.[75]

Dr. William Francis Edgar was an Assistant Surgeon in the U.S. Army who crossed the continent a year after Osborne Cross and George Gibbs. His contribution to the body of items under discussion was a beaded panel bag of Wasco-Wishram origin.[76] Edgar was stationed at The Dalles between mid December 1850 and early April 1851. It would seem that he collected the bag during this three-month interval.[77]

A letter written by Edgar to the Medical Director's Office, District of Cairo, Illinois, and dated July 30, 1862 described his current fitness for active field duty and



Figure 40. Chinook moccasins, before 1860. Buckskin and glass beads. Catalogue No. E673; Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution.

included the comment, "...I crossed the continent in '49 spending a winter in the Rocky Mountains and Utah and Idaho and reached Oregon in '50. Spent a year or so there and in Washington Territory....Soon after I was ordered with the 1st Dragoons on a march through the Indian country to California..."[78] A monthly report addressed to "Thos. Lawson, Surg. Genl U.S.A.," written from "Camp Drum, Dalles of the Columbia River" and dated December 17, 1850, recorded his arrival there on the previous day and that he was then reporting for duty.[79] Another report, written from Columbia Barracks (Fort Vancouver) and dated the following April 20th, noted that he had arrived at that post ten days previous and that he was preparing to accompany Major Philip Kearny's command to Benecia, California.[80] Edgar's military service continued through the Civil War and he eventually retired to the Los Angeles area.[81]

The bag Edgar obtained is constructed primarily of trade cloth and seed beads. The panel is done in woven beadwork that duplicates the appearance of Wasco-Wishram animal motifs that are commonly worked in twined baskets.[82] Bi-lobed or proto-floral ornaments are also outlined on the body of the bag. Another bag that may have been made contemporaneously by the same artist is associated with Tomahas, the Cayuse who was executed in 1850 for the murder of Marcus Whitman. This octopus bag also has Wasco-Wishram motifs worked into its woven beadwork.[83]

Army medical officers were also responsible for two

other small collections made during the late 1860s. These items were initially sent to the Army Medical Museum in 1869; they transferred to the U.S. National Museum that same year.[84]

One of the collections, comprised exclusively of Nez Perce material, was made by Acting Assistant Surgeon Edward Storror.[85] Storror began service as a medical cadet in 1861 and completed medical studies at the University of Pennsylvania two years later.[86] Upon graduation, he became an Acting Assistant (Contract) Surgeon with the United States Army. In May 1864, he was ordered across the Plains to California as medical attendant to an Emigrant Escort.[87] He was subsequently sent to Fort Vancouver and the Department of the Columbia. While serving on San Juan Island (Camp Steele), he received an appointment as Surgeon, 1st Oregon Cavalry. This led to postings at Cape Disappointment (Washington Territory, on the north shore of the mouth of the Columbia River) and at Camp Watson, Oregon (near present-day Dayville).[88]

Storror signed a contract to become post surgeon at Fort Lapwai, Idaho Territory, on November 23, 1866. He arrived at the garrison with a contingent of Regular Army personnel who were replacing a Civil War-era volunteer force.[89] He served at Lapwai until July 1869. During much of this time he also served as Agency physician.[90] According to a contemporary military assessment, Storror was "one of the best doctors in [the] whole country. He went

down to the Agency daily. The Indians loved him."[91] August 1869, his contract was annulled as his services were no longer needed.[92] His subsequent whereabouts are unknown until 1890, at which time he was engaged in a private practice in San Francisco.

Edward Storror sent a variety of ethnographic objects to the Army Medical Museum by way of the Medical Officer of the Department of California.[93] They were apparently all of Nez Perce origin and collected between the years 1866 and 1869. In addition to a woven flat bag and twined hat, several combs, some pipe bowls, a beaded awl case and a horse hair rope, Storror also forwarded a set of four children's toys.[94] These included a toy cradle, toy saddle blanket and double-saddlebag, and a toy drum (Figs. 41-43).[95] The cradle, blanket, and saddlebags are decorated with red wool and seed beads. The cradle has red wool around the facial opening; similar cloth along the edge of the headboard is trimmed with a narrow band of white and beads. The cloth appearing on the horse gear is trimmed with curvilinear designs worked in white beads. While the blanket has one edge decorated with a series of diamond shapes, either end of the saddle bag is adorned with what may be seen as the profile outline of a flower.

A second set of Plateau items arrived at the Army Medical Museum and were acknowledged in November 1869. They were then forwarded to the Smithsonian with the Storror collection. This second group of objects was donated by

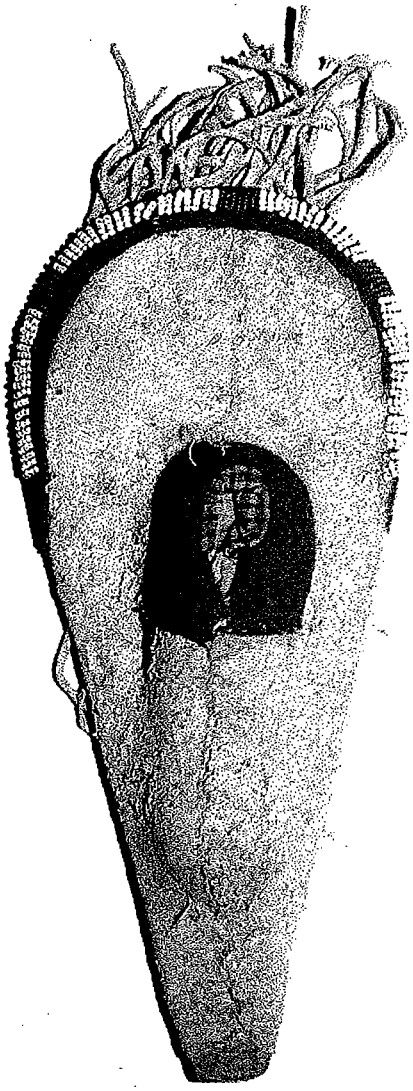


Figure 41. Nez Perce miniature cradle, 1866-1869. Mixed media. Catalogue No. E9027; Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution.



Figure 42. Nez Perce miniature saddle blanket, 1866-1869. Buckskin, wool cloth, and glass beads. Catalogue No. E9036; Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution.

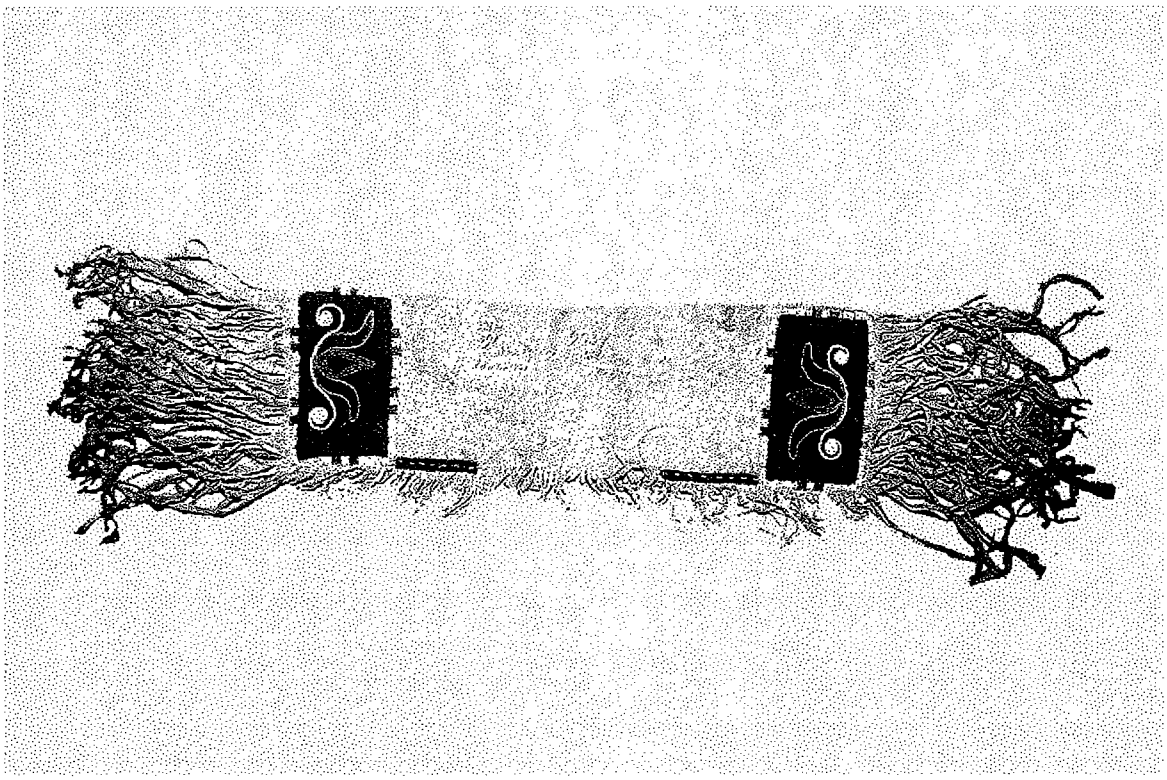


Figure 43. Nez Perce miniature double saddlebag or "panniers," 1866-1869. Buckskin, wool cloth, and glass beads. Catalogue No. E9037; Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution.

James T. Ghiselin. Ghiselin (1832-1896) was also a medical officer in the United States Army.[96] From August 1857 through June 1862, he served in New Mexico and participated in campaigns against both the Navajo and Apache. After one year's service in New England, he held positions of responsibility in the Army of the Potomac and was present at many of the climatic battles of the Civil War. Thereafter he served in the Department of California (1866-1867) and the Department of the Columbia (1867-1874). He resigned his military commission and pursued a private practice in Portland, Oregon, between 1874 and 1888. He then retired to San Francisco.

Ghiselin's donation to the Army Medical Museum was sent in January 1869. The material was collected before this date but it may have come to Ghiselin through second parties as he was stationed at or near Fort Vancouver between 1867 and 1869.[97] Two woven items (NMNH E9040 and E9041) were identified as "wedding" hats. One appears to be a standard Plateau twined hat and the other is a Wasco-Wishram sally bag.[98] An unadorned quiver with bow and arrow (E9043) was reported as having been collected from the Flathead Indians near Fort Colvile.[99] A quirt (E9042) was reportedly the "Riding whip used by 'Eagle of the Light,' Chief of the Nez Perce Indians" (Figs. 38-39).[100] The origin of a pair of moccasins (E9044) is unknown.

A large group of Plateau objects can be dated to the late 1870s. These items were gathered in two very different

contexts, some in conjunction with the 1876 Centennial Exposition and others during the course of the 1877 Nez Perce War.

During the spring of 1875, a booklet entitled *Ethnological Directions Relative to the Indian Tribes of the United States* was prepared by Otis T. Mason under the direction of the Indian Bureau. The purpose of the text was explained in its Preface, dated April 3, 1875.

> The design of this publication is to direct the attention of the agents of the Indian and of other officers of the United States Government, and also of all other persons interested in the subject, to those objects and investigations which are desirable for the purpose of representing at the Centennial Exposition the history of culture among the aborigines of America, including the tribes now in existence, and those which are nearly or quite extinct.
>
> The material to be collected are of four kinds:
>
> 1. Specimens now or formerly in actual use.
> 2. Models, in true proportion, of large or immovable objects.
> 3. Photographs and drawings of various kinds.
> 4. Manuscripts and descriptions of objects, customs, institutions of society, laws, beliefs, and forms of worship.
>
> The information sought by these collections relates to--
>
> 1. Tribes of men.
> 2. Their natural and social surroundings.
> 3. The history and condition of culture among them.
>
> Before enumerating the articles and inquiries in detail, a few words of caution may not be inappropriate.
>
> 1. Inasmuch as it is designed to present savage life and condition in all grades and places, care should be taken not to exclude specimens because they are either rude or homely; not to collect with a view to artistic effect merely; and not to rely on one's own judgement as to what things are desirable for ethnological study.[101]

Mason's additional words of caution included instructions about the numbering and cataloging of specimens, the construction of models, anthropometric photography, the manner in which caves and mounds should be opened and mapped, and the production of ethnological observation. They concluded with the exhortation:

> It is hardly necessary to urge diligence and thoroughness in the work. The fact that the monuments of the past and the savage tribes of men are rapidly disappearing from our continent, and that, ere another century will renew an incentive so great and universal as this Exposition, they will have disappeared forever, should be all the stimulus required to give to the enterprise the conscientious labor that it demands.[102]

Despite the universal appeal for assistance and the promise that "[a]ll contributions...will be duly accredited to the collector, whose name will be written plainly on the permanent label of each specimen," agents on only two Plateau Indian reservations responded.[103] John B. Monteith apparently began collecting on the Nez Perce reservation in late 1875.[104] In December of that year he wrote to the Indian Commissioner inquiring about financial arrangements relative to the collection of Centennial Exposition materials. A February 1876 reply informed him, "You are authorized to make an expenditure of one hundred and twenty-five dollars in the purchase of a full and complete collection of Indian articles...The common things of every day life are just the things that are most wanted. The clothing obtained should form complete suits as far as

practicable."[105]

The letter also informed the agent that money would not be advanced for purchases. Upon submittal of a voucher, individuals would be reimbursed for the cost of securing ethnographic specimens. In conclusion, the letter stated, "You will have the articles collected and properly packed and turned over to the Commanding Officer at Fort Lapwai, who will forward them to Washington, under an arrangement made between the officers of the Smithsonian Institution, and General Rufus Ingalls, Quartermaster General, Washington, D.C."[106]

Monteith purchased a variety of objects in early 1876, spending a total of $35.00. A letter dated April 24 of that year served as covering correspondence for his voucher. The items had apparently already been forwarded to Fort Lapwai for shipment. The letter stated in part:

> It was my desire to make a more full collection but it was impossible on account of an unwillingness on the part of the Indians, to part with their goods, unless I paid them an unreasonable price. For example, I tried to purchase a full dress from a chief, his price was Forty dollars ($40.00) which was entirely too much.
>
> I think the sacks [flat bags] and species of wild hemp will be of as much interest to scientific persons as anything sent.[107]

Monteith's voucher was dated the previous April 10; it inventoried the items, their cost, and the persons from whom they were secured. The list was as follows:

1 sack	=Pen-me-kin-me-wat	2.50
1 Large Spoon	=Ut-in-wa-sah-ka	1.00
1 Pr. Moccasin	=Lucy Lawyer	1.50
1 Yoke for a horse	} " "	4.00
1 Gun case	" "	4.00
1 Regalia	" "	7.00
1 Comb	Ume-lal-i-cum	.50
1 Woman's Hat	=Kow-kow-hi-at-um	.50
1 Bucket	= " "	1.50
1 Woman's Dress	=Noos-na-cune	4.00
1 Horn Bow	=Ky-e-wus	3.50
1 Man's Shirt	=Lucy Lawyer	5.00
		35.00[108]

The items were accessioned by the Smithsonian on July 10, 1876.[109] In addition to the above articles, several other objects appear to have been included in the shipment. These may have been procured at no expense and as such were excluded from the inventory that appeared on the voucher. They included a model of a child's cradle, bulbs of camas root and camas-root bread, a woman's woven sewing pouch, a rattle, a riding whip, a horn spoon, a hank of Indian hemp, and twigs from which the hemp was made.

A number of these items were installed in the National Museum of Natural History's "Indians of the Northwestern Plateau" exhibit in 1955 (Fig. 38). These include the pair of moccasins, the horse collar, the woven hat, the woman's dress, the horn bow and attendant quiver and bow case, and the man's shirt. The horse collar and dress were removed from display in 1987.[110]

Of this group, the moccasins are decorated with red wool and black, white and blue seed beads. The decorative designs on the vamps are comprised of three black double-

curves that are outlined in blue and worked on a white ground. The straps of the horse collar are constructed of red and black wool decorated with outlines of white seed and pony beads. The front panel is also of red wool; fields of white and green seed beads here surround two red hourglass shapes.[111] The woman's dress has an intact animal tail at front and back. Horizontal rows of sections of red, black and white pony beads cross the shoulders and follow the hide contour of the bodice.[112] The quiver and bow case are made of otterskin. Their flaps show contrasting and parallel vertical lines of white pony beads and red wool (Transmontane "claw marks") with some supplemental red, yellow, and blue seed beads.[113] The bottoms of both receptacles have large yellow and black diamonds placed on white fields. This embroidery was done in seed beads and edged with red wool and pony beads. The man's shirt has a perforated body; the quilled arm and shoulder strips are edged with black and white pony beads and have some scalplocks attached. The rectangular neck flap is constructed of four horizontal rows of white pony beads applied to red wool.

The other three embroidered items include a bandolier, a gun case, and a miniature child's cradle. The bandolier (Monteith's "regalia") is decorated with red wool and seed beads worked in a characteristic post-1860 Plateau geometric design. This type of beadwork is called the "Transmontane style" because is was practiced by both southern Plateau

peoples and the Plains-dwelling Crow.[114] The heavily fringed gun case has red and black wool and a simple Transmontane design worked in seed beads at one end (Fig. 44). The cradle has a wool headboard that is decorated with two stars in the middle of a red field (Fig. 45). Green, blue, and white seed beads are sparingly applied in a generally linear fashion. The upper portion of the cradle is edged with white pony beads.[115]

The second Plateau Indian agent to forward articles for the Centennial Exposition was James H. Wilbur of the Yakima Agency.[116] In January 1876, Wilbur directed an inquiry to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs asking for details relative to the purchase and shipment of collected items. He received a reply that was dated one week after the one sent to Agent Monteith. The financial and shipping arrangements were identical in both cases, with the exception that the commanding officer at Fort Dalles had the option of forwarding Centennial objects to Washington in the care of the Alaska Commercial Company.[117]

Wilbur's shipment of items for the Centennial display was sent on or before June 22, 1876. They were reportedly "a gratuitous contribution of articles" donated by the residents of the Yakima reservation.[118] On July 12, the Indian Commissioner informed the Yakima agent that the objects had not yet reached the Smithsonian and that the Quarter Master's Department should be contacted regarding their whereabouts.[119] They had, however, been accessioned



Figure 44. Nez Perce gun case, before 1876. Buckskin, wool cloth, and glass beads. Catalogue No. E23844; Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution.

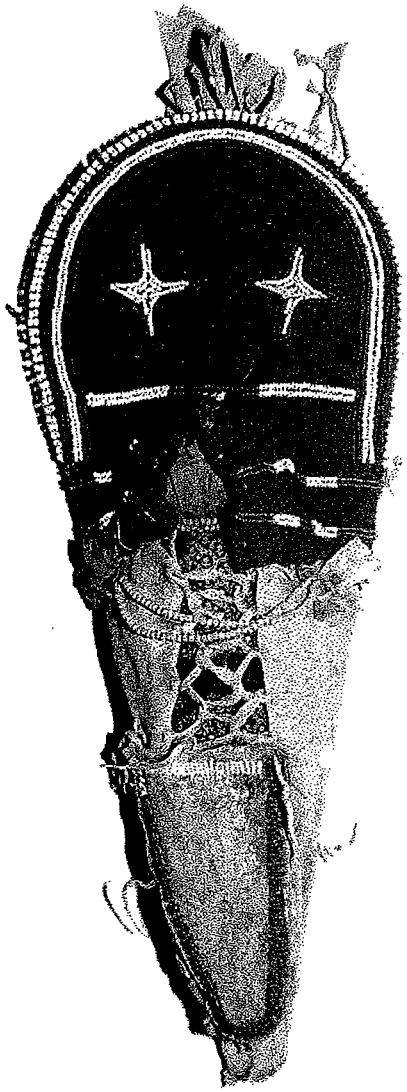


Figure 45. Nez Perce miniature cradle, before 1876. Mixed media. Catalogue No. E23845; Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution.

by the Smithsonian two days previously.

This body of Yakima material was apparently collected during the first half of 1876. It is interesting in that it includes several items which appear to have been made specifically for the Centennial. While new manufactures did not violate the printed instructions to secure "specimens now or formerly in use," Wilbur's use of them would have caused the national audience to see the Yakima in what he perceived as a favorable light. Traditional or antique objects in the assemblage included a "woman's work basket" (a side-fringed rawhide bag; Figs. 38-39), a wooden mortar and stone pestle, and a "medicine man's cloak" (an unadorned fully perforated shirt; Fig 46).[120]

The other items appear to represent the Yakima as Wilbur wished them to be seen, having "made great advancement in agriculture and other civilized arts."[121] Prominent in this group is a large woman's beaded saddle pouch (Fig. 47).[122] Two faces of the pouch display seed beads arrayed in what could be considered abstracted floral or proto-floral designs. On one of the sides, three black and yellow and three black and blue figures are worked on a white and blue contour-beaded ground.[123] On the reverse side, the ground is red wool. Here, a red, blue, and yellow eight-pointed star is framed by opposing black and blue bi-lobed figures. White pony beads and a commercial blue-black fringe serve as edging. The bag is in pristine condition and shows no signs of use.

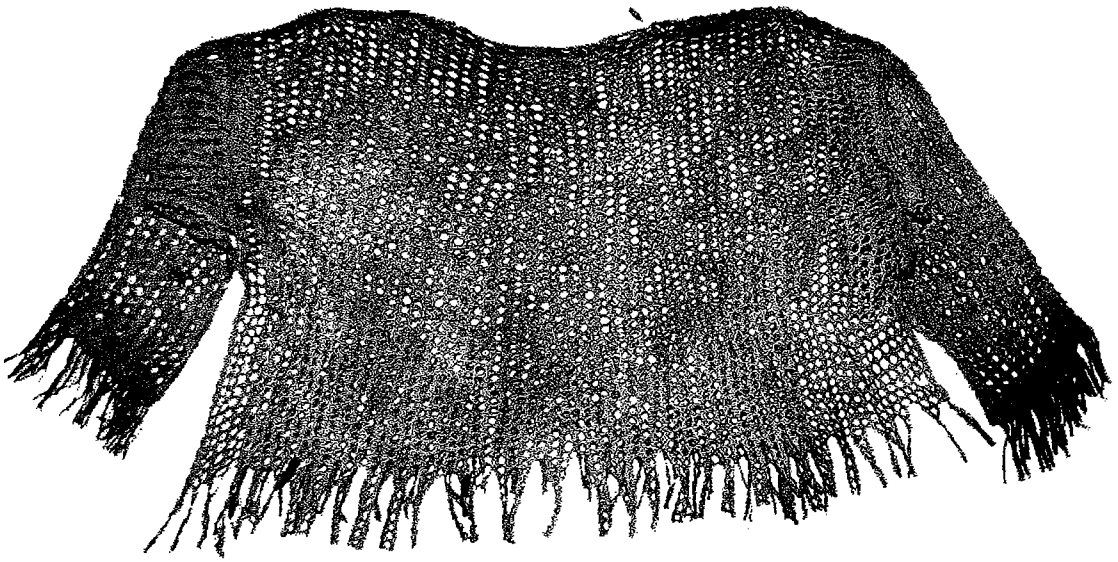


Figure 46. Yakima man's perforated shirt, before 1876. Buckskin. Catalogue No. E23879; Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution.

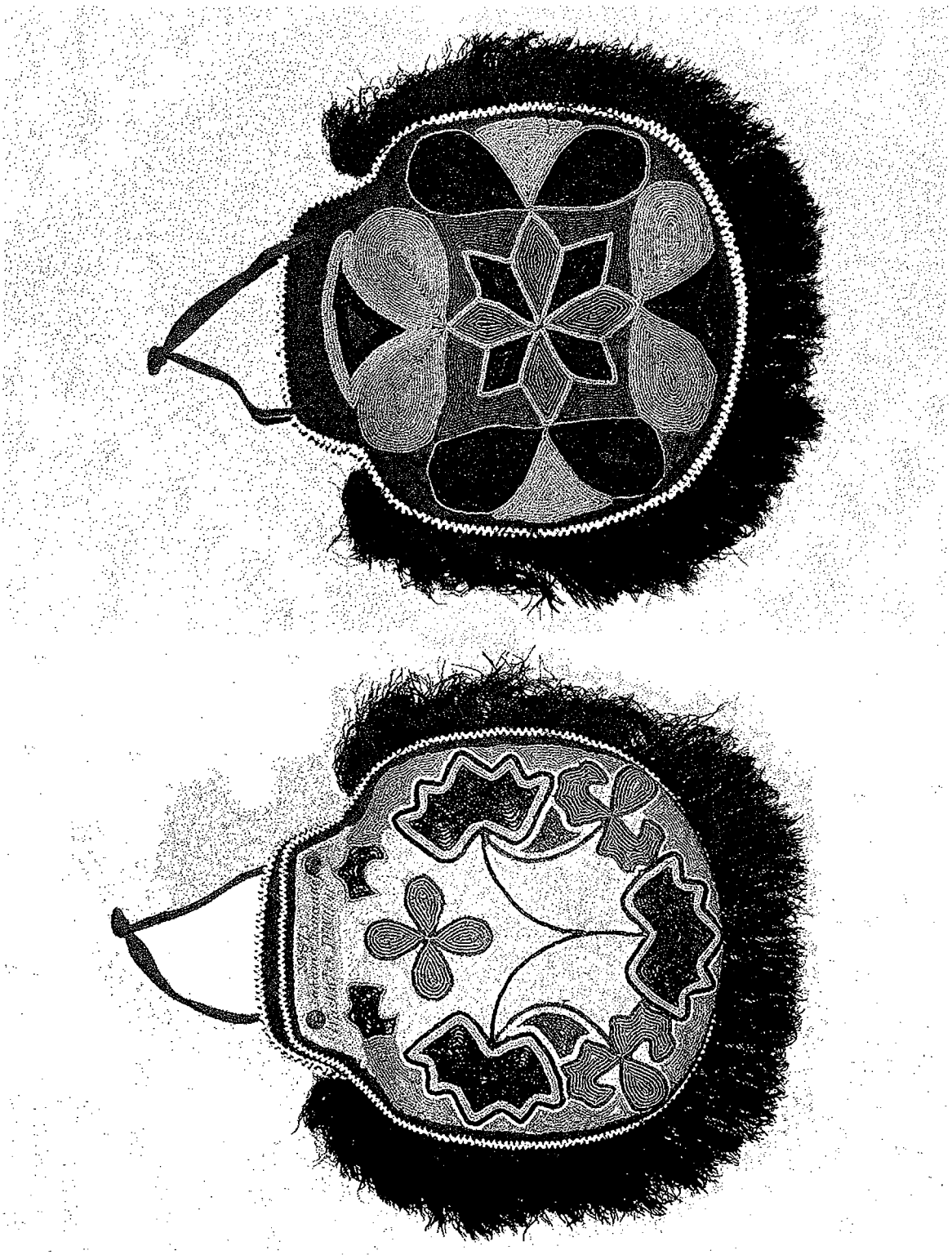


Figure 47. Yakima double saddle pouch (recto and verso), 1876. Mixed media, 11-1/4 x 12-3/16 in. Catalogue No. E23873; Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution.

In his Annual Report for 1871, Wilbur had stated:

> Some of the boys that have been in school in years past have been instructed in harness-making, so that now they are capable of cutting and making team harness for the agency teams and for the Indians. During the first and second quarters these Indian boys made twenty-eight sets of team-harness...All the repairs of the harnesses for the agency teams and the Indians are done by the Indian boys.[124]

The following year he reported, "We are educating young men in our shops to make harness, build houses, work in the mills and on the farms, so as to make them capable in every department of business of taking care of themselves. We already have young men that are capable of...making boots and shoes [and] making harness..."[125]

The remaining articles of handiwork present in the 1876 shipment were leather saddle accessories apparently made by students or alumni of the agency school. These included a set of two flank or jerk cinches and two embossed side flaps (also known as fenders or "sweat-leather"; Fig. 48).[126] These were produced of tooled cowhide and mimic contemporary American tack rather than replicating any indigenous horsegear. The cinches are embossed with foliate designs while the fenders are pictorial. Produced as a mirror set, these latter objects contain two major vignettes. An eagle holding a snake in its claws is prominently placed above two men with spears (accompanied by a dog) who are attacking a bear. The margins here are also filled with foliate designs and a cabbage rose or similar flower is placed conspicuously

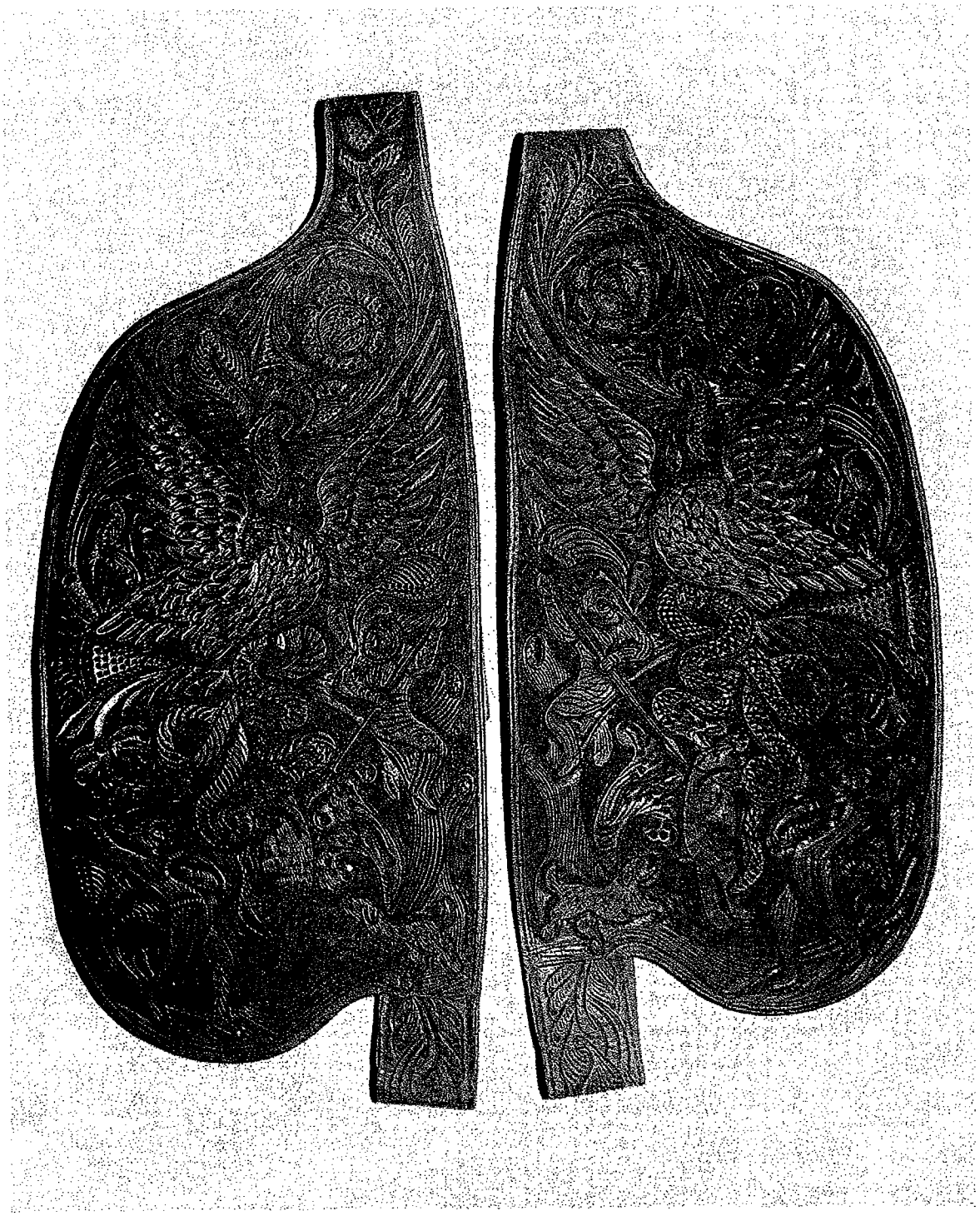


Figure 48. Yakima saddle fenders or "sweat leather," 1876. Tooled leather. Catalogue No. E23883; Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution.

in the upper fourth of each fender.

The leatherworking enterprise at the Yakima agency was apparently quite active as more complex objects, including a woman's sidesaddle, were produced there before 1882 (Figs. 49-50). The sidesaddle, now in the collection of the National Museum of American History, is also decorated with a genre scene and other pictorial elements. The on-side leather skirt has floral, bird, and butterfly motifs. The off-side skirt shows a woman riding sidesaddle through a forest while birds fly overhead.[127]

The unfortunate context of the 1877 Nez Perce War provided a variety of museum collections with well-dated objects of Nez Perce origin.[128] The assembled items provide insight into the material culture of the non-treaty Nez Perce, although some reservation Nez Perce and Palouse were affiliated with the fleeing band.[129] Continuing research will hopefully add to this body of objects.

A museum object that can be traced to the early stages of the hostilities is a blanket strip now in the collection of the Maxey Museum at Whitman College (Fig. 51). This item reportedly came from a Nez Perce cache and was secured by an early Walla Walla resident, William S. Clark. Clark was among a group of 20 volunteers from the Walla Walla area who accompanied soldiers from Fort Walla Walla to Fort Lapwai in June 1877. The volunteers saw service in the field between June 21 and June 29, 1877. Among their duties was helping with the burial of 34 soldiers who had been killed on the

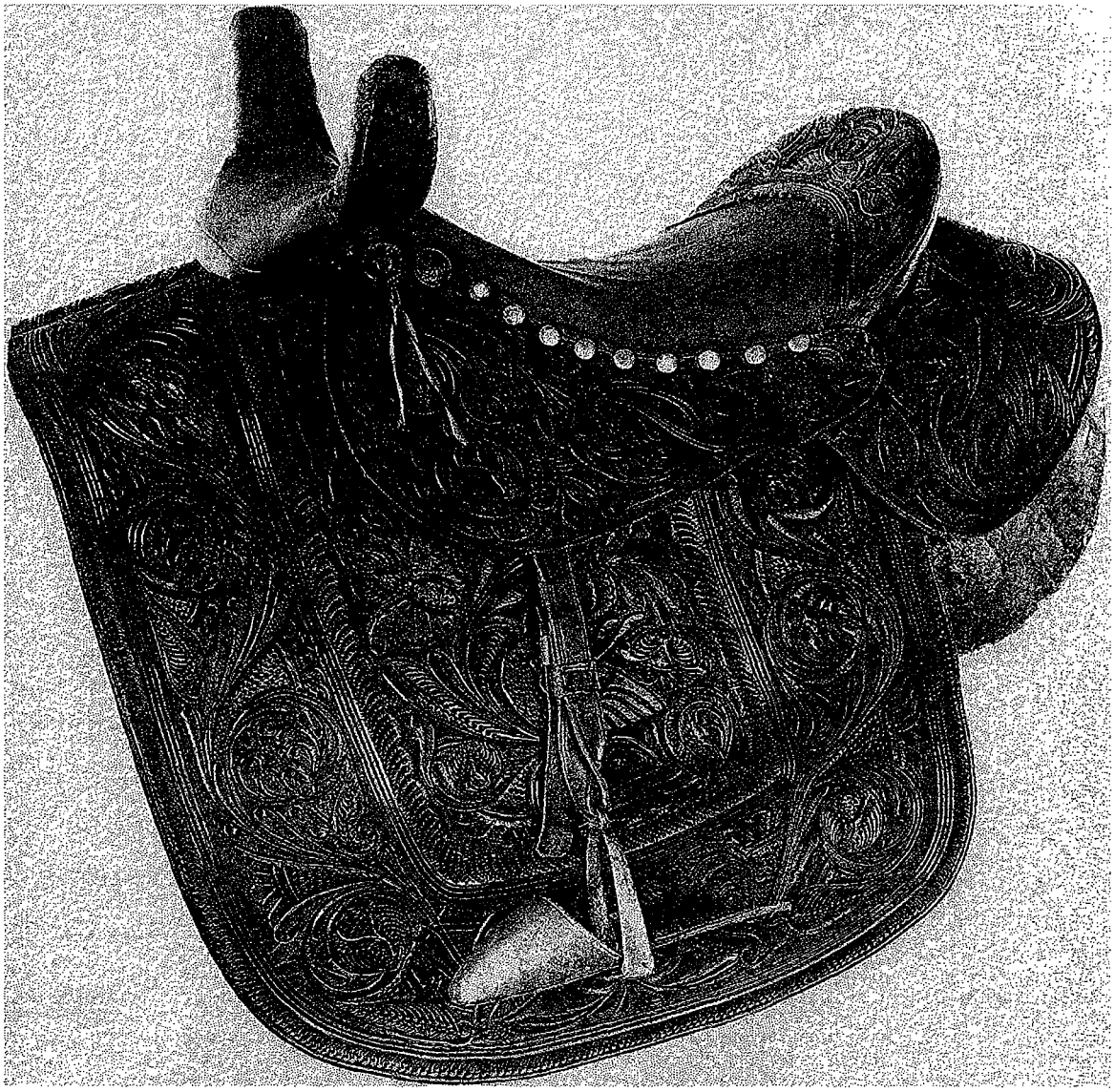


Figure 49. Yakima Western sidesaddle (on side), before 1882. Mixed media, 21-1/4 x 11-3/4 x 26-3/4 in. Catalogue No. 6554, Department of Cultural History, Smithsonian Institution. Smithsonian Institution Photo No. 77-5570.



Figure 50. Yakima Western sidesaddle (off side), before 1882. Mixed media, 21-1/4 x 11-3/4 x 26-3/4 in. Catalogue No. 6554, Department of Cultural History, Smithsonian Institution. Smithsonian Institution Photo No. 77-5571.

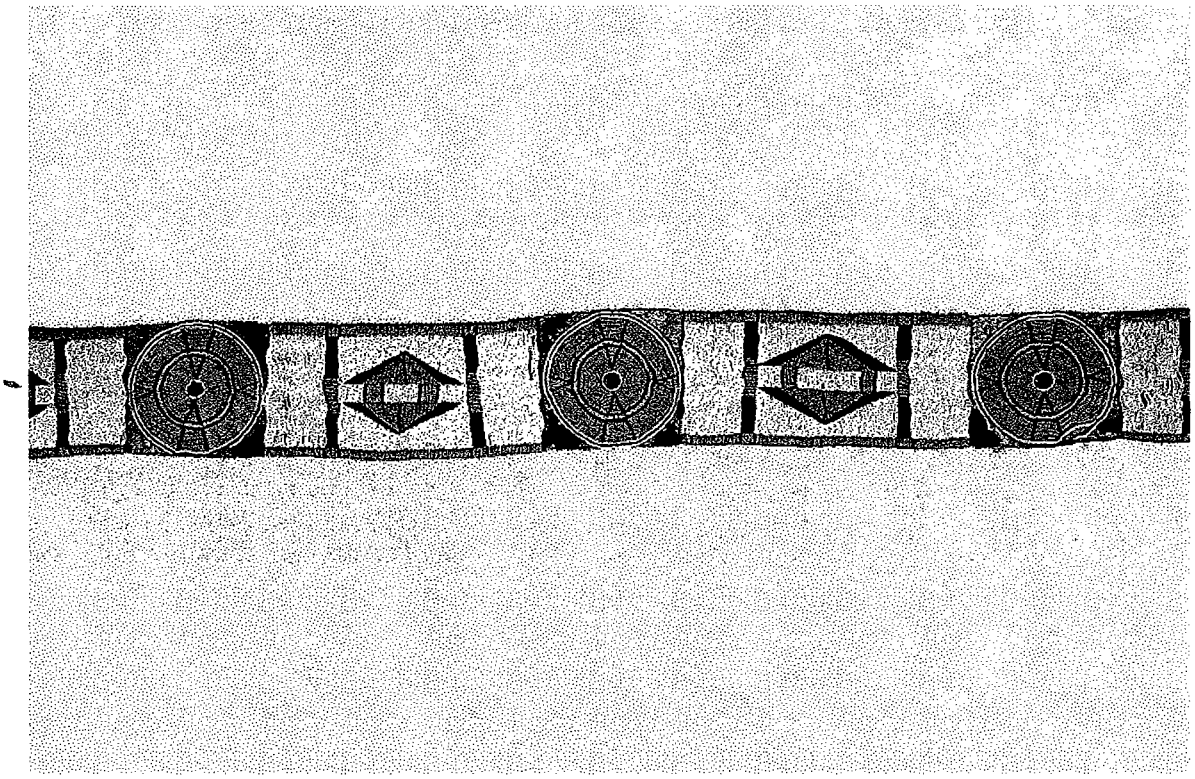


Figure 51. Nez Perce blanket strip (detail), before 1877. Buckskin, wool cloth, and glass beads, overall length: 64 in. Catalogue No. WHIT-O-43; Maxey Museum, Whitman College, Walla Walla, Washington.

White Bird Battlefield on June 17. While in the general vicinity of this battlefield the volunteers "raised an Indian *cache*" in which "many things" were found, including this blanket strip.[130] When donated to the Maxey Museum in 1948, Clark's descendants stated their belief that it "was probably the property of Chief Joseph" although no supporting evidence was provided.[131] The blanket strip is decorated in a classic Transmontane design worked in seed beads.

The majority of items now known to have been recovered and kept as souvenirs of the conflict were retrieved after the Battle of the Clearwater River, fought on July 11-12, 1877.[132] By the afternoon of the second day of fighting, many of the Nez Perce warriors had withdrawn from the battlefield and returned to their nearby camp. Under General Howard's direction, the Army troops then attacked all along the Indian line. After brief resistance, the remaining Nez Perce fighters retired. The non-treaties were subsequently forced to flee their campsite prematurely. An estimated 550 noncombatants, 200 fighting men, and 2000-3000 horses made a successful escape, but a great many personal belongings were abandoned in the haste.[133]

A variety of first-person accounts recorded the scene. Volunteer aide-de-camp Thomas Sutherland recalled that "[h]undreds of buffalo robes, skins of all kinds in abundance, camas and kous roots dried and in flour, quantities of dried beef, with their different utensils--in

fact their entire camp equipage, was captured."[134] General Howard's recollection was that "[t]he Indian camp, abandoned in haste, had the lodges still standing, filled with their effects,--blankets, buffalo robes, cooking utensils, food cooking on the fires, flour, jerked beef, and plunder of all descriptions."[135]

In a letter written two weeks after the event, Second Lieutenant Harry Lee Bailey wrote, "After the long battle, we camped in the place just occupied by the Indians, and we had an interesting time 'going through' the large amount of plunder...I can only carry a small proportion of the many 'relics' that were found, and mostly burned."[136] He later wrote:

> The Indian camp appeared to have been their home for a long time. The order was, "Burn everything!" The packers and citizens (for it was marvelous how many citizens seemed to arrive), showed us how to find the caches or underground storages, by prodding with our ramrods. It was a wonder to see the tons and tons of flour and other foods, and fine Indian goods, mostly burned. There was gold dust, jewelry, and fine silver tableware, some of which I judged dated from an early Hudson's Bay period. All this being brought to light, the packers and citizens helped themselves, while I tried to get a few things as souvenirs, but as fast as I got a little bundle, someone took it as I was looking after the troops.[137]

Bailey offered a further comment when donating retrieved items to the Allen County Historical Society in his hometown of Lima, Ohio.

> We found tons of Indian goods in "CACHES," which were holes in the ground or rocks about three or four feet wide and about six feet deep, and cunningly covered with earth and ashes, and trampled over by horses. The manner of finding them was by punching ramrods or stakes into the ground until the feel of buffalo hides a few feet below the surface gave the evidence. It was a great pity to see the hoardings of years, including articles of great value, such as silver and gold spoons and dishes burned and destroyed, but the citizens, unencumbered by duties and "orders" made great gains as we left the two days battle field on the rapid chase of the Indians.[138]

Nonetheless, Bailey was able to secure two hard tack boxes worth of material. These were sent back to Fort Lapwai by pack train and recovered there when the Lieutenant later carried a dispatch to that post from Montana. Among the items originally acquired was "a battle shirt with white human hair in the ornamental fringe, and other interesting things."[139] Some of the objects were eventually lost through theft or given as gifts. Others were loaned to the "old and once famous" Military Service Museum on Governor's Island, New York. This latter material apparently disappeared during a time span that coincided with World War I.[140]

The three Nez Perce items from the Bailey collection include a set of bronze bells, a beaded sheath, and an unadorned girl's dress. The sheath is beaded in a geometric design of green and blue with details of black, yellow, and red (Fig. 52). The small tail-dress is made of fringed white buckskin (Fig. 53). The items were given to the Nez

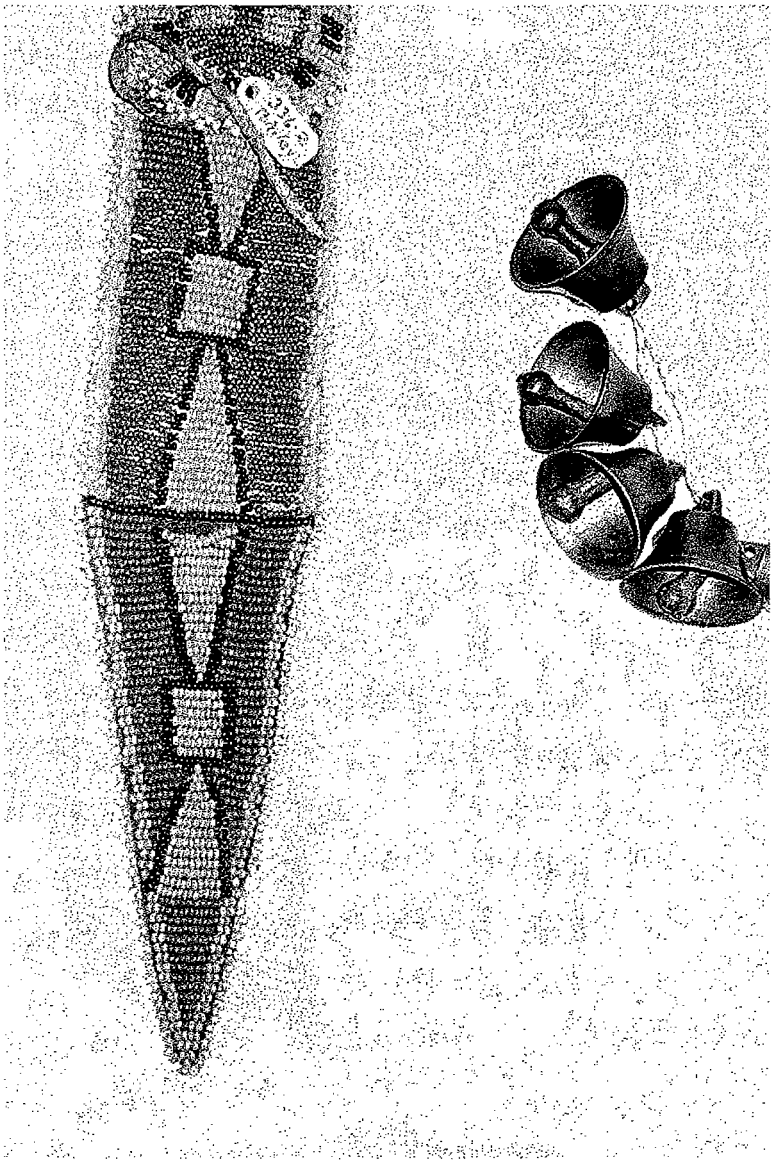


Figure 52. Nez Perce beaded sheath and bells, before 1877. Mixed media. Catalogue No. 33924; Nez Perce National Historical Park, Spalding, Idaho. Photo courtesy Allen County Historical Society, Lima, Ohio.



Figure 53. Nez Perce girl's dress, before 1877. Buckskin. Catalogue No. 33923; Nez Perce National Historical Park, Spalding, Idaho. Photo courtesy Allen County Historical Society, Lima, Ohio.

Perce people in August 1998; they are now housed at Nez Perce National Historical Park.

Another individual who recovered booty from the Nez Perce camp beside the Clearwater River was Captain Stephen Girard Whipple.[141] Whipple is best remembered as the leader of those troops responsible for the attack and sacking of Looking Glass' village on July 1, 1877. Several days prior, informants among the reservation Nez Perce had reported that members of the Looking Glass band were plotting to join the non-treaty Nez Perce. With two cavalry companies, Gatling guns, and twenty Mount Idaho volunteers, Whipple was sent to arrest Looking Glass. No parley occurred between the chief and this force, and, in Whipple's own words, "several Indians were killed, the camp, with a large amount of supplies, [was] destroyed, and seven hundred and twenty-five ponies [were] captured."[142]

Whipple and his cavalry also figured prominently in the battles of Cottonwood (July 4-5) and the Clearwater. His actions were praised by Howard and in 1890 he was recommended for a brevet for "gallant service in action against the hostile Nez Perce Indians, during the battle of the Clearwater, Idaho, July 11 and 12, 1877."[143] After the battle, Whipple apparently joined others who were looting the Nez Perce caches. He retrieved a tail-dress that was still in the early stages of being decorated (Fig. 54). Several rows of seed beads were all that had yet been attached to the right front yoke of the garment. After



Figure 54. Nez Perce woman's dress (detail), 1877. Catalogue No. 06-5-10/66514; Peabody Museum, Harvard University. Photograph by Hillel Burger.

Whipple's October 1895 death in Eureka, California, his wife sold the dress to collector Grace Nicholson. It is now at the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University.[144]

A third individual who kept material recovered from the caches opened after the Battle of Clearwater was Army surgeon George Miller Sternberg.[145] Sternberg was stationed at Fort Walla Walla after August 1876 and had been deployed with the field forces seeking to contain the non-treaty Nez Perce in mid June 1877.[146] Army losses sustained during the Battle of the Clearwater kept the doctor very busy and following the battle he was assigned the task of caring for and transporting (to Fort Lapwai via Grangeville) 27 wounded soldiers.[147] Writing to her mother from Lapwai about two weeks after Sternberg's July 21 arrival there, the wife of that post's surgeon related the following:

> You should see some of the Indian garments that were taken from the camp the day of the battle when the Indians left in such a hurry. They are made of beautifully tanned skin, soft as chamois skin, and cut something like we used to cut our paper dollie dresses. The bottom is fringed, and the body part down to the waist is heavily beaded. You never saw such bead work, and the beads make them so heavy. These, of course, are their costumes for grand occasions. One of them I could not lift. Then they have leggings to match, and if it is a chief or big man, they have an outfit for his horse of the same style. Doctor Sternberg is an enthusiast of the subject of collecting curiosities, and he purchased from men who had gotten them, four or five of these garments. For one, he gave ten dollars in coin,

and for another with a horse fixing, 25 dollars. So you see, they must be handsome.[148]

According to Mrs. Sternberg's later account, the packers attached to the military force "knew the Indian customs" and had taken the initiative to locate hidden caches. "From these caches beautiful beaded ceremonial robes, belts, rugs, and trinkets were taken out and sold to the officers. They were well covered with sod and so smoothly buried that no one not accustomed to this habit would have dreamed of locating them."[149]

The current whereabouts of all of the items purchased by Sternberg are not known, but one of the garments he obtained is now in the collection of the National Museum of Natural History. In 1906, the retired Surgeon General had given this beaded dress to Washington, DC, architect Appleton P. Clark, Sr. Clark's daughter donated it to the Smithsonian in 1956.[150] The yoke of this garment has yellow, red, and black pony beads arrayed in a single wide row along the contour of the foundational animal skin (Fig. 55). What appears to be yellow pigment has been worked into the yoke above the embroidered line. Faceted green, blue, and black beads adorn the long fringe appearing below the yoke.

The other known articles that Sternberg acquired are in the University of Colorado Museum in Boulder, Colorado. A beaded dress and a woven flat bag ended up there after being given to Colorado Congressman Edward Keating. According to

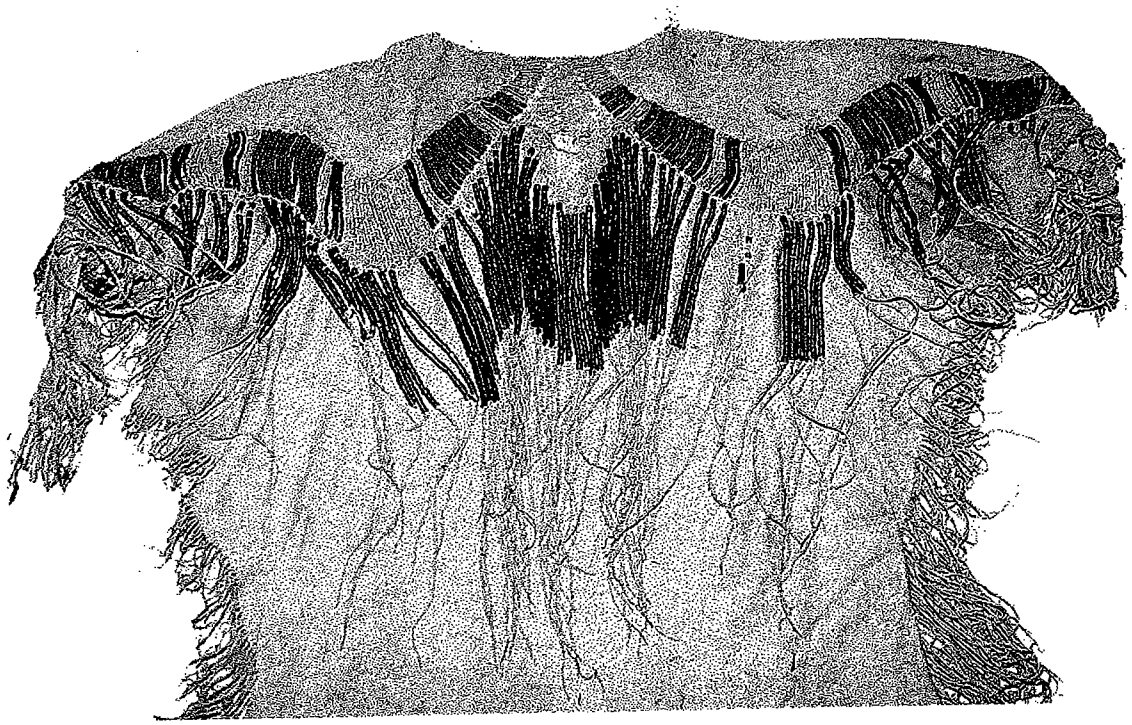


Figure 55. Nez Perce woman's dress (detail), before 1877. Mixed media. Catalogue No. E394226; Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution.

one of Sternberg's biographers, the General's widow bestowed the items upon Representative Keating "in appreciation of a particular favor he had done her."[151] An undated letter among the Edward Keating papers reveals that the favor was assistance rendered Mrs. Sternberg while she was seeking a pension after her husband's death.[152]

The yoke of this dress is heavily encrusted with seed beads (Fig. 56). A ground of blue covers the shoulders leaving animal tails exposed at front and back. Six sets of black and yellow vertical stripes are arrayed across the upper portions of the garment. Large red and blue beads are attached to the long fringe below the yoke. A beaded hair-parter (or awl case) decorated in the fashion of the yoke is also attached to the back.

A second Army medical officer belatedly acquired objects reported to be from the Clearwater caches. George Martin Kober had been post surgeon at Camp McDermit, Nevada, since November 1874.[153] On July 1, 1877, he left that station to join a force of 1st Cavalry troops that had been ordered to Kamiah, Idaho, as reinforcements for General Howard's beleaguered corps.[154] The mounted soldiers arrived at Kamiah on July 28, 1877. Some accompanied Howard across Lolo Pass in pursuit of the fleeing Nez Perce while others remained in Idaho to protect the local population against the anticipated return of the non-treaty Indians.

Kober was stationed near Kamiah (at Camp McBeth) between July 29 and October 1, 1877. Of this tenure, his

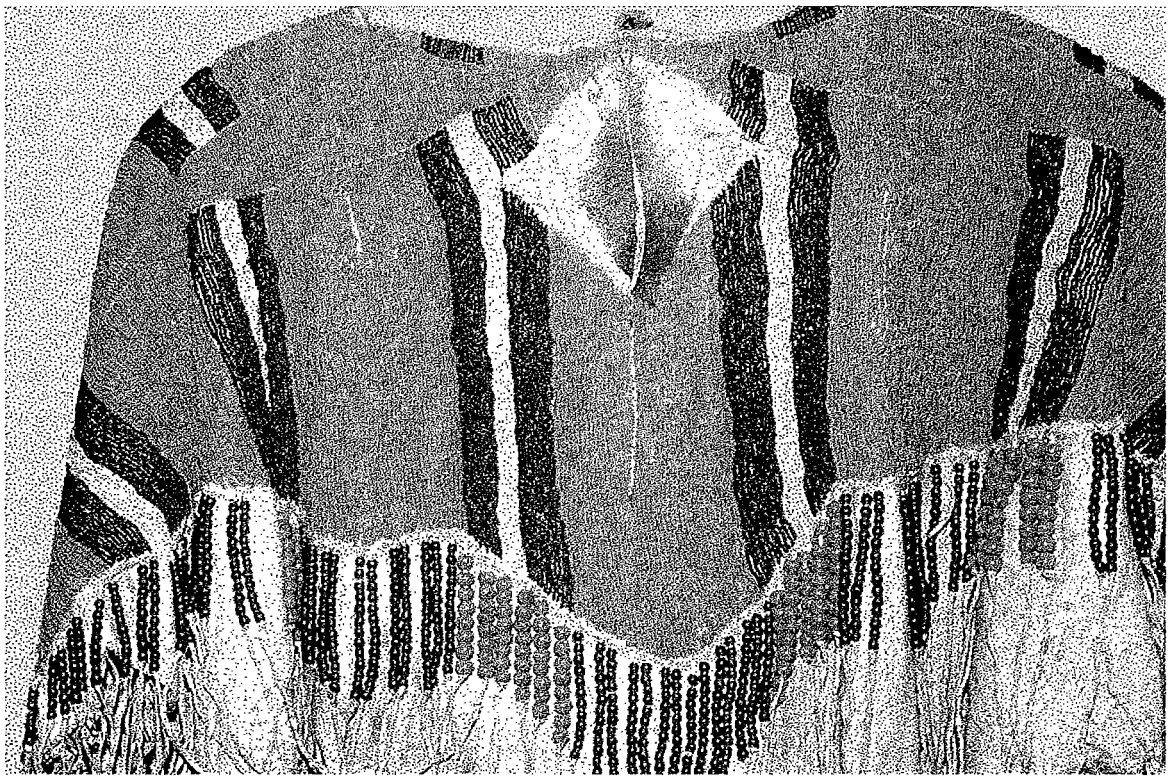


Figure 56. Nez Perce woman's dress (detail), before 1877. Mixed media. Catalogue No. 16245; University of Colorado Museum, Boulder. Photograph courtesy of Barbara Loeb.

autobiography reported the following:

> From some of the friendly Indians, especially Archie and his brother James Lawyer, we learned of the hasty flight of Chief Joseph and his warriors after the battle, and how they had abandoned their lodges, filled with their effects like blankets, buffalo robes, and even some provisions, such as jerked beef, venison, and flour. The civilian scouts and packers, who knew the Indians' customs, had gone over the ground and found many "caches" where the Indians had buried their greatest treasures in expectation of return. From these caches beautiful beaded ceremonial robes, belts, moccasins, rugs, and trinkets were taken and sold to the officers. A sister of Chief "Archie," who in her younger years had helped to make and decorate a ceremonial buckskin suit for Chief Joseph, was awarded this treasure. I am glad that she yielded to my request to let me have it on the promise that I would present it to the National Museum in Washington.[155]

The suit Kober acquired was comprised of a coat and pants that were fashioned in a Euroamerican cut (Figs. 57-58). The coat is constructed of fringed buckskin and is lined with a plaid woolen fabric. Its collar and shoulders are decorated in a symmetrical arrangement of floral embroidery executed in silk thread. Each lapel has a vertical arrangement of four simplified flower blossoms.

The pants are likewise constructed of fringed buckskin. They are adorned with matching vertical arrangements of simple flower blossoms applied in beads to a red woolen trim that extends along the outside of each pant leg. A strip of trim that extends across the top of the pants below the belt line bears a scalloped design that is similar to the motif found on the moccasins collected by John Monteith in 1876.



Figure 57. Nez Perce man's coat, before 1877. Mixed media. Catalogue No. E131241; Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution.



Figure 58. Nez Perce man's trousers, before 1877. Mixed media. Catalogue No. E131242; Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution.

George Kober arrived on the Nez Perce reservation fully two weeks after the Battle of the Clearwater. As a consequence, he was not a witness to the aftermath of that engagement. While this outfit seems to be of contemporary Nez Perce origin, its association with the non-treaty caches and Chief Joseph should be accepted with caution. The "sister of Chief 'Archie,' who...had helped to make and decorate" the outfit and who subsequently yielded to Kober's request for it was Lucy Lawyer.[156] The Monteith collection makes it evident that by this time Lucy Lawyer was familiar with the practice of selling Nez Perce objects to interested white collectors. The majority of large Nez Perce items secured for the Centennial Exposition were purchased from Lucy Lawyer. In monetary terms, the five objects obtained from her totaled about two-thirds of Monteith's expenditure.

The European cut of the garments and their silk-thread embroidery do suggest that the coat and pants may have been made by members of the Christian Nez Perce community. Whether representatives of that faction might have fashioned a special suit for the non-treaty Joseph is open to dispute, however.[157] The purported ceremonial nature of the clothing should also be questioned.

Kober's "ceremonial buckskin suit" was donated to the Smithsonian in 1890, where "the museum authorities caused the preparation of a statue of Chief Joseph."[158] The coat and pants did eventually appear on a figure styled as a "Nez Perce Indian Chief," although possibly not until after about

1911.[159] As installed, the suit appeared with beaded moccasins also collected by Kober. These share many features of the pair collected for the Centennial Exposition in 1876 (Fig. 59). They are decorated with geometric designs worked in red, white, blue, black, and transparent beads, and red and black cloth.

The mannequin was also dressed with an otter-skin quiver, a Coast Salish blanket, and a feathered cap.[160] The cap is problematic as it bears a marked similarity to owl feather caps of Apache manufacture.[161] The 1890 Smithsonian accession ledger calls it a "Headdress, Nez Percé Costume, Kamiah" and records that it was "Collected during Nez Percé war, 1877-1879."[162] It may have been collected from among the Nez Perce but it is more likely that Kober obtained it elsewhere. Other items in the Kober donation appear to have had origins in the American Southwest (objects identified as Apache and Yuma) although he was never stationed at military posts in the area.[163]

A gun case now in the collection of Nez Perce National Historical Park was reportedly recovered from the banks of the Clearwater River near Kamiah shortly after the Battle of the Clearwater (Fig. 60). It was apparently dropped or left by non-treaty Nez Perce who were heading for Wieppe Prairie prior to the crossing of Lolo Pass. Like the example sent to the Centennial the year before, the gun case has heavy fringe and a geometric Transmontane design worked in seed beads at the extremity of the barrel end.

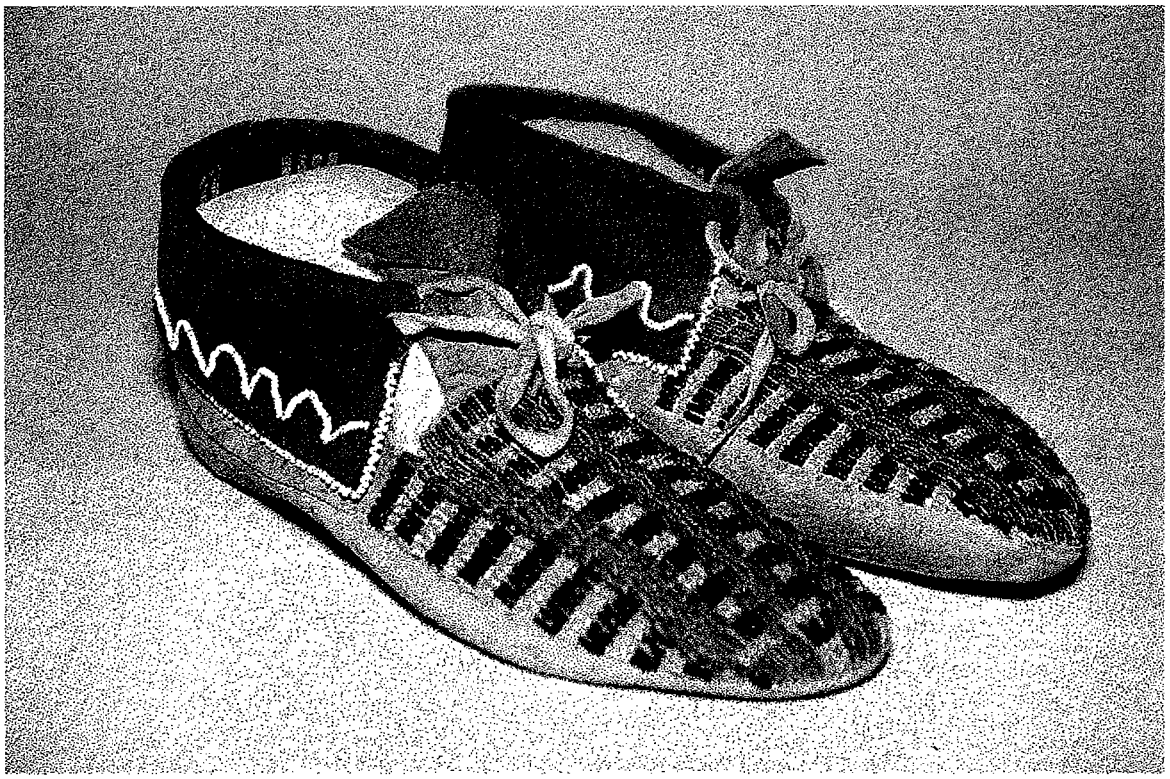


Figure 59. Nez Perce man's moccasins, 1877. Mixed media. Catalogue No. E131243; Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution.

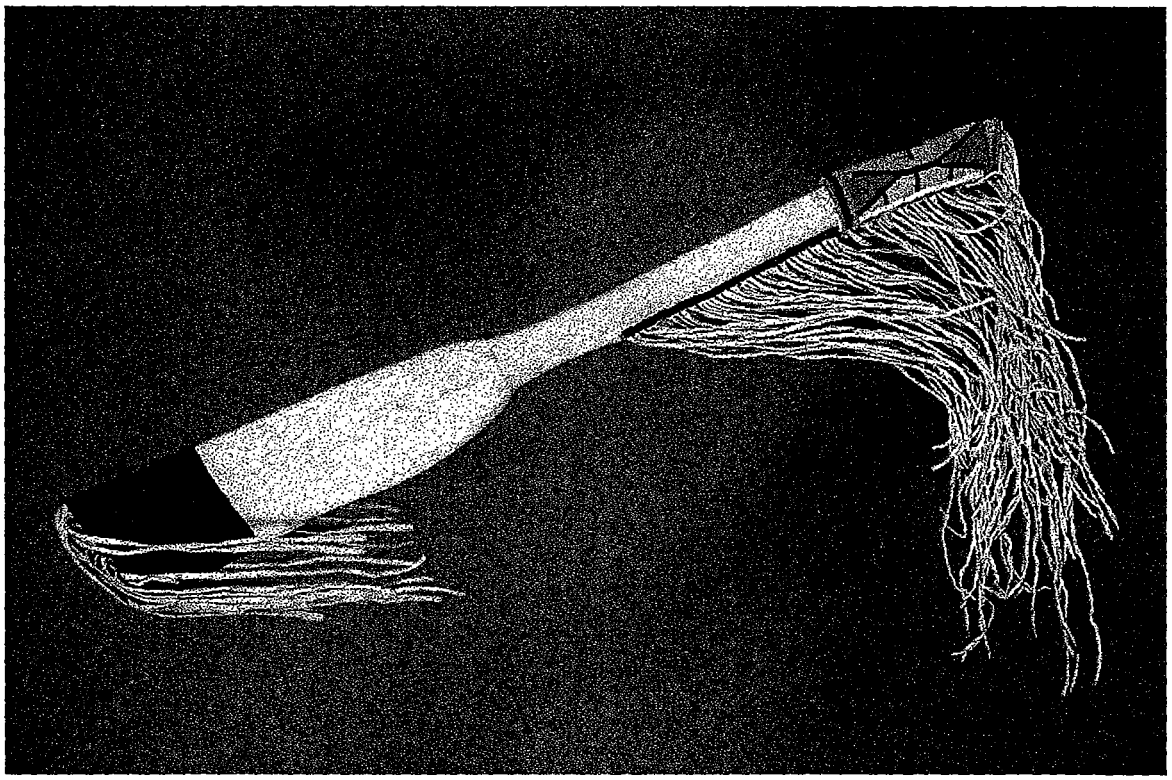


Figure 60. Nez Perce gun case, before 1877. Mixed media. Catalogue No. 5836; National Park Service, Nez Perce National Historical Park, Spalding, Idaho.

On August 9, 1877, members of the U.S. Army's 7th Infantry and volunteer soldiers attacked the village of the non-treaty Nez Perce as it had been erected in Montana's Big Hole Valley. The surprise assault took place before dawn and many Nez Perce were killed as they awoke and tried to flee. A small beaded leather pouch retrieved after the fighting is now on loan to Nez Perce National Historic Park. It resembles the pouch worn by the man in the left rear of Figure 17.[164]

Two Nez Perce items were recovered from the fighting that occurred at Canyon Creek, Montana, on September 13, 1877.[165] Neither object is central to this discussion but both bear mentioning. One was a woven flat bag reportedly collected by 7th Cavalry Captain James Montgomery Bell, now on loan to the Smithsonian Institution (Figs. 38-39).[166] The other was a tomahawk collected by Captain S.G. Fisher, who was then serving as chief of the Army's Bannock scouts.[167] The tomahawk is currently in the possession of the Idaho State Historical Society. A Transmontane-style beaded drop that is now attached to the handle of this item was added at Fisher's direction sometime after its acquisition.[168]

At the conclusion of the Battle of Bear Paw (September 30-October 5, 1877), Joseph surrendered a portion of the non-treaty Nez Perce to the assembled forces of General Howard and then-Colonel Nelson A. Miles. According to contemporary accounts, the surrender was proffered when

Joseph handed his rifle to Colonel Miles.[169] Those armed men who accompanied him then also handed over their rifles, as did others later that day. The rifle Joseph gave in surrender, with its accompanying gun case, is now in the collection of the National Museum of the American Indian.[170] The gun case is similar to the two examples cited above. It is heavily fringed at each extremity. Geometric designs are additionally worked in seed beads at the butt and barrel ends.[171]

A beaded field glasses case in the collection of the American Museum of Natural History was reportedly given by Joseph to General Howard's aide-de-camp, Lieutenant Charles Erskine Scott Wood (Fig. 61).[172] After the surrender at Bear Paw, Wood had been assigned to take charge of Joseph and see to his personal comfort.

> A private tent [was] pitched for Joseph and furnished, and a sentry posted to insure that he would not be bothered by any intruders and was made comfortable in every way. During this time, which was short, [Wood] and Joseph had talks about the campaign and Joseph's future and earned the trust and friendship of each other.[173]

Wood was subsequently active in agitating for the return of the Nez Perce to the Northwest. After resigning from the Army, he saw Joseph on a variety of occasions. As he recalled it:

> I saw Joseph on his way to and from Washington on matters relating to his people. We talked over the old bitter days. He asked if I still had his saddle--we had exchanged saddles

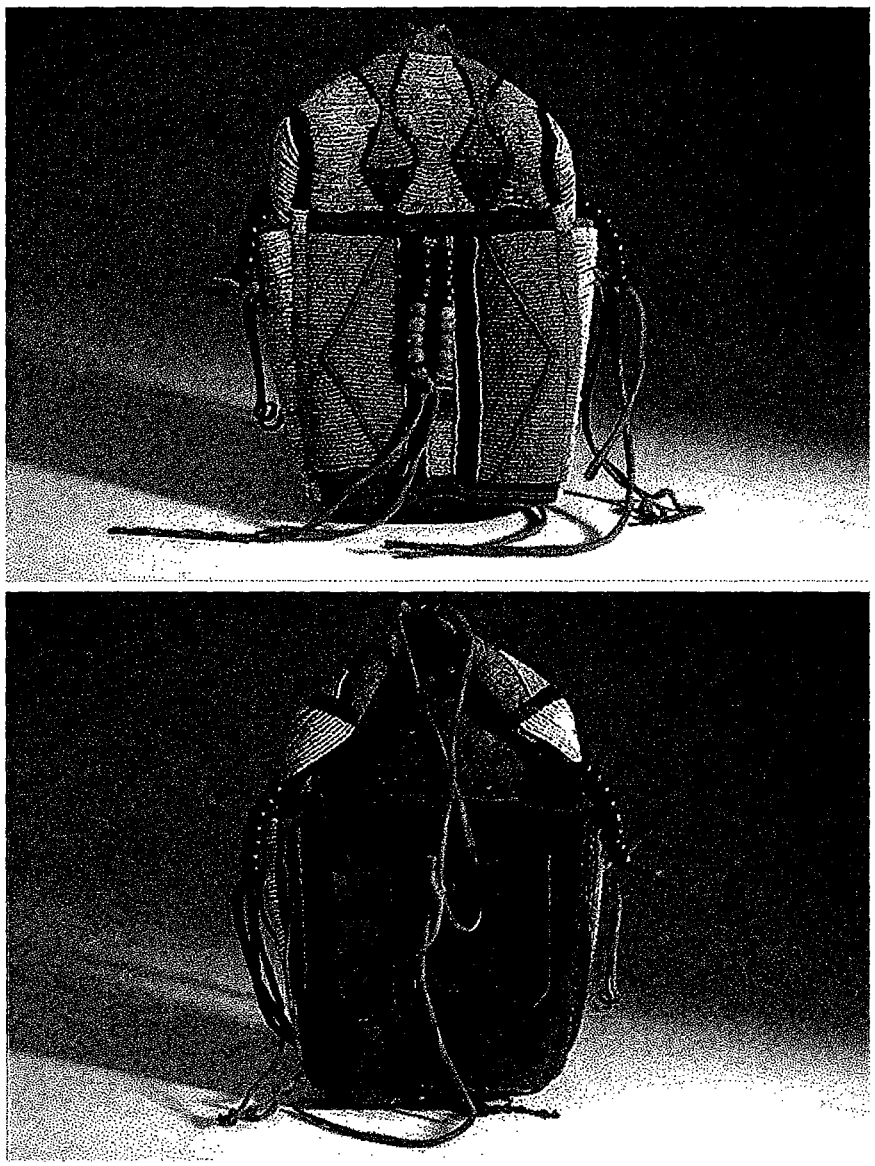


Figure 61. Nez Perce field glasses case, before 1877. Mixed media, 24 x 22 x 4-1/2 in. Catalogue No. 50/1572; Department of Anthropology, American Museum of Natural History, New York.

before we parted at Bear Paw. Once he wanted my boy Erskine to come to his camp--which he did.[174]

Joseph also visited Portland in 1889 as Wood's guest. At that time he posed for the sculptor, Olin L. Warner.[175] Erskine Wood's protracted stays in Joseph's lodge at Nespelem occurred during the autumn months of 1892 and again in 1893.[176]

The front surface of the field glasses case is covered with a Transmontane beaded design. It appears that the beads are sewn to a buckskin surface that has been attached to the commercial leather of the original case. As sometimes occurred on contemporary items, the possibility exists that the beadwork once adorned another object and was recycled and adapted to fit its present use.

Leaving the Bear Paw battlefield, Colonel Miles and portions of the 2nd and 7th Cavalries and 5th Infantry escorted their Nez Perce captives to Cantonment Tongue River (later Fort Keogh) where it was thought they would spend the winter before being returned to Idaho. The party of 400 Indians, three battalions of soldiers, and miscellaneous herds and conveyances reached its destination on the banks of the Yellowstone on October 23. Contrary to expectations, orders arrived six days later directing that the Nez Perce be sent to Fort Abraham Lincoln, near Bismarck, North Dakota. They departed for this new location on October 31. On November 20 they were ordered to continue to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, where they arrived on November 27.

After wintering there, they were sent into exile in Indian Territory the following summer.[177]

Some of the few worldly goods that the Nez Perce still possessed were apparently traded away or otherwise lost during the course of this journey. A fine beaded dress now in the collection of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology did not leave Cantonment Tongue River with its owner (Fig. 62). A young West Point graduate named Monroe P. Thorington arrived at the post on June 5, 1878 and died there just three months later.[178] At some point during this brief period, he appears to have acquired from a second party this prime souvenir of the recent Nez Perce presence at that place.[179] The yoke of this dress is decorated with red, white, and black pony beads.

The non-treaty Nez Perce were detained in Oklahoma until 1885. During this time they were first under the oversight of the Quapaw agency (until 1879) and then were attached to the Ponca agency.[180] Few examples of Nez Perce material culture are known to survive from this period. Nonetheless, some Nez Perce were still in possession of their finery at the beginning of the exile.[181] The fine clothing of several Nez Perce men also received notice in 1879, and the 1883 return to Idaho of some Nez Perce was partially funded by the sale of handicrafts, clothing, and other possessions.[182] Several objects in public collections can, however, be associated with the Nez Perce

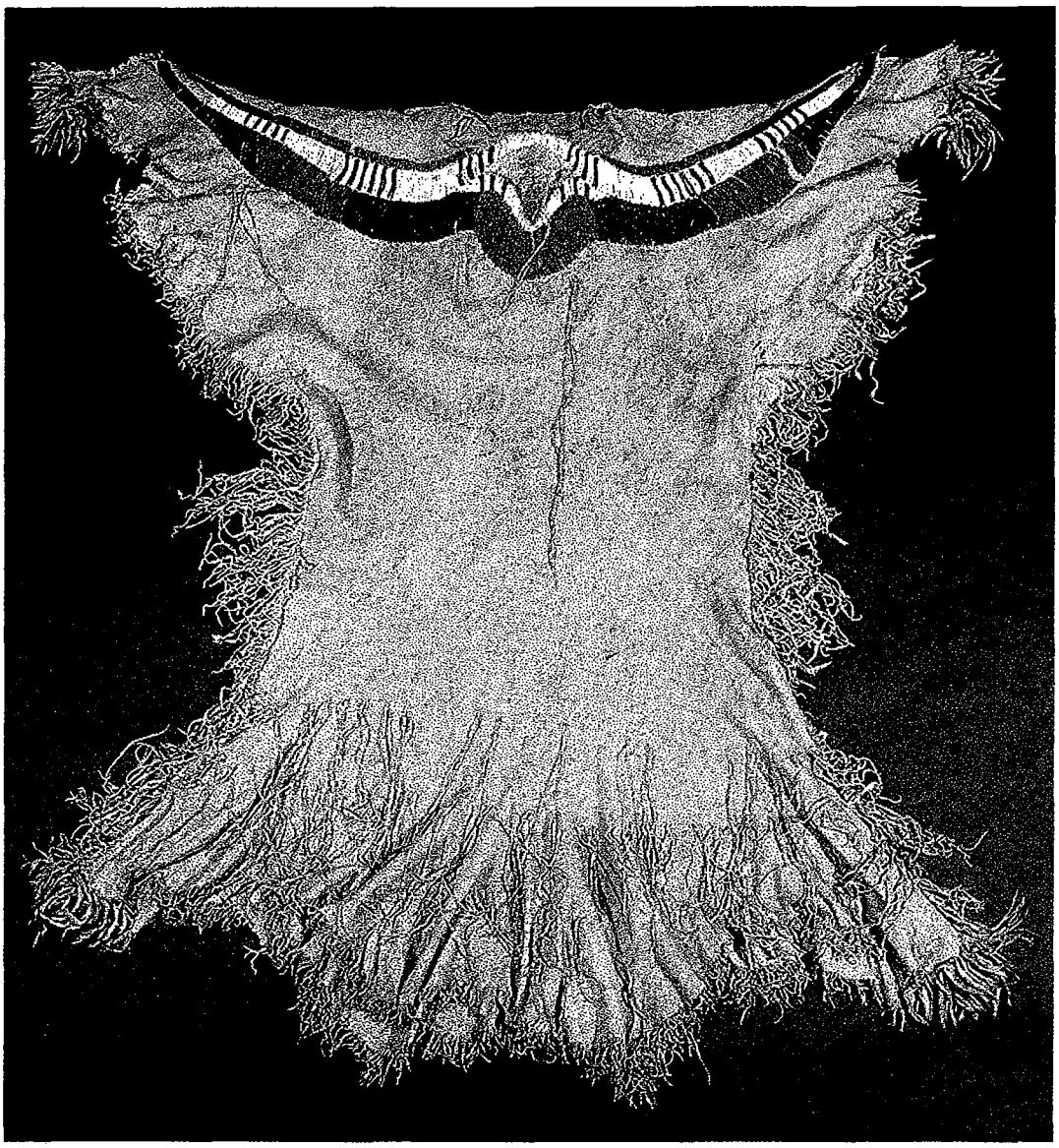


Figure 62. Nez Perce woman's dress, before 1877. Mixed media. University of Pennsylvania Museum (Neg. #T35-2313).

tenure in Indian Territory. These include a flat bag now in the possession of The High Desert Museum, Bend, Oregon, and two twined hats recovered from the cornerstone of the Ponca-Nez Perce Industrial School (founded 1880). The latter items are currently in the collection of the Oklahoma State Historical Society.[183]

The other Plateau articles that are useful to this study comprise a varied lot. Prominent in this group is a bandolier from the Maxey Museum at Whitman College (Fig. 63). According to collection notes, this object was retrieved during the "Captain Painter Gun Boat Expedition" of the 1878 Bannock-Paiute War. In that year, an uprising by these two groups caused many of the white residents of the Columbia Basin to fear that local off-reservation Indian bands might join together in an armed revolt. As a consequence, three steamboats were fitted out with large guns to patrol the Columbia River near the settlements of Umatilla and Wallula.[184] Major John A. Kress commanded the *Spokane*; W.C. Painter of Walla Walla was appointed Captain of 42 volunteer soldiers who manned this vessel.

According to eyewitness accounts,

> They had bales of wool piled around their decks for protection. Whenever they saw a canoe load of Indians they would fire at it and sink the boat and kill the Indians, if possible....Just above Umatilla, Captain Wilkinson saw a canoe load of Indians. He fired and broke the canoe, and the Indians who were aboard swam to the opposite shore.[185]

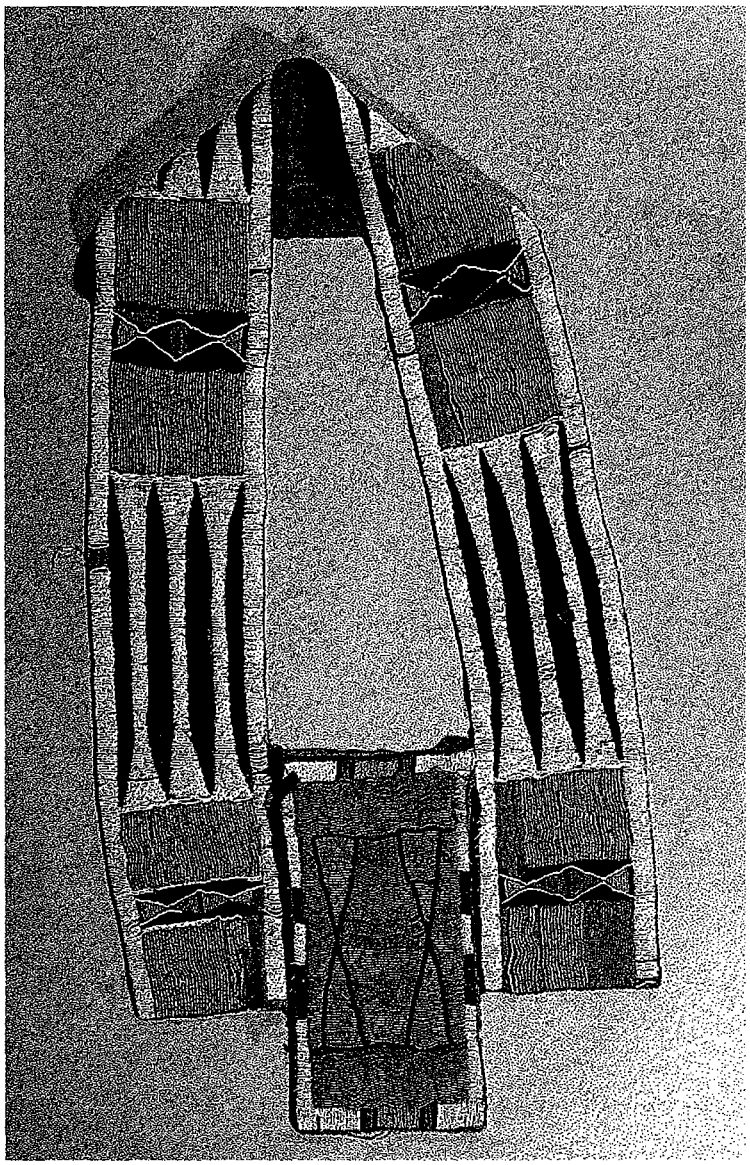


Figure 63. Plateau bandolier, before 1878. Buckskin, wool cloth, and glass beads, 32-5/8 x 16-3/8 in. Catalogue No. WHIT-U-29; Maxey Museum, Whitman College, Walla Walla, Washington.

This same Wilkinson also fired upon a peaceful Indian camp and "[s]ome white men visited the camp, appropriated all of value, and sold them ad valorem. I saw many finely worked buckskin dresses and shirts in different saloons both in Portland and Vancouver, exhibited as fine trophies of the Massacre."[186]

In a letter to his wife date July 9, 1878, Army surgeon John FitzGerald described the gunboat activity expedition as it was reported to General Howard's command:

> [W]e have news to the effect that yesterday Captain Kress, Ordinance Department, on an armed steamer not far from Umatilla, attacked and defeated a large body of Indians crossing over. They are supposed to be Columbia River Indians, mainly. He captured a large quantity of their camp plunder and destroyed canoes, etc. He used howitzers and rifle guns. He had 40 men on board the boat.[187]

According to Kress' description as reproduced later in the Portland newspapers, four confrontations took place within a distance that spanned a point just above Umatilla to a point four miles upstream from the mouth of Willow Creek (25 miles below Umatilla). In one encounter, Captain Kress and the crew of the *Spokane* fired on a group of Indians who had achieved the Washington side of the river. They then proceeded downstream and encountered a second party in a similar situation. The crew of the gunboat again opened fire and soldiers were put ashore to give pursuit. About 30 horses were taken and "[a] large quantity of provisions, saddles, buffalo robes, dresses, etc. were also

captured and brought on board."[188]

The bandolier is beaded in a Transmontane design and one row of faceted navy blue seed beads is present in the composition. It may have come from any of a variety of reservation and non-reservation bands who were then living near the Columbia River. There is a good possibility that it belonged to a member of the Moses Columbia band. In one confrontation between gunboat and Indians, a relative of Moses was killed. The subsequent killing of a white couple north of the river embroiled Moses in tense and protracted interaction with local white settlers.[189]

A blanket strip given to Grace Ellen Howard by a member of the Winnemucca family is also decorated with a Transmontane design. This item apparently came to Miss Howard while her father, General O.O. Howard, was commanding the Department of the Columbia (1874-1880).[190] It is identified as Nez Perce and is now in the collection of the Oregon Historical Society (Fig. 64).

Another Transmontane blanket strip was collected by H.E. Holmes between 1872 and 1880. Holmes was one of Washington Territory's pioneer druggists.[191] He established the Holmes Drug Store in Walla Walla in 1873 and remained in that city until the mid-1880s. Thereafter he lived in Seattle where he was a partner in the Holmes and Stewart Drug Company. The blanket strip was donated to the Washington State Museum in 1928 and is now in the Burke Museum at the University of Washington.[192] Although a

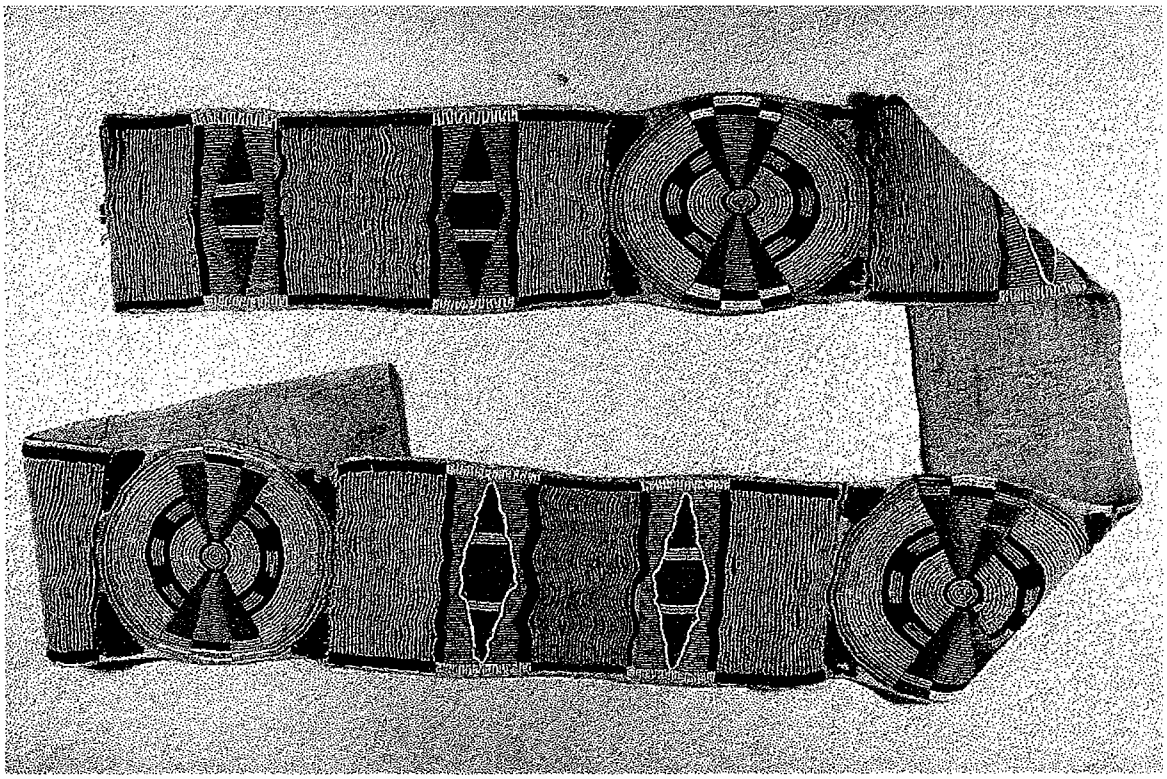


Figure 64. Nez Perce blanket strip, before 1878. Mixed media, 68-1/8 x 6-1/4 in. Oregon Historical Society, Object No. 69-3.2.

Walla Walla attribution has been given to this object, the possibility exists that it is of Nez Perce origin. Henry Elliott Holmes, like W.S. Clark, was a member of Company "A" of the Walla Walla Volunteers. This blanket strip and related items may therefore have come from the Nez Perce cache discovered by the Walla Walla militia men in June 1877.[193]

A pair of embroidered gloves were secured from Colville Indians by George Martin Kober in 1878 (Fig. 65). Leaving Camp McBeth in October 1877, Kober traveled to the Presidio in San Francisco and returned to Fort Lapwai three weeks later. He was then sent to Spokane Falls and subsequently helped establish Camp Coeur d'Alene (Fort Sherman) on the shores of Lake Coeur d'Alene. He remained at that post until November 1879 when he was reassigned to Fort Klamath.[194] The gloves bear floral motifs that are finely worked in silk thread. Their overall design and pristine condition suggest that they were probably manufactured specifically for sale.

One final group of Nez Perce objects probably dates to the mid or late 1860s but thus far cannot be proven to predate 1883. The items were collected by James Terry and belonged to Hugh Auchincloss of New York prior to their 1883 donation to the American Museum of Natural History.[195] At that time, they were described as "[a] large and valuable collection of the Dresses and Weapons of the Indians of the Columbia River Valley."[196]



Figure 65. Colville gloves, 1878-1879. Mixed media. Catalogue No. E131245; Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution.

James Terry was a Hartford, Connecticut, businessman who was interested in anthropology. He was active in the collection of archaeological and ethnographic specimens during the 1870s and 1880s. In 1890, the American Museum of Natural History purchased his collection of North American archaeology. Terry was appointed Curator of the Department of Anthropology at the Museum in that same year and served in the post through 1893.[197]

One implicit and one explicit reference have been found documenting Terry's activity in the Plateau. In his *Sculptured Anthropoid Ape Heads Found In or Near the Valley of the John Day River*, Terry makes reference to his presence in the Columbia River region during 1882. He states that, at that time, he had already gained prior experience with the Nez Perce, Yakima, and Warm Springs peoples.[198] Clark Wissler became Curator of Anthropology at the American Museum in 1905, seven years before Terry's death. In his 1916 "Costumes of the Plains Indians," Wissler used an illustration of a Nez Perce shirt as the essay's initial figure. The shirt was among the Nez Perce items collected by Terry and Wissler's caption calls it, "[a] Nez Perce shirt. Collected about 1865."[199]

James Terry's papers now belong to the American Antiquarian Society, in Worcester, Massachusetts.[200] Inspection of this manuscript material may ultimately provide some clues as to when he was active in the Pacific Northwest. Mention of his presence may also surface in the

correspondence of any of various Indian agencies, the records of Fort Lapwai, or from another contemporary source. Although dated here as "pre-1883," the origins of the following items should eventually be proven to extend back to "about 1865."

With one exception, the Nez Perce objects collected by Terry are articles of clothing. The exception is a double saddle bag of fringed buckskin that is decorated with red and black wool and green and blue seed beads.[201] Of the clothing, a woman's tail-dress has red, white, black, and yellow pony beads sewn across the yoke and shoulders (Fig. 66). It is nearly identical to the dresses collected by John Montieth in 1876 and Monroe Thorington in 1878. The shirt mentioned above has beaded Transmontane arm and shoulder strips. Its triangular neck flap is decorated with parallel rows of blue seed beads applied to red wool. An abundance of scalplocks are attached to this garment's beaded panels and neck flap.[202] A second shirt has arm and shoulder strips made of quill-wrapped horsehair (Fig. 67). Its neck flap is made of red wool outlined with white pony beads.

Black and white pony beads ornament a pair of men's leggings.[203] A pair of woman's leggings are constructed of wool cloth and decorated with seed beads (Fig. 68). The beaded designs on this set of leggings are floral in their conception. Taken together, the motifs are symmetrically arranged. Color is applied in concentric rows and a series

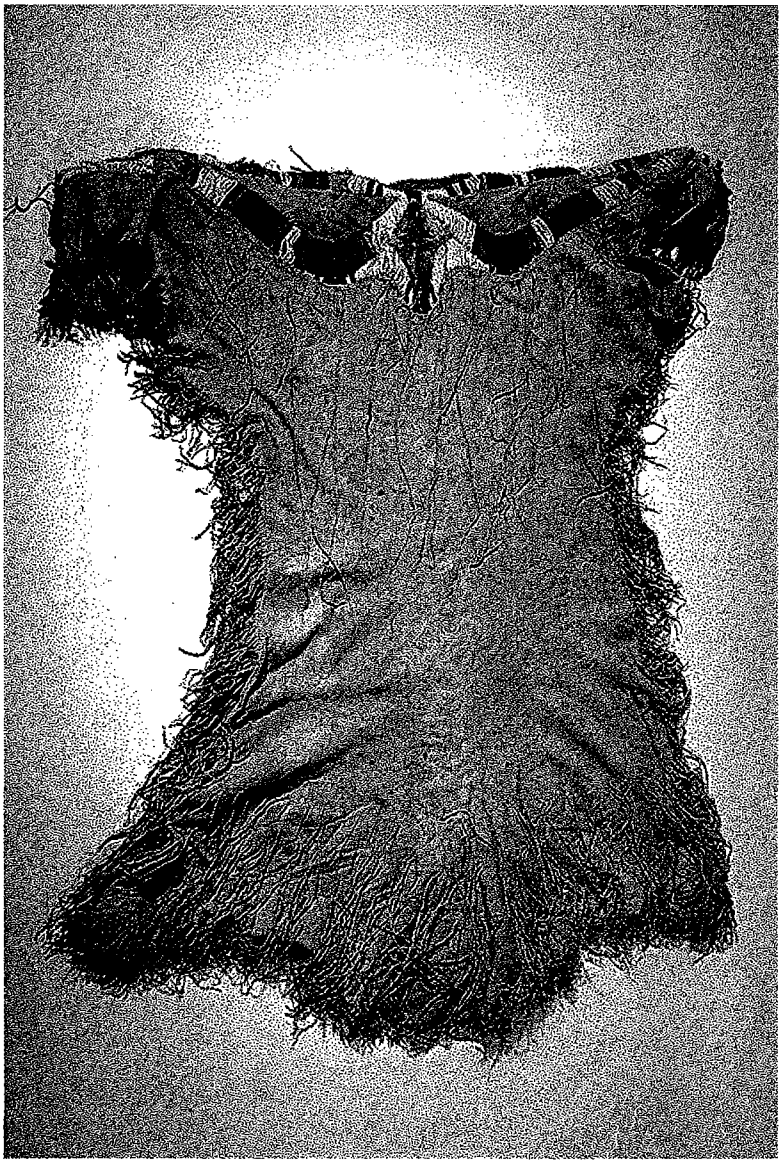


Figure 66. Nez Perce woman's dress, before 1883. Tanned hides, glass beads, and sinew, 136 x 130 in. Catalogue No. 1/2710; Department of Anthropology, American Museum of Natural History, New York.

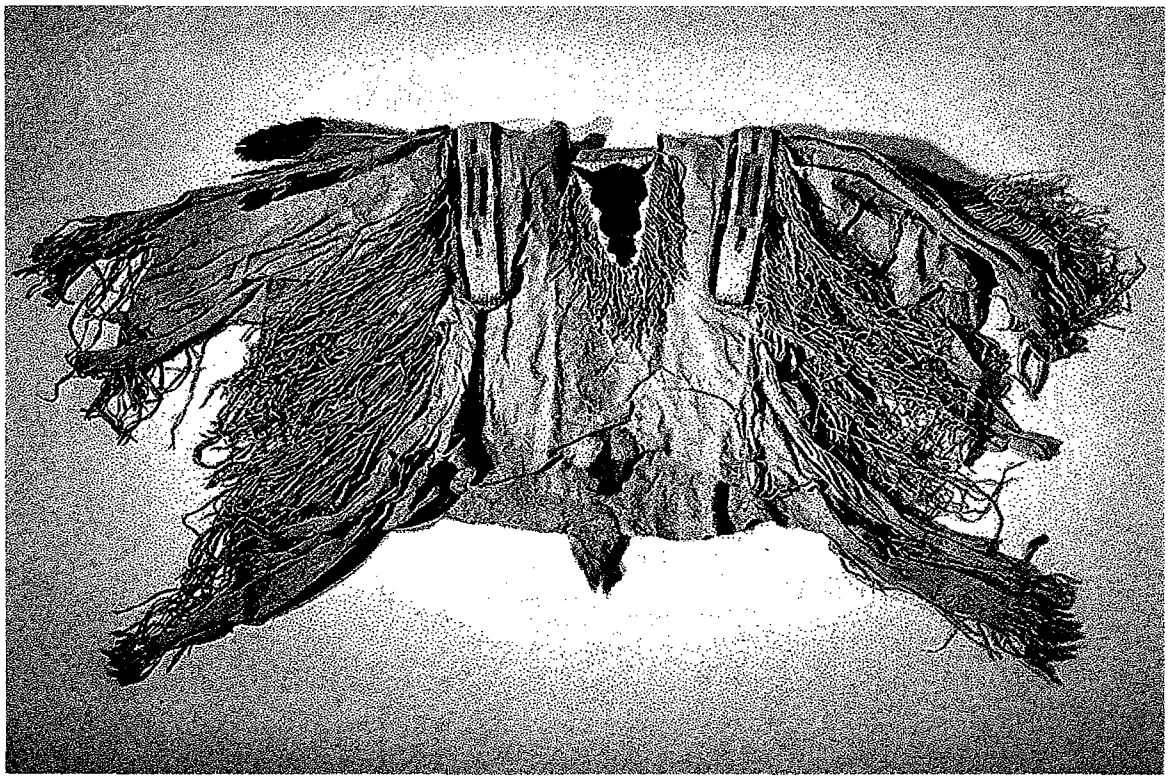


Figure 67. Nez Perce man's shirt, before 1883. Mixed media, 145 x 98 in. Catalogue No. 1/2712; Department of Anthropology, American Museum of Natural History, New York.



Figure 68. Nez Perce woman's leggings, before 1883. Wool cloth, glass beads, and cotton trim, 30 x 18 in. Catalogue No. 1/2725ab; Department of Anthropology, American Museum of Natural History, New York.

of tendrils proceed from the main figures. Small horse heads appear on each legging; these represent the first appearance of a figurative motif that became popular during later decades.

The Terry collection also contains a buffalo robe that reportedly belonged to the Nez Perce chief known as Jacob.[204] Late in his life, Jacob apparently lived along Lapwai Creek.[205] At one time, he had been a friend of Henry and Eliza Spalding although he was later considered a representative of the reservation's non-Christian element. Jacob was an active participant in the meeting with the Peace Commissioners that signalled the end of the Cayuse War. He was also a signatory of the treaties of 1855 and 1863. In 1870, he replaced Lawyer as head chief of the reservation Nez Perce, a position he held for four years.[206] During his tenure as chief, he actively agitated for the replacement of the Indian agent, John B. Monteith.[207] In July 1877, Jacob was in a party of Nez Perce that was accused of having non-treaty affiliations by some reservation Indians. The group was incarcerated at Lapwai as prisoners of war and sent to Fort Vancouver where they remained until April 1878.[208]

Jacob's robe is decorated with a white, yellow, black, and red pony-beaded blanket strip worked in a Transmontane design (Fig. 69). The margins of the skin are edged in red wool, with symmetrical applications of black wool appearing near the neck, shoulders, legs, and rear flanks of the hide.

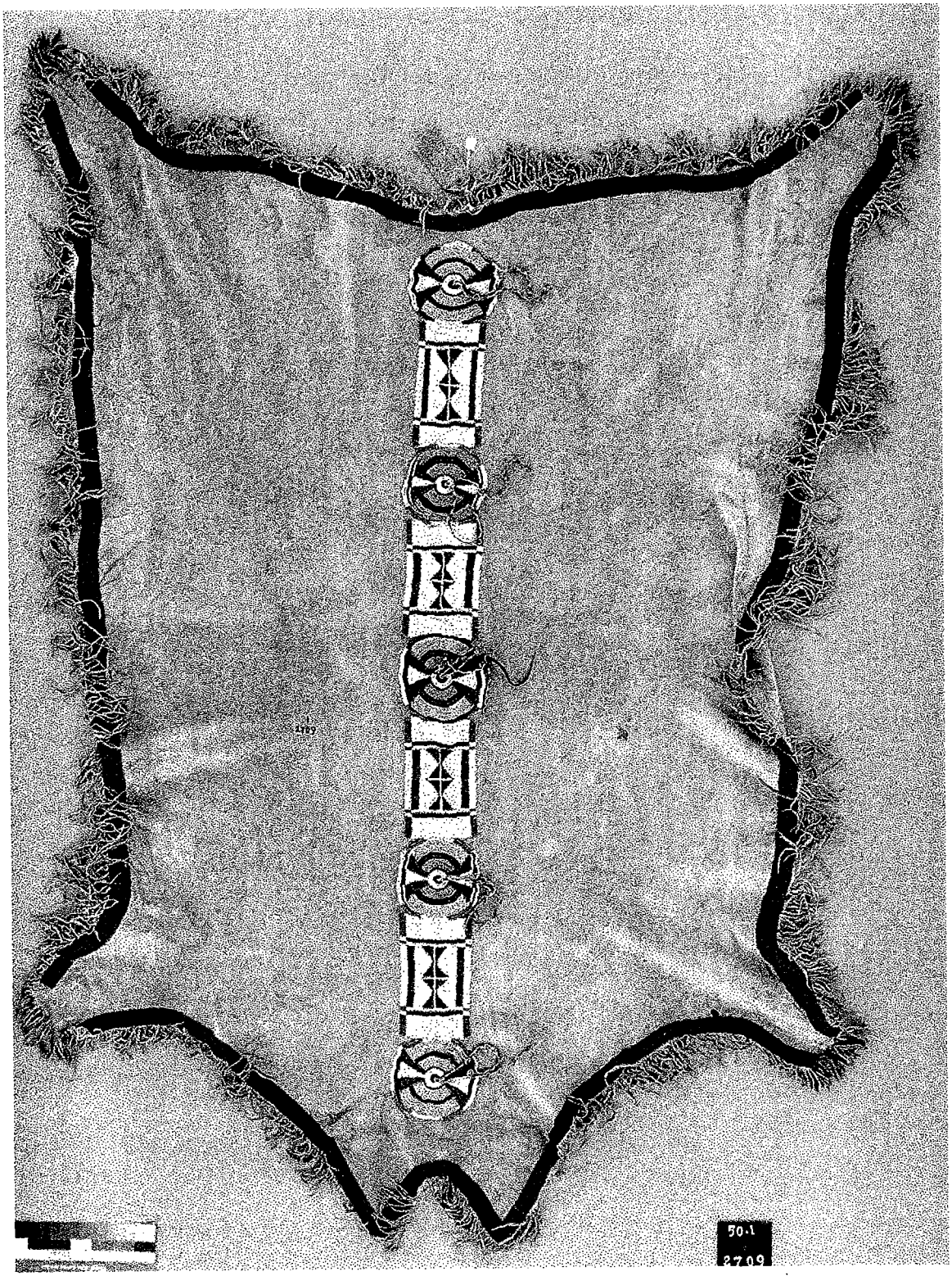


Figure 69. Nez Perce robe and blanket strip, before 1883. Mixed media, 232 x 181 in. Catalogue No. 1/2709; Department of Anthropology, American Museum of Natural History, New York.

The last item to be considered here is also in the collection of the American Museum of Natural History. It, too, cannot yet be proven to predate 1883, although it may also have been produced during the 1860s. This object, a Nez Perce cradle, was collected by Major Sewall Truax (Fig. 70).[209] In 1861, Truax enlisted in Company D of the 1st Oregon Cavalry with the rank of Captain. In March 1863 he was promoted to Major and assumed command of Fort Walla Walla the following May. In June 1863, Truax left Walla Walla for Fort Lapwai.[210] He commanded that post until October 1864, when he resigned his commission. He remained near the fort until 1870, serving as post sutler for much of that time.[211] He subsequently erected several buildings at the agency site.[212]

In 1870, Truax moved to Walla Walla where he was involved in the construction of a railroad line between that city and Wallula. In 1877, he began developing interests in the Wawawai area along the Snake River. His 1879 invention and patenting of a grain chute allowed local farmers living on the high bluffs above the river to safely send their produce to the river's edge for shipment downstream.[213] In 1891 he moved to Spokane and died there three years later.

The cradle Truax collected could have been acquired at any time after 1863. As the beadwork that adorns its surface follows the Transmontane style, it may have been made for Native use before being secured by the collector. It may also have been commissioned or made specifically as a



Figure 70. Nez Perce cradle, before 1883. Mixed media, 89 x 35 x 9 in. Catalogue No. 1/2069; Department of Anthropology, American Museum of Natural History, New York.

gift for the Truax family.[214] Two proto-floral motifs are incorporated into the design; a symmetrical leaf and petal arrangement appears in profile on the cradle's foot and a simplified frontal view of a blossom appears on its hood. The combination of lozenge with outlining serrations evident in the foot motif closely resembles the upper portion of the central figures on the woman's leggings in the Terry collection. The simplified blossoms on the hood mirror the construction of the lower portions of the central figures on these same leggings. This suggests that the cradle and leggings were made by the same person, that they came from the same circle of artists, or that they were produced during an analogous time period.

CONCLUSION

The majority of the reasonably dated Plateau objects considered here have a Nez Perce origin. This is primarily due to four coincidental sets of circumstances: the creation of the Spalding-Allen collection between 1841-1846; the diligence of John Monteith in pursuing the directive to collect material for the 1876 Centennial Exposition; the occurrence of the Nez Perce War in 1877; and the collecting activity of James Terry before 1883. In all, these activities account for almost three-quarters of the items forming the database (Appendix 9).

The prevalence of Nez Perce material here suggests that two philosophical caveats must be acknowledged. The first

is that, despite the presence of large and fluid Euroamerican mining communities on the Nez Perce reservation after 1860, Nez Perce contact with the fur trading and emigrant communities generally lagged behind what was experienced by the Cayuse, Walla Walla, Umatilla, and Yakima bands. The second is that it can be argued that the non-treaty Nez Perce remained geographically, socially, and culturally isolated from white contact until October of 1877. As such, their artistic expressions as recorded in the database objects would reflect a conservatism of design. The possibility must therefore be acknowledged that dates postulated through consideration of this database may produce a chronology that lags behind temporal developments among the adjacent groups living to the west.

A third concern is the paucity of material representing the decades of the 1850s and 1860s. In fact, with the exclusion of the bags collected by William Edgar, only six percent of the material can now be associated with the 20 years that transpired between 1846 and 1866, and those three objects are either models or toys. Dramatic changes affected Plateau lifestyles during this time span--the majority of the overland migration occurred; treaties were negotiated and reservations were established; and the initial armed confrontations between Indians and whites occurred. The eventual identification of objects from this period will help refine what can now be concluded about the contemporary evolution of regional artistic traditions.

The objects described above do, however, provide some insight into chronological developments in the use of both mediums and motifs. They suggest that to the mid-1840s, natural adornments such as dentalium and elk teeth were still in demand. Large trade beads and select colors of pony beads were also available and in favor. Quillwork and pony beads appear to have been employed in the decoration of masculine garments.

By the 1850s, seed bead usage was beginning to increase and it seems to predominate by the middle of the next decade. Women's dresses may provide the exception to this rule as several examples from the 1870s suggest a conservative preference for large faceted beads and pony beads. The appearance of dentalium on 1840s garments may denote earlier instances of a tendency to only slowly accept new adornments on feminine attire. Quillwork continues to appear on select masculine garments into the 1870s. The occasional 1870s use of silk embroidery thread should also be noted.

The first motifs that evoke floral designs appear on the miniature saddle bag collected by Edward Storror before 1869. Their presence on a diminutive object may signal that they were produced on commission or as a gift, and so the contemporary widespread use of such designs remains open to question. By the middle of the next decade, multiple floral styles seem to be in occasional use. An 1876 Yakima saddle bag shows well-developed use of abstracted floral motifs

applied in contour beading. A Nez Perce coat and pants produced at roughly the same time are decorated with beaded flowers of simplified construction; the coat has sophisticated foliage and diverse blossoms trimming its collar and shoulders. The evidence suggests that both the Yakima and Nez Perce floral productions were the work of Christianized elements within their respective communities.

It would seem that, by the 1870s, a diversity of floral styles were simultaneously developing across the Plateau. Symmetrical and asymmetrical compositions seem to have emerged at much the same time. Simplified and realistic designs appeared coincidentally and even combined on the same object. Together, this would suggest that individual innovation was developing within the larger tradition and that diverse sources were serving as inspiration for the new motifs.

Yakima leather objects produced for the Centennial Exposition and for commercial distribution make it further evident that foreign design sources were serving as inspiration for local artists. The vignettes appearing on these objects may actually be precursors of the beaded pictorial flat bags that began appearing shortly thereafter. This raises the possibility that floral designs evolved within the overriding context of a move towards expressive realism. The presence of beaded horse heads in conjunction with early floral motifs appearing on a pair of Nez Perce woman's leggings further suggests this probability. As is

evident with other items, the genesis of the Yakima tack seems linked with individuals associated with the agency administration.

The sale of Nez Perce items worked in the Transmontane style for the Centennial Exposition may have been symptomatic of local acculturation pressure. They could also illustrate objects "formerly in actual use" by reservation residents. Among the Nez Perce, the prohibition on use of such regalia by "Christian" Indians is frequently mentioned. Given the religious revivals of the early 1870s, it is possible that these and similar items had gained negative associations and become available for sale by 1876. The articles taken from non-treaty Nez Perce in 1877 are also generally executed in the Transmontane style. However, these objects reflect the preservation of an indigenous identity. Little or no integration of intrusive design influences is evident in this body of material.

The early items that have been found to bear floral designs generally reflect Euroamerican interaction with Indian people. Traditionally designed objects such as dresses, shirts, leggings, blanket strips, bandoliers, and gun cases are free of floral motifs. Instead, the new figures appear on a coat and pair of trousers cut after the European fashion, a pair of gloves, and a non-traditional type of saddle bag. They also appear on a cradle and miniature saddle bag, either of which could have been produced for a white patron. In all, it appears that the

early manifestations of the design style were freely applied to those classes of objects associated with the white community.

Notes

1. Schlick, *Columbia River Basketry* 63; see also the color plate following page 97.

For a history of this bag, see Mary D. Schlick, "A Columbia River Indian Basket Collected by Lewis and Clark," *American Indian Basketry Magazine* 1.1 (1979): 10-13.

2. Donald Jackson, ed., *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition with Related Documents, 1783-1854*, vol. 2, 2nd ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978) 411, 476-478.

3. Charles Coleman Sellers, *Mr. Peale's Museum: Charles Wilson Peale and the First Popular Museum of Natural Science and Art* (New York, W.W. Norton, 1980) 171-188.

In 1848, the Peale collection was auctioned and divided between P.T. Barnum and Moses Kimball of the Boston Museum. Much of Barnum's portion was destroyed by fire in 1851. The Boston Museum collection transferred to the Peabody Museum about 1899. Sellers 307-324; P.R. Cutright, *Lewis and Clark: Pioneering Naturalists* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1969) 454.

See also Joyce Henri Robinson, "An American Cabinet of Curiosities: Thomas Jefferson's Indian Hall at Monticello," *Winterthur Portfolio* 30.1 (Spring 1995): 41-58.

4. Charles C. Willoughby, A Few Ethnological Specimens Collected by Lewis and Clark," *American Anthropologist* n.s. 7.4 (1905): 633.

Willoughby here concludes that the items--two Chinook cradles and a wood-splitting wedge--"doubtless originally belonged to Clark's museum." Willoughby 633.

John Ewers also cites Thomas Donaldson, an early student of the life of Catlin, as believing that the Columbia River artifacts in Catlin's Indian Gallery came from William Clark. John C. Ewers, "William Clark's Indian Museum in St. Louis, 1816-1838," *A Cabinet of Curiosities: Five Episodes in the Evolution of American Museums* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1967) 60-61.

5. For a biography of Edward Martin Hopkins (1820-1893), see Alice M. Johnson, "Edward and Frances Hopkins of Montreal," *The Beaver* 302.2 (Autumn 1971): 4-17.

6. G. Simpson, *Narrative* 1: 1.

Much of the following chronology comes from Johnson 5.

7. Of the departure from Lachine, Simpson recorded: "In order to make the parting more effective, the men had been kept as sober as circumstances would admit, and each one supplied with a feather to adorn his cap, and

indispensible to the equipment of a voyageur....At 10 minutes before 11 the men struck up one of their paddling songs, and off we went, amidst the cheers and adieus of our many friends who were assembled on the bank..." Manuscript journal (HBCA D.3/2, fo. 11), quoted in George Simpson, *London Correspondence Inward from Sir George Simpson, 1841-1842*, ed. Glyndwr Williams, Publications of the Hudson's Bay Record Society 29 (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1973) 17-18 (note 2).

8. The business meeting occupied ten days time. Other details of the Red River interlude are almost entirely ignored in Simpson's published *Narrative*. G. Simpson, *London Correspondence* 46.

9. The departure from Fort Garry was described in this manner: "[A]bout 5 in the morning our calvacade left Fort Garry under a Salute of Cannon. As we passed through the gates into the open prairie the scene was curious and quite oriental looking; the horsemen accoutred and carrying guns, mounted their mighty steeds; the pack horses prancing under their loads; the miscellaneous collection of tents and other travelling appointments in the Cart, all resembling the progress of an Arab camp, or the march of a Calvacade in the Desert." Manuscript journal (HBCA D.3/2, fo. 41d), quoted in G. Simpson, *London Correspondence* 45 (note 1). See also G. Simpson, *Narrative* 1: 59.

10. "At noon, on Monday, the 6th of September, we embarked on board the Beaver steamer...leaving Mr. Hopkins in temporary charge of Nisqually..." G. Simpson, *Narrative* 1: 181.

11. "The barque Vancouver sailed from Honolulu for the Columbia River on the 16th March...Mr Hopkins to proceed to York Factory to take his passage by the ship of next autumn to England, as I was doubtful that his health and strength were equal to the fatigues of my present voyage, on which I did not particularly require his services." G. Simpson, *London Correspondence* 159.

12. "Mr. Hopkins' departure I felt as a serious loss with respect to the keeping of my journal..." G. Simpson, *Narrative* 2: 144.

13. John McLoughlin, who accompanied Hopkins on his return from Hawaii, was at Vancouver by May 16, 1842. McLoughlin, *Second Series* 325.

14. MacLeod 123.

The paragraph continues with descriptions of Hopkins' reports on Dugald McTavish (at Vancouver) and John George McTavish and family (at Montreal), Letitia Hargrave's

brother and uncle respectively.

15. Simpson arrived in London "nineteen months and twenty-six days" after having left that city: October 29, 1842.

16. In August 1858, Hopkins married Frances Anne Beechey in London. The new Mrs. Hopkins became an important early painter of Canadian subjects. See Johnson *passim*; Janet E. Clark and Robert Stacey, *Frances Anne Hopkins, 1838-1919: Canadian Scenery* (Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay Art Gallery, 1990); and Robert A. Weiler, *Canoe Woman: The Story of Frances Anne Hopkins* (Blue Grass, IA: Robert A. Weiler, 1994).

17. Given that Hopkins did not accompany Simpson north of Nisqually in 1841, the Kwakiutl mask (PRM 1893.67.16) in this collection must have been secured through a second party. A Hupa dress (PRM 1893.67.187) must have been collected in 1841 as Hopkins did not venture near California in 1842.

18. "E.M. HOPKINS Esq Orchard Dene, Henley on Thames. The following specimens collected by Mr. Hopkins when accompanying Sir George Simpson in his voyage round the world in 1842." Accession 1893.67, Accession Book, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.

The entry for Accession 1893.67 was made in March 1893, a month before Hopkins' death. The former Chief Factor had moved to Orchard Dene at Henley-on-Thames in Oxfordshire in 1891. He had previously lived in London. Johnson 16-17; Weiler 69-70.

19. The dress and leggings in question were called Chinook in the Pitt Rivers Museum catalogue list but the attribution was later changed to "'probably Pend d'Oreille,' i.e. Flathead." It seems likely that the nineteenth-century use of the term "Flathead" caused confusion here. The Chinookan peoples practiced head flattening and were sometimes called Flatheads while a Salishan Plateau people carried the same name. See for instance the titles of various Paul Kane paintings executed among the Cowlitz in 1847 as recorded in Harper 302.

The other Plateau item Hopkins collected was a "canoe chisel" (adze handle) made of elk horn (Pitt Rivers Museum 1893.67.184). Originally identified as from the Northwest Coast of America, it was given a Wasco-Wishram attribution by Norman Feder in 1970. This seems reasonable, given the presence of exposed ribs and the treatment of the eyes and head. For comparison, see the carved bone and antler items excavated from the Leachman Site (Colowesh Bottom) in Plate 16 of Emory Strong, ed., *Wakemap Mound* (Portland, OR: Binford and Mort, 1976) 39.

20. For Hopkins' role in keeping the journal that became Simpson's *Narrative*, see Appendix B: "The Authorship of Simpson's *Narrative*" in G. Simpson, *London Correspondence* 184-196.

21. G. Simpson, *Narrative* 1: 145.

In his journal, Simpson later stated that "The Pend d'Oreilles are generally called the Flat Heads, the two clans, in fact, being united." In a preceding paragraph, he had noted that Spokane Garry was living in this camp. It is thus probable that this particular community was comprised of a diversity of peoples whose exact affiliations were unknown to the European observers. G. Simpson, *Narrative* 1: 144-146.

22. The Spalding-Allen Collection has been described in Steven L. Grafe, "'Still They Look Handsome': The Spalding-Allen Collection," *American Indian Art Magazine* 22.3 (Summer 1997): 34-43. See also Grafe, "Private Affairs" 2-12.

23. A brief history of the Allen family appears in Charles L. Hudson, *The Life and Times of Dudley Peter Allen* (Cleveland: Cleveland Medical Library Association, 1992) 1-7. According to Hudson (p. 4), the Spalding-Allen material came to Dudley Allen through the auspices of his paternal aunt, Betsey Allen Crocker, a former missionary who "had traveled with the wives of the well-known missionaries Marcus Whitman and Henry H. Spalding." A photograph of Dudley Allen also appears on page 4 of this text. The image identified as Dudley Allen on page 4 of Grafe, "Private Affairs" actually shows his son, Dudley Peter Allen (1852-1915).

The Allen House in Kinsman, Ohio, was home to the Spalding-Allen Collection between 1847 and 1865. It is featured on pages 168-169 Richard N. Campen, *Architecture of the Western Reserve, 1800-1900* (Cleveland: Case Western Reserve University, 1971).

The objects were subsequently kept at Allencroft, Dudley Allen's Oberlin residence.

24. During his two years at Western Reserve College, Spalding's education was gained against the backdrop of intense abolitionist activism that resulted in the 1833 resignations of several faculty members. On moving to Lane Seminary, Spalding found himself at yet another institution that was embroiled in abolitionist concerns. In October 1834, the seminary's trustees ordered the disbanding of the student abolition society. In response, 75 students (three-fourths of the student body) did not return to the school. Henry Spalding was an officer in the Seminary's colonization society and his studies there continued without interruption.

For a discussion of the controversies at the two schools, see C.H. Cramer, *Case Western Reserve: A History of the University, 1826-1976* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1976) 15-26 and Lawrence Thomas Lesick, *The Lane Rebels: Evangelicalism and Antislavery in Antebellum America* (Metheun, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1980).

25. Dudley Peter Allen, letter to William H. Gray, 14 January 1880. Spalding Collection, Northwest and Whitman College Archives, Penrose Library, Whitman College, Walla Walla, Washington.

26. The meager annual salary paid to the Spaldings was supplemented by whatever goods their family, friends, and other supporters might forward in the form of "missionary barrels." Eastern supporters urged the missionaries to list their needs in letters home and requested items were provided as time and money allowed. The value of goods contained in the barrels was excluded from the yearly compensation total allowed by the ABCFM. The members of the Oregon Mission characteristically received clothing, bedding, fabric, toiletries, tools, newspapers, and Indian trade goods in this way.

During a visit to Fort Nez Perces in June 1841, Spalding took possession of a box sent by American Board missionaries in Hawaii and a barrel sent by Allen. The box contained tapa cloth and miscellaneous items. The barrel was filled with $100.00 worth of clothing "judiciously selected and not highly priced." Clifford Drury has suggested that this barrel contained a letter from Allen offering Spalding the initial encouragement to collect and trade unusual minerals and Indian items. The assertion is based on a manuscript reportedly housed in the Northwest and Whitman College Archives but no such document is now known to exist there. Drury, *Diaries and Letters* 313; *Spalding* 272.

Allen apparently proposed to provide compensation in goods equal to the value of the items Spalding secured, with the recompense being sent in future barrels. The missive that initiated the transaction was probably included in a barrel sent by the Kinsman (Ohio) Presbyterian Church. Despite its presence in a communal contribution, Allen at other times encouraged Spalding to be discreet when making mention of their business dealings: "In writing to me for the Public Eye--keep separate our private affairs in way of Barter, not on my account, but on your own. But all of your news--your business, your wants everything of your personal situation I want to show to our people. Our Ladies, all read the Letters." Dudley Allen, letter to Henry H. Spalding, 14 August 1847. Spalding Collection, Northwest and Whitman College Archives, Penrose Library, Whitman College, Walla Walla, Washington.

27. Eliza Warren 79.

In late June 1841, Lieutenant Robert E. Johnson and four other members of the U.S. Exploring Expedition visited the Clearwater Mission station. Spalding apparently volunteered to gather local ethnographic material and forward it to Johnson for inclusion in the Expedition's collections.

28. Henry Spalding, letter to Dudley Allen, 29 July 1843. Typed copy, Spalding Collection, Northwest and Whitman College Archives, Penrose Library, Whitman College, Walla Walla, Washington.

A printing press sent to the Oregon Mission by ABCFM colleagues in Hawaii was located at Lapwai between 1839 and 1846. During this time, Spalding oversaw production of Nez Perce editions of an elementary school book, a hymnal, and the Gospel of Matthew, as well as an English-Nez Perce primer.

29. Henry Spalding, letter to Dudley Allen, 29 April 1843. Typed copy, Spalding Collection, Northwest and Whitman College Archives, Penrose Library, Whitman College, Walla Walla, Washington.

30. Eliza Warren 87.

31. During his residence in Nez Perce territory, Henry Spalding spent considerable energy trying to create a self-sufficient operation. He developed gardens, grain fields, orchards, livestock operations, and constructed both saw and grist mills. In an effort to secure income, his collecting activity extended beyond ethnographic items and minerals to botanical specimens. Although his industry was applauded by contemporary white observers, the Nez Perce were not universally impressed. During the proceedings prior to the signing of the 1855 Walla Walla Treaty, Eagle-from-the-Light made reference to the missionary as being "two in one, one a preacher and the other a trader." Drury, *Spalding* 312-314; J. Orin Oliphant, "The Botanical Labors of the Reverend Henry H. Spalding," *Washington Historical Quarterly* 25.2 (1934): 93-102; H. Stevens 2: 49-50.

32. Drury, *Diaries and Letters* 330.

33. Spalding, letter of 27 April 1846.

34. The original manuscript is in the possession of the Oberlin College Archives. It has been reproduced, with Dudley Allen's responses, in Grafe, "Private Affairs." An earlier transcription appears in Robert S. Fletcher, "The Spaulding-Allen [*sic*] Indian Collection," *The Oberlin Alumni Magazine* 26.5 (1930): 136-139.

"My Dear Brother After many promises & a long delay I

have started the boxes containing a small collection of articles of Indian manufacture with some specimens of stone &c, all designed for yourself. I took the boxes on one of my gentle horses to Waiilatpu, from thence they were taken to Walla Walla in a waggon where they were taken into the H B Co's Boats for Vancouver. I have requested the gentleman in charge to transport them in their vessel to the Sand Islands & charge the freight to our mission. Have also requested our Agent Mr. Chamberlain at Honolulu to ship them on board some vessel to Boston & charge the freight to our mission. They are directed to yourself Kinsman Trumbull Co. Ohio, care of Mr. Hill Boston. I know no other way to direct them. But as this letter will reach you over the mountains sooner than the Boxes will Boston, perhaps you had better write Mr Hill giving directions to what port & to whose care. I hope they will reach their destination." Spalding, letter of 27 April 1846.

35. "Dear Friend Spalding This Evening I have just Rec[d] a letter from Ashtabula Harbor, 37 miles distant, saying that I had 2 Boxes from Oregon with charges from Sand Isles- in all for $6.25. I trust all is safe. But I had given them up as lost, and have been hunting by letter after 2 Boxes from Claudius Andrews when lo! your 2 last boxes, came to light. I rec[d] your letter of May 1846, containing a mention of the contents of the Boxes, in the fall of 1846- & have not heard from you since." D. Allen, letter of 14 August 1847.

36. D. Allen, letter of 14 August 1847.
"If you send me any skins they must be wet with a solution of Corrosive Sublimate--(Muriate of Mercury) in Alcohol. I have none on hand or would send you some;- will next time. You must use Snuff or Camphor on the Woolens. I put Camphor on things I send you." D. Allen, letter of 14 August 1847.

37. "I can sell for Cost & will pay for some Chief Indian wampum= any thing more rare- I will give to men of taste or sell & pay you. I shall keep in my cabinet all the dresses you have sent me Send me any thing curious- or R[are] in minerals- wampum, or plants....
If you ever send me any more minerals- <u>bind</u> in <u>packages</u>- & pack tightly.....Mr. Parker says you can send me obsidian- a mineral Send me quartz- or gypsum chrystals= pack very careful." D. Allen, letter of 14 August 1847 (additions of 30 August and 4 September).

38. Dudley Allen, letter to Henry H. Spalding, 27 March 1848. Spalding Collection, Northwest and Whitman College Archives, Penrose Library, Whitman College, Walla Walla, Washington.

39. Growing numbers of white settlers, a measles epidemic, and other factors precipitated the killings of 13 people at Waiilatpu on November 29, 1847. At the time of the massacre, Henry Spalding was visiting an Indian friend near Waiilatpu. Returning to that mission several days later, he was warned away by a Catholic priest who advised him of the killings and told him that his own life was in danger. Spalding escaped to Lapwai on foot, traveling at night and with no food. Upon arriving home, he found his family had fled to the protection of sympathetic Nez Perce and that his station was being looted. The Spaldings subsequently abandoned the Clearwater Mission and fled to Fort Nez Perces, prior to resettlement in the Willamette Valley.

Thereafter, Spalding made his living as a preacher, teacher, postmaster, and farmer. He briefly returned to the Nez Perce Reservation during the mid 1860s, but was ultimately dismissed as a teacher in the government school there.

40. Dudley Allen had practiced medicine in Kinsman until 1865. He then moved his family to Oberlin so that his son might attend the preparatory school there. He maintained a private practice in Oberlin until his death in 1898.

In 1871, Spalding again returned to Lapwai, this time as the reservation's Superintendent of Instruction and as a duly appointed ABCFM missionary. His tenure as school superintendent was brief but his evangelist activities continued until his death in 1874.

41. "Dr. Spaulding was a friend of my father in College: he stopped at his house as he started on his first journey for Oregon and was then fitted out with a wagon- my father now has a full set of Indian clothes which Mr. Spaulding sent him and when Mr. Spaulding was east some years since to get the record of the massacre changed by Congress he stopped at my fathers house in Oberlin and I then heard him tell the story of the massacre and his wonderful escape." D.P. Allen, letter of 14 January 1880.

42. Acc. 401, May 4, 1893. Accession List, Oberlin College Museum Records (RG 9/12), College of Arts and Sciences, Oberlin College Archives, Oberlin, Ohio.

43. Drury, *Spalding* 272.

44. Drury, *Spalding* 272; Fletcher 136-139.

On Sunday, 14 July 1935, Drury accompanied Robert S. Fletcher in viewing the Spalding-Allen Collection as it was then displayed at Oberlin. Clifford Merrill Drury, letter to E.O. Holland, 15 August 1935. Drury Collection, Manuscripts and Special Collections, Holland Library,

Washington State University, Pullman, Washington.

45. Jack R. Williams, letter to the author, 8 May 1997.

46. For a summary of the post-1970 history of the collection, see Bob Chenoweth and Kevin Peters, "The Spalding-Allen Collection," unpublished manuscript, Nez Perce National Historic Park, Spalding, Idaho. A brief account of this history appears in Grafe, "Handsome" 42.

47. Spalding, letter of 26 April 1846.

The letter continues, "I give the cost of the articles that you may judge whether you will send for more. The property in my possession belongs to the A.B.C.F.M. You can do as you may think best about paying for them. In my estimation you have already more than paid for them. But should you feel disposed to pay, clothing for myself & family, table furniture, such as plates, cups & saucers, bowls, &c &c, calico, cheap, for Indian shirts, &c will be better than money. Will you have the goodness to send me in the next Brl from the Ladies Soc a dung fork & 3 pitch fork, a hair sieve for meal rather fine....

"Let me repeat if you should prefer to pay any more for these things than you have done, we prefer you would do it by sending us clothing &c as above named, as we get better goods from your selection & Brls than we can in this country, & what you send is same as cash to the Board & better as it saves the expense of drawing on the Board, to be paid in London with the rate of exchange against the states, so that one dollars worth clothing put into a Brl at your place is as good to the Board as two dollars in cash paid to an Agent of the Board. We pay at Vancouver for com calico 1s/5 for which our Board has to pay in London about 49 cts. This 49cts will purchase at your place nearly 3 yds & pay the freight to this place. Other things I could mention all going to show so far as this mission is concerned you would double your money by laying it out for clothing & such things as we need, rather than pay it to agents & leave us to make purchases in this country." Spalding, letter of 26 April 1846.

48. Illustrated in Grafe, "Handsome" 37.

49. Illustrated in Grafe "Handsome" 34.

In general, the beads appearing on the dresses in both the Hopkins and Spalding-Allen Collections are identical in size and color.

50. Regional museum personnel have acknowledged the similarity between the two items for several years. For a recent comment, see "Cradleboard Comes Home After 150 Year Hiatus," *Tots Tatoken* 2.6 (June 1996) 3.

The objects were displayed together in the 1989 exhibit, *A Time of Gathering* and are pictured in that exhibition's catalog. See Robin K. Wright, "Masterworks of Washington Native Art," *A Time of Gathering: Native Heritage in Washington State*, ed. Robin K. Wright (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991) 48, 50-51.

The cradle was also a part of the recent *Sacred Encounters* exhibition and appears in the accompanying publication. Peterson and Peers 63.

51. Spalding, letter of 27 April 1846.

52. As was noted above, Eliza Spalding had reported that by the early 1840s, male Euroamerican clothing was the preferred daily dress of Nez Perce men.

53. See Grafe, "Handsome" 38.

54. See Grafe, "Handsome" 39.

55. See Grafe, "Handsome" 41.

56. Rawhide saddle ornaments identified as Crow are in the collections of the Carnegie Museum of Natural History in Pittsburgh (2418-96; shown in Gaylord Torrence, *The American Indian Parfleche: A Tradition of Abstract Painting* [Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994] 211); the National Museum of the American Indian (18/9233; pictured upside-down in *Treasures of the National Museum of the American Indian: Smithsonian Institution* [New York: Abbeville Press, 1996] 14); and several European museums. They are additionally evident in published photos of Crow people appearing in Nancy Fields O'Connor, *Fred E. Miller: Photographer of the Crows* (Missoula: University of Montana, 1985) and Peggy Albright, *Crow Indian Photographer: The Work of Richard Throssel* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997) 201.

It has also been speculated that several Nicolas Point paintings, including one showing a woman whose horse carries a tribal calumet, contain depictions of such ornaments. See Point 134.

A crupper painted with a motif that is similar to those appearing on the various saddle skirts is in the collection of the Pitt Rivers Museum (Acc. 1884.51.14). It is attached to a pad saddle that is identified only as Plains. The assemblage also has panels of quilled decoration worked in geometric designs. The saddle and crupper were part of the original Pitt Rivers collection; they predate 1880. E-mail correspondence from Julia Nicholson, 24 September 1997.

57. The present whereabouts of the leggings, baskets, some or all of the moccasins, and two of the bags are unknown. The vague wording that describes Dudley Allen's

original donation to the Oberlin College Museum ("1 lot Indian clothing, trinkets, etc.") makes it impossible to know if these articles transferred out of his possession in 1893.

When the Spalding-Allen Collection was first loaned to Nez Perce Park, three baskets were included in the inventory of objects. During the course of a 1985 appraisal, these items were found to be of Zulu origin and they were returned to the Ohio Historical Society. It is probable that these baskets were included with the Nez Perce material when it left Oberlin College in 1942, although no contemporary inventory exists.

An exhibit of Zulu textiles on display in the Oberlin College Department of Anthropology in May 1997 suggested the possibility that some Nez Perce items might have mistakenly been misidentified as African and separated from the remainder of the collection. An extensive spring 1998 search conducted by Dr. Linda Grimm of Oberlin's Department of Anthropology failed to turn up anything that could be given a Nez Perce attribution. A May 1997 review of the American Indian holdings of the Allen Art Museum proved similarly fruitless.

Fund raising activities relative to the 1996 purchase of the collection listed an inventory of 20 objects. Among these were several items that did not appear on Henry Spalding's 1846 index of purchases. The provenience difficulties evidenced by the introduction of the Zulu baskets suggests that these items may also have been added to the collection at a later date. By appearances, however, they seem to be of an appropriate antiquity. The questionable items include a woman's crupper, a pouch made from a deer's head, and a dentalium bracelet. Questions about the origins of the two remaining pairs of moccasins have also been raised. A beaded pouch dated c. 1870 or later could theoretically have been a gift given to Allen during the 1871 visit mentioned above.

58. Eliza Spalding Warren returned to Lapwai in 1884, having not visited her birthplace for nearly 40 years. "I saw changes all along the road, but there were the same old hills and land marks, and there was my father's grave, and there was a part of the old house and of the old orchard. When we came to the old house and stood at the door we saw an old Indian at the fireplace kindling the fire. He used to live with us a good deal of the time while we lived there. He was deaf and dumb, but was very useful about the place. Soon as he looked up and saw me, in an instant his countenance lit up. He showed all signs of pleasure at seeing me. I turned to the man near me and said, 'Is it possible that he remembers me?' I said, 'Ask him if he knows who I am?' and he did with signs. The old Indian, his name was 'Mustups,' answered back with his signs, 'Yes, it is Eliza; I knew it was her as soon as I saw her.' He went

on then and told how he would rock the cradle for mother when I was a babe, and how he would look after me after I got to running around to keep me from getting to the water. He said, 'These trees are hers, everything here is hers.' It was truly affecting to see the poor old mute so enthused with pleasure at meeting with me: I told the man to tell him how pleased I was to see him in what was left of the old house and of the many changes since we left there." Eliza Warren 36.

59. The group was under the command of Lieutenant Robert E. Johnson and also included Thomas Waldron, naturalist Charles Pickering, botanist William Dunlop Brackenridge, and a Marine sergeant named Stearns. Leaving Nisqually on May 20, they crossed the Cascades and arrived at Fort Okanogan on June 8. They arrived at Fort Colvile on the 15th of the month, at Tshimiakin on the 19th (where they split into two parties), at the Clearwater Mission on the 25th and 26th, and at Fort Nez Perces on the 28th and 30th. They arrived back at Nisqually on July 15. See C. Wilkes, *Narrative* 418-470, 528-530; Barry, "Pickering's Journey" 54-63; and Sperlin.

Other Expedition members who ascended the Columbia included linguist Horatio Hale, who made much the same trip but traveled to many of the same sites in a reverse order. Joseph Drayton (draftsman and cartographer) arrived at Fort Nez Perces with an HBC brigade shortly after Johnson's party had departed. He remained in the area for about two weeks, then returned to Vancouver. See C. Wilkes, *Narrative* 377-405, 466.

60. Spalding's collecting activity on behalf of the Exploring Expedition was seemingly not completed before he left Lapwai in 1847. The five years spent gathering material for Dudley Allen suggests something about the pace of his activity. If a group of objects was sent before 1847, they may have ended up in Johnson's personal effects. Nothing resembling known 1840s Plateau material is evident among the items now associated with the Exploring Expedition and currently in the holdings of the National Museum of Natural History. Given the convoluted history of the Expedition's collections, however, the items could have been lost, stolen, or misidentified. See Douglas E. Evelyn, "The National Gallery and the Patent Office," and Nathan Reingold and Marc Rothenberg, "The Exploring Expedition and the Smithsonian Institution," *Magnificent Voyagers: The U.S. Exploring Expedition, 1838-1842*, ed. Herman J. Viola and Carolyn Margolis (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1985) 226-253.

61. NMNH Cat. No. E2618; attributed to the collecting activity of J.L. Fox and Lt. R.R. Waldron.

This item was originally identified as an ornamented

seal skin pouch from the Northwest Coast. It is pictured in Wright 62 and Torrence 241, where the caption states, "Collected by J.L. Fox of the Wilkes Expedition at Fort Vancouver, Washington, 1841; probably presented to him by representatives of the Hudson's Bay Company."

Three bags with decoration that is stylistically quite similar are identified as Tenino in the Burke Museum collection (Cat. Nos. 5734, 5739, 5740).

62. NMNH Cat. No. E2575. This item is identified as having come from the Oregon coast in Otis T. Mason, "Cradles of the American Aborigines," *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution...for the Year Ending June 30, 1887*, 50th Congress, 1st Session, House of Representatives, Miscellaneous Document 600, Part 2 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1889) 175.

It is attributed only to "Oregon Indians" in Otis T. Mason, "Primitive Travel and Transportation," *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution...for the Year Ending June 30, 1894*, 53rd Congress, 3rd Session, House of Representatives, Miscellaneous Document 90, Part 2 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1896) 518-519.

63. Additional beaded items collected by the Expedition on the Northwest Coast include pouches of possible Athapaskan origin (NMNH Cat. No. E2494 [attributed to the collecting activity of midshipman Samuel Elliott] and NMNH Cat. No. E2495 [attributed to the collecting activity of Edward Verry]) and two "belt ornaments" or wristbands (NMNH Cat. No. E2493).

64. NMNH Cat. No. E2541.

65. A published version of Cross' journal of the 1849 overland trip appeared as O. Cross 33-272. The journal was kept under order of the Quartermaster General and was included in the Report of the Secretary of War for 1850 (U.S. Senate, *Executive Documents*, 31st Congress, Second Session 1.2, 128-231). It was also printed privately by C. Sherman of Philadelphia in that same year. Editorial insertions have apparently been added to the original entries. Raymond W. Settle, "Introduction," *The March of the Mounted Riflemen: First United States Military Expedition to travel the full length of the Oregon Trail from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Vancouver, May to October, 1849*, ed. Raymond W. Settle, (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark, 1940) 17.

A photograph and brief biography of Cross appear as the Frontispiece and on pages 18-20 of Settle. An additional summary of Cross' career can be found in George W. Cullum, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, N.Y., from its Establishment, March 16, 1802, to the Army Re-Organization*

of 1866-67, vol. 1: 1802-1840 (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1868) 283-284.

66. O. Cross 223.

While Cross found the horses to be "very wild and equally vicious," the commanding officer, Colonel William Loring, did not. O. Cross 223 (note 226).

Loring's record of the encounter noted that "[w]e here met several chiefs of the Cayuse and Nez Percé Indians [and] found them friendly and intelligent." William Wing Loring, "Official Report of Colonel William Wing Loring," *The March of the Mounted Riflemen: First United States Military Expedition to travel the full length of the Oregon Trail from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Vancouver, May to October, 1849*, ed. Raymond W. Settle, (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark, 1940) 339.

67. O. Cross, 225-235.

Two days west of the Grande Ronde he encountered a Cayuse village in the Umatilla Valley, where he remained only "a short time." O. Cross 229.

68. "Appendix C: List of Additions to the Museum of the Smithsonian Institution during the year 1851," *Smithsonian Institution Annual Report for 1851*, (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1851) 108.

69. He had recorded, "I gathered some of the [volcanic] cinders and brought them safely with me. [I] intend[ed] them, [together] with the specimens gathered at Soda springs, the American falls on Snake river, the Hot Springs at Malheur river, with other specimens...for the National Institute." A similar destination was intended for a large pair of elk antlers retrieved about 30 miles west of Fort Laramie, Wyoming. O. Cross, 105, 161-162.

70. A "Board to which the Indians of the Columbia R. confine their Infants" was entered into the Smithsonian ledger on December 24, 1866 as Cat. No. 1757. From the description, this item could have been either a Plateau cradle or a head-flattening device of the Chinookan peoples.

71. For biographical information on Gibbs, see Settle 22-27 and Stephen Dow Beckham, "George Gibbs, 1815-1873: Historian and Ethnologist," diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1970. See also Vernon Carstensen, ed., "Pacific Northwest Letters of George Gibbs," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 54.3 (1953): 190-239.

Gibbs' account of the early portion of the Riflemen's overland trip is reproduced as George Gibbs, "Diary of George Gibbs," *The March of the Mounted Riflemen: First United States Military Expedition to travel the full length of the Oregon Trail from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Vancouver,*

May to October, 1849, ed. Raymond W. Settle, (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark, 1940) 273-327.

72. Some of the items are discussed in David Ives Bushnell, "Drawings by George Gibbs in the Far Northwest, 1849-1851," *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections* 97.8 (1938).

The Gibbs accession range includes NMNH Cat. No. 638-730, 10075-10079, 7510-7521, and 7555-7570. Items from an 1851 trip to northern California in the latter range of numbers are illustrated in Bushnell and are accompanied by excerpts from Gibbs' contemporary diary.

73. The parfleche is NMNH Catalog No. E672.

74. These moccasins are shown in Peterson and Peers 61, where they are identified as "Plateau." See also K. Duncan, "Father DeSmet" 59-62.

75. A lower Columbia River fish club (NMNH E651), bowl (NMNH E691), ladle (NMNH E701), and knife handle (NMNH E708) are shown in Bushnell 8.

76. Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County #A.5697.69; pictured in Wright 73.

The origin of a second bag from the same collection (#A.5697.70) is unknown although it may have come from Oregon or Washington. This item is strikingly similar to a pouch that is identified as "Swampy Cree, before 1840" in Brasser, *"Bo'jou Neejee!"* 76. The Edgar example has beaded (rather than quilled) decorative panels; dentalium adorns its fringe.

77. He was additionally at The Dalles for a period immediately following June 17, 1850. William F. Edgar, Assistant Surgeon, to Thomas Lawson, Surgeon General, July 17, 1850; Box 174: "Ebert, R.G.-Edgar, William F."; Personal Papers of Medical Officers and Physicians ("Medical Officers' Files"); Records of the Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94; National Archives, Washington, DC.

78. William F. Edgar, Assistant Surgeon, to Medical Director, District of Cairo, IL, July 30, 1862; Box 174; Medical Officers' Files; RG 94; NA.

According to his later recollections, the dragoons spent the winter of 1849-1850 at Cantonment Loring, about five miles east of the HBC's Fort Hall. From this post Edgar accompanied a party of soldiers to the primary settlements in Utah. Hubert Howe Bancroft, "Life of William Francis Edgar," *Chronicles of the Builders of the Commonwealth*, vol. 7 (San Francisco: History Company, 1892) 362.

79. William F. Edgar, Assistant Surgeon, to Thomas Lawson, Surgeon General, December 17, 1850; Box 174; Medical Officers' Files; RG 94; NA.

Camp Drum had been established on the preceding May 21. Frazer 127.

80. William F. Edgar, Assistant Surgeon, to Thomas Lawson, Surgeon General, April 20, 1851; Box 174; Medical Officers' Files; RG 94; NA.

81. For further biographical information, see Bancroft, "William Edgar" 357-369.

82. See Schlick, *Columbia River Basketry* plates between 48-49.

83. See Duncan and Schlick. (Photos of the bag appear on page 44.) It has additionally been reproduced in Samuel Christopher Lancaster, *The Columbia: America's Great Highway Through the Cascade Mountains to the Sea* (Portland, OR: Samuel Christopher Lancaster, 1915) 130.

The fabled history of this bag (Oregon Historical Society Cat. No. 1527) and an attendant tomahawk (Oregon Historical Society Cat. No. 1607) cannot be traced beyond their presence in the curio collection of Pendleton, Oregon, photographer Thomas Leander "Major Lee" Moorhouse. Given this context, the association with Tomahas and the subsequent pre-1850 date should be seen as questionable. See Steven L. Grafe, "Lee Moorhouse: Photographer of the Inland Empire," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 98.4 (Winter 1997-1998): 471, 477.

84. The Army Medical Museum was founded by Dr. William A. Hammond, Surgeon General, U.S. Army. On May 21, 1862, Hammond sent a circular to all Army medical officers stating his intention to establish a museum and requesting "specimens of morbid anatomy, medical and surgical, and projectiles and foreign bodies removed from wounds." Originally situated in the offices of the Surgeon General, the growing collection moved several times, and between 1866 and 1888 it was located in the infamous (and remodeled) Ford's Theater.

Among the various supplemental Museum-related circulars issued by the Surgeon General was an April 4, 1867 request for specimens of Indian archaeology. Shortly thereafter, arrangements were made whereby the Medical Museum would exchange all of its specimens of Indian archaeology save crania for the Indian crania held by the Smithsonian Institution. This agreement was intended to prevent the duplication of collections. In time, however, all of the crania ended up at the Smithsonian. D.S. Lamb, "The Army Medical Museum--A History," Paper read before the Medical Society, Washington, DC, November 3, 1915, reprinted in

Washington Medical Annals 15.1 (January 1916): 15-16, 21-22.

85. Edward Storror was born on May 31, 1840 in Southampton, England. His family emigrated to the United States in 1842 and settled in the Geneseo Valley of New York State. He received a common school education and began the study of medicine in 1858 under a doctor in Stafford, New York. He had also attended a series of medical lectures at Geneva Medical College prior to becoming a medical cadet. Edward Storror, Acting Assistant Surgeon, to J.K. Barnes, Surgeon General, U.S. Army, Dec. 20, 1867; Box 558: "Stoner, A.J.-Storrs, M."; Medical Officers' Files; RG 94; NA.
The biographical information that follows comes from this same source.

86. His thesis on Erysipelas (an infection caused by *streptococci* bacteria) is in the University of Pennsylvania Library.

87. His contract was for service in the Department of Oregon. His orders state that he was to travel from Omaha, Nebraska, to Oregon, and then report for duty at Fort Humboldt, California (Eureka). Edward Storror, Special Orders No. 195, Department of the Susquehanna, Medical Director's Office, May 9, 1864; Box 558: "Stoner, A.J.-Storrs, M."; Medical Officers' Files; RG 94; NA.

88. Frazer 171; McArthur 116.

89. Frazer 45; Erwin N. Thompson, *Fort Lapwai, Historic Resource Study*, Nez Perce National Historic Park, Idaho (Denver: National Park Service, 1973) 31.

90. On occasion he also served as correspondent for the *Lewiston Journal* newspaper. E. Thompson, *Spalding Area* 107.

91. Quoted in E. Thompson, *Fort Lapwai* 34.

92. He was replaced by a career Army doctor, "R.C. [*sic*] Greenleaf, Asst. Surg. and Bvt. Maj. USA." "Commissioned Officers," Post Return for Fort Lapwai, Idaho Territory, July 1869; (National Archives Microfilm Publication M617, R11 593); Returns from U.S. Military Posts, 1800-1916; Records of the Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94; National Archives, Washington, DC.
See E. Thompson, *Fort Lapwai* 34 for additional data on Greenleaf.

93. George Otis, letter to Edward Storrow [*sic*], 7 December 1869; Outgoing Correspondence Letterbook, 1869-1871, page 203; Otis Historical Archive, Armed Forces Institute of Pathology, Walter Reed Army Medical Center,

Washington, DC.

94. The flat bag is NMNH E9026, the pipes are NMNH E9017-E9019, and the awl case is E9022. The present location of the twined hat (E9020), a woman's belt (E9021), and the rope (E9034) are unknown. One of the combs was obtained by George Heye in 1908. It is now NMAI 2/381.

95. These are NMNH E9027 and E9035-E9038 respectively. The Army Medical Museum ledger suggests that a miniature woman's saddle was originally attached to the saddle blanket. Entry 391, Army Medical Museum Reception Book, Section 6 (photocopy); Anthropology Storage, Museum Support Center, Smithsonian Institution, Silver Hill, Maryland.

96. Biographical notes taken from "In Memoriam, James Thomas Ghiselin, Surgeon, Brevet Colonel, U.S. Army" (program from memorial service); Appointment, Commission, and Personal Branch Document File, 4550 ACP 1873; Records of the Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94; National Archives, Washington, DC.

97. According to documents in Ghiselin's ACP File, he was ordered to the Department of California in May 1866. He was then Medical Director at the headquarters of the Department of the Columbia from June 1867 to July 1869.

98. The bag appears as Figure 4d in David H. French and Katherine S. French, "Wasco, Wishram, and Cascades," *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. ed. Deward E. Walker, Jr., gen. ed. William C. Sturtevant, vol. 12: Plateau (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1998) 366.

99. Shown as Fig. 9a in Hunn, Turner, and French 540.

100. Entry 418, Army Medical Museum Reception Book, Section 6 (photocopy); Anthropology Storage, MSC, Smithsonian.
Tipyahlanah Ka-ou-pu ("the Eagle of the Morning Light," or "of the Dawn;" also called "Eagle of the Light" or "Eagle From the Light") was present at the 1855 and 1863 treaty negotiations but was resistant to acculturation pressure. Prior to the Nez Perce War in 1877, he had moved to Montana and settled among the Flathead. He was the half-brother of Catherine McDonald, wife of the Chief Trader at HBC Fort Colvile.

101. Otis T. Mason, *Ethnological Directions Relative to the Indian Tribes of the United States* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1875) 3; Letters, 1876-1878, Centennial Exhibition, 1875-1878; (National Archives Microfilm Publication M234, Roll 54); Letters Received,

1824-1881; Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Record Group 75; National Archives, Washington, DC.

102. O. Mason 4; National Archives Microfilm Publication M234, Roll 54.
The remaining 27 pages of the text listed in detail the specific types of data, images, and objects desired as representative of aboriginal culture.

103. O. Mason 4; National Archives Microfilm Publication M234, Roll 54.

104. John B. Monteith was Agent on the Nez Perce Indian Reservation between 1871 and 1879. This time span included the duration of the Nez Perce War (1877). For a summary of his tenure as Indian Agent, see E. Thompson, *Spalding Area* 123-152.
Monteith was replaced as agent by Charles B. Warner. In 1882, Warner was replaced by Charles Monteith. Charles Monteith was the brother of the former agent; he served until 1886 and again during 1888-1889. During his brother's tenure at the Agency, Charles had served as superintendent of farming and had discharged many clerical duties. E. Thompson, *Spalding Area* 167-171.

105. J.Q. Smith, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to John B. Monteith, U.S. Indian Agent, 1 February 1876; Folder 2, Box 2, Correspondence, 1875-1877; Collected Records of the United States Centennial Commission, Government Board of Executive Departments, and the Smithsonian Institution, 1873-1878; Exposition Records of the Smithsonian Institution and the United States National Museum, 1867-1939; Record Unit 70; Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, DC.

106. J.Q. Smith to Monteith, 1 February 1876; Record Unit 70; Smithsonian Institution Archives.

107. John B. Monteith, U.S. Indian Agent, to J.Q. Smith, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 24 April 1876; Nez Perce Agency press copy book, page 335; Idaho Historical Society Library, Boise.

108. John B. Monteith, Voucher, International Exhibition--1876, April 10, 1876; National Archives Microfilm Publication M234, Roll 54.

109. The 1846 act that established the Smithsonian Institution did not make provision for the foundation of a National Museum, and Joseph Henry, the Smithsonian's first Secretary, labored long and hard to avoid accepting oversight of such an encumbrance. Nonetheless, after 16 years residence in the Patent Office, the National Cabinet of Curiosities did transfer to the Smithsonian in 1857.

The ethnographic holdings of the Smithsonian grew dramatically in 1876 as the items collected for display at the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition were added to the holdings of the U.S. National Museum. In his 1876 Report to the Board of Regents, Secretary Henry made the following observation:

"The ethnological branch of the Exposition was at the joint expense of the congressional appropriation for the Indian Bureau and the Smithsonian Institution. Special importance was attached to this section of the Exposition, and great exertion made to render it as complete as possible....The success of the enterprise was commensurate with the energy expended, and a more extensive and varied collection of articles was obtained to illustrate the past and present condition of the various Indian tribes of the American continent than was ever before exhibited....

"The anticipation expressed in the last report in regard to the additions which would be made to the National Museum through the agency of the Centennial Exhibition have been fully realized. These additions....will require more than three times as much space for their display as was required by the previous collections of the Museum. To preserve and exhibit this increase, or to render it available for education and scientific purposes, an additional building is imperatively demanded." Joseph Henry, "Report of Professor Henry, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, to the Board of Regents, for the Year 1876," *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution...for the Year 1876* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1877) 10-11.

See also Wilcomb E. Washburn, "Joseph Henry's Conception of the Purpose of the Smithsonian Institution," *A Cabinet of Curiosities: Five Episodes in the Evolution of American Museums* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1967) 106-166; Curtis M. Hinsley, Jr., *Savages and Scientists: The Smithsonian Institution and the Development of American Anthropology, 1846-1910* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1981) 64-79; and John C. Ewers, "A Century of American Indian Exhibits in the Smithsonian Institution," *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution...for the Year Ending June 30, 1958* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1959) 516-525.

110. Felicia Pickering, e-mail correspondence of 24 July 1998.

The hat appears in Fig. 2 of Richard G. Conn and Mary Dodds Schlick, "Basketry," *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. ed. Deward E. Walker, Jr., gen. ed. William C. Sturtevant, vol. 12: Plateau (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1998) 602.

111. This horse collar is pictured in Figure 5 of Walker, "Nez Perce" 428.

112. For a photo of this dress, see Colin Taylor, *Buckskin and Buffalo: The Artistry of the Plains Indians* (New York: Rizzoli, 1998) 23.

113. For the history of this motif, see Barbara Loeb and Maynard White Owl Lavadour, "Transmontane Beading: A Statement of Respect," *Native Arts of the Columbia River Plateau: The Doris Swayze Bounds Collection*, ed. Susan E. Harless (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998) 71.

114. The bandolier appears in Figure 5 of Walker, "Nez Perce" 428 where the caption states that it is a "Bandoleer bag horse collar." The Smithsonian's 1876 Accession record calls it a "Bead Work Pouch, Regalia Dress, &c."

For descriptions of Transmontane beadwork, see Loeb, "Classic Intermontane Beadwork"; Loeb and Lavadour; and Barbara Loeb, "Dress Me in Color: Transmontane Beading," *A Time of Gathering: Native Heritage in Washington State*, ed. Robin K. Wright (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991) 197-201.

115. This cradle appears with brief descriptions as Fig. 17 of O. Mason, "Cradles" 186-187 and Fig. 207 of O. Mason, "Primitive Travel" 516-518.

116. James H. Wilbur was a Methodist minister who served as Superintendent of Instruction on the Yakima Indian Reservation between 1860-61 and 1862-64. He was Agent on that reservation between 1864 and 1882 (1869-71 excepted). For a biography and summary of his tenure as Indian Agent, see Maurice Helland, *There Were Giants: The Life of James H. Wilbur* (Yakima, WA: Maurice Helland, 1980).

117. J.Q. Smith, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to James H. Wilbur, U.S. Indian Agent, 8 February 1876; PI-163, Entry 86, pp. 3-4; Letters Sent Concerning the Centennial Exposition, 1876-1877; General Records; Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Record Group 75; National Archives, Washington, DC.

118. John Q. Smith, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to Spencer F. Baird, Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 5 July 1876; PI-163, Entry 86, p. 122; Letters Sent Concerning the Centennial Exposition, 1876-1877; RG 75; NA.

119. J.Q. Smith, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to James H. Wilbur, U.S. Indian Agent, 12 July 1876; PI-163, Entry 86, pp. 129-130; Letters Sent Concerning the Centennial Exposition, 1876-1877; RG 75; NA.

120. These bear, in order, National Museum of Natural History Object numbers E23872, E23874, E23875, and E23879.

121. James H. Wilbur, "Report of Agents in Washington Territory; Yakama Indian Agency," *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1875* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1875) 367.

"I am fully persuaded that, under the present Christian policy, with good employés, fair land to cultivate, and a reasonable appropriation of money to help them until they can be instructed to help themselves, the Indians of this agency (and I believe all agencies) may in a few years be made self-supporting. It is not the work of a day, but requires patient and constant perseverance, instructing, correcting, and reproving. This needs to be done everywhere, from house to house, from camp to camp, on the mountains, at their fisheries, on the week day, and on the Sabbath. They are grown-up children, and must be personally educated to *work*. This can only be done by men and women who are willing to stoop down and lift up the fallen, and contribute in every possible way to industry and purity." Wilbur, *1875* 367-368.

122. One beaded face is pictured in Wright 66. The other appears in Walker, "Introduction" 4.

The bag is actually two bags that are joined at the top. It may have been designed for placement over a saddle horn.

123. For a description of contour beading, see Conn, "Plateau Culture Area" 53.

124. James H. Wilbur, "Report No. 4; Yakama Indian Agency," *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1871* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1872) 285.

According to another Report, "[t]wo young men, Indians, who had received instruction in making harness while in the industrial school, were employed for six months making and repairing harness, bridles, halters, etc. The clerk of the agency cut out the work and superintended the making of it." Helland 165.

125. James H. Wilbur, "Report No. 70; Yakama Indian Agency," *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1872* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1872) 356.

126. These are NMNH Object numbers E23880 and E23883 respectively.

127. For a more complete description, see Ann Nelson, "Description of Saddlery in the Renwick Exhibit," *Man Made Mobile: Early Saddles of Western North America*, ed. Richard E. Ahlborn (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1980) 120-121. The text dates the saddle to 1860-1890 and translates an inscription on the underneath as saying, "Laramie, Wyo. [or Takoma, Wash.]...T.H. Witters [or Walters] Agent."

The inscription actually reads "Yakama, Wash...J.H. Wilbur Agent." Richard E. Ahlborn, letter to the author, 23 September 1998.

Given that Wilbur resigned as agent in August 1882, the saddle probably dates to the 1870s.

128. Additional objects associated with two veterans of the 1877 conflict (Yellow Wolf and Peo Peo Tholekt) are in the collection of the Washington State University Museum of Anthropology, Pullman. Related items are also in the collection of Nez Perce National Historical Park.

129. Until July 1, 1877, Looking Glass had counseled his followers to avoid armed conflict with the whites. After the unwarranted attack and pillaging of their village, however, these reservation residents joined the White Bird and Wallowa bands in their struggle. Two non-treaty Palouse bands who had resisted relocation to reservations also affiliated themselves with the non-treaty Nez Perce, although not until after the Battle of the Clearwater. For a discussion of their participation, see Clifford E. Trafzer and Richard D. Scheuerman, *Chief Joseph's Allies: The Palouse Indians and the Nez Perce War of 1877* (Sacramento: Sierra Oaks, 1987).

130. The cache was found on June 27, 1877. A first person account detailing the activity of the Walla Walla volunteers and mention of the cache appears in "Walla Walla Volunteers," Walla Walla *Statesman* 7 July 1877, 3.

131. Catalogue information, Object WHIT-O-43; Maxey Museum, Whitman College, Walla Walla, Washington.

132. For a description of this battle, see Josephy, *Nez Perce* 545-552, McWhorter, *Hear Me* 294-325, and McWhorter, *Yellow Wolf* 101.

133. The estimate of the size of the fleeing contingent appears in Alvin M. Josephy, Jr., "The People of the Plateau," *Nez Perce Country*, National Park Handbook 121 (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1983) 136, 141.

According to later comments of Young Joseph, 80 lodges were lost to Army forces. Brady 65.

134. Thomas A. Sutherland, *Howard's Campaign Against the Nez Perce Indians, 1877* (Fairfield, WA: Ye Galleon Press, 1980) 13.

According to Nez Perce accounts, "[w]hile the siege and battle of the Clearwater was going on, an incident took place which never seemed to reach the records which the U.S. Army kept about the war....At this time, a patrol of U.S. Cavalry staged an early morning attack on a village while everyone in the village was sleeping. This village, Clear Creek, was not even involved in the war. These people were permanent residents of Clear Creek [three miles east of Kooskia].

"The soldiers suddenly attacked in force and killed women, children, old people, all of whom were still in their teepees asleep. The men present scrambled for their weapons but the attack was too sudden and although they put up a strong resistance they were not able to blunt the attack....The soldiers quickly dismounted after their initial attack and collected trophies, beaded belts, bags, other personal possessions, and then as quickly remounted...regrouped, and disappeared." Slickpoo and Walker, 189-190.

135. Howard, *Nez Perce Joseph* 166.

136. Quoted in McWhorter, *Hear Me* 327-328 (note 7).

137. Quoted in McWhorter, *Hear Me* 322.

This was not the only large quantity of Nez Perce belongings appropriated during the course of the conflict. On August 3, 1877, Luther Wilmot, a First Lieutenant in the Mount Idaho Volunteers, send the following inventory to Idaho Territorial Governor Mason Brayman. It listed articles recovered from caches on Deer Creek only six days before. The items had been hidden by the non-treaty Nez Perces shortly after the Battle of White Bird Canyon on the preceding June 17. Wilmot noted his troop had "distroyed such things as we could not use or carry away, which consisted in.

10,000 lbs of flour
2,000 Roots Camas & Co
250 Sugar
100 Tea
75 Camas hooks
25 Axes
3 drawing Knives
50 Grass bags
20 Brass Kettles
2 Do pans
4 Saddles
6 over coats
6 Robes buffalo

and a great many articles that I did not make a memorandum

of we drove over 147 head of horses." Eugene B. Chaffee, *Nez Perce War Letters to Governor Mason Brayman*, Idaho Historical Society, 15th Biennial Report (Boise: Idaho Historical Society, 1936) 73-74.

138. Collection notes, Bailey collection, 7.

139. Collection notes, Bailey collection, 1.

140. McWhorter, *Hear Me* 322 (note 44); Collection notes, Bailey collection, 1.

Inquiries about the current whereabouts of ethnographic material formerly displayed at the Military Service Museum on Governor's Island have been directed to the U.S. Army Center for Military History and the Military Reference Branch of the National Archives and Records Administration. To date, no information has been found related to such items.

141. Stephen Girard Whipple was born in Vermont in 1825. His military service began in June 1863 when he mustered into the service as a Lieutenant Colonel in command of the 1st Battalion, Infantry, California Volunteers. He was appointed a Captain (Infantry) in the U.S. Army in 1867 and was assigned to a cavalry unit five years later. Prior to 1874, he served at posts in California and Arizona, including almost a year (1870-1871) as agent at the Hoopa Valley reservation in northern California. From June 1874 to the beginning of the Nez Perce conflict he was stationed at Fort Walla Walla, W.T., although much of his time was spent monitoring white expansion into the Wallowa Valley. In 1878 he participated in the Bannock-Paiute War and in October of that year began three years tenure as commanding officer of Fort Klamath (Oregon). He retired from active service in October 1884. George D. [illegible], Assistant Adjutant General, "Statement of the military service of Stephen G. Whipple, 16 November 1883 and Stephen G. Whipple, Captain, 1st Cavalry, to the President of the Retiring Board, 27 December 1883; Whipple, Stephen G., Appointment, Commission, and Personal Branch Document File, 520 ACP 1873; Records of the Adjutant General's Office, RG 94; NA.

During his time in the Wallowa Valley, Whipple filed a report sympathetic to Nez Perce claims. It is summarized in Josephy, *Nez Perce* 467-468.

142. Quoted in Howard, *Nez Perce Joseph* 149.

"It was a prosperous settlement of tipis, horse and cattle herds, and cultivated gardens, plowed and planted with potatoes, corn, squash, melons, and other crops...Some members of the band...possessed milk cows." Josephy, *Nez Perce Indians* 535.

A prominent Nez Perce later recalled, "After the soldiers left, we returned to our ruined homes. Several

tepees had been burned or otherwise ruined. Much had been carried away and many objects destroyed or badly damaged. Brass buckets...lay battered, smashed, and pierced by bayonet thrusts. Growing gardens trampled and destroyed. Nearly all our horses were taken and every hoof of cattle driven away." Peo-peo Tholekt, quoted in McWhorter, *Hear Me* 270.

According to one of the Mount Idaho volunteers, "A lot of Indian effects were left in the tepees. Dozens of buffalo robes, two of which I got. I also got a small buckskin bag of gunpowder. Another bag nearly two feet long I carried away not knowing its contents which proved to be dry red paint." McWhorter, *Hear Me* 273 (note 13).

For further descriptions, see Howard, *Nez Perce Joseph* 148-149, Josephy, *Nez Perce Indians* 532-537, and McWhorter, *Hear Me* 262-274.

143. Brevet recommendation, No. 237; Whipple, Stephen G., Appointment, Commission, and Personal Branch Document File, 520 ACP 1873; Records of the Adjutant General's Office, RG 94; NA.

This same document quotes General Howard's report of December 21, 1877: "Frequently during the campaign this officer did excellent service and especially in repelling a charge of the Indians near the left of our line at the battle of the Clearwater and in pushing his face from Cottonwood to form a junction with Capt. Perry, on the 3rd of July, in the face of a superior force of the enemy."

144. Object Data Entry, Item 06-5-10/66514; Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

145. Sternberg was born in New York in 1838. He became an Assistant Surgeon in the U.S. Army in 1861 and served throughout the Civil War. In 1868, he was stationed at Fort Riley, Kansas, and participated in the Cheyenne-Arapaho War of that year. Between 1876 and 1879 he was post surgeon at Fort Walla Walla. Between 1893 and 1902 he served as Surgeon General of the Army, retiring as a Brigadier General. Sternberg is a noted figure in U.S. military medical history who is best known for his work with tropical diseases (yellow fever and typhoid).

For a summary of his accomplishments, see "Retirement of the Surgeon-General of the Army," Report to Accompany H.R. 13725, 57th Congress, 1st Session, House of Representatives, Report No. 2020; Sternberg, George Miller; Box 324 (1875, 3685-3752); Appointment, Commission, and Personal Branch Document File, 3696 ACP 1875; Records of the Adjutant General's Office, RG 94; NA.

Comprehensive biographical data can be found in Martha L. Sternberg, *George Miller Sternberg: A Biography* (Chicago: American Medical Association, 1920) and John M. Gibson,

146. After the Battle of White Bird Canyon (June 17), General Howard had requested reinforcements from Walla Walla. They arrived at Lapwai on June 21.

147. In 1890, Sternberg was breveted a Lieutenant Colonel "for heroic conduct in the performance of his duty" at the Battle of Clearwater. According to a witness, "[a]bout nine o'clock on the evening of the 11th a small fire was started on the ground near General Howard's headquarters by a packer, who thought he wanted hot coffee. The fire had not made much headway before the Indians began to fire at the group, whose figures were outlined against the darkness beyond the light of the fire. An officer who was standing in the group near the fire, scattered it with his foot. About thirty yards away Surgeon George M. Sternberg U.S.A. had established his field hospital and at this moment was tying a large artery in the leg of a wounded soldier by the light of two candles held by an attendant. The Indians now turned their fire on the group now shown by the light of the candles. Major Sternberg, with nerve and coolness, caused an army blanket to be held up between himself and the Indians and finished the delicate operation." Peter Leary, 1st Lieutenant, 4th Artillery, 9 May 1890, (Fourth) Endorsement attached to letter of Charles R. Greenleaf, Major and Surgeon, U.S. Army, to the Surgeon General, U.S. Army, 24 June 1890; Sternberg, George Miller; Box 324 (1875, 3685-3752); Appointment, Commission, and Personal Branch Document File, 3696 ACP 1875; Records of the Adjutant General's Office, RG 94; NA.

148. FitzGerald 290.

For other references to Sternberg's interest in curiosities, see Sternberg, *Biography* 35-38 and George M. Sternberg, letter of March 6, 1875 (relative to Army Medical Museum Nos. 1598-1609 [Anatomical Section]), Army Medical Museum microfilm, National Anthropological Archives, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.

The doctor was later (1878-1879?) given a coat that was represented to him as having belonged to Chief Joseph. "Mrs. Katherine S. Ide, Stevens County," *Told by the Pioneers*, vol. 3 (Olympia: Washington Pioneer Project, 1938) 67. Its current whereabouts are unknown.

149. Sternberg, *Biography* 61.

150. Acc. 211704, Microfilm roll 801, Acc. nos. 211540-211837; Accession Records; Registrar's Office, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.

151. John Gibson 102.

152. "Please accept my grateful thanks for the kindly interest you have taken in the granting of a pension to the widow of General George M. Sternberg, Surgeon General U.S. Army (retired). I wish you to have something that was once in our home to remind you that your kind words and actions gladdened the heart of a lonely widow.

"I send to your office in the Congressional Office Building a package. It contains a beaded Indian Robe and a bag made by the Néz Percés to carry extra baggage on the pony. These articles came from a 'Cache' on the 'Clear Water Battlefield.' The night after the close, exciting, and uncertain battle, the Indians realized they could not hold the field. The women, and the men, not on the firing line, worked hard to bury the extra baggage and family trappings and the entire band stole away in the early morning hours in light marching order." M.L. Sternberg (Mrs. George L. Sternberg), letter to Honorable Edward Keating, 10 August; Edward Keating papers, 1900-1964, "S-19, Indian Dress--Mrs. George Sternberg"; Archives, University of Colorado at Boulder Libraries.

Accompanying this letter in the file is an undated photograph bearing the mark of "Edmonston Studio, 1407 F, Washington DC." It shows a white woman holding a bow and arrow while wearing the Nez Perce dress, beaded leggings, and beaded moccasins.

153. George Martin Kober (1850-1931) completed his medical training at Georgetown University in 1873 and served as an Acting Assistant (Contract) Surgeon in the U.S. Army between 1874 and 1888. In 1890 he received an appointment as Professor of Hygiene at Georgetown University Medical School; he served as Dean of the School between 1901 and 1928. He was interested in health reform and was the author of numerous articles on issues pertaining to public health and housing.

Kober's autobiography was published as George M. Kober, *Reminiscences of George Martin Kober, M.D., LL.D.*, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: Kober Foundation of Georgetown University, 1930). Copies of the unpublished galleys for Volume 2 of this memoir are among the 25 manuscript boxes of Kober material in the History of Medicine Library at the National Libraries of Medicine, National Institute of Health, Bethesda, Maryland.

154. At the time, 1st Cavalry units were scattered throughout the West. The reinforcements sent to Idaho came from Camp McDermit, the Presidio in San Francisco, Camp Halleck, Nevada, Fort Boise, Idaho, and Camp Harney, Oregon. The command left Camp McDermit for Fort Boise on July 30, 1877; Kober joined it the following day. Kober 356-357.

Camp McDermit was named in 1865 as a memorial to an

officer in the 2nd California Cavalry who had been killed by Indians. Unlike present-day McDermitt, Nevada, the official name of the military installation ended in one "t" rather than two. Frazer 93.

155. Kober 362.
Kober's published descriptions of the Clearwater caches and George Miller Sternberg's escort of wounded troops to Grangeville and Fort Lapwai (pp. 358-359) appear to draw heavily on Sternberg, *Biography* 61-63.

156. In 1877-1878, Lucy Lawyer and her mother-in-law Tillie were living at Kamiah, in the home built by the government for the retired Chief Lawyer in 1872. "Indian Patriarch Recalls Events of a Lifetime," *Lewiston Morning Bulletin*, 13 December 1966, 5; Clifford M. Drury, *Chief Lawyer of the Nez Perce Indians, 1796-1876* (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark, 1979) 260-261.

157. For a brief summary of the 1870s dispute between Lawyer and his allies and the non-treaties that included Joseph, see Drury, *Lawyer* 283.
The clothing does show some signs of wear at the collar and cuffs. Measurements of the two garments do suggest that they were constructed for an individual who was six feet or more tall. This is roughly consistent with contemporary descriptions of Young Joseph. According to a male relative, Joseph was an inch or two less than six feet tall and weighed between 195 and 205 pounds. S. Evans 81.

158. Kober 362.

159. Walter Hough, "Racial Groups and Figures in the Natural History Building of the United States National Museum," *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution...for the Year Ending June 30, 1920* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1921) 627-629.
The Hough article references ethnographic displays in the Smithsonian's Natural History building. These exhibits, which included displays previously created for what is now the Arts and Industries building, had generally been installed by "the summer of 1911." Ewers, "Century of American Indian Exhibits" 522.

160. The blanket is now identified as NMNH E1891A. It appears in a color view in Wright 45. It was probably collected by the Wilkes Expedition and was originally catalogued as E2125. Felicia Pickering, e-mail correspondence to the author, 12 August 1998.
Prior to research into the Wilkes collection conducted by Jane Walsh and others, this blanket was thought to have possibly been collected by George Gibbs. Paula Gustafson, *Salish Weaving* (Seattle: University of Washington Press,

1980) 125.

161. See Color Illustration 30 and Figures 7.23 and 7.24 (pp. 137-138) of Alan Ferg, ed., *Western Apache Material Culture* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1987).

The cap is currently stored among the Apache headdresses in the Smithsonian's Museum Support Center facility. It appears to belong there as several similar caps are housed in adjacent quarters.

162. Entry, Item 131240, January 24, 1890; USNM Accession ledger; Smithsonian Institution Museum Support Center, Suitland, Maryland.

The Nez Perce attribution may also have resulted from an incorrect assumption on the part of the cataloguer.

According to Alan Ferg, the cap "does indeed appear to be Western Apache." Alan Ferg, e-mail correspondence, 18 September 1998.

163. Between 1874 and 1888, Kober's military service was restricted to posts in northern California, northern Nevada, and the Pacific Northwest. Kober, Geo. M., Box 3: "Hogan-McKinnon;" Pay Accounts of Contract Surgeons Prior to 1894; Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1780s-1917, RG 94; NA.

164. The pouch is predominantly light blue with a pink border. A yellow and green cross is centered on the flap above three inverted blue and red pyramids. For a similar pouch, see the unnumbered figure "Purse of Chief Joseph" in Lancaster.

This item is on loan to the Nez Perce National Historical Park from the West Point Military Academy Museum.

165. The Nez Perce narrative does not accord any significance to the Canyon Creek encounter beyond its having been a minor skirmish. McWhorter, *Hear Me* 458-466; McWhorter, *Yellow Wolf* 181-194.

166. In 1890, Bell was recommended for a brevet for his "gallant conduct in action" at Canyon Creek. Bell, James M., Brevet recommendation, No. 18; Appointment, Commission, and Personal Branch Document File, 1855 ACP 1876; Records of the Adjutant General's Office, RG 94, NA.

The Bell deposit was registered by the U.S. National Museum in December 1894.

167. See S.G. Fisher, "Journals of S.G. Fisher, Chief of Scouts to General O.O. Howard During the Nez Perce Campaign," *Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana* 2 (1896) 269-282.

Fisher's comment upon sale of this item was that he

supposed it had belonged to Looking Glass as the Nez Perce who dropped it was riding a fine horse. A.J. Frost, letter to William Samson, 18 June 1895; Collection data, Object No. 1989.19; Idaho State Historical Society, Boise, Idaho.

No mention of retrieving the tomahawk appears in Fisher's published diary.

168. Frost, letter of 18 June 1895.

169. Witnesses disagree as to whether Joseph first offered the rifle to General Howard or whether he ignored Howard and offered it directly to Colonel Miles. For discussion of this, see McWhorter, *Hear Me* 497 (note 10).

170. The gun case is shown in Walker, "Nez Perce" 436.

In fact, the National Museum of the American Indian has two guns that purportedly belonged to Joseph and other institutions make similar claims. One gun, a .45/70 caliber Whitney Burgess, was donated (with gun case) to the Museum by the Miles family in 1925. Unfortunately, this gun was not manufactured until 1878.

During the summer of 1878, Lieutenant George W. Baird was sent to Canada where he met with White Bird and his band. He was unsuccessful in his attempt to encourage them to return to the United States. In later years, General Miles presented Baird with the rifle that he claimed had been given him by Joseph. In 1953, this gun, a Model 1866 Winchester carbine (made in 1873) was donated to the Museum of the American Indian by Baird's descendants. In terms of its manufacture date, this second gun is most likely the one given to Miles by Joseph. This gun also has been found to fit the beaded rifle scabbard.

For an analysis of the two guns, see Ross Kennedy, "The Gun that Chief Joseph Didn't Surrender...And the One He Did?" *Guns* 19.8 (August 1974): 31-33, 58-60. Baird's parley with White Bird is discussed in McWhorter, *Hear Me* 520-523.

A cursory review of the literature reveals at least three more guns that are said to have been Joseph's. One is in the collection of Nez Perce National Historic Park and is illustrated in Josephy, "People of the Plateau" 117. A second is on display at the Museum of the Upper Missouri in Fort Benton, Montana. This gun was reportedly left by Nelson Miles in the care of a local U.S. District Judge. It was donated to the Museum in 1953. John G. Lepley, letter to author, undated (April 1997). This firearm is shown on page 238 of Bill Gulick, *Chief Joseph Country: Land of the Nez Perce* (Caldwell, ID: Caxton Printers 1981).

A reported third gun was formerly in the collection of the Chilocco Indian School, Chilocco, Oklahoma. "The Fate of Chief Joseph's Rifle," undated Wallowa County (Oregon) *Chieftain* article (c. 1980), Box OC138, #29; Archives, National Museum of the American Indian, Research Branch, Bronx, New York.

171. A second Indian item collected by Miles may ultimately be found to also have a Nez Perce provenience. The Miles collection in the National Museum of the American Indian contains a shirt identified as "Crow" on the Museum catalogue card; no other documentation for the item appears to exist. The beaded decoration on this garment is in the classic Transmontane style, which could mean it is of either Plateau or Crow origin. The presence of considerable buckskin fringe and an absence of ermine suggests the possibility that this shirt had its origin in the Plateau. According to Barbara Loeb, buckskin fringe on beaded Transmontane men's shirts has almost exclusively been associated with garments having proven or tentative Plateau links. Loeb, "Classic Intermontane Beadwork" 231; Barbara Loeb, e-mail correspondence, 4 May 1998.

In images recorded in 1877 and 1878, Joseph is shown wearing a similarly beaded shirt that also has a profusion of ermine fringe. One author has suggested that this shirt may have been obtained from Crow in the buffalo country before 1877 or that "Crow friends may have given it to him after the surrender." James S. Brust, "John H. Fouch: First Post Photographer at Fort Keogh," *Montana* 44.2 (Spring 1994): 9.

This comment suggests an imperfect understanding of Transmontane artistic traditions and the historic context. Such shirts were often of Plateau manufacture and were saved for dress occasions. Contemporary accounts also make it plain that after the Crow allied themselves with the U.S. Army in attacking the Nez Perce and attempting to steal their horses, Nez Perce enmity towards the Crow was quite severe.

See Loeb, "Classic Intermontane Beadwork" 217-237 for a discussion of Intermontane shirts and McWhorter, *Hear Me* 467 and McWhorter, *Yellow Wolf* 187-189 for the Nez Perce reaction to perceived Crow treachery in 1877.

172. The museum received the case from the estate of a New York City dentist, Edward Maynard. According to the biography written by his son, Wood spent a fair amount of his adult life in New York City. Erskine Wood, *Life of Charles Erskine Scott Wood* (Vancouver, WA: Rose Wind Press, 1978) 64-66.

173. E. Wood, *Life of C.E.S. Wood* 110.

174. Charles Erskine Scott Wood, "The Pursuit and Capture of Chief Joseph," *Chief Joseph: The Biography of a Great Indian*, by Chester Fee (New York: Wilson Erickson, 1936) 335.

175. E. Wood, *Life of C.E.S. Wood* 111; C. Wood, "Pursuit" 336.

176. E. Wood, *Life of C.E.S. Wood* 110-118; Erskine Wood, *Days With Chief Joseph: Diary and Recollections* (Portland, OR: Oregon Historical Society, 1970).

177. Most accounts agree that Howard and Miles had worked the surrender through assurances that the Nez Perce would be returned to Idaho after wintering in the Missouri River country. The War Department found this unacceptable. See McWhorter *Hear Me* 525-527, McWhorter, *Yellow Wolf* 225, and Josephy, *Nez Perce Indians* 627-629, 634-637.

178. Second Lieutenant Monroe P. Thorington was born in Iowa. He was a cadet at the U.S. Military Academy between July 1873 and June 1877. After a brief stint there as an Assistant Instructor of Artillery Tactics and five months of leave, he arrived at Fort Snelling, Minnesota. Two months later he went to what became his final posting. His death on September 10, 1878 was listed as the result of "Typho Malarial Fever." George W. Cullum, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, N.Y., from its Establishment, in 1802, to 1890*, rev. ed., vol. 3 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1891) 281; (National Archives Microfilm Publication M617, Roll 572 [Fort Keogh, Montana Territory]); Returns from U.S. Military Posts, 1800-1916; Records of the Adjutant General's Office, RG 94; NA.

179. Another item that may have had a parallel history is a Nez Perce woven flat bag now in the possession of National Museum of Natural History (NMNH E394637). According to accession information, the bag was collected in Montana during the 1890s by Major Steven T. Norvell. Norvell was stationed at Forts Keogh and Custer during that decade. Acc. 222628, Microfilm roll 835, Accession Records; Registrar's Office, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution.

180. See J. Stanley Clark, "The Nez Perces in Exile," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 36.3 (1945): 213-232; Berlin B. Chapman, "Nez Perces in Indian Territory: An Archival Study," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 50.2 (1949): 98-121; Velma Nieberding, "The Nez Perce in the Quapaw Agency," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* 44.1 (1966): 22-30; Alan Osborne, "The Exile of the Nez Percé in Indian Territory, 1878-1885," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* 56.4 (1978-1979): 450-471; Clifford E. Trafzer, ed., *The Northwestern Tribes in Exile* (Sacramento: Sierra Oaks, 1987) 27-112; McWhorter, *Hear Me* 525-542.

181. One of the flatboat passengers who traveled from Fort Keogh to Bismarck was noted as wearing a dress of "tan deer hide trimed with Elk theeth and Porcupine quills her neck piece was hermine with polished shells like small

bells, her feet was enclosed in beaded Elk hide moccasins..." Fred G. Bond, *Flatboating on the Yellowstone, 1877* (New York: New York Public Library, 1925) 7.

182. Bob Sands, quoted in Nieberding 25; McWhorter, *Hear Me* 537; J.S. Clark 228; Hampton 329.

183. A Nez Perce woman who remained in Indian Territory after 1885 served as nurse to young Doris Swayze between 1904-1906. A child's cornhusk bag given to Doris by this woman is now in The High Desert Museum's Doris Swayze Bounds collection (5.1.89). A large flat bag purchased in Muskogee, Oklahoma, before 1906 by Doris' mother is in the same collection but its exact identity is unknown. Mary Dodds Schlick, "Handsome Things: Basketry Arts of the Plateau," *Native Arts of the Columbia Plateau: The Doris Swayze Bounds Collection*, ed. Susan E. Harless (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998) 57.

This woman was not the only Nez Perce who did not return to the Northwest. In 1898, a woman who had been a teenager in 1877 was serving as a government nurse for troops wounded in the Spanish-American War. F. Bond 13.

The time capsule was assembled in 1880 with contents that also included a history of the Wallowa band and four photographs of Nez Perce people, all supplied by James Reuben. When opened in 1928, the container's contents were promised to the Ponca tribe. Ponca agent P.W. Danielson nonetheless transferred ownership of the items to the Oklahoma Historical Society in 1934. Candace Greene, "A Time Capsule from the Ponca-Nez Perce School," unpublished manuscript.

Reuben's history is reproduced in "Documents from the Cornerstone of the Nez Perce and Ponca Indian School," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* 12.3 (September 1934): 361-363.

184. The boats were intended to prevent the warring Indians from crossing the Columbia River. The *Welcome*, with 25 men, one Gatling gun, and one howitzer, was to patrol near Wallula. The *Northwest* patrolled the expanse between Wallula and Umatilla with 20 volunteers, 12 soldiers, and a Gatling gun. The *Spokane* was active downstream from Umatilla. George Francis Brimlow, *The Bannock Indian War of 1878* (Caldwell, ID: Caxton Printers, 1938) 136-137.

185. "Maj. Moorhouse Brings Fame to Indian Babes," *Oregon Journal*, 17 August 1913, 9.

186. Pambrun 131.

187. FitzGerald 342.

188. "The Attempt to Cross the Columbia," *Morning Oregonian*, 11 July 1878, 1.

In the subsequent day's paper it was reported that the soldiers "captured and destroyed the entire camp, outfit, property, canoes, etc." "Official Report from Major Kress," *Morning Oregonian*, 12 July 1878, 1.

For W.C. Painter's version, see "W.C. Painter Was Important Factor in Skirmishes With Bannocks and Piutes," Walla Walla *Union Bulletin*, 24 October 1948, 16. See also Gilbert 29 (Appendix) and John Alexander Kress, *Memoirs of Brigadier General John Alexander Kress* (Merion, PA: John A. Kress, 1928) 38-45.

189. See Helland 138-144.

190. A recent graduate of Vassar College, Grace Howard accompanied her father to the Malheur reservation during the summer of 1876. Sarah Winnemucca was serving as agency interpreter at that time. After this initial meeting, Sarah Winnemucca assisted General Howard during the course of the Bannock-Paiute War. She also served as an interpreter and teacher of Bannock prisoners at Vancouver Barracks in 1880. O.O. Howard, *My Life and Experiences Among Our Hostile Indians* (Hartford, CT: A.D. Worthington, 1907) 377-378, 387-420; Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins, *Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims*, ed. Mrs. Horace Mann (1883; Bishop, CA: Chalfant Press, 1969) 118-119, 149-202, 215; Gae Whitney Canfield, *Sarah Winnemucca of the Northern Paiutes* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983) 186-187.

191. Henry Elliott Holmes (1849-1928) was a native of Wisconsin. In addition to his drugstore at 19 West Main Street in Walla Walla, Holmes owned a building situated on the northwest corner of North Fourth and West Main Streets. "H.E. Holmes, 1887" is still visible on the top front face of the building.

While living in Walla Walla, Holmes was active in the Independent Order of Odd Fellows and later wrote a book, *Pioneer Links: A Narrative of the Establishment of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows on the Pacific Coast and a History of Odd Fellowship in Washington to 1880* (Seattle: Press of the Washington Odd Fellows, 1913).

192. The blanket strip is pictured in Wright 60-61.

193. See "Walla Walla Volunteers" 3; "Pioneers of Washington: H.E. Holmes was Volunteer in War on Chief Joseph," Walla Walla *Union Bulletin*, 8 November 1953, 9.

A tomahawk, pouch, and club accompanied the donation of the blanket strip. They are Burke Museum 2-11560, 2-11572, and 2-11570 respectively.

194. Kober, George M., Pay Accounts of Contract Surgeons Prior to 1894, Box 3: Hogan-McKinnon; Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1780s-1917, RG 94; NA.

195. Hugh Auchincloss (1807-1890) was a New York City businessman with a father (d. 1855) and nephew (1858-1913) who shared the same name. For a brief obituary, see the *New York Times*, 20 June 1890, 4.

196. *The 15th Annual Report of the American Museum of Natural History* (New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1884) 25.

197. Belinda Kaye, letter to the author, 4 February 1998.

198. James Terry, *Sculptured Anthropoid Ape Heads Found In or Near the Valley of the John Day River, A Tributary of the Columbia River, Oregon* (New York: J.J. Little, 1891) 6.

199. Wissler, "Costumes" 47.

One researcher has provided a pre-1869 collection date based on an extant Wells Fargo and Company tag that stated an 1869 transfer date. Unfortunately, the shipping tags that remain attached to two of the objects do not contain this information. Colin Taylor, "Costume Decorated With Quill-Wrapped Hair: Nez Perce or Crow?" *American Indian Art Magazine* 7.3 (1981): 49; Laila Williamson, letter to the author, 10 August 1998.

The collection certainly post-dates 1862 as Wells Fargo and Company apparently began operations in the region in April of that year. In May 1862, an ad in the (Walla Walla) *Washington Statesman* announced that "Wells Fargo & Co. have Extended their express to...Walla Walla, Lewiston, Oro Fino, Pierce City, Elk City, and the Salmon Mines." *Washington Statesman*, 3 May 1862, 2.

200. Terry (1844-1912) was an avid collector of early American bookplates. The majority of his papers contain correspondence and data relative to this interest and his study of the first libraries in the original 13 American states.

201. See Walker, "Nez Perce" 428.

202. The shirt also appears in Walker, "Nez Perce" 431.

203. See Walker, "Nez Perce" 431.

204. On the 1855 treaty, his Nez Perce name is given as "Nicke-el-it-may-ho." It appears as "Nie-ki-lil-heh-hoom" on the treaty of 1863. Slickpoo and Walker 291, 299.

205. According to the obituary of Lawyer written by John Monteith, Jacob lived "on the Lapwai." Drury, *Lawyer* 294.

Nonetheless, a valley between Lapwai and Kamiah was known as "Jacob's Valley." Drury, *Diaries and Letters* 26.

206. E. Thompson, *Spalding Area* 117 assigns an 1870 date to Jacob's election. Drury, citing the obituary of Lawyer written by John Monteith, places Jacob's election in 1872. Drury, *Lawyer* 278.

207. Drury, *Lawyer* 278; E. Thompson, *Spalding Area* 135-136.

208. Josephy, *Nez Perce Indians* 555.

See FitzGerald 288-289 for a description of this little band.

209. Sewall Truax (1830-1894) was born in Missisquoi County, Quebec. In 1831, parents moved a few miles south to Franklin, Vermont. After receiving training as a civil engineer, Truax crossed the Plains to Oregon in 1853. He served as U.S. Deputy Land Surveyor in southern Oregon until 1861. In that year, he returned to Dunham, Missisquoi County, and married a local woman, Sarah Eliza Chandler. Gilbert 38 (Appendix); "Major Sewell Truax Dead," *Walla Walla Statesman*, 20 February 1894, 3; Marriage Certification, Pension File, Sewall Truax; Records of the United States Veteran's Administration, Record Group 15, National Archives, Washington, DC.

210. Founded in 1862 by the 1st Oregon Cavalry, Camp (later Fort) Lapwai was intended to protect the local Indian population from encroachments by miners. It was manned by volunteer units until 1866, when it was occupied by regular Army personnel. Frazer 45.

In May 1863, the garrison at Fort Lapwai swelled to a population of nearly 400. The treaty council held on adjacent grounds between May 25 and June 9 of that year prompted these troop movements. E. Thompson, *Spalding Area* 95-97; Josephy, *Nez Perce Indians* 415-424.

211. Prior to 1865, Truax had apparently been promised the job of Surveyor-General for the Idaho Territory. The position was never created. He also seems to have been promised (c. 1868) the post of Indian agent, again to no avail. E. Thompson, *Spalding Area* 113.

212. E. Thompson, *Spalding Area* 113-114, 264-265.

213. Truax's own grain warehouse received grain from a chute that had an elevation drop of 1700 feet. See Gilbert 289-291.

214. Three and perhaps four Truax children were born during the family's tenure on the Nez Perce reservation: Harmon C. (b. 1864; d. 1867), Edward Holden (b. 1866), Elenor (b. 1868), and Henry Chandler (b. 1870). Gilbert 39 (Appendix).

CHAPTER VII: COMPARATIVE MATERIAL FROM THE WOODLANDS, GREAT LAKES, AND EASTERN PLAINS TO 1880

INTRODUCTION

It has been presumed that the floral designs evident in early nineteenth-century Woodlands, Great Lakes, and Eastern Plains quill and beadwork impacted artists in the Columbia River region. Having examined the surviving material record of the Plateau and established an initial chronology for the local development of floral expression, a chronological and stylistic review of Eastern artistic traditions will provide a basis for assessing whether such presumptions are valid. The chronology realized by the comparative study will provide clues to which Eastern designs might have been produced and circulated early enough to have eventually inspired Western artisans. Compositional conventions and specifics of execution in the Eastern work will also allow an informed evaluation of the stylistic similarities that may link the two regionally and temporally distinct bodies of work.

EASTERN WOODLANDS EMBROIDERY

One early collection in the holdings of the History Museum in Bern, Switzerland, is thought to date to the late eighteenth century. Collected by a "Captain Malcolm" who was perhaps a British officer serving in Canada, the items were given to the museum between 1803 and 1826. Existing

documentation records a "Provinz Ottawa" origin for portions of the donation.[1] The objects, which include articles of clothing, bags, sashes, and moccasins, are decorated simply and with geometric designs.[2]

The Jasper Grant collection at the National Museum of Ireland is an assemblage of Indian objects collected in Quebec and Ontario between 1800 and 1809. Grant was a British army officer who joined his regiment in Canada in 1800. Originally stationed in St. John, New Brunswick, and then in Quebec City, Grant served at Fort George on the Niagara Peninsula in 1802-1803 and 1805-1806. Between 1806 and 1809 he was assigned to Fort Malden, opposite the city of Detroit.[3] A collection of nearly 60 items that comprised Grant's "Indian cabinet" was donated to the National Museum of Ireland in 1902.[4]

Many of these objects are thought to have been collected from among the Iroquois, the Ojibwa, and various other groups. Geometric designs predominate in all classes of the material, woven and embroidered. Beads are found woven into sashes and used as trim on miscellaneous objects. Large decorative fields are often worked in ribbons or quills. Figurative motifs in the forms of thunderbirds, underwater panthers, and other supernatural beings are occasionally evident.[5]

A second early collection in Bern was made in 1832 by Albert-Alexandre de Pourtalès. The twenty-year-old Pourtalès was a Swiss nobleman whose visit to North America

included a stop at Niagara Falls. The items that he apparently collected there are generally constructed of moosehair or quills embroidered on dark tanned skin. Stylized floral designs are here comprised of rotund multi-lobed figures in association with double-curve motifs and foliate figures. Moccasins, mittens, and a bag represent the items so decorated; other objects bear geometric designs.[6]

Items now in the George Catlin collection at the Smithsonian Institution closely resemble some of the material in the collections described above. These Catlin objects represent a portion of the ethnographic material that comprised the artist's first Indian Gallery. Assembled after about 1826 in both North America and Europe, the objects were received as collateral for Catlin's debts in 1852.[7] Stored in Philadelphia by creditor Joseph Harrison, Jr., they were donated to the Smithsonian by Harrison's widow Sarah in 1879. In September 1881, an additional body of Catlin material was discovered in a Philadelphia warehouse; it transferred to the Smithsonian shortly thereafter. Unfortunately, by the time the articles arrived in Washington, many of them had been damaged by fire, water, insects, or other forces.[8]

Like a great deal of Northeastern material from the early nineteenth century, many of the smaller items Catlin acquired were manufactured of blackened deerskin. Such coloring was achieved through the use of a stain produced

from boiling black walnut hulls. The Iroquois style is defined by Turner.

> Hair-embroidered work on dark brown skin was done, apparently up to the middle of the nineteenth century when a vogue for massive bead work set in. It is not always possible to distinguish between Iroquois and Huron work, but the balance of probability favours the Iroquois when certain features are present. The chief of these are the combination of porcupine quill and moosehair on the same object, and the use of paired outward-curving scrolls. The so-called 'sky-dome'...was also a popular Iroquois symbol.[9]

A pair of Catlin moccasins identified as Mohawk are stylistically similar to a pair with Huron attribution in the Pourtalès collection (Fig. 71).[10] A bag bearing simplified floral-like designs and also collected by Catlin displays motifs that are actually more realistic than the figures that appear on numerous contemporary pouches (Fig. 72). A less dramatic flap and the presence of a solitary central decorative device is common on numerous published examples.[11]

An undocumented "Huron" knife sheath in the Smithsonian collection combines quillwork and hair embroidery (Fig. 73). A similar sheath identified as "Huron type" was collected in Eastern Canada in 1841-1842 by James du Prês, the third Earl of Caledon, of Tyrone, Ireland.[12] Published examples reveal, however, that late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century quilled knife cases from the Northeast and Great Lakes regions were generally decorated with geometric designs.[13]

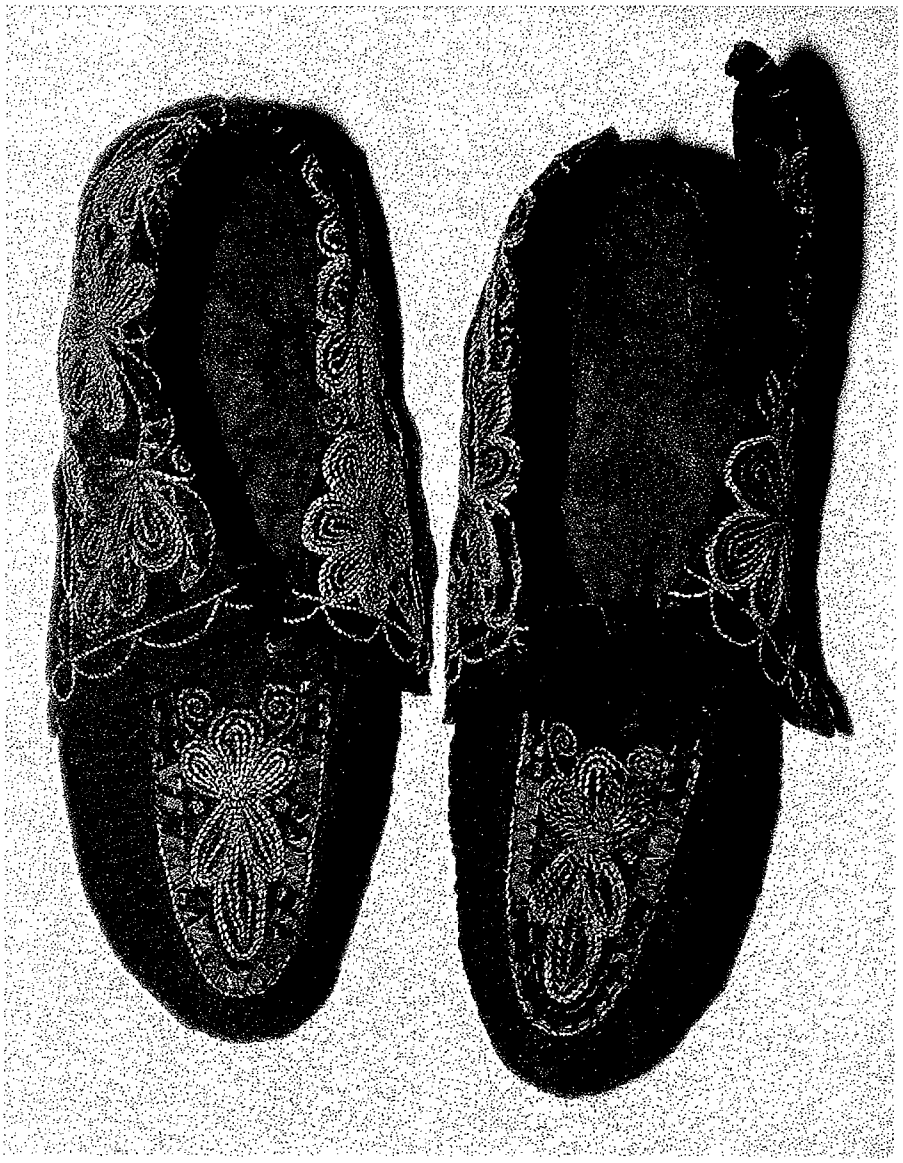


Figure 71. Mohawk moccasins, before 1852. Mixed media. Catalogue No. E386562; Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution.

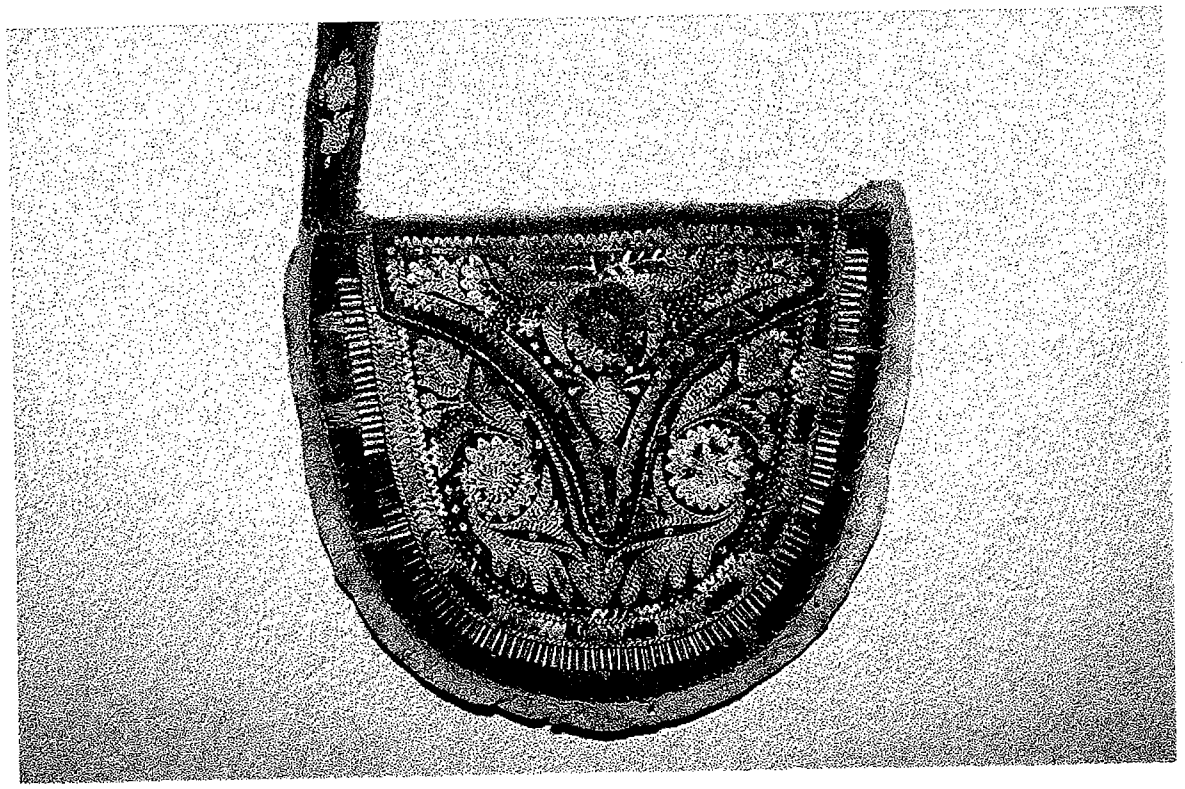


Figure 72. Huron bag, before 1852. Mixed media. Catalogue No. E386567A; Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution.

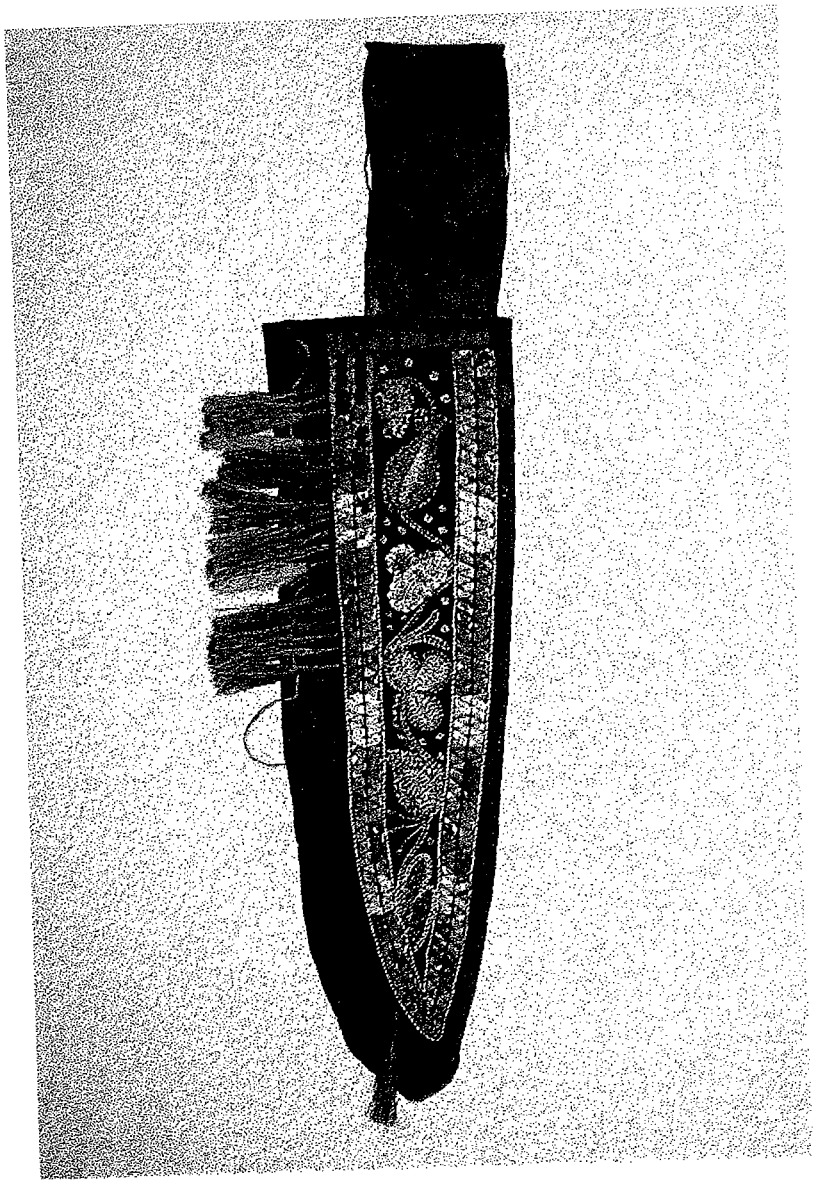


Figure 73. Huron knife sheath, c. 1800-1850. Mixed media. Catalogue No. T7373; Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution.

In an 1849 summary of his collecting activity among the Iroquois, Lewis Henry Morgan described contemporary examples of indigenous dress. A few asymmetrical floral motifs appeared on the garments he collected; beaded embroidery generally appeared as geometric trim.[14] A work pocket, needle book, pin cushion, and pocket book were noted as "further specimens of the handiwork of the Indian female in bead work" and not deemed worthy of further comment. As Morgan stated, these items were offered as examples of Iroquois "reclamation and gradual induction into industrial pursuits."[15] All four of these items bear dominant bilaterally symmetrical designs, double-curve and tendril motifs, and/or multi-lobed figures.[16]

In a similar report published two years later, Morgan included discussion of additional masculine and feminine garments. Again, geometric trim was common. A beaded satchel and pin cushion displayed floral or semi-floral designs, as did a woman's skirt. Morgan called this last item, with its large asymmetrically beaded floral spray

> the finest piece of Indian beadwork ever exhibited....It was made by Miss Caroline G. Parker (Gā-hā-no), a Seneca Indian girl, now being educated in the State Normal School, to whose finished taste, and patient industry the State is indebted for most of the many beautiful specimens of beadwork embroidery now in the Indian collection.[17]

Figure 74 reproduces a contemporary daguerreotype showing Caroline Parker dressed in articles of clothing collected by



Figure 74. Caroline Parker dressed in Iroquois clothing, 1849. From a hand-tinted daguerreotype (image laterally reversed). Courtesy of the Southwest Museum, Los Angeles. Photo No. N-24963.

Morgan in 1849.[18]

In her essay on Indian handcrafts produced for the Niagara Falls-area tourist market, Beverly Gordon traced the origins of the regional souvenir trade to at least 1835. A decade later, Iroquois people were reportedly providing local dealers with embroidered items for sale in curio shops. By the 1850s, a multitude of businesses specializing in Indian-made objects were operating in the vicinity of the Falls.[19]

Gordon found that the simple floral design apparent on the pin cushion mentioned by Morgan "epitomizes the archaic whimsey."[20] Morgan himself considered the object to reflect what was then the "general character of bead work embroidery."[21] Contemporary Iroquois floral bead embroidery as produced for the tourist market was defined by a heavy, raised application of beads. "The figures [were] made to stand out from the background simply by crowding the strings of beads too closely to lie flat."[22] The "archaic" period of whimsey construction (as defined by floral design) reportedly dated from 1850 to about 1870, when a "classic" style appeared. This was followed by a "baroque period" that began about 1890 and lasted into the twentieth century. Figures 75 and 76 show three bags that illustrate an early aspect of the Niagara Falls style. All three were reportedly purchased at the Falls between 1857 and 1860.[23]

A small beaded ("archaic") pouch produced within this genre was secured from a Montana Iroquois in 1853 (Fig. 77).

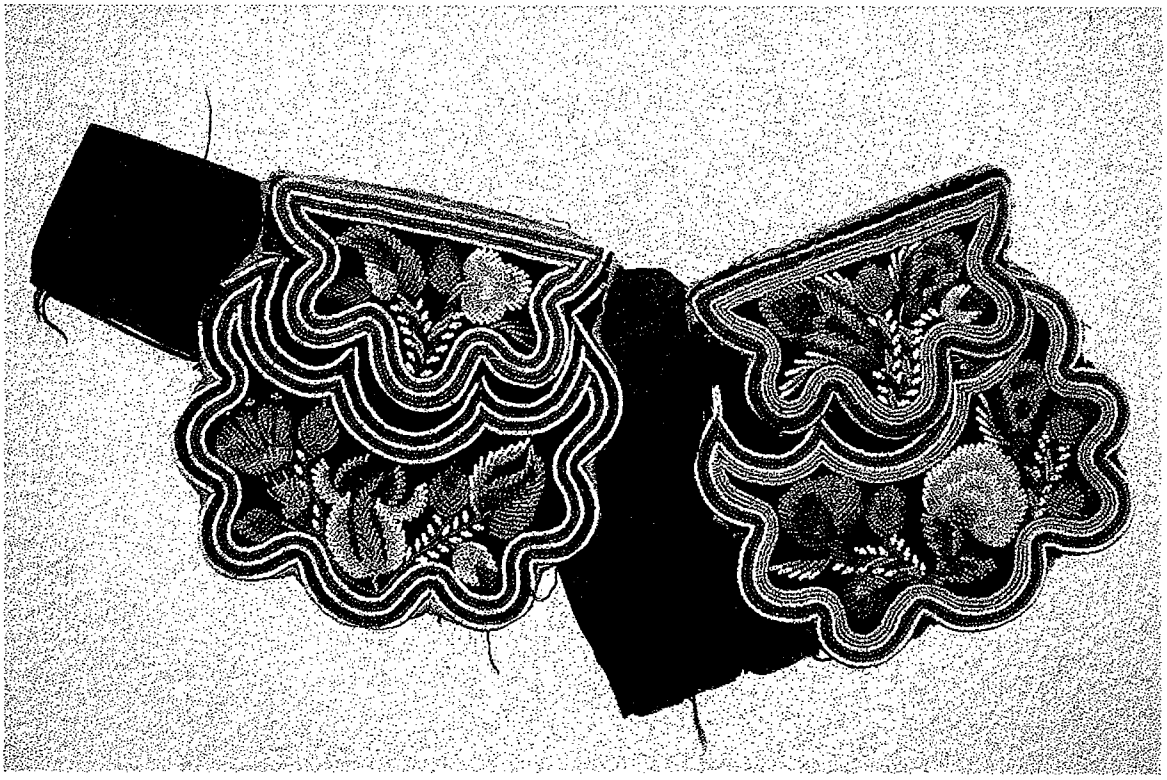


Figure 75. Iroquois bags, 1857-1860. Mixed media. Catalogue No. E392307; Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution.

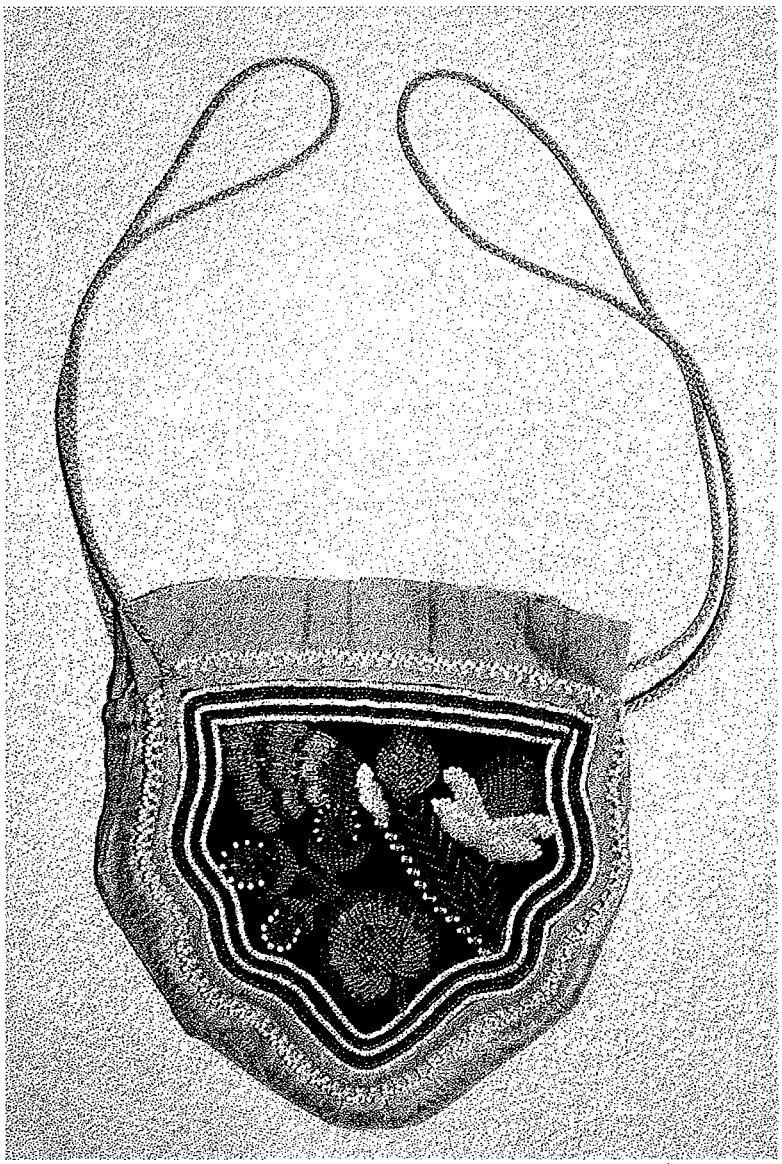


Figure 76. Iroquois bag, 1857-1860. Mixed media. Catalogue No. E392308; Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution.

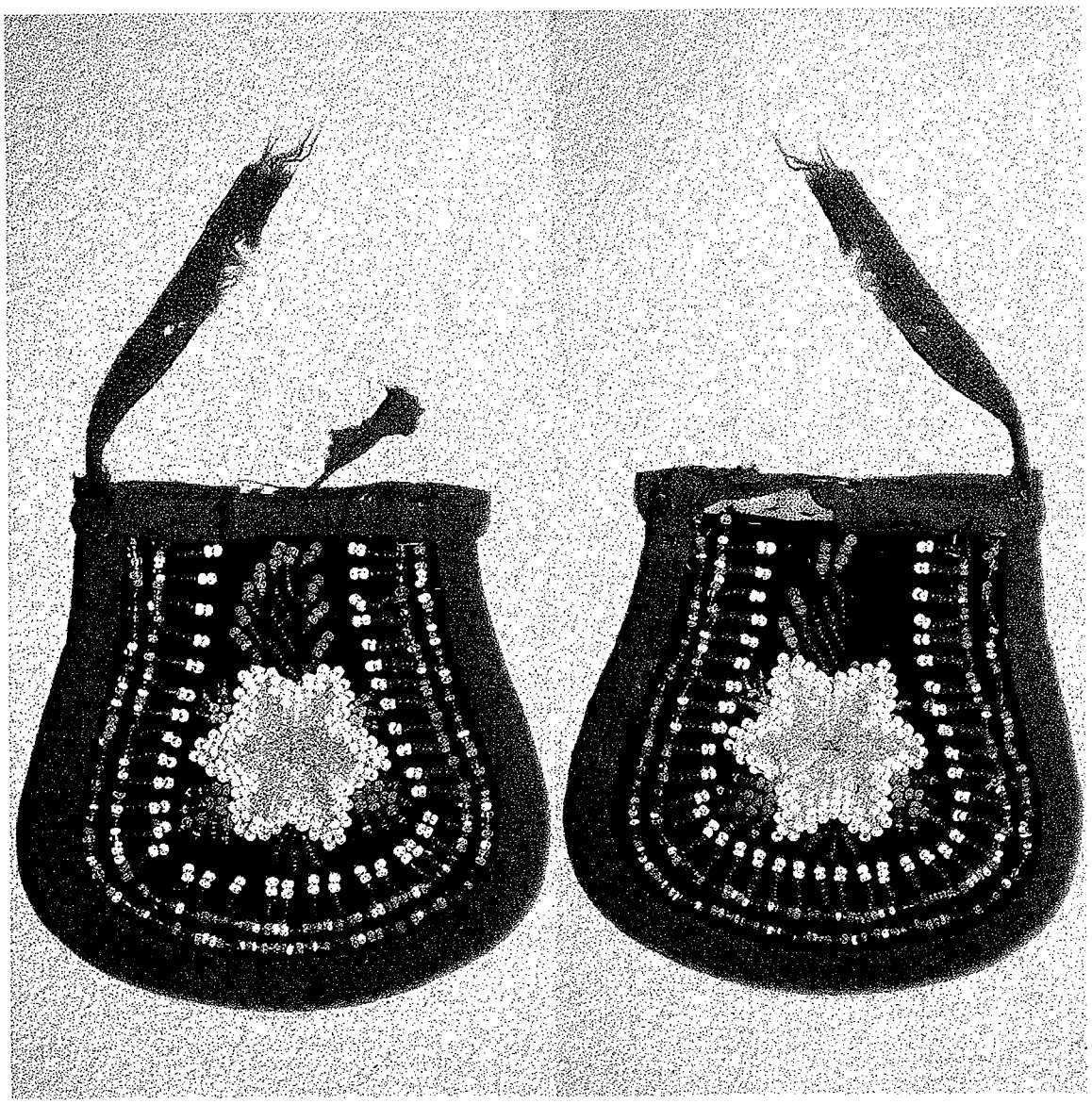


Figure 77. Iroquois pouch (recto and verso), before 1853. Mixed media. Catalogue No. E364570; Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution.

When donated to the Smithsonian in 1932, the pouch and a companion piece were accompanied by the following statement of origin:

> About the year 1855, approximately, the U.S. Government ordered a survey of the Columbia river section under the direction of Col. Stevens, U.S. Army. The expedition under the command of Lieut. Richard Arnold, graduate of West Point, started from the Presidio in California and followed the course ordered to its terminus where it was met by Col. Stevens. A younger brother of Lieut. Arnold's, Daniel Lyman by name, accompanied the expedition as invited guest. They met several tribes of Indians, some friendly, and some hostile, and while halted for a time near a tribe of Flatheads, young Daniel Lyman purchased for the sum of $40. one bag 7x11 in. covered on both sides by a design in colored beads, with a beaded fringe at the bottom. And a smaller bag, evidently intended for a child.[24]

Daniel Lyman Arnold was indeed a member of Isaac Ingalls Steven's 1853-54 Pacific Railroad Survey. A party under Lieutenant Rufus Saxton, assisted by Second Lieutenant Richard Arnold (an 1846 graduate of West Point), was charged with establishing a provision depot at St. Mary's Mission on the Flathead Reservation. Lyman Arnold was in charge of astronomical observations for this group.[25]

Saxton traveled to San Francisco via the Isthmus of Panama, then proceeded to Fort Vancouver. On July 2, 1853, the party began traveling up the Columbia River, arriving at St. Mary's on August 28. The Arnold brothers and four others stayed at St. Mary's while Saxton continued on to Fort Benton and St. Louis. Stevens and his party arrived in late August and stayed only a short while. In November of

1853, the brothers began their return to Fort Vancouver, exploring the route between Fort Colvile, the Grand Coulee, and Fort Nez Perces.[26]

Like the Iroquoian Niagara Falls trade, the Huron tradition of hair embroidery had a tourist focus during much of the nineteenth century. By the 1830s, the Huron of Lorette had begun to significantly supplement their income through handicraft sales. Initially prompted by a depleted game supply in the vicinity of their settlement, sales of embroidered items also provided needed income when farming became less productive prior to 1900.[27] Turner noted that "[s]mall flat rectangular cases of bark...were turned out in great numbers, together with small oval boxes, fans, scissors-cases, ornamental plaques, and even picture frames."[28] Designs were "floral, realistic or partly conventionalized, and beautiful effects were achieved by delicate gradations of colour."[29] The box shown in Figure 78 is representative of this style. It was a wedding gift sent to Mrs. George M. Johnson by the Lorette Huron in 1854.

A Mohawk beaded suit now in the collection of the Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County can be dated to 1860 (Fig. 79). This set of clothing was made for a young Mohawk man named Oronhyatekha or "Burning Cloud." Oronhyatekha (occasionally called Peter Martin) was born on the Six Nations reserve near Brantford, Ontario, in 1841.[30] He completed undergraduate coursework at colleges in Massachusetts and Ohio and briefly studied medicine at

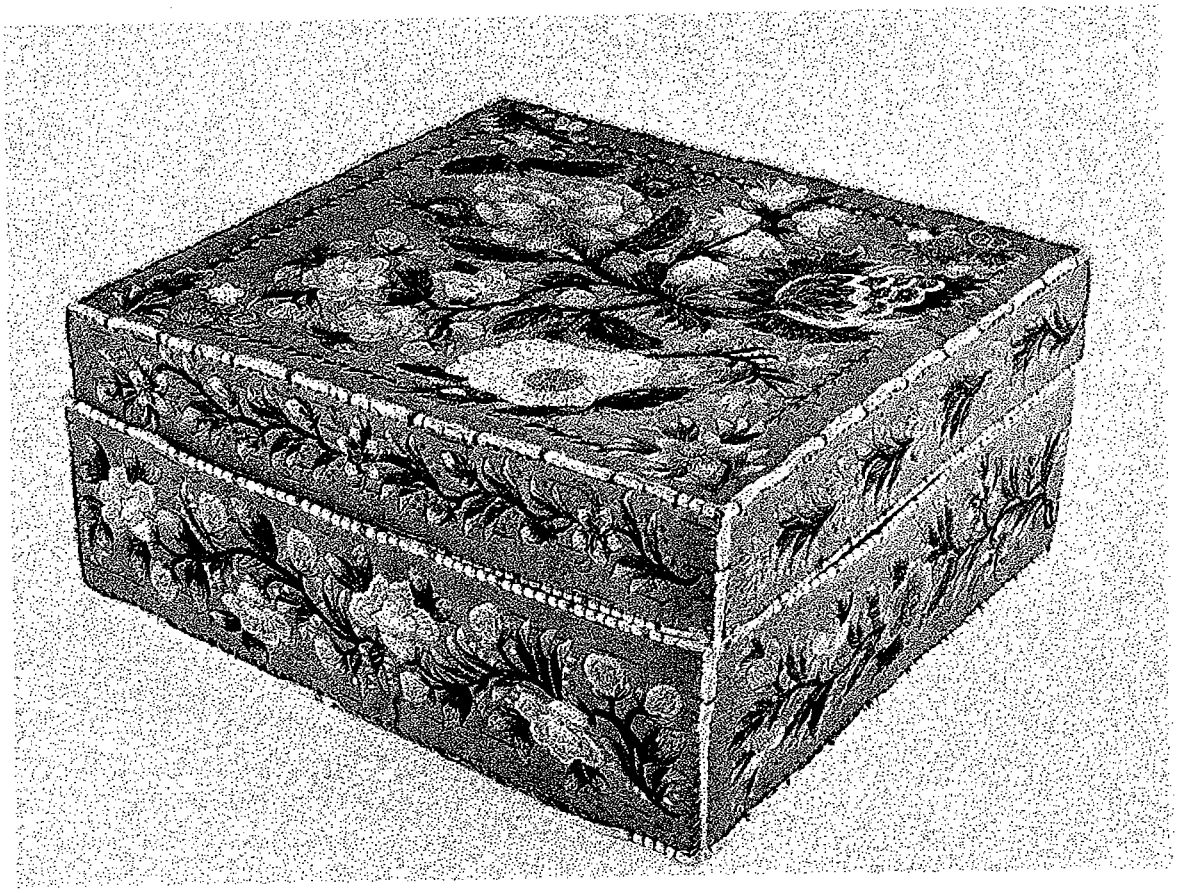


Figure 78. Huron embroidered box, 1854. Mixed media. ROM #HD12689; Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.



Figure 79. Mohawk man's suit, 1860. Mixed media. Catalogue No. A.1572-1; Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County.

Oxford University before receiving a medical diploma from the University of Toronto in 1866. In 1881, Oronhyatekha became the chief executive officer of the International Order of Foresters, an international insurance company based in Toronto. He died in 1907.

In 1860, while employed as a school teacher in a small Iroquois community, Oronhyatekha was chosen to represent the Six Nations reserve and offer a welcoming speech to the Prince of Wales (later Edward VII), who was then visiting Canada. Oronhyatekha dressed in the suit on this and subsequent occasions.[31] With the exception of the trim on the leggings, all of the embroidery is floral, and it is realistic in representation. The bag, garter, and cuff decorations are bilaterally symmetrical in their conception; the belt, headdress band (only the feather quills remain), and tunic bottom have running tendril and flower motifs.[32] Many of the items are constructed of brown velveteen. The coat and leggings are additionally trimmed with silk ribbon. The suit's embroidery has stylistic affinities with three somewhat earlier outfits that are identified as Huron in museum documentation.[33]

EMBROIDERY FROM THE GREAT LAKES AND EASTERN PLAINS

A second bag from the Catlin Indian Gallery collection has a prominent thunderbird figure and an assigned Chippewa attribution (Fig. 80). This object is representative of a type of pouch that was in widespread regional use during the



Figure 80. Chippewa bag, before 1852. Mixed media. Catalogue No. E386550; Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution.

late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. According to Ted Brasser, who dates the bags' initial popularity to 1750-1800, these items were primarily used by the Ottawa, Mississauga, and related groups to their south and west. Brasser theorizes that, because of a variety of factors, the bags may have been ritual paraphernalia belonging to a short-lived religious organization.[34] They may also have been used as ammunition pouches or as containers for an individual's herbs, medicines, or sacred objects.[35]

Similar iconography was prevalent on a variety of regional objects and it is present on a coat that once belonged to the Reverend Peter Jones (Kahkewaquonaby). Jones was the son of a Mississauga Ojibwa mother and a white surveyor of Welsh descent named Augustus Jones.[36] Prior to age 14, the younger Jones lived near Lake Ontario with his mother's people. He then spent seven years with his father, after which time he was converted to Christianity. He subsequently became a Wesleyan missionary among the Mississauga and other Ojibwa groups, an international lecturer on Indian land rights, and an advocate of Indian education. In his 1861 *History of the Ojebway Indians*, Jones described Ojibwa dress as observed before mid-century.

> The clothing of the men consists of a loose coat coming down over the knees. This is made of dressed deer or moose skin fantastically decorated with tassels of the same material, or with porcupine quills, beads and silver brooches. Their leggings are made of the same skins. Round their waists they tie belts worked with worsted and beads. Their head-dresses are made from the

> skins and feathers of birds...and sometimes from fur skins....Their pouches, containing their pipes and tobacco, are fastened to their belts...Their moccasins are made of dressed deer skins worked with quills or beads. The women wear short gowns and petticoats made of deer skin, and a mantle thrown over the shoulders: they also wear leggings and moccasins neatly worked.[37]

This description of an Ojibwa man attired in buckskin frock coat and worsted sash, with leggings, moccasins, pouch, and headdress, conforms very closely to the dress Jones wore in a series of calotypes made by David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson in Edinburgh, Scotland, on August 4, 1845. These portraits represent the first known images ever made of a person of Native American ancestry.[38]

The coat worn by Jones during the 1845 photo session is now in the Smithsonian (Fig. 81).[39] The cuffs, shoulders, and lapels of the garment are decorated with linear designs worked in colored quills. A row of white beads also trims the lapels. The lapels themselves are decorated with birds and snakes. The body of the coat directly beneath these bird figures bears a second set of birds, one of which appears to be holding a quadruped in its claws. The coat and other of Jones' effects also appear in a watercolor sketch book dated to the 1840s.[40] Formerly attributed to George Catlin, the book is in the collection of the Gilcrease Museum.[41]

Another Ojibwa outfit that dates to a slightly later period is now in the Royal Ontario Museum. These items belonged to the Ojibwa John Tecumseh Henry; they were



Figure 81. Ojibwa man's coat, before 1845. Mixed media. Catalogue No. E178398; Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution. Photo by Diane L. Nordeck.

formerly in the possession of Oronhyatekha (Figs. 82-84). John Tecumseh Henry was the eldest son of Maungwudaus (George Henry), whose half-brother was Peter Jones.[42] George Henry was educated in Methodist mission schools and early worked as an interpreter and translator. In 1844, he left this life and founded a dance troupe that consisted of members of his own family and Indians from Walpole Island in far southern Ontario (near Detroit).[43] The dancers, whose number included the teenage John Tecumseh Henry, toured Britain and the continent in 1845 and 1846 and performed for several additional years in Canada and the United States. After a successful spring and early summer 1845 engagement in London's Egyptian Hall, the dancers moved to Paris. From late summer 1845 through January 1846, the 11 (later 12) Ojibwa were employed in Paris, Brussels, Ghent, and Antwerp venues by George Catlin.[44] During and after their acquaintance with Catlin, six members of this group died of smallpox, including George Henry's wife and three of his children.[45]

John Tecumseh Henry (also known as Awanwa-pe; Bird of Thunder or Mist Man) was born about 1824.[46] In 1852, after his career as a performer ended, he settled at Munceyville, Ontario.[47] He resided in that general vicinity (as a member of the Chippewa of the Thames band) throughout his life. In 1860, Henry wore the garments shown in Figures 82-84 when he, like Oronhyatekha, addressed the Prince of Wales as a representative of the Carodoc Indian Reserve.[48]



Figure 82. Ojibwa man's jacket, 1860. Mixed media. ROM #HK901; Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.

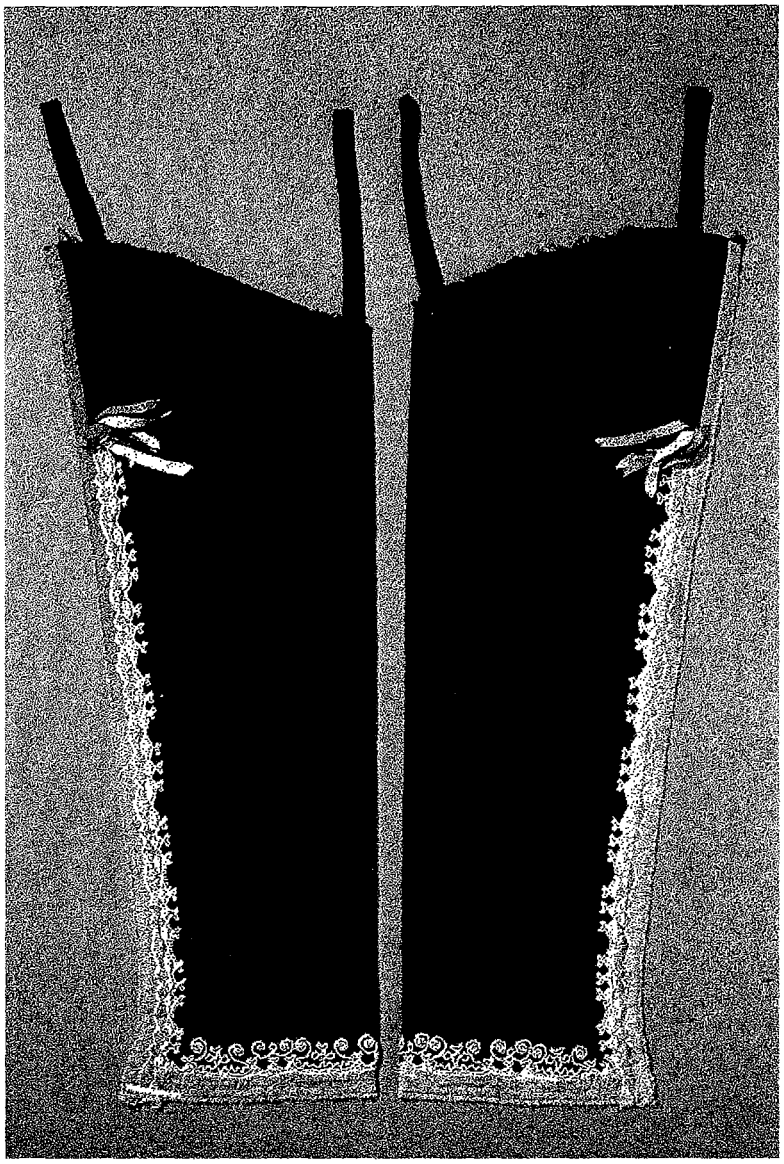


Figure 83. Ojibwa man's leggings, 1860. Mixed media. ROM #HD6283/2; Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.

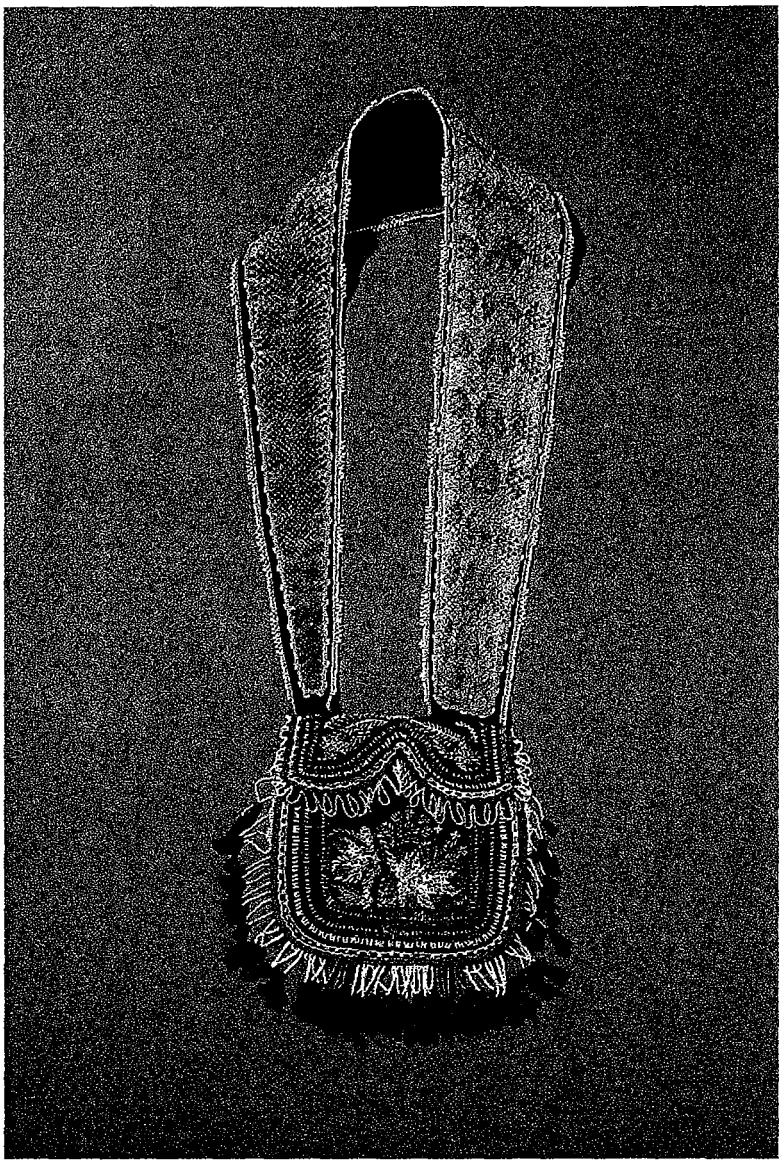


Figure 84. Ojibwa(?) pouch, 1860. Mixed media. ROM #HD6365/2; Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.

Collections made during the 1820s and 1830s provide insight into the embroidery traditions then active among those Indian people living along the borders of the Great Lakes and Plains regions. The first of these was collected in 1823 by the Italian nobleman Giacomo Costantino Beltrami. Beltrami was born in 1779 in Bergamo, Italy, and as an adult enjoyed a successful military and legal career. He was forced into exile in 1821 and after two years came to North America.[49] In May 1823 he arrived at Fort St. Anthony (later Fort Snelling) in hopes of exploring northward towards the source of the Mississippi River. The following July he joined a party led by Major Stephen H. Long that was seeking the source of the St. Peter (now Minnesota) River prior to proceeding up the Red River as far as the 49th Parallel (Pembina). After a month's time, Beltrami abandoned this group at Pembina and began an independent exploration in company with several local guides. After seven weeks' time he arrived back at Fort St. Anthony, having made a modestly successful survey of the sources of the Mississippi.[50]

During his travels through present-day Minnesota and along the western margins of the Dakotas, Beltrami collected many objects of Indian manufacture. In his published account, Beltrami noted that above Fort St. Anthony he traveled "sometimes by land and sometimes by water, according to the curious or interesting objects, either route might offer."[51] His record does include further

references to his "*savage* collection" but details related to specific items and the context of their acquisition is generally minimal.[52] After his death, about 60 these items were given to the Civic Library in Bergamo.[53] Ownership of these objects eventually transferred to Bergamo's Civic Museum of Natural History.[54]

The objects in the Beltrami collection are generally of Eastern Sioux or Chippewa manufacture. The decoration on two small bags in the collection is essentially geometric; small figures (possibly thunderbirds) and quadrupeds appear on one of these.[55] Quilled decoration on moccasins and clothing is simple, bilaterally symmetrical, and executed in what can best be described as designs evocative of double-curve motifs.[56] A flat, triangular-shaped item is worked in an all-over pattern of small flowers. These small figures are embroidered in cotton thread applied to silk fabric. Inked guidelines are faintly visible under the flowers.[57] This item has been assigned neither a function nor any tribal attribution beyond "Upper Mississippi." In appearance, the floral patterning is reflective of the composition and motifs evident on contemporary calicoes.

The Nathan Sturges Jarvis collection at the Brooklyn Museum contains numerous items obtained from Minnesota's Native peoples during the mid 1830s. Dr. Sturgis was an Army Surgeon stationed at Fort Snelling between May 1833 and June 1836.[58] Sturgis' initial acquisitions were made within a month of his arrival at the Fort and they continued

throughout his tenure there.[59] During that time he obtained a variety of Native-made objects from both their Indian owners and from regional traders.[60]

The collection includes several dozen items of Sioux and Chippewa manufacture. Limited use of glass beads and silk ribbons is evident; porcupine and bird quills are present in both sewn, wrapped, and loomed work. Several obvious floral motifs are apparent in the sewn quillwork. The bib of a man's shirt (identified as "Sioux") has matching quilled floral sprays in its bottom corners.[61] Two pair of buckskin mittens ("Sioux or Chippewa") are decorated front and back with bilaterally symmetrical and simplified floral designs.[62] Similar motifs appear on a pair of ("Sioux?") moccasins.[63] Geometric designs are present on many articles of clothing and accessories such as bags, knife sheathes, and cradle decoration.[64]

Items in both the Beltrami and Jarvis collections inform the proposed chronology relative to the origins of Métis floral design. As noted in Chapter 1, Ted Brasser has hypothesized that painted skin coats were commercially produced in the Red River area around 1800 and that painted floral designs began appearing on these garments between 1800 and 1820. Local use of quilled floral patterns was frequent between about 1820 and 1850, and trade and intermarriage spread the style to some Sioux groups on the northeastern Plains after 1830.[65] A painted coat in the Beltrami collection is decorated with geometric designs of

Brasser's pre-floral period.[66] A pair of moccasins from the same collection shows evidence of the early development of quilled flower motifs.[67] Moccasins, mittens, and the occasional garment detail present in the Jarvis collection make it evident that by the middle of the 1830s, the "Métis" style had become a little more widespread and developed. In his *The Dakota or Sioux As They Were in 1834*, Reverend Samuel Pond observed that Native "[h]unters wore very different moccasins from those found in the markets."[68] Feder speculated that those moccasins with quilled floral designs may have been the "kind found on the market."[69]

By the 1840s, floral quillwork from the sphere of the Red River Métis and their Indian allies had appeared on a variety of objects.[70] In addition to moccasins and mittens, these included knife sheathes, pad saddles, cruppers, men's frock coats, and octopus bags.[71] Many such items were produced specifically for sale to white buyers and quantities of this material were annually taken from the Red River area to market in St. Paul.[72]

A variety of horse gear that can be well-dated is currently in museum collections. The quilled decoration evident on pad saddles from the early 1840s is generally quite simple. Two very similar regional examples from 1841-1842 and 1843 are adorned with rosettes and lozenge-shaped emblems in each of their four corners.[73] A third example with the same decoration was a part of George Catlin's Indian Gallery before 1852 (Fig. 85). A fourth was

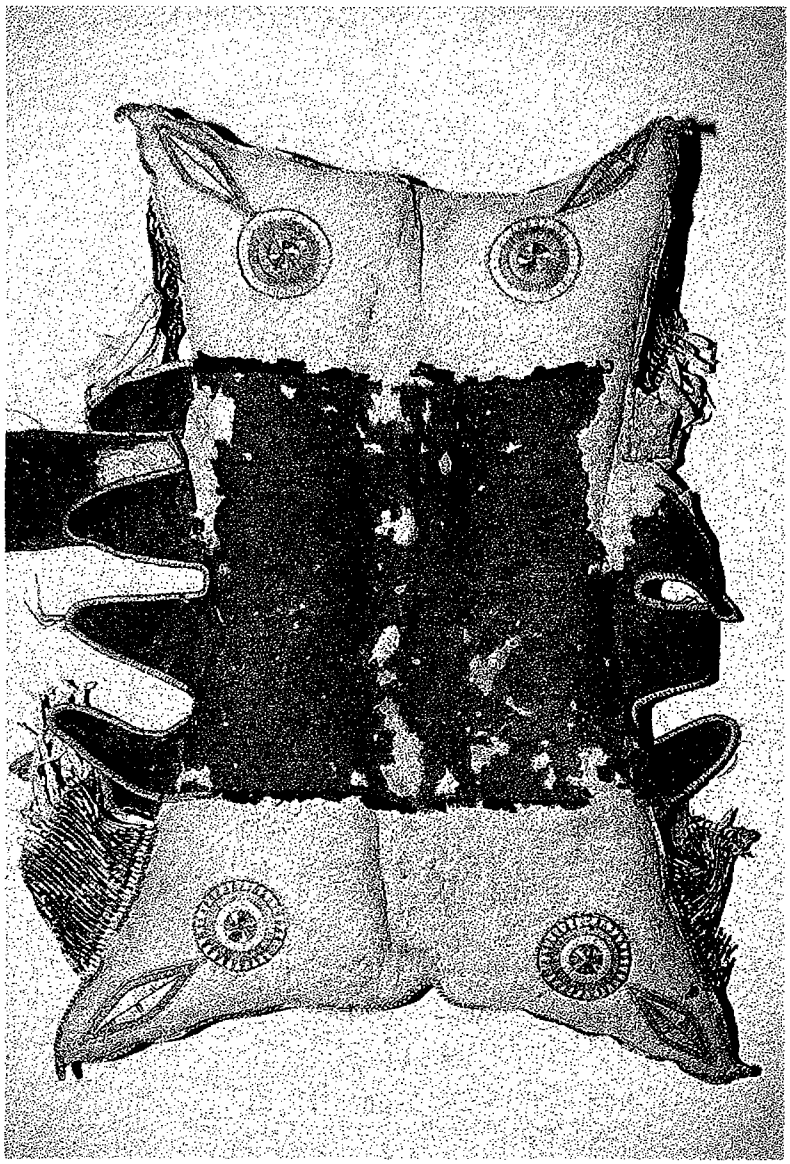


Figure 85. Northern Plains pad saddle, before 1852. Mixed media. Catalogue No. E76345; Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution.

collected in 1837 from among the Sioux.[74] Saddles with analogous designs are visible in the sketches of Rudolph Kurz and in Paul Kane's c. 1846 painting, *Half Breeds Running Buffalo*.[75] In later years, regional pad saddles came to be ornately decorated with floral beadwork. The initial development preferred airily curvilinear figures on a buckskin ground.[76] Over time, each of the four corners came to be heavily encrusted with beads.[77]

Quilled cruppers from the same time period generally display simple floral motifs attached to extended curvilinear tendrils. One such crupper was obtained by Paul Kane during his western travels of 1845-1848 and similar examples appear in several of his paintings of Plains Indian subjects (Fig. 86).[78] A comparable crupper from 1841 is in the collection of the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Hull, Quebec.[79] Remnants of two more contemporary examples are in the Catlin collection at the Smithsonian (Fig. 87).[80]

Writing about the Métis-style frock coat, David Penney has stated:

> It is also clear that the Métis capitalized upon their intermediate status between the worlds of whites and Indians in the marketing of clothing to whites who wished to identify with the individualism and rigor of life in the western territories. The mid-nineteenth-century frontier was poised, literally, between "savagery and civilization" and many whites saw themselves in the "leatherstocking" position of being half-savage in order to prepare the West for the white vision of its destiny. The Métis-style, leather frock coat decorated with bead or quill embroidery

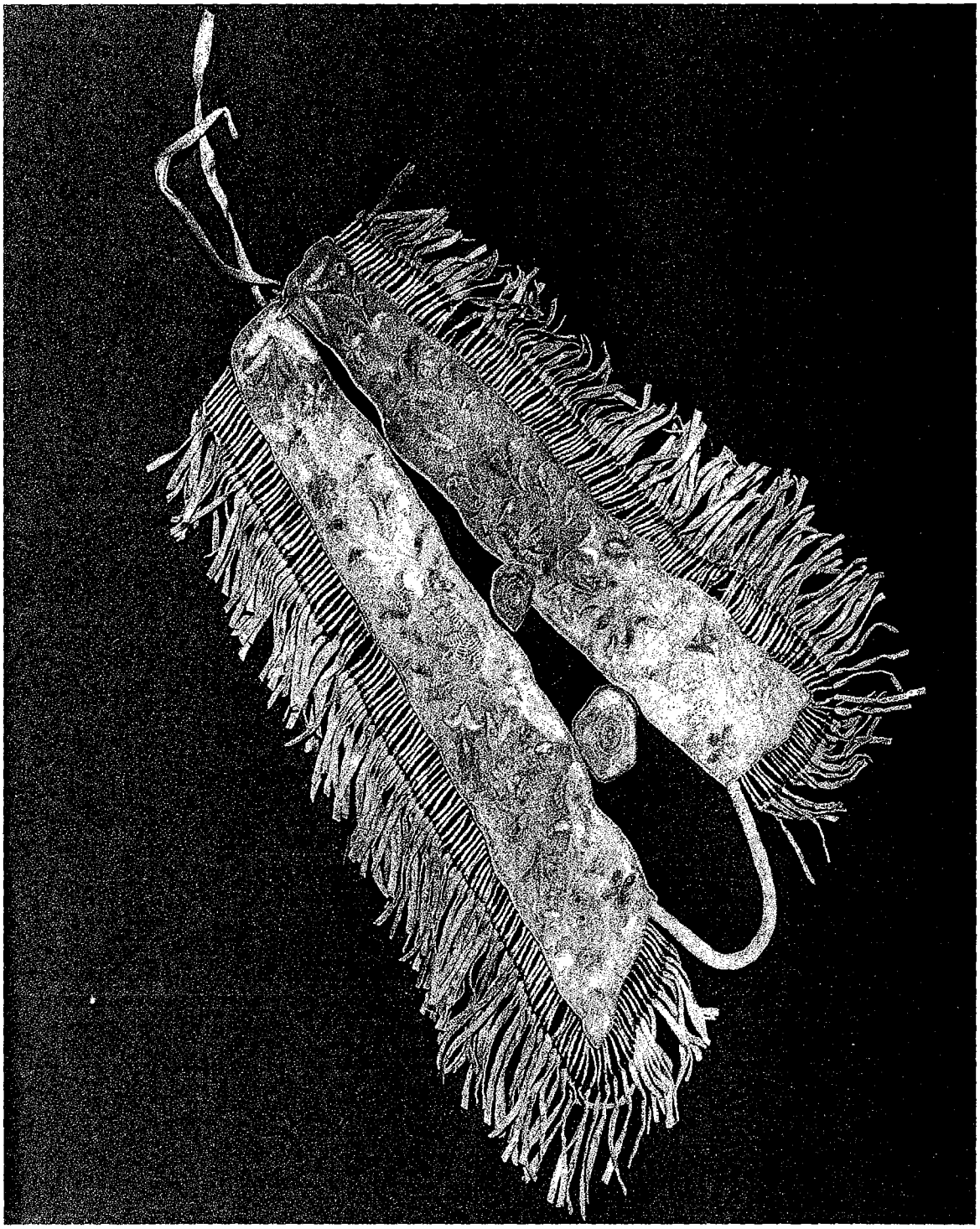


Figure 86. Métis(?) crupper, c. 1847. Mixed media. Catalogue No. H4.4-14; Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

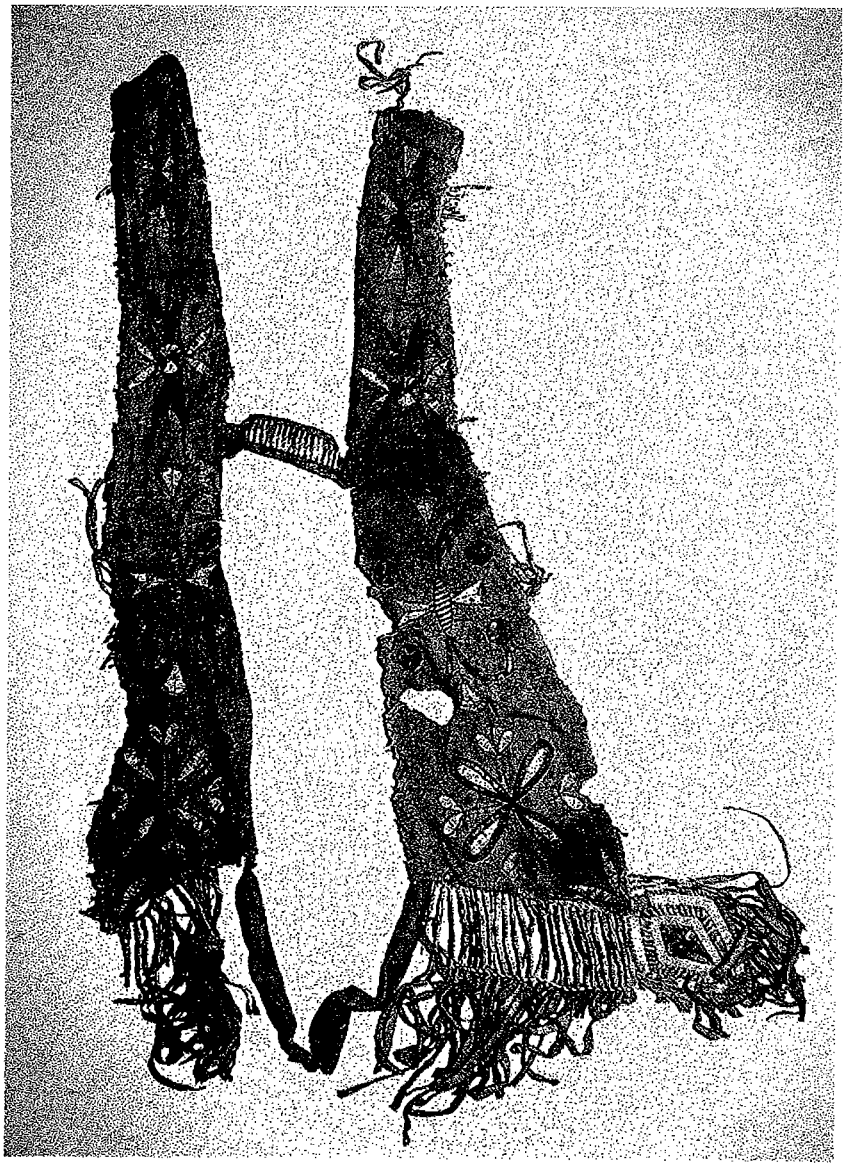


Figure 87. Eastern Plains crupper (fragment), before 1852. Mixed media. Catalogue No. E386544; Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution.

> floral style became something of a uniform for this white persona; George Armstrong Custer owned two of them, and William F. Cody rarely appeared in public without one.[81]

The coats were indeed a mainstay of frontier wear for many years. An example with painted floral motifs was acquired by the Hudson's Bay Company's John Halkett in 1822 (Fig. 88).[82] In addition to the personalities Penney mentions, coats associated with other prominent Western residents and visitors are also known. The American Museum of Natural History has two coats that formerly belonged to John James Audubon.[83] They were acquired by the artist during his 1843 trip to the Upper Missouri region. Edward Harris, one of Audubon's traveling companions on that expedition, also obtained a similar coat (Fig. 89).[84] The Missouri Historical Society in St. Louis has one coat that belonged to the St. Louis-based fur trader Honore Picotte (c. 1796-1860) and another that was formerly owned by the Choteau family.[85] Two more coats associated with St. Louis fur trader and merchant Robert Campbell belong to the Campbell House Museum in that same city.[86] The Washington State Historical Society in Tacoma has a coat that was apparently acquired by Isaac Ingalls Stevens during the early stages of his 1853 Pacific Railroad Survey.[87] A coat made for the King of Belgium at the request of Pierre Jean De Smet (c. 1867) is in a collection in Brussels.[88] Illustrations showing a variety of other examples have also been published.[89]



Figure 88. Métis-style man's coat, 1822. Mixed media. Catalogue No. HBC 34-30a; Hudson's Bay Company Museum Collection, Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

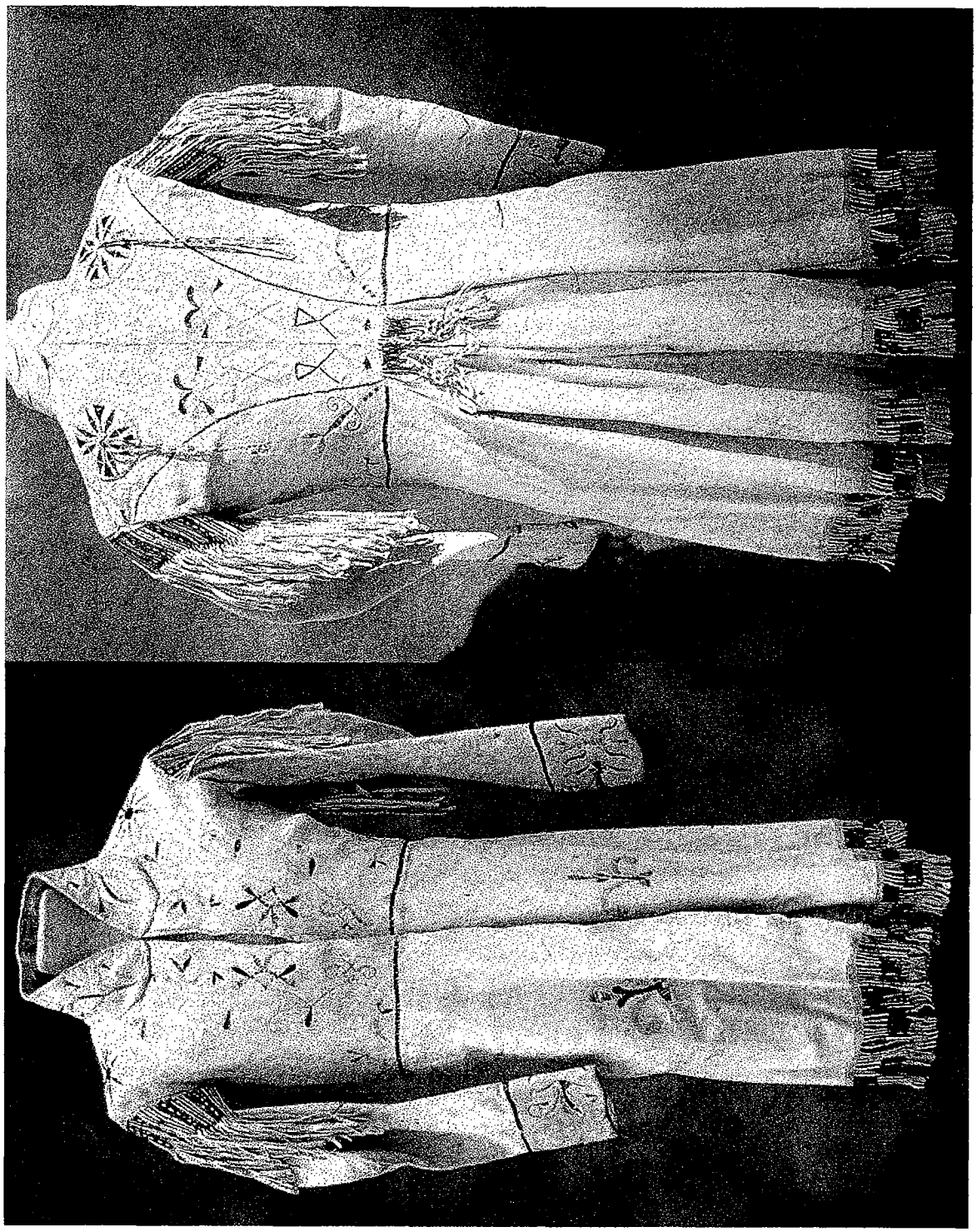


Figure 89. Métis-style man's coat (recto and verso), 1843. Mixed media, approx. 41-5/16 x 20-1/2 in. Acc. No. 86.3147.24; Alabama Department of History and Archives, Montgomery, Alabama.

Another item associated with the Métis community is the panel bag, a pouch from which hung a woven rectangular panel. This art form apparently developed during the late eighteenth century and geometric designs were the norm for the beaded panel. By the mid to late nineteenth century, floral motifs had begun to appear in the woven decoration. This late motif development precludes the need to examine the bag form in this discussion.[90]

Exactly when and where octopus bags had their genesis remains to be determined although they can be firmly associated with the Red River area by the 1840s. Kate Duncan has concluded that the construction of the bags had became "conventionalized" (made of cloth with four pairs of free-hanging tabs and other defining characteristics) by a point "early in the nineteenth century" with the prototypical bag form developing within the Cree and Cree-Métis communities. These people are thought to have been responsible for introducing the style to other groups.[91] Ted Brasser believes that the bags were developed by the Red River Métis and that they spread northward from those people to various Athapaskan groups.[92]

The three earliest octopus bags that can be well-dated all have strong links with Red River and date to before 1845. Two of these were presented to George Simpson in the early 1840s by Cree Indians then living in the vicinity of Fort Garry (Fig. 90). These bags are decorated with bilaterally symmetrical designs worked in beadwork upon a

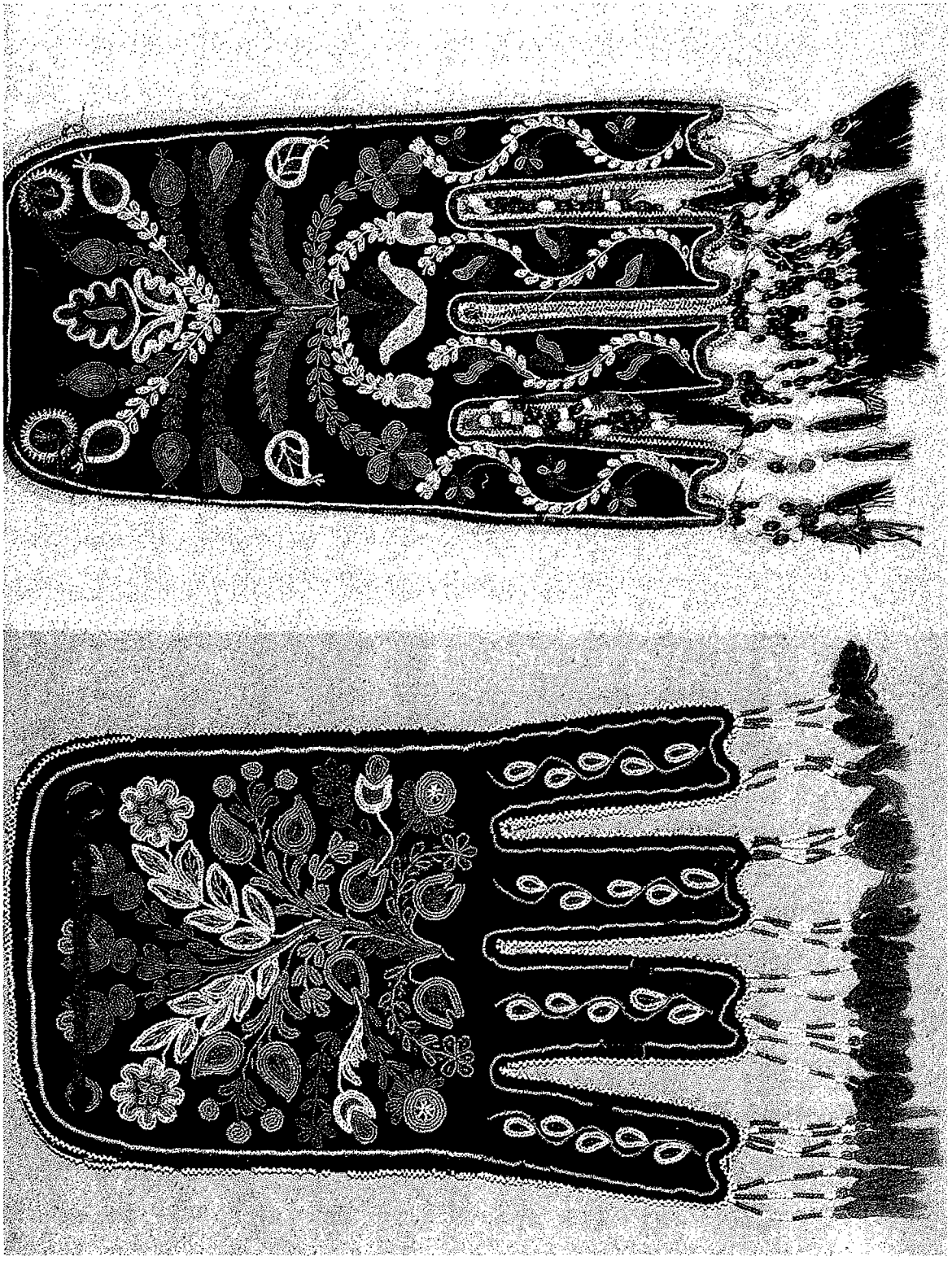


Figure 90. Two Cree octopus bags, early 1840s. Mixed media. Catalogue Nos. HBC 2257 (left) and HBC 2260; Photos courtesy Lower Fort Garry National Historic Site, Department of Canadian Heritage - Parks Canada.

cloth base. The beaded decoration is created with stylized motifs that appear to be simplified flowers. The compositional result is quite different from what appeared in contemporary Métis quillwork.[93]

The temporal origin of a third octopus bag can be fixed to at least 1841 or 1842 but its exact point of cultural genesis has yet to be determined (Fig. 91). The bag, with the name "S BLACK" embroidered on one face, was collected by E.M. Hopkins. He acquired it either while heading westward with George Simpson on the initial leg of the Governor's 1841 around-the-world trip or during the following summer as he traveled from Fort Vancouver to York Factory as a member of the Hudson's Bay Company's overland Express.

The "S BLACK" is here thought to refer to Samuel Black, Chief Trader at the Hudson's Bay Company's Thompson River Post (Fort Kamloops), who was murdered there by a Shuswap man on February 8, 1841.[94] Black had been a veteran of both the XY and North West Companies. After joining the latter organization in 1804 he had proven to be so fierce an opponent of the HBC that he was denied admittance into the newly restructured Company at the 1821 coalition. As the result of a personal appeal in London in 1823, Black was finally admitted to the Company as a clerk. He spent the years 1825-1830 at Fort Nez Perces and moved to Thompson's River in 1830.[95]

During the course of his life, Black had two country wives. The first was an Indian woman from central Canada

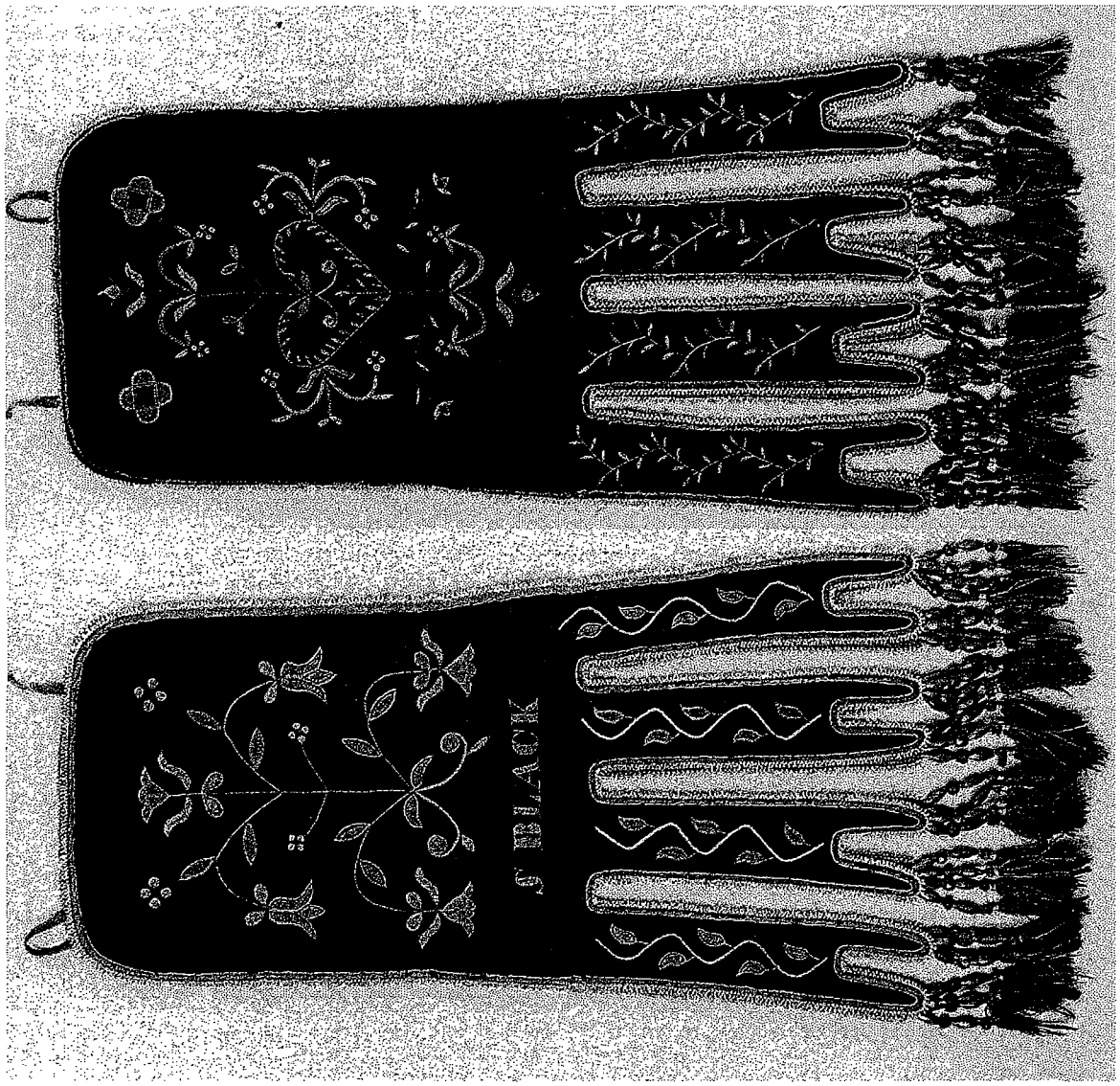


Figure 91. Métis(?) octopus bag (recto and verso), before 1841. Mixed media. Acc. No. 1893.67.183; Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.

who later married one of the two North Westers named Robert Henry. Mrs. Henry died in 1830.[96] Three of the four children Black fathered during the course of this relationship preceded him in death.[97] The fourth, a daughter named Jean, married one George Ballandyne about 1829 and was a resident at Red River in 1836 when Black drew up his will at Fort Okanogan.[98] She was still living in 1855.

Black's second wife may have been an Indian woman from the west as Black did not father additional children until after his arrival at Kamloops in 1830.[99] Although she is referred to as Angelique Cameron in the fur trade literature, it appears that the second Mrs. Black acquired her Cameron surname through remarriage. Shortly after Black's demise she became the wife of Duncan Edward Cameron, who had previously been Postmaster at Fort Vancouver and Thompson River.[100] Cameron was a clerk at Fort Kilmaurs on Lake Babine in 1844 and briefly settled in the Willamette Valley the following year. He was apparently with John Sutter in California prior to the discovery of gold there.[101]

The very personal decoration on the octopus bag suggests that it may have been commissioned by Black or that it was made or procured by a member of his family. If it was commissioned by the Chief Factor himself, its early date suggests a production within the sphere of the Red River colony or the greater Métis community. If it was made or

commissioned by a family member, two scenarios are possible. Although 1840 seems very early for the production of such a bag within the interior of British Columbia, it is possible that it was made by his wife, Angelique. If it was intended as a gift from his daughter Jean, it would have been made by her or someone in her circle in Red River.

Where and when E.M. Hopkins secured the bag is yet a mystery. He arrived in Red River in June 1841 and remained in that area for three weeks. This was four months after Black's death and news of the sad event had reached the settlement by that time.[102] A personalized pouch such as this one would have held little attraction to anyone, especially given its association with a dead man. Hopkins may have obtained it then and considered it a great curiosity.

It is also possible that he secured the bag the following year while traveling to York Factory. During the spring of 1842 an auction was held at Jasper House and the contents of a trunk that had belonged to Black were sold. A "Garnished Shot pouch" was among the sale items.[103] If this pouch was the same as that shown in Figure 91, Hopkins undoubtedly obtained it as he passed by Jasper House and environs shortly after the sale concluded.[104]

The bag is embroidered in bilaterally symmetrical floral designs worked in thread on cloth. The use of a single color of thread creates a monochromatic effect. Double-curved devices are prominent and a heart dominates

the design on the reverse side. Nowhere is the embroidery densely applied. The stems are slender and the petals are generally built up through cross-hatching.

An octopus bag that can be dated to before 1853 was among the objects collected by Daniel Lyman from among the Montana-based Iroquois in 1853 (Fig. 92). This item was probably produced with the sphere of the Cree, Ojibwa, and/or Métis communities. It could have been traded into the Rocky Mountain region from the east or--given the presence of the small Iroquois brocade-beaded bag obtained at the same time--it may have been procured by an Iroquois who was visiting eastern relatives. Regardless, it was a cherished item as it was released only for the sum of $40.00.

Two items that share a common history are a beaded bag and sash now in the collection of the National Museum of the American Indian (Figs. 93-94). These objects were among the 50-plus items that once comprised the John Mix Stanley collection. The material was apparently collected during Stanley's stint as artist-draftsman for Isaac Ingalls Stevens' 1853 Pacific Railroad survey. Between June and November of that year, the painter traveled between St. Paul and Fort Vancouver, via Forts Union, Benton, and Colvile.[105] As would be expected, the ethnographic material he collected was primarily of Blackfoot origin, although some Sioux, Assiniboine, and Cree material was secured.[106] After Stanley's death in 1872, the father of



Figure 92. Octopus bag (recto and verso), before 1853. Mixed media. Catalogue No. 364570; Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution.

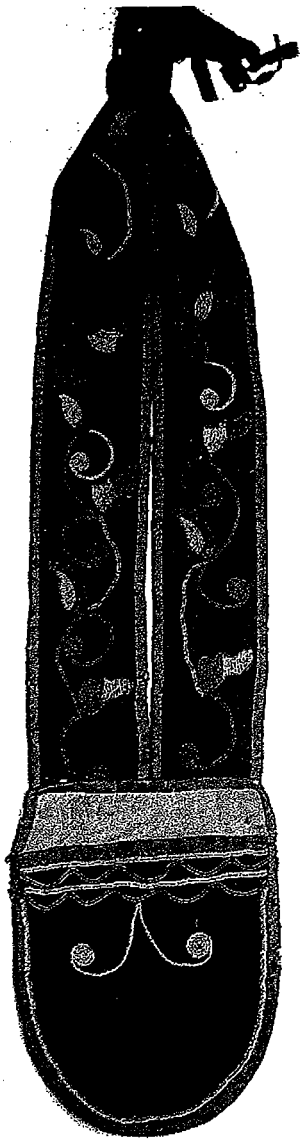


Figure 93. Cree shoulder bag, before 1853. Mixed media. Catalogue No. 16/5222; National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution.

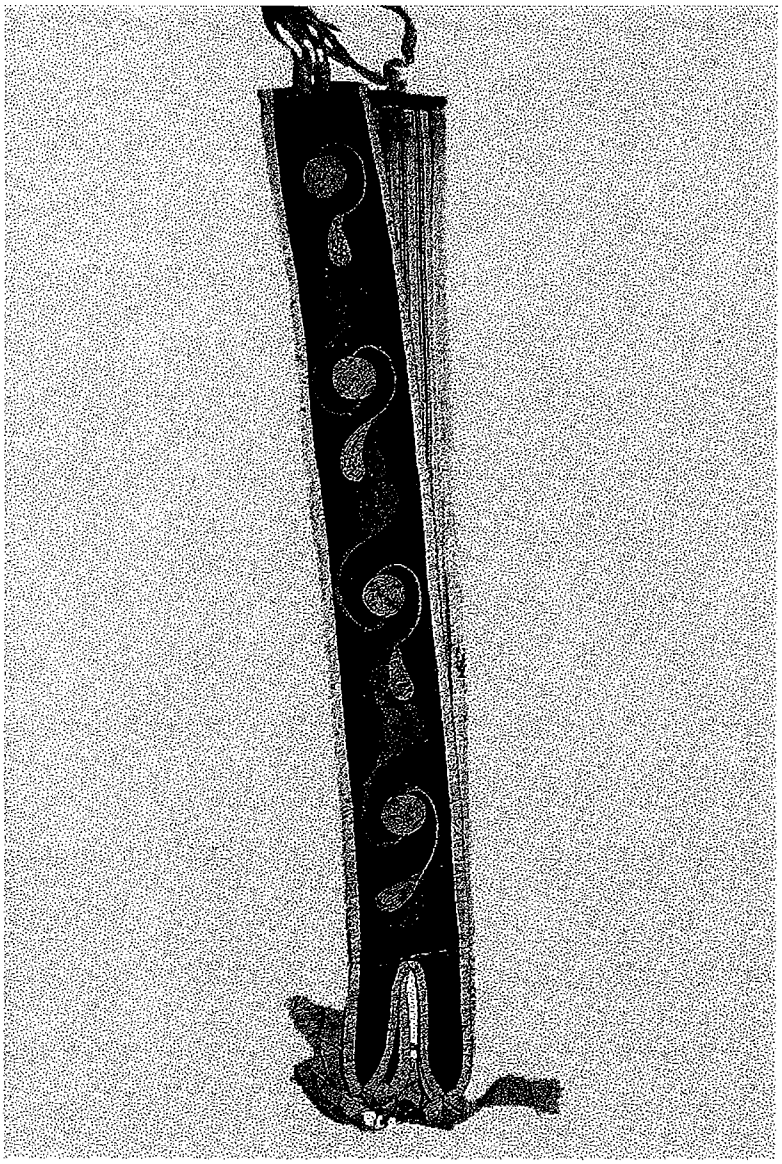


Figure 94. Cree powder horn straps, before 1853. Mixed media. Catalogue No. 16/5224; National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution.

artist Gari Melchers obtained the objects from Stanley's widow. The younger Melchers gave the collection to the Heye Foundation in May 1929.[107]

The two illustrated articles have Plains Cree attributions. The cloth bag appears to be a shot pouch. The decorated straps may once have supported a powder horn.[108] This second object closely duplicates the powder horn strap evident in Paul Kane's 1846 portrait of the Cree-Métis, François Lucie. The beads and beaded decoration on the two items shown here are quite similar and it seems possible that they were produced as a set. The running tendril composition of the designs evokes the appearance of a vine but no realistic floral shapes are evident.

Most researchers agree that bandolier bags appeared in the Great Lakes region after about 1850.[109] One antecedent of this style of bag was the locally popular rectangular shoulder bag with dual panels of quilled ornament.[110] An example of this type of early pouch was formerly in the possession of Paul Kane (Fig. 95). As with the powder horn straps noted above, a quilled bag such as this appears in Kane's painting of François Lucie.[111]

Whiteford suggests that other inspiration for bandolier bags may have come from the black buckskin bags represented by Figure 80 and from the region's early finger-woven bags.[112] He also notes that

> [o]ne of the sources for the concept of larger, rectangular bags came from such tribes as the

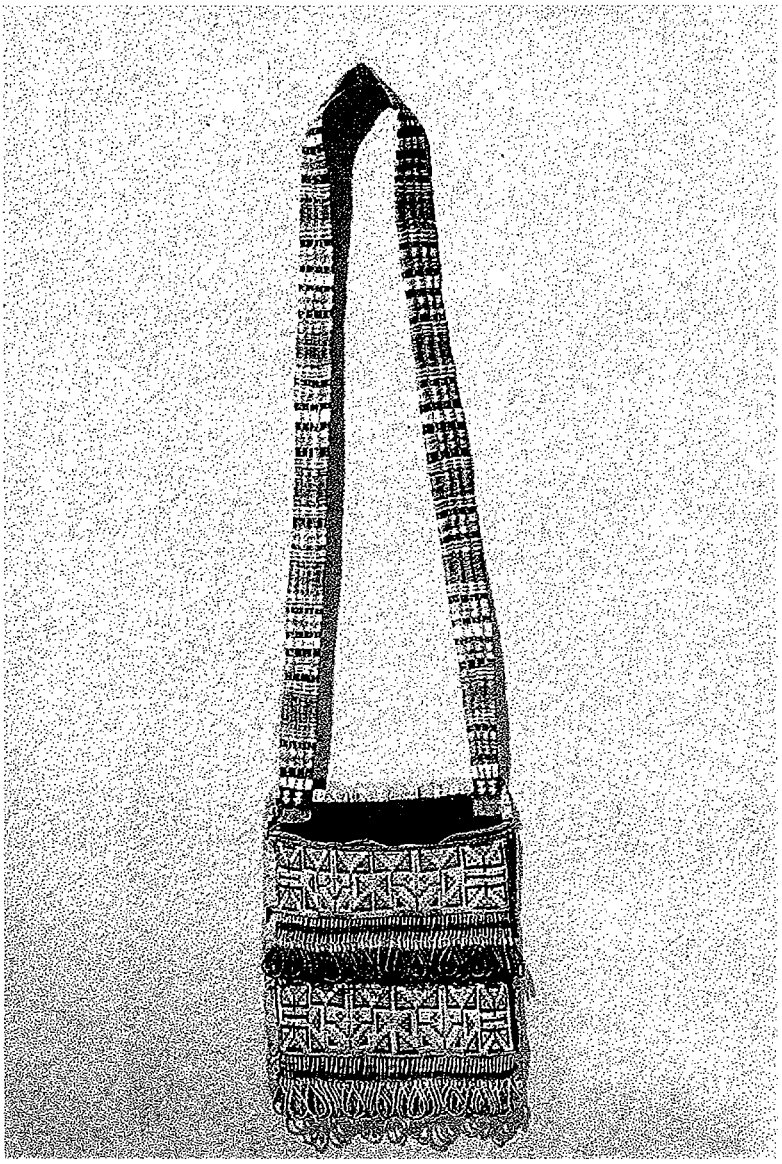


Figure 95. Quilled shoulder bag, c. 1847. Mixed media. ROM #989.61.1; Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.

> Delaware, who adopted the square beaded bags with triangular flaps that were common among the Southeastern tribes at least as early as the middle of the eighteenth century. The Chippewa saw them on many occasions and...they adopted them for their own use and probably copied some of their features.[113]

Among the Delaware communities that relocated to the interior of the continent was a group that established a settlement on Ontario's Thames River in 1792.[114] One bag of this type that was reportedly collected on nearby Walpole Island has been reproduced in print.[115] The bag ("bullet pouch") shown in Figure 96 has a Chippewa association and was reportedly collected around 1850.[116]

Some of the earliest known beaded bandolier bags bear inscriptions that date them to about 1850. These examples all have two beaded panels trimmed with fringe in addition to large cloth panels that contain beaded proto-floral or floral designs.[117] The bandoliers are constructed of loomed strips that display asymmetrical sets of strap designs. Whiteford sees these bags as being beaded versions of the two-panel quilled bag type and representative of "a final stage before the decorative units were combined into a single panel."[118]

Anderson and Hussey-Arntson believe that this type of bag was only one of the early precursors of the bandolier bag. They cite the pre-1870 existence of Chippewa shoulder bags with loom-beaded straps and finger-woven pockets as one forerunner of the later style. The tradition of cloth

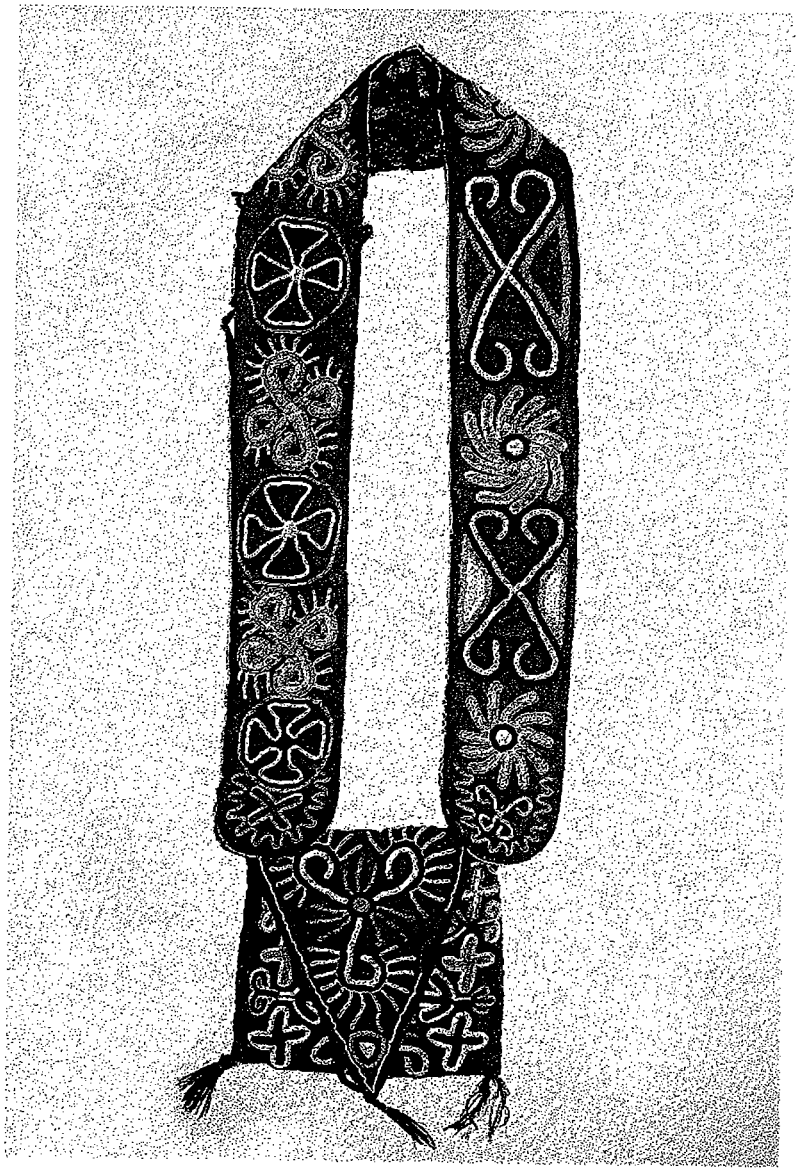


Figure 96. Chippewa(?) shoulder bag, mid nineteenth century. Mixed media. Catalogue No. E391947; Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution.

shoulder bags with outlined floral designs worked in white beads is another source of inspiration.[119] Regardless of what its predecessors were, however, the basic style of the Great Lakes bandolier bag is thought to have developed by 1870 and enjoyed wide distribution and popularity after 1890.[120]

Figures 97 and 98 show Chippewa bandolier bags that date to before 1886. They were collected by James B. Ferguson, who served as an Army contract surgeon and hospital steward in Dakota Territory between 1867 and about 1886. During that time, Ferguson was stationed at a variety of posts in what are now North and South Dakota. Although the bags were collected from among the Dakota Sioux, they are believed to be of Chippewa origin.[121] The bag has geometric designs of loom-woven beadwork on its bandoliers and lower panel. An asymmetrical floral design has been embroidered on the cloth panel above the pocket.

By the 1870s, floral motifs were common in Chippewa and Ojibwa bead embroidery. Given this prevalence, only a few examples will be shown here. Two items collected in the early 1870s in the extreme northeastern corner of North Dakota are fine examples of contemporary Chippewa floral design (Figs. 99-100). Assistant Surgeon Ezra Woodruff was stationed at Fort Pembina, Dakota Territory, between March of 1870 and March of 1874.[122] The fort was established in July of 1870, largely to protect settlers from attacks by local Sioux. Woodruff arrived at the site with the forces

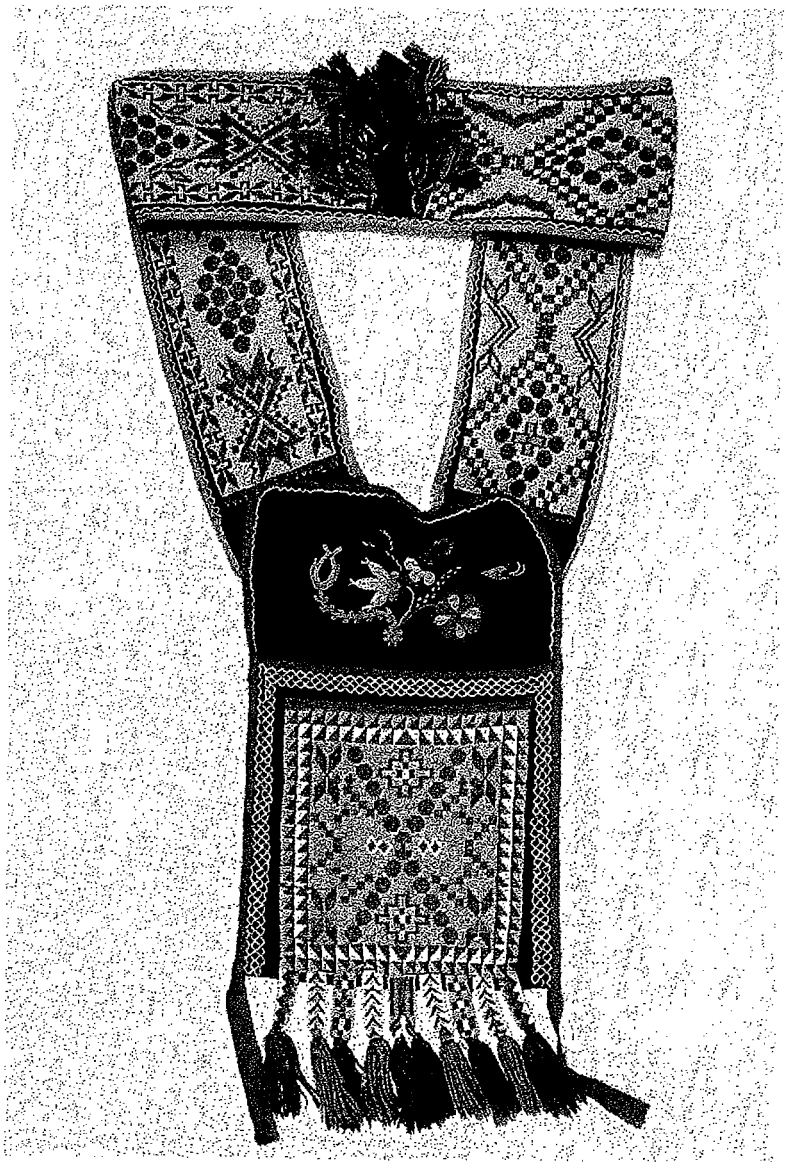


Figure 97. Chippewa bandolier bag, before 1886. Mixed media. Catalogue No. 6020.10; Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul.



Figure 98. Chippewa bandolier bag, before 1886. Mixed media. Catalogue No. 6020.8; Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul.

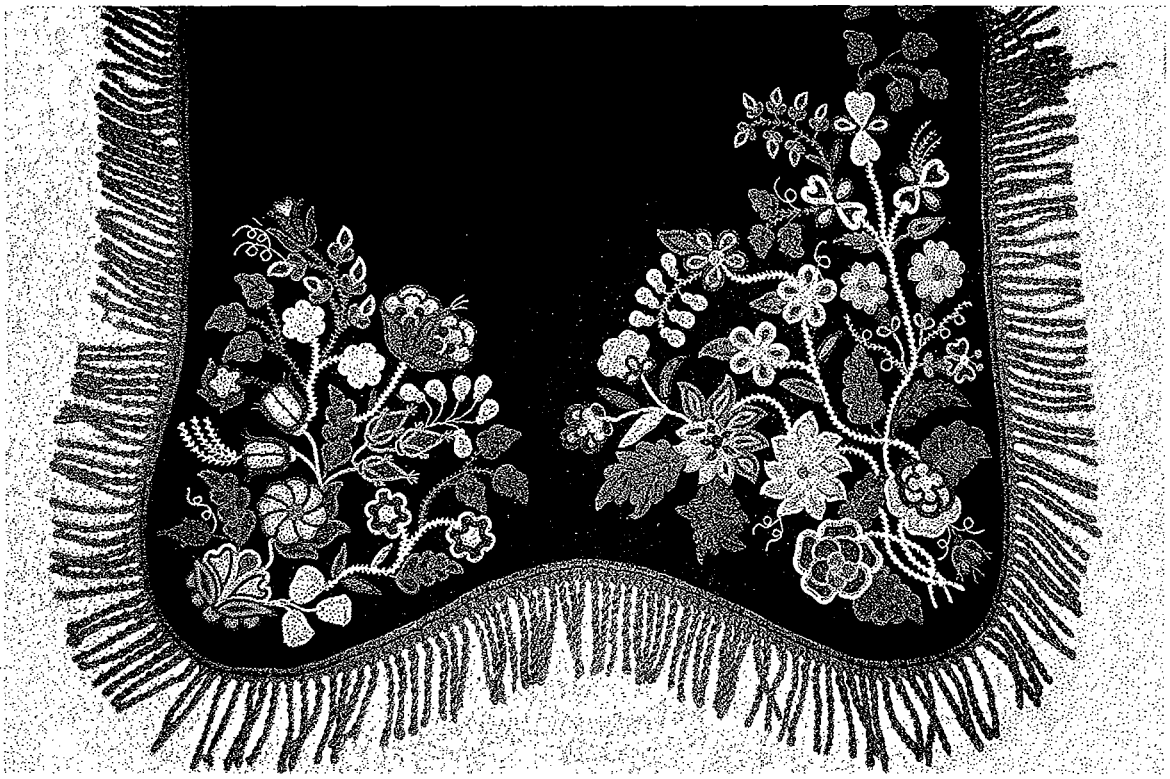


Figure 99. Chippewa saddle blanket (detail), 1870-1874. Mixed media. Catalogue No. E13483; Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution.



Figure 100. Chippewa tobacco bag (recto and verso), 1870-1874. Mixed media. Catalogue No. E13485; Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution.

who built the facility. He served later terms in the Dakotas and Montana (1885-1889 and 1893-1897) but these items were secured during his initial time in the West.

The Army Medical Museum received a donation from Woodruff on March 9, 1874. According to a letter from Curator George A. Otis dated the following day, the Museum kept several scalps from the donation, forwarded a saddle blanket, pipes, bags, and a necklace to the Smithsonian, and passed other material, including a fire pouch and a tobacco pouch, on to the Peabody Museum, Harvard.[123]

The saddle blanket now at the Smithsonian has a symmetrically opposed arrangement of motifs and the corners of each half of the blanket are decorated with individual designs.[124] Flower stems with hair-like attachments emanate from the corners. These are executed in white throughout the core of the composition, changing to other colors at the extremities. A variety of fanciful blossoms and leaves appear on each stem. These are constructed with concentric rows of divergent colors.

The decorations on a tobacco bag (called "fire bag" in the original description) are also arrayed in a bilaterally symmetrical arrangement. The major motifs are located near the center of the compositions; secondary motifs proceed the bottom center. The motifs are here simplified and, again, colors are applied in concentric rows. In comparison to the saddle blanket, the designs are much more compact.

Two additional items in the collection of the National

Museum of Natural History exemplify Chippewa beadwork from about 1880 (Figs. 101-102). Both were collected before 1882 by Lieutenant Herber Mansfield Creel.[125] Creel (1851-1932) was an 1877 graduate of the U.S. Military Academy. Shortly after graduation he joined the 7th Cavalry and was stationed in Dakota Territory. In 1878 he participated in the pursuit of Dull Knife and his band of Northern Cheyenne and subsequently escorted them to Indian Territory. Upon his return to Dakota Territory he was stationed at Fort Totten until his 1882 retirement. Creel then remained in the area and was active in local government. He was elected to the North Dakota State Senate in 1896. In later years he lived in Maryland and San Diego, California.[126]

One of the items in the National Museum of Natural History is an octopus bag with beaded decoration. The motifs are simplified floral designs worked in a generally bilaterally symmetrical composition. The other is a beaded cloth pouch with rounded bottom. A bilaterally symmetrical proto-floral motif appears on the body of the bag. As was common in the decoration of contemporary bandolier bags, each strap displays a different repetitive design.

CONCLUSION

In his contemporary description of mid-nineteenth century Iroquois dress, Lewis Henry Morgan noted that, "[i]f the fabrics of which they were composed were of their own manufacture exclusively, it would add much to their

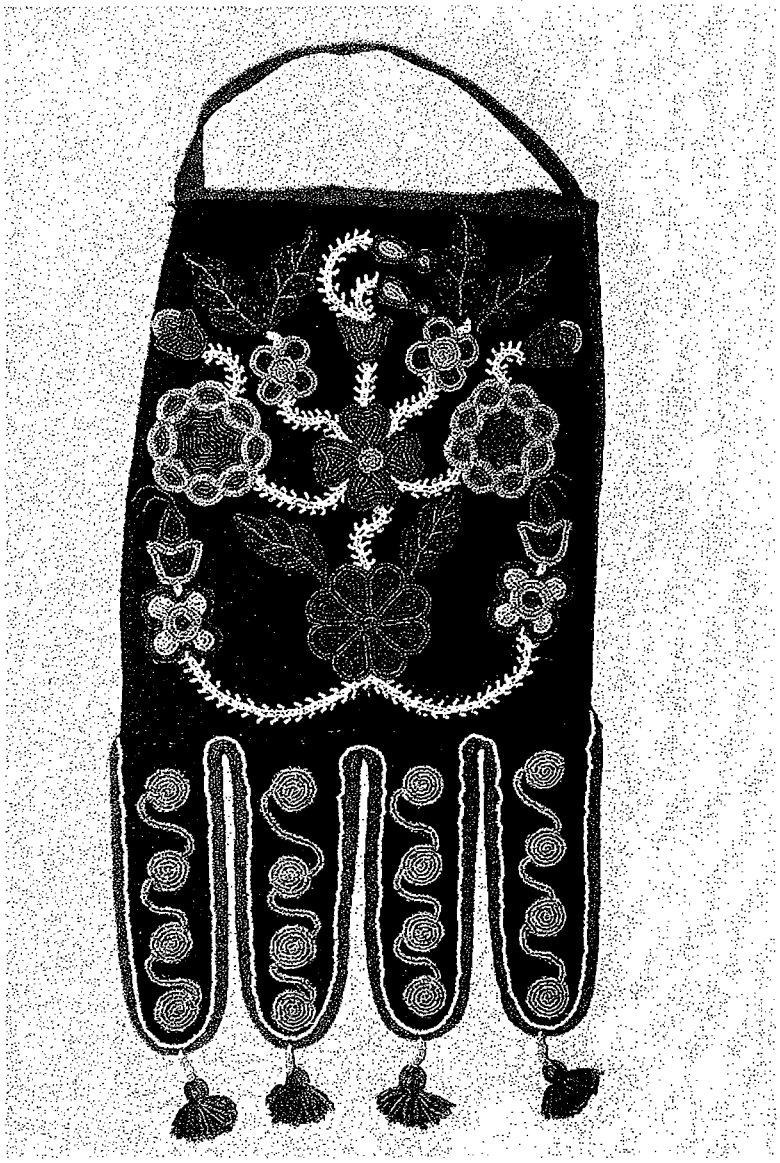


Figure 101. Chippewa octopus bag, before 1882. Mixed media. Catalogue No. E129886; Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution.

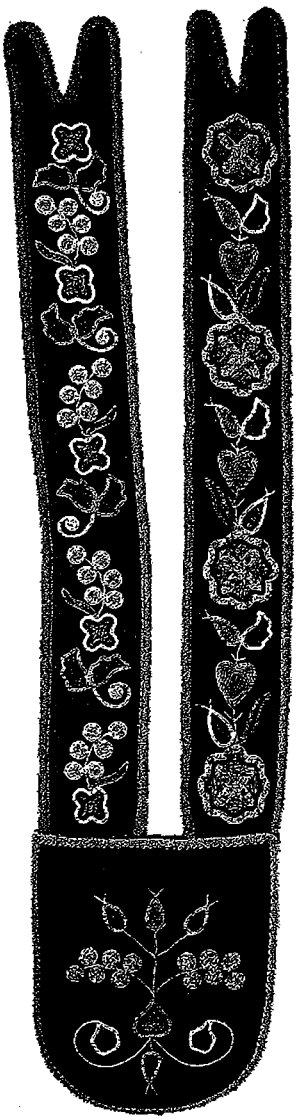


Figure 102. Chippewa shoulder bag, before 1882. Mixed media. Catalogue No. E129877; Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution.

interest; but since the intercourse of the Iroquois commenced with the whites, they have laid aside their deerskin apparel, and substituted materials...of our own manufacture."[127] David Penney has also recognized that by 1800, those Northeastern peoples who had access to trade goods

> preferred wool and cotton fabrics for most types of garments, such as shirts, shawls, dresses, breechcloths, and leggings. Only bags, or pouches, and footwear (moccasins) were still manufactured regularly from deerskin and decorated with porcupine quills, an ancient technique that became increasingly rare through the first decades of the nineteenth century among Great Lakes people.[128]

The few extant examples of Woodlands embroidery that can be dated to the first half of the nineteenth century tend to display geometric designs. The floral objects that were acquired during this period were often associated with the tourist trade at Niagara Falls or some other commercial opportunity. Some items of this type also appear to have been presentation pieces made specifically as gifts for white dignitaries.

The surviving material record suggests that those "adventurous Iroquois warriors" who arrived in the Northwest after 1810 were not necessarily dressed in "finely crafted quilled and beaded clothing, shot pouches, knife sheaths, and other items that accented their pride in dress."[129] The Iroquois presence along the Columbia River appears to have generally predated the widespread use of beads in their

northeastern homelands.

Kate Duncan has properly noted that "[h]ighly decorated nineteenth century Iroquois pouches in collections are generally small bags directed to the tourist trade rather than the ones which would have been used by voyageurs."[130] It appears that pre-1830 Iroquois bags displayed geometric figures, thunderbirds, or other animals. Thus far, no one has argued that these designs influenced indigenous artistry in the Pacific Northwest. The material record also suggests that little inspiration for post-1850 Plateau floral design would have been drawn from the feet of Iroquois trappers 20 or more years before. Iroquois moccasins of the early nineteenth century display no overriding floral motifs; it is also unlikely that such moccasins would have survived the protracted overland journey from eastern Canada to the Columbia Plateau.

The second wave of embroidery traditions that supposedly influenced Plateau artisans--work produced by the Ojibwa-Chippewa, Métis, and Cree--also appears to have provided little inspiration for what later occurred in the Columbia River region. The surviving well-dated objects reveal that, prior to the 1830s or 1840, embroidered expressions in the Great Lakes and Eastern Plains were also generally figurative or geometric. A floral tradition had begun to develop among the Métis and their allies by 1840. By the 1870s, floral beadwork had also become a signature style of the Chippewa. These developments came too late and

were too far removed to influence Plateau peoples. After 1843, the Native residents of the Plateau were actively trading with a host of American emigrants and integrating large quantities of Euroamerican goods into their daily routines. Apart from the presence of what must be considered universal compositional formulas such as the use of bilateral symmetry, the embroidery of the Métis and their Indian neighbors seems to bear little similarity to what was produced by the artists in the Plateau.

Notes

1. Judy Thompson, "The North American Indian Collection: A Catalogue," *Jahrbuch Des Bernischen Historischen Museums* 53-54 (1973-1974) 119.

2. J. Thompson 120-127.

For color views of five objects comprising a man's costume, see Ruth B. Phillips, "Like A Star, I Shine: Northern Woodlands Artistic Traditions," *The Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada's First Peoples*, ed. Julia D. Harrison (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987) 73.

3. Ruth B. Phillips, *Patterns of Power: The Jasper Grant Collection and Great Lakes Indian Art of the Early Nineteenth Century* (Kleinburg, ON: McMichael Canadian Collection, 1984) 14.

Background material on Grant and his collection appears in Phillips, *Patterns* 12, 14-20.

4. Phillips, *Patterns* 12.

5. Phillips, *Patterns* 40-46, 57-74, 81-85.

6. J. Thompson 119, 141-145.

A third Bern collection was made in 1837 by a Swiss merchant. Lorenz Alphons Schoch traveled to the United States in 1833 and then lived in St. Louis for several years. He returned to Switzerland in 1842. Moccasins with Shawnee and Delaware attributions display geometric designs, as do bags called Cherokee and Delaware. A Huron cigar case executed in floral designs is made of birchbark decorated with moosehair embroidery. J. Thompson 132-135, 147.

7. Catlin did not venture into the North American interior in search of Indian subjects until 1830 and his travel up the Missouri River did not commence until 1832. He nonetheless painted his first Indian subject in 1826. In that year, he produced a portrait of the Seneca, Red Jacket, in Buffalo, New York. He subsequently painted nine full-length images of a group of Winnebagoes that were touring the East Coast in 1828. William H. Truettner, *The Natural Man Observed: A Study of Catlin's Indian Gallery* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1979) 12, 15; Brian W. Dippie, *Catlin and His Contemporaries: The Politics of Patronage* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990) 11.

The artist was in Europe after 1840, during which time his Indian Gallery was exhibited in England, Ireland, Scotland, France, and Belgium. In attempts to boost interest, on three occasions he employed troupes of Indians: nine Ojibwas (London; 1843-1844), 14 Iowas (London and

Paris; 1844-1845) and 11 Ojibwas (Paris and Brussels, 1845-1846). Truettner 44-49; Dippie 101-109.

In July 1852, Catlin owed three British creditors between $8000 and $10,000. Dippie 320-321.

8. Thomas Donaldson, "The George Catlin Indian Gallery in the U.S. National Museum (Smithsonian Institution) with Memoir and Statistics," *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for 1885*, part 5 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1886) 5-6; Truettner 135-138; Dippie 429.

Harrison was a manufacturer of railroad locomotives and the Catlin objects had been stored in his boiler factories. Cataloging of the specimens first began in 1884 and continued until early 1899. In January 1948, cataloging of a remaining portion of the collection commenced.

For discussion of the complexities associated with one object in the collection, see Bill Holm, "Four Bears's Shirt: Some Problems with the Smithsonian Catlin Collection," *Artifacts/Artifakes: The Proceedings of the 1984 Plains Indian Seminar*, ed. George P. Horse Capture (Cody: Buffalo Bill Historical Center, 1992) 43-59.

Over 450 Catlin paintings transferred to the National Museum of American Art in 1989.

9. Turner, "Hair Embroidery" 51-52.

10. J. Thompson 141-142.

A pair of undated Huron shoes in the British Museum collection (Museum of Mankind 1921.10-14.88) have motifs analogous with the pair pictured in Figure 71. Turner notes "sky-dome figures and outward double-curve scrolls" on an "Iroquois style" moccasin dated to the early nineteenth century (PRM P.R.V. 20.17). See also the "Huron type" (pre-1825; NMM III-H-433) and Huron (before 1829; NMM III-H-425) moccasins from the Speyer collection. J.C.H. King, *Thunderbird and Lightning: Indian Life in Northeastern North America, 1600-1900* (London: British Museum, 1982) 93; Turner, "Hair Embroidery" 77, Plate X:3; Brasser, *"Bo'Jou, Neejee!"* 116, 158.

Compare other Catlin moccasins with more obvious floral motifs (both identified as Huron or Mohawk and both numbered NMNH E386561) with examples in the Pourtalès, Thaw, and Speyer collections. The Pourtalès pair (1832; PO 74.403.17 [a,b]) are identified as Huron. One pair of Thaw moccasins (T37) are called Huron and date to "c. 1820." The second pair (T38a, b) have a similar attribution (Lorette) and were probably collected by Lord or Lady Elgin in either 1838 or 1847-1853. The Speyer moccasins are identified as "Huron type" (collected 1841 or 1845; NMM III-H-427). J. Thompson 141-142; Gilbert T. Vincent, *Masterpieces of American Indian Art from the Eugene and Clare Thaw Collection* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1995) 24; Thaw Collection Accession File,

Thaw Collection Number T38a, b, New York State Historical Association, Fenimore House Museum, Cooperstown, New York; Brasser, *"Bo'Jou, Neejee!"* 153.

Numerous early examples of Woodlands footwear have only geometric decoration. See Phillips, *Patterns* 70, 83-85 and J. Thompson 125, 133, 144; Brasser, *"Bo'Jou, Neejee!"* 72, 74, 107, 118, 163.

11. A Lorette bag dated to 1776-1782 is in the Thaw collection (T280). A pre-1829 Huron example (NMM III-H-426) is in the Speyer collection. Others with Huron attributions are in the Adolf Gerber (1826; Can. 11) and Pourtalès (1832; PO 74.403.19) collections. A pre-1847 example of Lorette manufacture is in the National Museum of Denmark (Hc 146g). See also a Huron example in the Chandler-Pohrt collection. Thaw Collection Accession File, Thaw Collection Number T280, New York State Historical Association, Fenimore House Museum, Cooperstown, New York; Brasser, *"Bo'Jou, Neejee!"* 111; J. Thompson 127-128, 142; Phillips, "Like A Star" 70-71; David W. Penney, ed., *Art of the American Indian Frontier: The Chandler-Pohrt Collection* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1992) 68-69. See also Ralph T. Coe, *Sacred Circles: Two Thousand Years of North American Indian Art* (Kansas City, MO: Nelson Gallery of Art, 1977) 83 and King 65.

12. National Museum of Man III-H-413. See also King 92 and Vincent 24.

13. See Brasser, *"Bo'jou, Neejee!"* 100, 102, 135, 144; Phillips, *Patterns* 75, 82; Penney, *Chandler-Pohrt* 71.

14. See Tooker 178-179, 200-205 and Plates 1-16 following page 207.

15. Quoted in Tooker 204.

16. See plates 11-14 following Tooker 207.

17. Quoted in Tooker 254.

The objects from the 1851 report are described in Tooker 238-241 and 254-256. They can be seen in the plates following page 261.

For a summary of information related to Caroline Parker's manufacture of the items, see Tooker 62-84.

18. Compare this figure with the period engraving made from the image in Tooker 69. For a second photo made at the same time, see Richard W. Hill, Sr., "Patterns of Expression: Beadwork in the Life of the Iroquois," *Gifts of the Spirit: Works by Nineteenth-Century & Contemporary Native American Artists* (Salem, MA: Peabody Essex Museum, 1996) 49. The author correctly identifies and dates the

image in his essay (p. 48) but the photo caption reads "Daughter of Ely S. Parker...Photographed in Seneca, New York, by W.H. Jackson between 1869 and 1873." Caroline was Ely's sister.

19. Gordon, "Whimsey" 199-203. See also the chronology provided in R. Hill, "Patterns" 51-56.

20. Gordon, "Whimsey" 74; Tooker, plate 19 following page 261.

21. Quoted in Tooker 256.

22. Geoffrey Turner, "Beadwork Techniques in Eastern Canada," *Mohawk Micmac Maliseet* 26.

23. These items were donated to the Smithsonian Institution in 1953 by then-director of the Corcoran Gallery, Hermann Warner Williams, Jr (1908-1974). They were collected at Niagara Falls by Williams' paternal grandmother, Lucy Cobb Bates Williams. Acc. 196603; Accession Records; Registrar's Office, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC; "Hermann Warner Williams, Jr.," *The National Cyclopedia of American Biography*, vol. 58 (Clifton, NJ: James T. White, 1979) 265.

24. Ida F. Arnold, letter of 17 August 1932; Acc. 120983; Accession Records; Registrar's Office, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.

25. U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, *Report of Exploration of a Route for the Pacific Railroad, near the Forty-Seventh and Forty-Ninth Parallels, from St. Paul to Puget Sound* (Washington, DC, 1854) 4.

26. Corps of Engineers 219-244, 261-267.

27. Christian Morissonneau, "Huron of Lorette," *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. ed. Bruce G. Trigger, gen. ed. William C. Sturtevant, vol. 15: Northeast (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1978) 390.

28. Turner, *Hair Embroidery* 50.

29. Turner, *Hair Embroidery* 49.
The tradition was common to both Huron and French-Canadian women. The work of each group is indistinguishable from the other but the volume of activity at Lorette suggests that most extant examples came from this source. The art form declined in popularity among the Huron after 1875. Turner, *Hair Embroidery* 49-50.

30. The biographical information that follows comes from Trudy Nicks, "Dr. Oronhyatekha's History Lessons: Reading Museum Collections as Texts," *Reading Beyond Words: Contexts for Native History*, ed. Jennifer S.H. Brown and Elizabeth Vibert (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 1996) 482-508 and Gayle M. Comeau-Vasilopoulos, "Oronhyatekha," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 13: 1901-1910 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994) 791-795.

31. Oronhyatekha's career at Oxford apparently stemmed from a chance meeting with Henry Wentworth Acland, an Oxford professor who was serving as a member of the Prince's party. Acland observed two finely dressed Indians during a visit to Niagara Falls and asked them to pose for a sketch. One of these models was Oronhyatekha. Nicks, "Dr. Oronhyatekha" 486.

For an 1862 photograph of the young Oronhyatekha in this suit, see Nicks, "Dr. Oronhyatekha" 482.

32. According to the donor, Gordon C. Day, this suit of clothes was made by his grandmother *and* Mohawk Indians (emphasis mine). Accession card, A.1572; Anthropology Section, Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County, Los Angeles, California.

33. See Brasser, *"Bo'jou, Nejee!"* 153 (NMM III-H-424; "c. 1845"); Turner, "Hair Embroidery" 77, Plate IXb (PRM II.60.1; 1846); Phillips, "Like a Star" 70-71 (National Museum of Denmark, Department of Ethnography Hc 146a, b, e, g; "Lorette Huron, before 1847").

See also a Huron vest belonging to the National Museum of Canada (NMM III-H-407; collected 1841-1842).

34. Brasser, *"Bo'jou, Neejee!"* 27-28.

35. Penney, *American Indian Frontier* 69.

For similar bags with thunderbirds, see Penney, "Great Lakes Indian Art" 10 (DIA 81.487; "Ottawa, c. 1780"); Brasser, *"Bo'jou, Neejee!"* 96 (NMM III-M-2; "Ottawa, late eighteenth century") and 110 (NMM III-G-829; "Eastern Ojibwa or Ottawa type, 1800"); Coe 94 (RMS 1894.269; "Great Lakes, Ottawa or Ojibway, 19th century"); R. Hill, "Patterns" 45 (PEM E6637; "Great Lakes, late 18th-early 19th century").

For similar bags with other animal imagery, see Phillips, *Patterns* 78 (NMM III-M-6; "Eastern Great Lakes, c 1800"); Vincent 15 (Thaw T7; "Ottawa or cultural relatives, c. 1780"); Penney, *American Indian Frontier* 68-69 (CIS 3690; "Ottawa, c. 1800"); Brasser, *"Bo'jou, Neejee!"* 97 (NMM III-M-1; "Ottawa, before 1800); R. Hill, "Patterns" 45 (and 159) (PEM E53449; "Ojibwa, late 18th-early 19th century").

Related iconography also appears on a variety of other embroidered bags. See King 65 (British Museum 1937.6-17.1;

"Ojibwa or Ottawa"); Phillips, "Like A Star" (Winterthur, Switzerland IX.2.134; "Ottawa type, c. 1800"); Phillips, *Patterns* 63 (NMI 1890.497; "Ottawa-Eastern Ojibwa, coll. 1800-1809"); Vincent 15 (Thaw Collection T8; "Ottawa or cultural relatives, c. 1790"); Brasser, *"Bo'jou, Neejee!"* 108 (NMM III-G-828; "Eastern Ojibwa type, c. 1780"); and Sylvia S. Kasprycki, "Quilled Drawstring Pouches of the Northeastern Woodlands," *American Indian Art Magazine* 22.3 (Summer 1997): 64-75.

36. Peter Jones' (1802-1856) autobiography was published posthumously from his collected writings. It is entitled *Life and Journals of Kah-ke-wa-quo-na-by (Rev. Peter Jones): Wesleyan Missionary* (Toronto: Wesleyan Printing Establishment, 1860). A more recent and comprehensive biography is Donald B. Smith, *Sacred Feathers: The Reverend Peter Jones (Kahkewaquonaby) and the Mississauga Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987).

37. Peter Jones [Kahkewaquonaby], *History of the Ojebway Indians: With Special Reference to Their Conversion to Christianity* (1861; Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries, 1970) 75-76.

38. A total of eight images were made on this date, three of them showing Jones in native costume. See D. Smith, *Sacred Feathers* 198-199 for a discussion of the studio session and his Figures 24-25 for two of the three images depicting Jones in his Ojibwa dress. The third costumed view appears in King 64, and all three appear together in Colin Ford, ed., *An Early Victorian Album: The Photographic Masterpieces (1843-1847) of David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976) 289-291.

These same images have been reproduced in a variety of other texts related to Hill and Adamson, photo history, and Native American history and photography.

39. The garment is also worn by Jones' son, Dr. Peter Edmund Jones, in a series of 1898 BAE photos now in the National Anthropological Archives (Nos. 498-a-1, 2, and 3; 498b). These images apparently record the younger Jones' August 1898 visit to Washington and coincide with the donation (sale) of his father's effects.

Other items in the Jones collection include a feather (E178395) apparently given to Peter Jones on the occasion of his naming ceremony, c. 1802. At the time it was accepted at the Smithsonian, the plume was "preserved in a carved wooden case made for the purpose." The current location of this box is unknown. W.J. McGee, "Ojibwa Feather Symbolism," *American Anthropologist* 11 (June 1898): 178-179, Jones, *Life and Journals* 2, D. Smith *Sacred Feathers* 7.

A club (E178378) may also be associated with Jones' naming ceremony. It seems to be a device visible in one of the Hill and Adamson calotypes.

A drum stick (E178379), "Pawwoa Rattle" (E178380), and a "Game Similar to Cup and Ball" (E178387) are items pictured in Jones, *History of the Ojebway*, opposite 135. "Bones used in Witchcraft" (E178382), a "Snake Skin God" (E178383), "Invitation quills to various feasts" (E178385), and a small racquet "Used by Conjurers to look into Futurity" (E178386) appear opposite page 145 of the same text. For photos of the drum stick and rattle, see also E.S. Rogers, "Southeastern Ojibwa," *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. ed. Bruce G. Trigger, gen. ed. William C. Sturtevant, vol. 15: Northeast (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1978) 768.

A headdress (E178399) reportedly belonged to a chief who gave it to Peter Jones after being converted to Christianity. See McGee 179-180.

40. The coat, leggings, and a pouch worn in the Hill and Adamson portraits as drawn in this sketchbook are reproduced in Charles Hamilton, ed., *Cry of the Thunderbird: The American Indian's Own Story* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972) opposite 109. Jones' headdress appears opposite 140 and the "Conjurer's" racquet mentioned above may be found opposite 44.

41. The book is signed by Catlin, dated 1859, and was originally in the collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps. Truettner notes that these "late" sketches in the Gilcrease book are "dazzling" when compared to Catlin's earlier sketches and that, in them, the artist "reveals a talent for using a flexible pen and ink wash that considerably raises our estimate of him as a draftsman." Truettner 133.

Bill Holm believes that the watercolors are "after" Catlin but not painted by him. They appear instead to have been produced by a classically trained artist. Bill Holm, letter to the author, 14 July 1998.

Jones' biographer, Donald Smith, reports that Jones did not think highly of Catlin and that it is doubtful he would have provided the artist access to his Indian wardrobe. Donald Smith, personal communication, 20 October 1997.

42. Peter Jones (born 1802) and George Henry (also called Pemikishigon; born c. 1804 or 1811) were sons of the same woman, Tubinaniqua (Sarah Henry). As noted above, Jones' father was the Welshman, Augustus Jones. An Ojibwa named Mesquacosy was the father of George Henry. In an 1847 publication, Henry referred to himself as the second cousin of Peter Jones. See D. Smith, *Sacred Feathers* 317 (note 78).

According to George Catlin, Maungwudaus (The Great Hero) was a 41-year-old "half-caste" in 1845. Donaldson

687; Truettner 297.

43. D. Smith, *Sacred Feathers* 185, 187-188.

44. See Donaldson 686-698 for the history of this collaborative enterprise and Truettner 297-299 for portraits of this group.

See also Christopher Mulvey, "Among the Sag-a-noshes: Ojibwa and Iowa Indians with George Catlin in Europe, 1843-1848," *Indians and Europe: An Interdisciplinary Collection of Essays*, ed. Christian F. Feest (Aachen: Alano Verlag, 1989) 253-275.

45. See Donaldson 695-698, Dippie 108-109, and D. Smith, *Sacred Feathers* 200-203.

For information about the subsequent career of Maungwudaus, see Dippie 211-213 and D. Smith, *Sacred Feathers* 217-219.

46. John Tecumseh Henry claimed to be 79 years old in 1903 while Catlin reported that he was 19 in 1845. Remarks accompanying BAE Neg. No. 498-D, National Anthropological Archives, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC; Donaldson 687.

For Catlin's 1845 portrait of the youthful *Bird of Thunder*, see Truettner 299.

47. D. Smith, *Sacred Feathers* 218.

48. Nicks, "Dr. Oronhyatekha" 500.

49. For overviews of Beltrami's life, see Alfred J. Hill, "Constantine Beltrami," *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, vol. 2 (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1889) 183-196 and Augusto P. Miceli, *The Man With the Red Umbrella: Giacomo Costantino Beltrami in America* (Baton Rouge: Claitor's Publishing, 1974) 3-47, 108-151.

50. Beltrami's own account of his explorations was published in a French text produced in New Orleans in 1824. An English version was published in London in 1828. The most recent edition is J.C. Beltrami, *A Pilgrimage in America, Leading to the Discovery of the Sources of the Mississippi and Bloody River, with a Description of the Whole Course of the Former, and of the Ohio* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1962). See Miceli 48-107 for a synopsis of the travel and Miceli 122-151 for an overview of the criticism and controversy that surrounded the explorer's literary efforts and an assessment of his discoveries.

In 1824, Beltrami traveled to Mexico and in 1826 sailed for England from New York. He relocated to Paris in 1829, living in that city until 1834. He then moved to Germany where he remained until 1837. In that year, Beltrami ended

his exile and returned to his native Italy. He died there in early 1855.

51. Beltrami 305.

52. Beltrami 307; see also 159, 188, 247, 481-482.

53. Two items, a coat and a canoe model, were given to the library between 1835 and 1840. The bulk of the collection was donated in 1856 by Costantino's nephew and heir, Giobatta Beltrami. Leonardo Vigorelli, *Gli Oggetti Indiani Raccolata da G. Costantino Beltrami* (Bergamo: Civico Museo E. Caffi, 1987) 21, 70.

54. Additional items still appear to be in family hands as three items were given to the museum by the family in 1973. A variety of objects shown in the illustrations that accompanied Beltrami's description of his 1823 travels are also absent from the catalogue of the 1987 exhibit. Vigorelli 22; Beltrami, Plates 1-3 following page 545.

Several items from the collection appeared in the Glenbow Museum's *The Spirit Sings* exhibition. Phillips, "Like a Star" 59, 64.

55. Vigorelli 90, 91, 100.

56. Vigorelli 14, 89, 92; see also Beltrami Plate 3.

57. Vigorelli 52, 82.

The object is 103 cm high and 87 cm across at the bottom. The top ends in two scallops; two round holes appear in the extreme upper right margin.

58. For biographical notes and an overview of the collection, see Norman Feder, *Art of the Eastern Plains Indians: The Nathan Sturges Jarvis Collection* (Brooklyn, NY: Brooklyn Museum, 1964).

59. Feder 10.

60. Feder 11.

Feder suggests that "probably the bulk of his collection came from traders further north and west" and he notes among the objects a variety of material with apparent Yankton and Sissiton origins. Feder 16.

61. Feder 42-43 (Brooklyn Museum 50.67.4).

62. Feder 46-47 (Brooklyn Museum 50.67.12a-b and 50.67.13a-b).

63. Feder 49, 51 (Brooklyn Museum 50.67.23a-b).

64. Feder 24, 28, 40, 55, 56.

65. Brasser, "Métis Artisans," 52, 54-56.

66. Vigorelli 70, 95.

67. Vigorelli 14, 60.

68. Samuel W. Pond, *The Dakota or Sioux in Minnesota As They Were in 1834* (1908; St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1986) 35.

69. Feder 25.

70. For a discussion of some Métis objects from the early 1820s, see Laura Peers and Katherine Pettipas, "Reverend John West's Collection, Red River, 1820-1823," *American Indian Art Magazine* 21.3 (Summer 1996): 62-73.

71. For a quilled sheath with floral designs collected 1841-1842, see Brasser, *"Bo'jou, Neejee!"* 174. This same text also includes images of contemporary mittens (pages 175-176).

A second quilled sheath ("Northern Plains, ca. 1850") appears in Glenn E. Markoe, ed., *Vestiges of a Proud Nation: The Ogden E. Read Northern Plains Indian Collection* (Burlington, VT: Robert Hull Fleming Museum, 1986) 163.

A third sheath is Thaw Collection T93, possibly given as a presentation piece to Lord Elgin, 1847-1854.

72. Penney, "Floral Decoration" 66, 68; Brasser, "Métis Art" 227; Glenbow Museum, *Metis* (Calgary: Glenbow Museum, 1985) 8.

According to Jacqueline Peterson, the 1857 Red River cart caravan saw 500 wagons travel to St. Paul. By 1869, the annual number had grown to 2500. In addition to robes and pemmican, the Métis-made merchandise included "fancy beaded and quilled moccasins and jackets for the tourist trade." Jacqueline C. Peterson, "Gathering at the River: The Métis Peopling of the Northern Plains," *The Fur Trade in North Dakota*, ed. Virginia L. Heidenreich (Bismarck: State Historical Society of North Dakota, 1990) 59.

73. Brasser, *"Bo'jou, Neejee!"* 146; Peterson and Peers 81.

See Brasser, "Metis Art" 223 for comments relative to this style of saddle decoration.

74. J. Thompson 161.

75. Hewitt Plates 9, 22, 24; Harper 191. For related data, see Harper 282, 330.

76. For representative examples of the earlier type, see Ahlborn 121, 124-126 (identified as "Sioux" and dated to before 1855 and the late nineteenth century); K. Duncan, "Father DeSmet" 60-61 (two pre-1859 examples of unknown origin identified as possibly "Eastern Plateau," and a third saddle of unknown origin labelled "Blackfeet or Eastern Plateau, c. 1840").

77. For Plains Cree and/or Plains Ojibwa examples from the late nineteenth century, see Barbara A. Hail, *Hau Kóla!: The Plains Indian Collection of the Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology* (Bristol, RI: Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology, 1983) 222-223 and *Beads: Their Use by Upper Great Lakes Indians* (Grand Rapids: Grand Rapids Public Museum, 1977) 56.

78. Compare the pictured item with the cruppers visible in *The Man that Always Rides* and *The Death of Big Snake*, Harper Plate XX and 204 (Figure 90).

79. Brasser, "Métis Art" Plate 14.

80. The second Catlin crupper fragment has tentatively been identified as Chippewa (NMNH E386540).

81. Penney, "Floral Decoration" 66.

82. John Halkett (1768-1852) was a cousin to both Andrew Colvile and Lord Selkirk. He was appointed a member of the Hudson's Bay Company's London Committee in 1811 and between 1815-1820 he was the primary British defender of Selkirk's colonization efforts at Red River. Halkett traveled to Montreal in 1821 as an executor of Lord Selkirk's estate. In June 1822 he arrived at Red River. After a brief visit to the regions west of the colony he went to York Factory where he presided over that year's meeting of the HBC Northern Department. Upon returning to England he continued to serve on the Company's London committee until 1848. Shirlee Anne Smith, "John (Wedderburn) Halkett," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 8: 1851-1860 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985) 351-353.

83. Both garments are in the Audubon Collection belonging to the Museum's Department of Ornithology. According to the Audubon family, one coat (Item #70) was made for the artist and was worn by him on many occasions. The second coat (Item #79b) has matching leggings with human hair attachments (Item #79a). Mary LeCroy, letter to the author with notes on J.J. Audubon collection, 19 June 1998.

84. Edward Harris (1799-1863) was a resident of Moorestown, New Jersey. He was a farmer and also an amateur geologist, naturalist, and patron of the sciences. He was one of Audubon's closest friends.

A superb collection of ethnographic material made by Harris in 1843 is in possession of the Alabama Department of Archives and History. A Blackfeet shirt from the collection appears in Peterson and Peers 70-71 and a shoulder bag from the collection is duplicated on page 80 of the same text.

85. Picotte was trading in the Fort Benton area as late as 1857. His coat (called "Eastern Dakota" in museum records) is Acc. 1914.47.1. The Choteau coat (also called "Eastern Lakota") was a 1906 donation of Corinne Choteau Dyer. It is Acc. 1906.13.2.

86. Both of these are dated to "c. 1850." One was sewn to fit a boy (1941.1.274.1). The second (1941.1.275.1) appears on page 80 of Peterson and Peers where it is identified as "possibly Blackfeet."

87. According to Stevens family history (and subsequent museum documentation) this coat was a gift given to I.I. Stevens by a Nez Perce chief during the course of the 1855 Walla Walla Treaty Council. The garment has quilled epaulets and simple floral motifs worked in quills on its lapels, collar, and cuffs. By appearance, it seems to be of Métis manufacture. Stevens' survey party commenced their activities in St. Paul and traveled across the Plains through what is now North Dakota. His description of the Métis that he encountered along this route has been quoted above.

Records of the 1855 Treaty proceedings do not describe a social tone that suggests the Governor was the recipient of gifts from any of the Indian participants. Hazard Stevens, who was in attendance and later wrote a chronicle of his father's life, does not mention such a gift, but only a grizzly bear skin given to Stevens by Eagle-from-the-Light at the conclusion of the negotiations. H. Stevens 2: 58.

The coat is WSHS No. 3123.

88. K. Duncan, "Father DeSmet" 56, 58.

89. See Brasser, *"Bo'jou, Neejee!"* 155; Penney, *American Indian Frontier* 173, 175; Glenbow, *Metis* 8-9; Coe 90; Carolyn Gilman, *Where Two Worlds Meet: The Great Lakes Fur Trade* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1982) 107.

90. See Phillips, *Patterns* 62, 76, Vincent 44, Coe 94, Brasser, *"Bo'jou, Neejee!"* 156, 173, and Thaw Collection T90 for representative examples.

91. Kate C. Duncan, "So Many Bags, So Little Known: Reconstructing the Patterns of Evolution and Distribution of Two Algonquian Bag Forms," *Arctic Anthropology* 28.1 (1991): 57-58, 62.

92. Brasser, *"Bo'jou Neejee!"* 47.

93. In fact, Duncan's description of embroidery of hoods created by the James Bay Cree is analogous with what is seen here. K. Duncan, "So Many Bags" 65 (note 2).

94. For a description of this incident, see Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of the Northwest Coast, 1800-1864*, vol. 2 (San Francisco, A.L. Bancroft, 1884) 510-513 and E.E. Rich and A.M. Johnson, ed., *A Journal of a Voyage From Rocky Mountain Portage in Peace River To the Sources of Finlays Branch and North West Ward in Summer 1824*, Publications of the Hudson's Bay Record Society 18 (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1955) xcii-xciii.

95. The notations in George Simpson's 1832 "Character Book" paint an interesting picture of the man. Beginning with the comment, "About 52 Years of Age. The strangest man I ever knew," Simpson also described him as verbose (even tedious), honest, generous, ruthless, and paranoid. Simpson, "'Character Book'" 192-193.

The most extensive biographical information about Black (b. 1780) appears in Rich and Johnson xiii-c. See also George Woodcock, "Samuel Black," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 7: 1836-1850 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988) 78-79, R.M. Patterson, "The Strangest Man I Ever Knew," *The Beaver* 286 (Spring 1956): 26-29, and "The Saga of Samuel Black," *Western People* (magazine section), *The Western Producer*, 17 March 1994, 26.

96. The Robert Henry in question joined the North West Company in 1813 and became an employee of the HBC in 1823 (another Robert Henry had joined the HBC in 1810). Given that much of Black's 1805-1821 career was spent in the Athabasca District, his first wife may have been from that area.

97. An infant died at Ile-à-la-Crosse in 1815, one daughter died in 1831, and a son who was sent to Scotland died there in 1840. Rich and Johnson xcviii.

98. Petition of Alexander and Angelique Pambrun (Reid vs. Keith), 16 January 1855; Tonsy Sylvester papers, Lake Oswego, Oregon.

99. The oldest of these was Alexander Kamloops Black (b. 1832) who later served in the Manitoba Provincial Legislature. See R.G. McBeth, "A British Columbia Study,"

The Beaver 2.8 (May 1922): 2.

A daughter, Mary Angelique (1833-1860), married Alexander Pambrun in Oregon City in 1851. Two younger siblings apparently moved to California with their mother.

100. Duncan Edward Cameron was the son of the North Wester John Dugald Cameron and his Cree wife Mary.

101. Letter from H. Maxwell, 17 July 1864; B.134/c/95 fos. 90-91, Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Winnipeg, Manitoba. See also Robert Belyk, *John Tod: Rebel in the Ranks* (Victoria, BC: Horsdahl and Schubert, 1995) 56.

In 1850, Cameron was still living in the Sacramento area as he actively pursued a lawsuit against Sutter in Marysville during that year. Earl Ramey, "The Beginnings of Marysville: Part 2," *California State Historical Quarterly* 14 (1935): 378.

102. George Simpson wrote of it in a June 20, 1841 letter to the Governor and Committee. G. Simpson, *London Correspondence* 30.

103. Patterson 29.

104. Laura Peers of the Pitt Rivers Museum is devoting considerable attention to this bag for an essay in an upcoming catalogue publication. Her comments should greatly expand the contextual data and conclusions offered here.

105. For an overview of this journey, see Dippie 286-289.

106. From Hawaii in 1847, Stanley had "shipped to the Atlantic States a large and valuable number of Indian curiosities collected in Oregon, which were unfortunately lost in the shipwreck of a whaler." F.W. Hodge, "A Proposed Indian Portfolio by John Mix Stanley," Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation *Indian Notes* 6.4 (October 1929): 365.

While encouraging the Smithsonian to purchase his Indian gallery in 1854, Stanley gave the museum a war club and an outfit that had formerly belonged to a Blackfoot chief. Dippie 290.

107. George M. Heye, letter to Gari Melchers, 9 May 1929; manuscript collection, Belmont, the Gari Melchers Estate and Memorial Gallery, Fredericksburg, Virginia.

See also "The Stanley-Melchers Collection," Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation *Indian Notes* 6.3 (July 1929): 326-329.

"Just got your letter, forwarded from the Indian Museum. It seems they found some valuable written documents tucked away probably in the quiver or something like that,

from [J.M.] Stanley, the man from whose widow my father bought the things." Gari Melchers, letter to Corrine [?], Thursday morning [May 1929]; manuscript collection, Belmont, the Gari Melchers Estate and Memorial Gallery, Fredericksburg, Virginia.

108. See Coe 97 for a "c. 1880; Ontario, Cree" example of powder horn straps.

109. The literature suggests that the appearance of the style may have been linked to the increased availability of trade goods, acculturation pressure, and changes in cultural patterns. Beverly Gordon, "The Great Lakes Indian Bandolier Bag: Cultural Persistence and Elaboration," *Dress* 19 (1992): 72.

110. Andrew Hunter Whiteford, "The Origins of Great Lakes Beaded Bandolier Bags," *American Indian Art Magazine* 11.3 (Summer 1986): 37-38.

111. See also Brasser, "Metis Art" Plate 9.

112. Whiteford, "Origins" 38-39.
See Brasser, *"Bo'jou, Neejee!"* 150, 167 and King 86-87 for examples of the finger-woven bags.
In Marcia Anderson and Kathy Hussey-Arnston, "Ojibwe Bandolier Bags in the Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society," *American Indian Art Magazine* 11.4 (Autumn 1986) 46 and 49, the authors argue against an evolution that included hide shoulder bags. They accept the plausibility of the theory that European shot pouches influenced the development of bandolier bags but also cite a lack of evidence supporting this idea.

113. Whiteford, "Origins" 42.
See Vincent 14 and Penney, *American Indian Frontier* 97-99 for further descriptions and examples of this bag type. Two early and well-documented (c. 1830-1840) Southeastern bags are in the collection of the Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County (A.2135-4 and A. 3140.1). A "sash and pouch" that is stylistically related but lacks a triangular flap formerly belonged to Rev. Peter Jones (NMNH E178397). It predates 1862.

114. For a description of the Delaware resettlement question, see Ives Goddard, "Delaware," *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. ed. Bruce G. Trigger, gen. ed. William C. Sturtevant, vol. 15: Northeast (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1978) 221-224.

115. Penney, *American Indian Frontier* 94.

116. At the time of its 1952 donation to the Smithsonian, the owner stated that it had been in her family for several generations (for over 100 years). It was reportedly "found on an Indian battlefield." Charles W. Smythe and Priya Helwig, "Summary of Ethnological Objects in the National Museum of Natural History Associated with the Chippewa Culture," Repatriation Office, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, April 3, 1996, 115.

117. For the bags in question, see Whiteford, "Origins" 32-35 and Penney, *American Indian Frontier* 102-103.

The inscriptions suggest that the bags may have been produced by literate and possibly Métis women. The specific letterforms evident have a marked similarity to those embroidered on the "S BLACK" bag.

118. Whiteford, "Origins" 43.

119. Anderson and Hussey-Arntson 49-50.

As their examples they refer to items shown in *Beads: Their Use by Upper Great Lakes Indians* 70.

An entirely different developmental hypothesis appears in Earl Nyholm, "The Proper Way," *All Roads Are Good: Native Voices on Life and Culture* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994) 53: "It would be interesting to trace the development, the history, of the bags. They seem to have been derived from the breechcloth and the woman's apron that were so common before the turn of the century; back then, every woman always wore an apron at home."

120. Whiteford, "Origins" 43; Gordon, "Indian Bandolier Bag" 72; Anderson and Hussey-Arntson 46.

121. Anderson and Hussey-Arntson 55-56. A third bag from the same collection appears on page 55.

122. Ezra Woodruff (1837-1913) was a native of Kentucky who served with the 15th Kentucky Infantry during the Civil War. After 1868, he served as a military surgeon at posts in the northeastern United States, the upper Great Plains, Texas, and Virginia. At his retirement in 1901, he had achieved the rank of Lieutenant Colonel and was attached to the office of the Surgeon General. Data from miscellaneous documents in Woodruff, Ezra, Appointment, Commission, and Personal Branch Document File, 2392 ACP 1883; Records of the Adjutant General's Office, RG 94; NA.

123. George A. Otis, Curator, Army Medical Museum, to Ezra Woodruff, Assistant Surgeon, Fort Pembina, Dakota Territory, 10 March 1874; Curatorial Record, Outgoing Correspondence Letterbook, 1873-1876; National Museum of

Health and Medicine, Armed Forces Institute of Pathology, Washington, DC.

The tobacco bag at the Peabody Museum was assigned Object no. 74-8-10/7600. The fire pouch is numbered 74-8-10/7601.

124. The blanket is noted in the Army Medical Museum and Smithsonian accession ledgers as being of Pembina Sioux origin. No correspondence from the collector appears to be extant and the source of this information is not known. The Pembina Band of Chippewa lived in the general vicinity of Fort Pembina. See Halvorson 26 for a similar though less ornate example with a Chippewa attribution and dated "circa 1880s."

125. These and other items were loaned to the Smithsonian in May 1888 but given Accession number 20615. At that time, Creel stated they had been collected during his Army career (1877-1882). A list provided by the collector described each object and offered tribal identifications. Several years after his death, 27 items from the Creel collection were returned to North Dakota.

126. All data on Herbert Creel comes from Smythe and Helwig 85.

127. Quoted in Tooker 200.

128. Penney, *American Indian Frontier* 69.

129. Gogol, "Archetypal Beaded Bag" 30.

130. K. Duncan, "So Many Bags" 65 (note 3).

CONCLUSION

The written and material records suggest that throughout Native North America, floral decoration appeared in the wake of westward Euroamerican expansion and that floral designs were little used in the Northeast during the early years of the nineteenth century. Instead, geometric designs and select representational motifs--thunderbirds, underwater creatures, and the like--were commonly worked in regional quilled embroidery. At this time, beads were used only sparingly and their appearance was marked by a limited color range. Northeastern quillwork on leather was by this same time generally restricted to a few types of accessories (bags, pouches, moccasins, etc.) as many Northeastern peoples were dressing themselves in clothing made from trade cloth.

By the 1820s, the Red River Métis were experimenting with painted floral motifs. Their curvilinear quillwork employed proto-floral designs by the 1830s and fully floral figures by the 1840s. By mid-century, the Iroquois and affiliated groups had begun to produce bead-encrusted floral items for sale to the tourist market. Floral decoration is thought to have appeared on the Northern Plains between 1850-1875, simultaneous with its appearance in the Subarctic. The floral traditions of Northwest Coast and Southwest seem to have had a contemporary or slightly later genesis.

Neither the historic textual nor material records provide any support for the argument that the embroidery of Northeastern Indians impacted Plateau artists and served to inspire them to the eventual production of floral designs. In the first place, Iroquois trappers of the 1810-1830 time period were not richly clothed with beaded garments. At this time, beading traditions were not yet strong in the Iroquois homeland, neither had floral motifs yet found widespread acceptance in the Iroquois expressive vocabulary. Too, written accounts suggest that Iroquois trappers were generally lacking in an abundance of worldly goods. They also seem to have adopted much of the material culture of the Western peoples with whom they came into contact. It is likely that as a result of wear, tear, travel, and trade, few objects of Iroquois manufacture arrived in the Plateau before the early 1830s, when the Iroquois presence in the fur trade began to diminish. Full-blooded Iroquois women of eastern birth are noticeably absent from the pages of Plateau history and so they cannot be assumed to have passed on their embroidery traditions to others in the Pacific Northwest. Finally, the impoverished state of Iroquois males would have caused many Plateau families to view them as an undesirable marriage partners and Iroquois men seem to have married southern Plateau women very infrequently.

The argument that Cree, Ojibwa, and Métis people and art forms provided an inspiration for Plateau floral design is likewise a hypothesis that lacks support in the historic

record. Prior to about 1840, much of the embroidery being produced by the Cree, Ojibwa, and Métis tended to be geometric or figurative in its design. Few well-documented examples of Métis (and neighboring) floral quillwork can confidently be assigned a pre-1840 date and floral beadwork does not seem to have developed in earnest among the Chippewa until about 1870. Other than sharing a common content, stylistic similarities between this eastern embroidery and western work of an analogous date is not readily apparent. Practically speaking, any Cree, Ojibwa, or Métis presence in the Plateau would have been limited to the narrow corridor adjacent to the Columbia River or to the few HBC posts situated therein. The communities of these people hypothesized to have been situated in Western Oregon and Washington were located about 100 arduous miles from the western edge of the Plateau and several hundred miles from interior points.

Few Company officers were accompanied to western posts by their Métis and Canadian Indian wives. Fur trade hierarchy and protocol regulated the social behavior of these women. Their interaction was generally limited to discourse with others of like station; they seldom socialized with the wives of Company servants and less so with local Native women. Limited data supports the belief that Company officers' wives produced embroidery. The evidence nonetheless suggests that some handiwork was produced for use by officers' families, that some was made

for others in the Company's upper social stratum, and that some was sold to the occasional stray Euroamerican.

The most prominent of the Columbia Department's officers' wives was Marguerite Wadin McLoughlin. Previous speculation that Dame McLoughlin taught beading at Fort Vancouver has been based on a highly suspect text. The social strictures mentioned above would have made such pedagogical activity an unthinkable undertaking for a Chief Factor's wife. She could not have taught beading in the Fort's school as early as has been hypothesized (during the 1820s). Classes did not commence at the post until 1832. The instruction offered in subsequent years was provided for known terms of service and by known persons, none of whom was Mrs. McLoughlin. The evidence reveals that she did practice a variety of needle arts but these were firmly within the European tradition. Too, her departure from Rainey Lake in 1824 preceded the development of a demonstrable beadwork tradition being developed there and she has yet to be linked to beadwork of any type.

As a rule, men of Indian ancestry were employed as servants of the Company and few of their wives were allowed to travel with them. Those servants who had families in the East normally left them there and returned to them only occasionally. Prior to mid-century, colonies that reportedly contained sizeable numbers of Cree, Ojibwa, and Métis men and women have been cited as present at Kanaka Village and in the Willamette Valley. Catholic Church

records kept after 1838 reveal that while many Canadian men were living in these communities, their wives were almost exclusively from neighboring groups, with women from coastal groups being the most common. In the Willamette Valley the majority of Canadians were retired Company servants, some of whom had resided in the West for as many as 30 years. Communities of retired trappers established in the Walla Walla and Colville River Valleys of eastern Washington displayed a demographic makeup that was similar to those situated at French Prairie and Vancouver. Most of the men had taken wives from local Indian communities.

In 1841 and 1854, two parties of Red River Métis relocated to the Pacific Northwest. The women in these groups have been thought to have bolstered Canadian influence on regional embroidery. Again, no data supports this hypothesis. The two migrations included a combined total of 35 adult women. Referring to the initial party and its eventual movement to the Willamette Valley, John Jackson concluded, "[b]ut a dozen families were not enough to transfer very much of the Métis culture to the Pacific Northwest."[1] These few Canadians arrived in western Oregon as the first Oregon Trail emigrants began to enter the region. By the time the second group of Red River expatriates was resident in the West, over 45,000 American settlers had braved the overland route. Oregon had become an American Territory and the Hudson's Bay Company was almost a decade into its northward withdrawal.

The Canadian accessory that has been most credited with promoting the idea of indigenous floral decoration is the octopus bag. This manufacture has been considered an everyday fur trade accessory and one that was frequently seen by Plateau women. Unfortunately, Charles Wilkes' often-cited description of octopus bags as a standard of voyageur attire comes from his published *Narrative* description of an 1841 HBC brigade at Fort Vancouver. In reviewing the contemporary fur trade context, an understanding of the voyageurs' "toilet" suggests that the bags would have only occasionally been seen in the Plateau. Their use would have generally been reserved for just those times when boatmen were approaching or leaving a Company post. Wilkes' 1841 diary further reveals that he actually observed ribbons and feathers to be the voyageur standard of fancy dress and that in 1841, octopus bags were yet in limited circulation. This is consistent with what is revealed by the material and visual records. The oldest known examples of octopus bags can now be dated to the early 1840s and all appear to have an association with the Red River-Lower Fort Garry region. Examples of the bag form did eventually become popular in the Plateau but their appearances in a Boundary Commission photo and on Nez Perce subjects date to the 1860s.

The written, visual, and material records all reveal that, after 1805, the decoration of Plateau objects progressed from the use of various found and traded organic

and inorganic objects to the utilization of diverse materials of Euroamerican manufacture. Plateau floral beadwork could not have developed prior to the arrival of quantities of seed beads as technical limitations inhibited the production of floral motifs using even modestly larger beads. It has been suggested that seed beads were generally absent from the region until about 1826 and for the next decade they represented only a slight percentage of the trade bead total. Prior to 1845, their color range was generally limited to blue and white. After mid-century a widening range of colors and an increasing bead supply made it possible for Plateau women to adopt the style.

The advent of the seed bead period coincided with the dramatically expanding presence of Euroamericans and their trade goods. It also coincided with the beginning of reservation life. Popular trade goods during the fur trade era included tools, guns and ammunition, cloth, ready-made clothing, and numerous small decorative items. As the regional Euroamerican community grew, so did the quantity and types of objects bearing floral designs. Calico and printed cotton cloth had been available at an early date, as were transfer-printed earthenwares. Access to these items increased as the Oregon Trail traffic grew. In addition, American settlers brought a sundry supply of objects decorated with diverse floral patterns and worked in new mediums. A fair percentage of this material made its way into Indian hands. As the region became home to a variety

of new settlements and business enterprises, the variety of procurable goods (both commercially produced and handmade) increased. More than other types of design, floral decoration appeared on these items and was representative of contemporary Euroamerican culture.

A review of available well-documented examples of Plateau embroidered art suggests that regional floral design began within the context of Euroamerican acculturation pressures and design influences. The initial examples of Plateau floral beadwork that have thus far been located appear in a photograph dating to 1860-1861. The items--a cradle, martingale, and crupper--were probably the belongings of a Nez Perce woman whose husband was the manager of the Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Colvile. They are thus linked to someone whose social position, access to trade goods, and exposure to design influences was unique for the period. The first regional object found bearing floral designs is a miniature Nez Perce saddlebag that dates to the late 1860s. Collected by the Agency doctor at Lapwai, the diminutive size of the item suggests that it may have been made on commission or received as a gift. The collection context of an 1876 Yakima saddle bag also suggests an association with Agency life and likewise may represent a commission. A Nez Perce coat and pants that date to the same decade appear linked to a group of women who were aligned with the reservation Nez Perce. A pair of 1878 gloves that are identified as Colville would seem to be

blossoms are modelled in concentric rows of color. The silk embroidery appearing on the Nez Perce coat is worked following this same convention. In fact, the decorative treatment of both the coat and the gloves appears much more influenced by Euroamerican designs than by previous Indian manufactures.

The earliest examples of floral-design beadwork to appear in the Columbia River Plateau seem to date to the 1860s. The initial offerings display simplified motifs presented in profile using a limited number of colors. In theory, the collection of Indian-made, floral-design objects may have lagged behind the collection of items bearing geometric designs. The horizon date of the locally emerging style may thus have occurred at a slightly earlier time. Floral examples from the 1870s suggest that the style grew more refined with the passage of time. This obvious increased articulation argues against a much earlier advent of design-style motifs as it is difficult to conceive of much more simplified prototypes than those already known to have appeared early in this stylistic sequence.

As occurred elsewhere in North America, indigenous floral design in the Plateau appeared in the wake of white expansion. Its relatively late appearance in the inland Northwest was a byproduct of both the region's geographic isolation and a delayed white recognition of the economic opportunities that the local landscape offered. Taken as a whole, the assembled objects do suggest that the divergent

design styles which developed regionally after 1860 were reflecting a contemporary reevaluation of local Indian identity. The geometric Intermontane style was worn by and associated with those southern Plateau people who were generally resistant to the reservation system and its coincidental acculturation pressures. Conversely, the earliest examples of the Plateau floral style can be linked to those who were in some way associated with the reservation community and were accepting--actively or passively--the constraints it was dictating for their lives.

The decorative devices of the newly dominant culture were first adopted and reproduced by the reservation communities. By doing so, these people would appear to have been signaling an awareness that their lives had begun to straddle two worlds: Indian and white. The creation of floral motifs in beads and on leather was therefore representative of a middle ground. The new designs were foreign and in some cases the objects being created and decorated were introduced. Nonetheless, the materials and mediums were familiar and linked with established artistic traditions. The new style was subsequently accessible and familiar to all segments of each ethnic community. It represented a common ground where all could find comfort and meaning.

Notes

1. J. Jackson, *Children* 152.

APPENDICES

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Appendix 1:
Overland Emigration to Oregon, 1840-1860

Year	Yearly Total	Cumulative Total
1840	13	13
1841	24	37
1842	125	162
1843	875	1037
1844	1475	2512
1845	2500	5012
1846	1200	6212
1847	4000	10,212
1848	1300	11,512
1849	450	11,962
1850	6000	17,962
1851	3600	21,562
1852	10,000	31,352
1853	7500	39,062
1854	6000	45,062
1855	500	45,562
1856	1000	46,562
1857	1500	48,062
1858	1500	63,062
1859	2000	65,062
1860	1500	66,562

Appendix 2:
Ethnic Makeup of Kanaka Village, 1827-1843

Women: Tribal Affiliations	Number (107 total)
Coastal Groups	(65 total)
Chinook	20
Chehalis	11
Saulk (Salish)	10
Nisqually	4
Clatsop	3
Cowlitz	3
Kathlamet	3
Cascade	3
Clallam	2
Dalles	2
Tillamook	1
Cowichan	1
Kalapuya	1
Snohomish	1
Plateau Groups	(22 total)
Nez Perce	7
Walla Walla	5
Okanagan	4
Flathead	2
Colville	2
Cayuse	1
Spokane	1
Others	(20 total)
Unknown	10
Cree	4
Yulate	3
Klamath	2
Canadian	1

Men: Nationality totals by given years

	1828/29	1830/31	1837	1838/39	1842	1843
Iroquois	14	4	4	4	5	7
Other Indian	17	3	4	5	25	25
Hawaiian	18	14	32	35	77	78
French Canadian	117	53	30	29	54	44
Anglo-Saxon	10	6	24	22	27	28
Unknown	15	20	5	7	16	9

Appendix 3:
Ethnicity of Indian Women in Kanaka Village, 1827-1860

Tribal Affiliation	Number (112 total)
Coastal Groups (Chinookan)	(50 total)
Chinook	25
Cowlitz	9
Dalles	5
Cascades	4
Kathlamet	3
Clatsop	2
Kalama	1
Willamette (Clackamas?)	1
Coastal Groups (Salish)	(18 total)
Chehalis	6
Nisqually	4
Cowichan	3
Snohomish	2
Clallam	1
Stikine	1
Tillamook	1
Coastal Groups (Other)	(3 total)
Kalapuya	3
Plateau Groups	(23 total)
Walla Walla	11
Cayuse	4
Pend d'Oreille	2
Nez Perce	2
Spokane	2
Molala	1
Okanagan	1
Other Groups	(3 total)
Shasta	1
Shoshone	1
Nipissing	1
Unknown origin	15 total

Appendix 4:
Ethnicity of Female Catholic Adherents
at Fort Vancouver, 1838-1846

Tribal Affiliation	Number (187 total)
Coastal Groups	(110 total)
Chinook	54
Chehalis	13
Cascades	8
Dalles	8
Clatsop	5
Cowichan	4
Nisqually	4
Tillamook	3
Clallam	2
Kalapuya	2
Cowlitz	2
Clackamas	1
Kwakiutl	1
Nootka	1
Snohomish	1
Yamhill	1
Plateau Groups	(42 total)
Walla Walla	11
Cayuse	6
Shuswap	6
Flathead	4
Pend d'Oreille	4
Okanagan	4
Spokane	3
Nez Perce	2
Colville	1
Umatilla	1
Others	(35 total)
Local and Canadian métis	20
Unknown	14
Klamath	1

Appendix 5:
Ethnicity of Women Affiliated with HBC Employees
at Miscellaneous Facilities, 1838-1846

Tribal Affiliation	Number (68 total)
Coastal Groups	(22 total)
Chinook	8
Cowlitz	7
Nisqually	4
Chehalis	2
Clallam	1
Plateau Groups	(27 total)
Pend d'Oreille	8
Colville	5
Flathead	4
Lakes	2
Spokane	2
Walla Walla	2
Nez Perce	1
Shuswap	1
Sanpoil	1
Coeur d'Alene	1
Others	(19 total)
Local and Canadian métis	8
Unknown	7
Cree	1
Iowa	1
Shasta	1
Shoshone	1

Appendix 6:
Familial Ethnicity of Initial French-Surnamed Settlers in the Willamette Valley

Name (approx. arrival)	Name of wife (ethnic heritage)
Amable Arcouët ('33)	Marguerite (Chinook)
Alexis Aubichon	Marie Anne (Chinook)
Jean Baptiste Aubichon	Marie Tsalile (Chinook)
	Isabelle (Chinook)
Louis Aucent ('40)	Catherine Kohassa (Cayuse)
	Mary (Molala)
Joseph Barnabé ('38)	Isabelle Boucher (French-Colville)
Pierre Bélèque ('33)	Genev. St. Martin (French-Chinook)
François Bernier ('44)	Pelagé Lucier (French-Kwakiutl)
	Marie Despard (French-Chinook)
Louis Boisvert	Elizabeth Snowden
Antoine Bonenfant	Marie (Spokane)
	François McKay (Métis-Kalapuya)
Sylvain Bourjeau	Josephte (Chinook)
	Angèle (Chehalis)
Olivier Brisebois	Catherine (Cayuse)
	Jane Flett (Métis-Kootenai)
Paschal Caille ('45)	Louise (Cowichan)
Andre Chalifoux ('38)	Catherine Russie (Métis)
Adolphe Chamberland	Julienne Watièce (Iroquois-?)
	L. Humpreville (Métis-C. d'Alene)
Joseph Cournoillé	Thérèse (Spokane)
J.B. Dalcourt ('34)	Agathe (Cayuse)
Jean Baptiste Deguire	M.A. Perrault (French-Chinook)
Joseph Délard ('32)	Lisette (Shuswap)
	Marie Poirier (French-Clatsop)
Pierre Délard ('39)	Josephte Lapierre (French-Okanagan)
Pierre Dépot ('36)	Susanne (Chinook)
	Margeurite Klamak (Klamath?)
Joseph F. Despard ('33)	Lizette (Chinook)
J.B. Desportes ('30)	Eugénie Wanaske(Clackamas)
	a Kalapuya woman
	Catherine Chehalis
David Dompierre	Marguerite Souliere (French-Cree)
André Dubois	Marguerite (Cree)
Jean Baptiste Ducharme	a Salish woman
	Catherine Hu (French-Kalispel)
Antoine Felix ('43)	Marguerite (Colville)
	M.A. Hubert (French-Colville)
Louis Forcier ('35)	Catherine (Chinook)
	Philomene (Celilo)
Luc Gagnon	Julie Gregoire (French-Kamloops)
Pierre Gauthier	Esther Dalcourt (French-Cayuse)
Joseph Gervais ('31)	Marguerite (Clatsop)
	Marie Angelique (Chinook)

Jean Gingras	Charlotte (Okanagan)
	Olive Forcier (French-Chinook)
J.B. Gobin ('40)	an Indian woman
	Marguerite Vernier (French-Iowa)
Etienne Gregoire ('42)	Marguerite (Kamloops)
P. Stanis. Jacquet ('38)	Victoire (Chinook)
Louis Labonte ('30)	Kilokatah (Clatsop)
Andre Lachapelle	Adrienne Lucier (French-Kwakiutl)
Pierre Lacourse ('43)	Archange (Chinook)
	Josephte (Nez Perce)
F.X. Laderoute ('34)	Julie Gervais (French-Chinook)
	M.A. Ouvre (French-Nisqually)
Michel Laferté	Josephte Chimhaney (Nez Perce)
Michel Laframboise ('38)	Emilie Picard (French-Okanagan)
Augustin Lambert	Catherine Pichet (Métis?)
Alexis Laprate ('42)	Nancy Pion (French-Okanagan)
	Louise (Okanagan)
H. Lavigueur *dit* Delozhe	Marguerite (Colville)
André Longtain ('35)	Nancy (Okanagan)
Moise Lord	M. Sanders (French-Iroq./Chinook)
Etienne Lucier ('31)	Josephte (Kwakiutl)
	Marie Marguerite (Chinook)
Fabian Maloin	Louise Aténessé (Iroquois-?)
	V. Laderoute (French-Fr./Chinook)
Joseph Matte	Josette (Shoshone)
	H. Biscornet (French-Cowichan)
David Mongraine	C. Lafantasie (French-Okanagan)
Pierre Pariseau	Marie Dompierre (French-Fr./Cree)
Pierre Pepin	Susanne Goodrich (American-Celilo)
J.B. Perrault ('32)	a Chinook woman
	Angele (Chehalis)
Andre Picard ('37)	Marie (Okanagan)
Charles Plante ('35)	Agatha (Cayuse)
	Susanne (Cayuse)
	Elizabeth (Chinook)
	Pelagie (Chinook)
	Marguerite (Kwakiutl)
Augustin Raymond	Marie Servant (French-Nez Perce)
François Rivet ('39)	Therese (Kalispel)
Charles Rondeau ('36)	Lizette Bellaire (French-?)
	daug. of "Old Portneuf" (French-?)
	Agatha Dupaté (Métis-Kalapuya)
	Elizabeth (an Indian woman)
Thomas Roy	Marie Lafleur (French-Cree)
John Alexandre Sanders	Catherine (Chinook)
	Suzanne (Yamhill)
	Lizette (Celilo)
Gideon Senecal ('40)	Marie Grenier (French-Spokane)
	Lucie Ducharme (French-Salish)
Jacques Servant	Josephte (Nez Perce)
Louis A. Vendal	Catherine (Carrier)
Louis B. Vendal	Cecile McDonald (Scottish-Cayuse)
	Marie Anne Delard (French-Shuswap)

Appendix 7:
Ethnicity of Catholic Adherents in the Willamette Valley, 1839-1859

Women: Tribal Affiliations (181 total)

Coastal Groups		Plateau Groups		Others	
Chinook	31	Walla Walla	15	Shasta	6
Chehalis	7	Okanagan	13	Bannock	4
Nisqually	4	P. d'Oreille	10	Cree	4
Clatsop	3	Cayuse	9	Iroquois	4
Dalles	3	Colville	5	Shoshone	4
Cascades	2	Flathead	5	Kwakiutl	3
Cowlitz	2	Nez Perce	4	Assiniboine	2
Kalapuya	2	Shuswap	4	Blackfoot	2
Tillamook	2	Spokane	4	Nootka	2
Tualatin	2	Molala	2	Rogue	2
Clackamas	1	C. d'Alene	1	Ute	2
Umpqua	1	Klickitat	1	Halkomelem	1
Yamhill	1	Kootenai	1	Iowa	1
	(61)	Sanpoil	1	Klamath	1
			(75)	Nipissing	1
				Ojibwa	1
				Umpqua	1
				Unknown	5
					(49)

Nationality of Males (171 total)

French surnames	135
American/English	15
Iroquois	14
Hawaiian	3
Spanish	3
Assiniboine	1
Nipissing	1

Appendix 8:
Spode/Copeland Transfer-Printed Patterns from
Three Hudson's Bay Company Sites in Washington State

Pattern	Fort Vancouver (1829-60)	Fort Nez Perces (1821-55)	Fort Colvile (1825-71)
Aesop's Fables	X	X	X
Alhambra	X		X
Antique Vase	X	X	X
Antoinette	X		
Aquatic	X	X	
Bedford			X
Beverley	X		X
Blue Rose	X	X	X
Botanical	X		
British Flowers	X	X	X
Broseley	X	X	
B700	X		
B772	X	X	X
B773	X	X	
Byron Groups	X		
Byron Views	X	X	
Camilla	X	X	X
Castle	X		
Ceylon	X	X	
Chinese Flowers	X		
Chinese Gardens	X		
Chinese Plants	X		
Continental Views	X		X
Coral	X		
Filligree	X		
Floral	X		
Flower Vase	X		X
French Sprigs	X	X	
Fruit and Flowers	X		
Garland	X		
Geranium	X	X	
Harlean	X		
Italian	X		X
Jasmine	X		
Lily	X	X	X
Lobelia	X		
Lotus		X	X
Louis Quatorze	X	X	
Macaw	X	X	X
Marble	X	X	
Milkmaid	X		
Pagoda	X	X	X
Pekin		X	
Portland Vase	X	X	X
Raphaelesque	X		X

Rose and Sprigs	X		
Ruins	X	X	
Rural Scenes	X		X
Seasons	X		X
Seasons Star	X		
Seaweed	X		
Sevres	X		
Shagreen	X		
Ship Border	X		
Statice	X		
Strawberry			X
Temple	X		
Tower	X	X	X
Union	X	X	X
Warwick Groups	X	X	
Waterloo	X		
Watteau	X	X	X
Willow	X		

Appendix 9:
Documented Pre-1880 Plateau Objects

Item	Attribution	Date	Collection ID
1. Dress	Pend d'Oreille	1841-42	PRM 1893.67.7
Reproduced in Fig. 34.			
2. Dress	Nez Perce	1841-46	NEPE 8757
See Grafe, "Handsome" 37.			
3. Dress	Nez Perce	1841-46	NEPE 8758
See Grafe, "Handsome" 34; Wright 50.			
4. Dress	Nez Perce	1876	NMNH E23852
See Fig. 38; C. Taylor, *Buckskin and Buffalo* 23.			
5. Dress	Nez Perce	1877	NEPE 33923
Reproduced in Fig. 53.			
6. Dress	Nez Perce	1877	PM 06-5-10/66515
Reproduced in Fig. 54.			
7. Dress	Nez Perce	1877	NMNH E394226
Reproduced in Fig. 55.			
8. Dress	Nez Perce	1877	UCM 16245
Reproduced in Fig. 56.			
9. Dress	Nez Perce	1877	UPMAA 50-15-1
Reproduced in Fig. 62.			
10. Dress	Nez Perce	pre-1883	AMNH 1/2710
Reproduced in Fig. 66.			
11. Shirt	Nez Perce	1841-46	NEPE 8759
Reproduced in Fig. 36.			
12. Shirt	Nez Perce	1841-46	NEPE 8760
See Grafe, "Handsome" 39.			
13. Shirt	Nez Perce	1876	NMNH E23851
Reproduced in Fig. 38.			
14. Shirt	Yakima	1876	NMNH E23879
Reproduced in Fig. 46.			
15. Shirt	Nez Perce	pre-1883	AMNH 1/2721
See Walker, "Nez Perce" 431; Wissler, "Costumes" 47.			
16. Shirt	Nez Perce	pre-1883	AMNH 1/2712
Reproduced in Fig. 67.			
17. Coat	Nez Perce	1877	NMNH E131241
Reproduced in Fig. 57.			
18. Trousers	Nez Perce	1877	NMNH E131242
Reproduced in Fig. 58.			
19. Leggings	Pend d'Oreille	1841-42	PRM 1893.67.7
Reproduced in Fig. 35.			
20. Leggings	Nez Perce	1841-46	NEPE 8751; 8752
See Grafe, "Handsome" 38.			
21. Leggings	Nez Perce	pre-1883	AMNH 1/2723
See Walker, Nez Perce" 431.			
22. Leggings	Nez Perce	pre-1883	AMNH 1/2725ab
Reproduced in Fig. 68			
23. Moccasins	Nez Perce	1876	NMNH E23855
Reproduced in Fig. 38.			

24.	Moccasins	Nez Perce	1877	NMNH E131243
	Reproduced in Fig. 59.			
25.	Gun case	Nez Perce	1876	NMNH E23844
	Reproduced in Fig. 44.			
26.	Gun case	Nez Perce	1877	NEPE 5836
	Reproduced in Fig. 60.			
27.	Gun case	Nez Perce	1877	NMAI 14/2183
	See Walker, "Nez Perce" 436.			
28.	Blanket strip	Nez Perce	1877	WC WHIT-O-43
	Reproduced in Fig. 51.			
29.	Blanket strip	Walla Walla	1872-80	BM 2-11569
	See Wright 60-61.			
30.	Blanket strip	Nez Perce	1874-80	OHS 69-3.2
	Reproduced in Fig. 64.			
31.	Blanket strip	Nez Perce	pre-1883	AMNH 1/2709
	Reproduced in Fig. 69.			
32.	Bandolier	Nez Perce	1876	NMNH E23853
	See Walker, "Nez Perce" 428.			
33.	Bandolier	Plateau	1878	WC WHIT-U-29
	Reproduced in Fig. 63.			
34.	Horse collar	Nez Perce	1876	NMNH E23854
	See Walker, "Nez Perce" 428.			
35.	Saddle pouch	Yakima	1876	NMNH E23873
	Reproduced in Fig. 47. See also Wright 66.			
36.	Saddlebag	Nez Perce	pre-1883	AMNH 1/2713
	See Walker, "Nez Perce" 428.			
37.	Panel bag	Wasco/Wishram	1850	LAC A.5697.69
	See Wright 73.			
38.	Quiver, etc.	Nez Perce	1876	NMNH E23843
	Reproduced in Fig. 38.			
39.	Glasses case	Nez Perce	1877	AMNH 50/1572
	Reproduced in Fig. 61.			
40.	Sheath	Nez Perce	1877	NEPE 33924
	Reproduced in Fig. 52.			
41.	Pouch	Nez Perce	1877	NEPE 1252
42.	Gloves	Colville	1878	NMNH E131245
	Reproduced in Fig. 65.			
43.	Cradle	Nez Perce	1841-46	NEPE 33887
	See Wright 51.			
44.	Cradle	Nez Perce	pre-1883	AMNH 1/2069
	Reproduced in Fig. 70.			
45.	Model cradle	Nez Perce	1866-69	NMNH E9027
	Reproduced in Fig. 41.			
46.	Model cradle	Nez Perce	1876	NMNH E23845
	Reproduced in Fig. 45.			
47.	Model blanket	Nez Perce	1866-69	NMNH E9036
	Reproduced in Fig. 42.			
48.	Model panniers	Nez Perce	1866-69	NMNH E9037
	Reproduced in Fig. 43.			
49.	Saddle	Nez Perce	1841-46	NEPE 8755
	See Grafe, "Handsome" 41.			
50.	Saddle	Cayuse	1849	NMNH E1757
	Reproduced in Fig. 38.			

51.	Saddle fenders Reproduced in Fig. 48.	Yakima	1876	NMNH E23883
52.	Flank cinch	Yakima	1876	NMNH E23880
53.	Sidesaddle Reproduced in Figs. 49-50.	Yakima	pre-1882	NMAH 65,484

Data Sources for Appendices

Appendix 1: Unruh 119-120.

Appendix 2: Towner 793-811.

Appendix 3: Kardas 208-210.
The chart combines data from Catholic and Protestant records.

Appendix 4: Munnick, *Vancouver*; Munnick, *St. Paul*.
Appendices 2 and 3 catalog women in domestic partnerships with HBC servants. This summary additionally includes women affiliated with Company officers. The date range begins with the arrival of the Catholic priests (1838) and ends in the year that oversight of the Columbia Department was moved to Fort Victoria (1846).
In the case of the Catholic records, an inexact or inconsistent description of tribal affiliations occasionally appears. In these instances, divergent comments usually provide a general geographic sense of a woman's nativity. For instance, entries may state "Cowlitz" in one instance and "Nisqually" in another or "Nez Perce" in one place versus "Cayuse" or "Coeur d'Alene" elsewhere. The category of women described as "Local or Canadian métis" includes a number of individuals whose parentage is described in non-specific terms (father's name and "a woman of the country," etc.). Several of these women appear to be the children of Iroquois fathers and unknown (probably Plateau or coastal) Indian mothers.

Appendix 5: Munnick, *Vancouver*; Munnick, *St. Paul*.
The chart summarizes domestic partnerships at Forts Colvile, Okanogan, Nez Perces, and Nisqually to 1840. Cowlitz Farm records from 1838-1844 are also included.

Appendix 6: The list of early settlers combines data given in Slacum 210, Duflot de Mofras 110, Barry, *French Canadian Pioneers* 14, and Jack Gibson 132. Data on the women comes from Munnick, *St. Paul* and Munnick, *St. Louis*.

Appendix 7: Munnick, *St. Paul*; Munnick, *St. Louis*; Munnick, *Vancouver*.
As French Prairie communities developed, considerable intermarriage of offspring occurred. This list does not catalog the activity of these mixed-blood people and their ancestry as such data is not central to this discussion. The end date of the review (1859) is commensurate with the initial year of Oregon statehood.

Appendix 8: Sussman 12-18; L. Ross, *Fort Vancouver, 1829-1860* 2: 258.

Appendix 9: Museum names are abbreviated as follows:

AMNH; American Museum of Natural History, New York, New York

BM; Thomas Burke Memorial Washington State Museum, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington

LAC; Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County, Los Angeles, California

NEPE; Nez Perce National Historical Park, National Park Service, Spalding, Idaho

NMAH; National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC

NMAI; National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC

NMNH; National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC

OHS; Oregon Historical Society, Portland, Oregon

PM; Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts

PRM; Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford, Oxford, England

UCM; University of Colorado Museum, Boulder, Colorado

UPMAA; University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

WC; Maxey Museum, Whitman College, Walla Walla, Washington

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Accession 211704. Microfilm roll 801. Accession Records, Registrar's Office, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.

Accession 222628. Microfilm roll 835. Accession Records, Registrar's Office, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution.

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