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Native American response to Euro-American contact in the Columbia Plateau of northwestern North America, 1840 to 1914: An anthropological interpretation based on written and pictorial ethnohistorical data

Reichwein, Jeffrey Charles, Ph.D.
The Ohio State University, 1988

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NATIVE AMERICAN RESPONSE TO EURO-AMERICAN CONTACT
IN THE COLUMBIA PLATEAU OF NORTHWESTERN NORTH AMERICA,
1840 TO 1914: AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION BASED ON
WRITTEN AND PICTORIAL ETHNOHISTORICAL DATA

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By

Jeffrey Charles Reichwein, B.A., M.A.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University
1988

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W.S. Dancey
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Approved by

William S. Dancey
Advisor

Department of Anthropology
To The Native American People Of
The Colville Confederated Tribes

And

My Parents: Gordon and Grace
My Wife: Dr. Jean Brainard
And
Other Members Of My Family
My interest in the research topic began when I was the tribal archaeologist for the Colville Confederated Tribes, Colville Reservation, Nespelem, Washington, from August, 1979 through December, 1980. During that period I had the opportunity to share in a wealth of personal and professional experiences with a proud people who have retained much of their traditional culture, even after a century of Euro-American contact. My interests quickly grew beyond researching evidence of past material culture to researching behavioral responses that served to promote the retention of traditional ways of life. I wish to express my thanks to the Colville people, especially Adeline Fredin and family, for giving me their friendship, instilling in me the ways of their people, which I will always cherish, and for providing me with interviews and archival and pictorial data upon my return in 1984.

I gratefully acknowledge financial aid received from the Phillip's Fund of the American Philosophical Society, which enabled me to return to Washington State in 1984 in order to conduct archival research and to purchase photographs of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Native Americans that are included in the study pictorial sample. Several archival and pictorial collections were assessed and sampled, including:

(1) original missionary records from the 1840s to the turn of the century from the Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus at Gonzaga University, Spokane Washington; these include baptisms, burials, and records of religious attendance of Colville and Coeur d' Alene Native Americans. Special recognition is given to Clifford Carroll S.J. and Brother Jennings for their historical knowledge of Native American response to Catholicism in the region.

(2) archival data on two American Board of Foreign Missionaries, Henry Spalding and Marcus Whitman, who established the first Protestant missions among southern Columbia Plateau Native Americans from the mid 1830s to the late 1840s from the Eells Collection at the Penrose Library, Whitman College, Walla Walla, Washington. I am appreciative of Lawrence L. Dodd and his assistant Lisa Carloye for their assistance in archival research.

(3) the hundreds of photographs of Columbia Plateau Native Americans located in the Pacific Northwest Collection, Suzzallo Library, University of Washington, Seattle. I wish to thank Richard H. Engleman, assistant librarian of the Pacific Northwest Collection, for his help in providing me with pictorial collections from which some of my pictorial sample was compiled.
While in Spokane I also had the opportunity to review the ethnographic film "Echoes of Yesterday." This classic film, one of the first in color, depicts Columbia Plateau Native Americans the year before the initial pool raise of the Grand Coulee Dam in 1939. Taken on location by the late Howard Ball (whose son Donald I interviewed about its background), this film reveals settlement locations as well as information on dress and personal embellishment, rituals, and material culture of almost fifty years ago. I thank Donald Ball for taking time to share his personal recollections of his father and the making of the film.

My advisor, Dr. William S. Dancey, instilled in me the proper perspective from which to approach the research problem. His continuous support over the years is most gratefully appreciated. I wish to express appreciation to Dr. Erika Bourguignon, who provided me with the theoretical perspective that put into focus my experiences among the Colville people, and who supported my research goals from the beginning of my doctoral studies. I also wish to express appreciation another member of my reading committee, Dr. John Messenger, for his guidance over the years in tackling ethnicity and nationalism as a research problem. I am grateful to the late Dr. Daniel T. Hughes for his guidance in my pursuit of culture contact research. My thanks go to Donald R. Bier, Ohio Historical Society archaeologist, for his assistance in laser printing this dissertation.

I acknowledge my sincere appreciation and respect for my wife, Jean, who was the severest critic of the manuscript. To her goes credit for help in resolving several technical problems, for her willingness always to assist me with editing, for help with the analysis, for doing the graphics, and for her unwavering support in many other ways. I also owe a great deal to my parents and other members of my family as well as my friends, who have encouraged me every step of the way.
Vita

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Bibliography

1988 Ohio Department of Natural Resources Division of Reclamation Report to Industry: Archaeology Program. In: Ohio Coal and Energy Association Newsletter, June 1988, Columbus, Ohio.


Delivered Papers:


Fields of Study

Major Field: Ethnohistory

Studies in North American archaeology
Associate Professor William S. Dancey

Studies in Psychological Anthropology
Professor Erika E. Bourguignon

Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism
Professor John C. Messenger
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<td>1900 Cayuse Women and Children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXV.</td>
<td>1901 Yakima Male and Female</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A major aim of this study is to further the decolonization of Native American history in the Columbia Plateau of northwestern North America by presenting an alternative interpretation to the widely held frontier thesis model. It is hoped that this study will be of use to all Native American peoples, but especially those of the Columbia Plateau, in promoting Native American self-determination and human rights, particularly in the area of religious freedom.
CHAPTER I
THE PROBLEM

I am certain that there is something for us...industrialists to learn from the values associated with the tribal life and with the determination of these people to preserve this way of life at all costs [Tax 1968:345-346].

A major task for anthropologists in British Columbia and elsewhere in northwestern North America lies in discovering the systems of social relations operating among contemporary Indians and understanding the processes by which old institutions have persisted and new ones have appeared. Only then can we adequately assess the basis for Indian solutions to Indian problems [Suttles 1972:677].

The Research Problem

This study is an anthropological interpretation of events associated with contact between various Euro-American and Native American groups in the Columbia Plateau from 1840 to 1914. Changes in Native American society that were precipitated by the increasing presence of Euro-Americans during this period are documented with data from archaeological, ethnographic, historic, and pictorial sources. The author's 18-month (1979-1980) residence on the Colville Reservation in Washington State also provides first hand archaeological and ethnographic information that is incorporated here.

Research in many fields, including history, psychology, and social anthropology, has demonstrated that culture contact produces similar responses in different circumstances, although the specific sequence, timing and significance of events in any given instance depends on the nature of the groups involved, the intensity of contact, and so on. More specifically, the acculturation literature, which is reviewed in Chapter III, suggests that culture contact usually results in one or more of the following nationalistic responses, which are considered here to be cultural survival strategies:
(1) Embellishment and/or conspicuous display of visibility markers of their cultural affiliation (e.g., clothing, personal adornment, architecture style);

(2) Visibility of cult institutions, including visible display of ritual, ceremonies, altered states of consciousness, and symbols of material culture;

(3) A reduction in inter-population conflict and a corresponding enhancement of intergroup solidarity;

(4) Replacement of traditional migratory patterns (for the purposes of subsistence and marriage) by nontraditional movements of population:
   a) In response to involuntary restrictions on traditional migration (e.g., as reservations are established or territory-wide root gathering grounds homesteaded);
   b) In a voluntary attempt to physically remove themselves from particularly stressful situations and, simultaneously, to preserve the remnants of their precontact culture by taking it "underground".

It is the author's contention that at least some of these responses are likely to have been made by Native Americans of the Columbia Plateau in the latter part of the nineteenth century, as they developed Native American nationalism (Pan-Indianism). To assess this claim, this thesis analyzes data from a wide variety of sources in each of the following categories for Columbia Plateau Native Americans from 1840 to 1914: personal appearance; architecture; religion and altered states of consciousness; politics; and demography. Temporal variations in the data, which are described in Chapter IX, follow patterns one would anticipate on the basis of the above listed responses to culture contact.

Our current understanding of the contact period in the Columbia Plateau is confined to the pre-reservation period (pre-1855) see, for example, Chance (1973); Gunkel (1978); Miller (1985); and Weatherford (1980). After the beginning of the reservation era (post-1855), information is anecdotal and in some respects superficial, despite a wealth of topical information that is contained in the archaeological, ethnographic, historic, and pictorial records. For example, anthropological studies in the Columbia Plateau during the reservation period, using standard methods of participant observation and salvage ethnography, describe selected cultures and even provide descriptions of the categories and their associated variables of interest in this study. But little is understood regarding the specific sequential transformations Native Americans experienced during this period of time. The archaeological and historical records also provide little
information about the changes Native Americans underwent during this period, which was characterized by repeated crises due to the increasing encroachment of Euro-American populations.

The written sources used in this study include primary and secondary ethnohistorical sources, historic archaeological site reports, art collections, and numerous ethnographic and other anthropological studies. Primary ethnohistorical sources consist of diaries, letters, and accounts of missionaries, travellers, and various government agents. For example, the annual reports by agents of the Office of Indian Affairs provide both qualitative and quantitative information on several of the categories under investigation in this study.

The present study is unique not only for its synthesis of information from all these various sources for the period and peoples in question, but also for its extensive analysis of data extracted from a pictorial sample. Pictorial collections are valuable to the researcher beyond their historical significance (Blackman 1973; Collier 1967; Glenn 1983; Scherer 1975), yet they have been largely neglected for research purposes, especially research on Native Americans (Ewers 1976). Pictures often contain information on aspects of Native American culture that are omitted from the written record, including changes in material culture (dwellings, dress, and technology) and in social, economic, political, and religious behavior. Scherer (1975) outlines specific ways in which the anthropologist may utilize a picture's content, and these are presented in Chapter VI.

The pictorial sample used in this study was assembled over a three year period (1982-1985), and is undoubtedly one of the largest ever put together for research on Columbia Plateau Native Americans. It includes several hundred photocopies and prints of paintings, illustrations, and photographs of Columbia Plateau Native Americans, all of which reveal their physical appearance and or material culture, or physical evidence of a Euro-American presence.

The Columbia Plateau

The Columbia Plateau culture area as a distinct geographical and cultural region was first recognized by anthropologists in the 1920s (Wissler 1926). Since the culture area and geographic region are considered to be coterminous, the term 'Columbia Plateau' will be used to refer to both entities throughout. This anthropological convention is supported by Jorgensen (1980:92), who states:

...'culture units within a broad geographical region [i.e., tribes] shared more cultural features with their comembers than they did with cultural units in other regions...for simplicity...we shall treat the culture areas as if they were synonymous with the main geographic regions of the West.
The geographic and cultural boundaries of the Columbia Plateau are not easy to define, however. One reason why no precise demarcations are imposed on the area is given by Shiner (1961:159):

Exact limits cannot be set because the physical area described is that which corresponds to the cultural Plateau, and the boundaries of Plateau culture were not sharp lines.

In this study, these boundaries are artificially limited to the Columbia Plateau of the United States (see Figure 1.1) because a sufficient amount of written and pictorial data were unavailable for Canadian groups.

**Environment**

The area of the Columbia Plateau within the United States is well over 200,000 square miles, or almost twice the size of France (Osborne 1957). The region is a large basin with mountain ranges acting as approximate northern, eastern, and western boundaries. The eastern boundary lies just east of the Rocky Mountains in western Montana (Ray 1939). The western boundary of the Plateau includes the eastern slopes of the volcanically active Cascade Range and the Canadian Coastal Mountains (Jorgensen 1980). The northern boundary has been arbitrarily established by Ray (1939:1) as "...roughly the great bend of the Frazer River," although Shiner (1961) argues that an explicit northern border has never been agreed upon. The southern boundary is also quite arbitrary. Most anthropologists agree, however, that the Columbia Plateau meets the Great Basin somewhere in the south where it merges into the northern Great Basin and Colorado Plateau (Ray 1939; Shiner 1961).

The basin surface is made up of basaltic lava, the result of Miocene eruptions (Shiner 1961). Osborne (1957:1) states that the Plateau was geographically part of the Great Basin before the Miocene volcanic eruptions, and now should be considered as "...an intermontane upland with deep drainage canyons." The lava flows covered an area about 10,000 miles square and separated the cedar forests of the upper Columbia region from the coastal forests (Jorgensen 1980). During the Pleistocene, glacial meltwaters altered the geography of the region. Successive floods swept away the Pliocene/Pleistocene fine Palouse loess soils from the surface, and cut into the basalt to form the Chanelled Scablands, the Grand Coulee and Dry Falls Canyon (Osborne 1967).

The extensive riverine system plays an important role in the area, not only in changing the geography of the region, but also in providing suitable sites for human occupation along its tributaries (Shiner 1961). The immediate terraces provide a permanent oasis amid the surrounding treeless and inhospitable semi-desert environment of the basin.
The Columbia River system covers most of the Columbia Plateau. The major tributaries of the Columbia River, which itself drains over 200,000 square miles of the United States Columbia Plateau, include the Snake, Clear Fork, Kootanai, Flathead, Spokane, Okanogan, Chelan, and Yakima Rivers (Osborne 1957). At The Dalles, the Columbia River departs from the coastal strip and becomes part of the western boundary of the region (Shiner 1961). Beyond this point, the semi-desert conditions continue upriver several hundred miles until the Columbia River passes through the Okanogan Highlands.

The basin overall is an arid area. The western and southern region, excluding the nearby mountains, feature sweltering temperatures in the summer and bitter cold winters as winds sweep across its mid-region basalt-covered, semi-desert environment. The northeast region, by contrast, is less desert-like with dense forest stands and a multitude of lakes sprinkled throughout the area (Shiner 1961). Precipitation ranges from 11-15 inches in the northern half, to only 6-9 inches in the southern region (Jorgensen 1980).

The geology of the Columbia Plateau is as diverse as its flora and fauna. The northern or Upper Columbia microenvironment consists of forests, riverine valleys, and mountains on the fringe of the Rocky Mountains (Jorgensen 1980). Rugged terrain forests of ponderosa, lodgepole and white pine, hemlock, and Douglas fir perch above valleys abundant with huckleberries and numerous kinds of roots (Jorgensen 1980). Unlike the southern portions the Upper Columbia region carried lesser numbers of fish in its riverine environments but was much more abundant in its faunal populations, and include black bear, deer, caribou (in the extreme north), elk, grizzly bear, moose, mountain sheep, and wolf (Jorgensen 1980).

The microenvironment in the more southerly Middle Columbia river drainage, or what geographers term the "Great Columbia Plain," includes the Scablands and the Grand Coulee. The highland fauna also include deer, elk, mountain goat and mountain sheep. Grouse are also plentiful in the mountains. Antelope herds migrated across the Middle Columbia (Jorgensen 1980). Early reports from Euro-Americans and Native Americans are in agreement that the Columbia River contained immense quantities of fish, especially salmon. The root grounds also produced large quantities of roots, such as camas, an onion-shaped bulb that may be dried and preserved, baked or boiled.

Culture Area

Native American peoples of the Columbia Plateau of northwestern North America consist of numerous tribal groups that have survived in this harsh environment for several thousands of years (Kirk and Daugherty 1978). The Native American people of the northern third of the Columbia Plateau spoke the Interior Salish languages, except in the extreme northern areas where the Kutenai language predominated. The Sahaptin language was spoken in the middle and southern thirds of the
Figure 1.1 Map of the Columbia Plateau (from Miller 1985).
Plateau. The Native American groups included in this study are listed in Table 1.1, where they are grouped by language affinities.

The "typical" Native American culture in the Columbia Plateau at contact, according to the ethnographic and ethnohistorical records, included a subsistence base of fishing, hunting, and gathering, with reliance placed on salmon, large and small mammals (bison, and deer), and a wide variety of berries and roots (huckleberry and camas). Dwellings were seasonally occupied. In spring, summer and autumn, temporary above-ground tule mat or hide lodges were preferred (either conical or wedge-shaped), whereas in winter, semi-subterranean pithouses were occupied. The largest habitations were probably occupied during ceremonies and intergroup councils.

Women appear to have been the most productive yet least appreciated members of Columbia Plateau Native American society. Females were in charge not only of raising children, but also gathering and preparing food, making mats for house construction, and weaving baskets, fishnets and clothing from bark, tule and Apocynum (Indian hemp).

Males on the other hand, were in charge of fishing and hunting tasks. Their technology included: the construction of fish weirs; manufacture of fishing gear, mortars and pestles, and various lithic projectile point styles; stone and bone grinding; and the carving of various wood and bone implements. Clothing was influenced by Plains Native American cultures after the introduction of the horse, around 1740 A.D. (Haines 1938), and consisted of hides with fringe, in addition to the more traditional aprons, shirts and leggings of woven material already in use.

The political system was autonomous and egalitarian, with individuals elected to positions of influence by majority vote. Religion was characterized by large, pan-Plateau, multi-tribe gatherings in winter and spring, during which ceremonies were performed to insure that food supplies would be bountiful. Ceremonies were also performed for curing, the puberty power quest, and burials, all under the auspices of shamans. Traditional values included pacifism and a strong love of Mother Earth, and warfare was limited to infrequent raids on groups outside the Plateau. This "Plateau ethnographic pattern" is thought to have been in existence for several millennia when the first non-Native American people arrived in the region during the early part of the nineteenth century (Leeds, Jermann and Leeds 1980).

**Justification of Temporal Focus**

This study focuses on the time period 1840 to 1914, even though Euro-American and Native American contact in the region predates this timespan by several decades (Ruby and Brown 1981). There are several reasons why the earliest decades of the total contact period will be excluded from consideration here. It was not until the 1840s that culture contact in the Columbia Plateau was anything more than seasonal.
and infrequent visits by Native Americans to Hudson's Bay Company trading posts. By the early 1840s, however, Euro-American missionary efforts began to challenge many political and religious aspects of Native American culture.

The year A.D. 1840 also marks the date when the earliest pictorial materials of Columbia Plateau Native Americans were created, that is those pictures in the study sample here. These paintings and sketches were done by Father Nicholas Point S.J., a Jesuit missionary living among Plateau Native Americans from 1841 to 1845. Until this time, there are also few ethnohistorical sources for this area, except for the Hudson's Bay Company archives and limited missionary accounts.

The year A.D. 1914 ends the study period because it seems to be at the close of an identifiable era of Native American history. This will be made apparent in successive chapters. It was during this time (1914) that the last photographs were taken by Frank Matsura for his massive studio collection of Colville Reservation Native Americans. The Matsura collection, in conjunction with the Point collection, provides an inclusive pictorial record from 1840 to 1914. There are, in addition, several other pictorial collections of various Native American groups that fall between the initial and terminal dates of this study.

Theoretical Perspective

This study employs an adaptation of Turner's (1893) Frontier Thesis, which segments the history of Euro-American westward migration into short time periods called frontiers. From Turner's perspective, frontiers in the Columbia Plateau consisted of waves of Euro-American migration into the area. These migrants were predominantly single men, and most were "expectant capitalists," who brought with them all of the pitfalls of Euro-American culture (Lee 1961).

Turner's model has been applied by Weatherford (1980) and Schultz (1971) to the Columbia Plateau, for which they have established Euro-American frontier chronologies. An adaptation of these chronologies serves as the template for the historical overview in this study (see Chapter VIII).

Use of this time frame is not meant in any way as an endorsement of Turner's thesis, however. In fact, Turner's model is criticized at length in Chapters II and III for interpreting culture contact events solely in light of Euro-American "progress," and for contributing to the perception that "the West was won."

This study examines Native American response to these "frontier" events, searching for varying expressions in material and behavioral culture depending on the nature of the frontier. It is assumed that the peak of a frontier (the "rush" or economic "boom" phase) was a time of crisis, laden with tension, stress, and hostility for the majority of Native Americans caught within its spatial boundary.
Table 1.1
Columbia Plateau Native American Language Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Salishan</th>
<th>Sahaptin</th>
<th>Kutenai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chelan</td>
<td>Cayuse</td>
<td>Kutenai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coeur d' Alene</td>
<td>Nez Perce</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colville</td>
<td>Palus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entiat</td>
<td>Umatilla</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flathead</td>
<td>Walla Walla</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lakes</td>
<td>Wishram</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methow</td>
<td>Yakima</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nespelem</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Okanogan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pend d' Oreille</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanpoil</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spokane</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wenatchi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Crisis situations are identified for the Columbia Plateau as assessed from the various data sources. Native American behavior is interpreted as being pre-crisis, crisis, or post-crisis responses. The idea of crisis is addressed at greater length in Chapters III, VII, and VIII.

Interest in culture contact is found in several other fields. Psychological anthropology provides two useful theoretical approaches: relative deprivation theory (Aberle 1970), and altered states of consciousness theory (Bourguignon 1973; 1979). The field of social anthropology contributes several perspectives on social movement theory including, revitalization, cargo, millenarian, nativistic, and nationalistic movements (Barkun 1974; Eliade 1970; Erasmus 1961; Foster 1973; Goodenough 1963; Linton 1940; Wallace 1956; Worsley 1959). These and other theoretical perspectives are addressed in detail in Chapter III.

Overview of Methods

This study rests on the assumption that a clearer understanding of the regional development of Native American response to Euro-American contact can be gained by considering pictorial data, in conjunction with more typically relied on historic archaeological and ethnohistorical sources. A pictorial sample can be analyzed by the same methods that are used for the written sample (Collier 1967), and photographs, paintings, and sketches can even be examined from an archaeological perspective as well (Blackman 1973).

Like archaeological evidence, pictorial data has both spatial and temporal dimensions. In addition, an individual picture (photograph, painting or sketch) may be perceived as an assemblage of artifacts (portable objects of human manufacture) and features (non-portable objects of human manufacture) within a site (the composite visual piece of information). Unlike archaeological sites, however, pictorial settings often show the actual participants.

This study is largely ethnohistorical in its approach. Dobyns (1957:67) provides one of the earliest definitions of ethnohistory (underlining by Dobyns):

Ethnohistory is (or should be): An advancement of the understanding of culture or culture process by analysis of human group behavior through time utilizing protocols of an historic nature, preferably analyzed for purposes other than those originally intended by the authors, and categories based upon modern ethnographic field investigation.
Blackman (1973:308) identifies several aims of ethnohistorical research that are shared by this study:

...to demonstrate the effective use of new source material, to refine existing methodology, to introduce material and techniques from other disciplines, and to contribute to our understanding of the culture history of a particular people.

The present study relies specifically on the following ethnohistorical approaches and methods: content analysis (Collier 1967), comparative analysis (Farriss 1984), the baseline (Herskovits 1938), the direct historical approach (Steward 1942), and the process of upstreaming (Sturtevant 1966). Chapter VII examines each of these methodologies in detail.

Both historical and archaeological data are also relied on in this study. Willey et al. (1955) were among the first archaeologists to use historical records in conjunction with archaeological data for a more detailed reconstruction of the past. Combining both sources of information enables the researcher to examine the temporal context of historical events. Blackman (1973:85, 86), relying on Eggan (1960), also supports the fusion of archaeology and ethnohistory:

Archaeological research is often adjunct to the solving of ethnohistorical problems. Eggan (1960:37) speaks very positively of combining archaeological and ethnohistorical research. He notes, ‘the potential value of ethnohistorical research, combined with the direct historical approach to archaeology, offer so much in the way of rewards that they should be strongly encouraged.’.

Carmack (1971) in a study on early Mesoamerican contact also promotes the benefits of combining ethnographic data with ethnohistorical and archaeological data.

**Overview of Study**

The study is a composite of five major parts. Part One provides pertinent background information and includes Chapters I, II, and III. In the next chapter (II), a critique of previous ethnographic, archaeological, and historical research on the Columbia Plateau is presented. The potential of each area of research is also addressed. It is suggested that each data base by itself is of limited potential in explaining the contact experience, but when they are considered together, a better understanding is obtained (Blackman 1973; Farriss 1984).
Chapter III focuses on theoretical approaches to culture contact that are utilized in this study to varying extent. These perspectives are explained and exemplified using studies from the Columbia Plateau.

Part Two focuses on the data included in the written and pictorial samples addressed here. Part Two is made up of Chapters IV, V, and VI.

Chapter IV critiques the various sources of written data utilized in this study. Several missionary sources are discussed, including their potential contributions to this study, their likely biases, and means of controlling for the biases. Several other ethnohistorical sources are utilized and discussed here, including source material by Native Americans themselves.

Chapters V and VI focus on various aspects of the pictorial sample used in this study. Chapter V is a descriptive chronology of the non-Native American individuals who created the pictorial record of the Columbia Plateau Native American. Chapter VI establishes the authenticity and accuracy of the pictorial data and deals with the pictorial sample itself, describing the sample with regard to content, including quantitative analysis of the following categories: males vs. females; portraits vs. group pictures; animate vs. inanimate subjects; and posed vs. candid settings.

Part Three provides the methodological framework of the study and is composed of one chapter. Chapter VII examines the ethnohistorical approaches and methods employed in this study. Each methodology is compatible to both written and pictorial data. Various types of crises are defined here for the region. In addition, a chronology is created in which both Euro-American frontiers and their associated crises are clustered into two periods, 1840 to 1854 (the pre-reservation period), and 1855 to 1914 (the reservation period).

Part Four tests an assimilation model for the Columbia Plateau. Chapter VIII provides an historical overview of Euro-American frontiers in the Columbia Plateau. Chapter IX is an analysis of the quantitative written and pictorial data. Each of these data sources is analyzed separately, first for the pre-reservation period, and then for the reservation period.

Part Five focuses on interpretation, conclusions, and implications for future research and includes Chapters X, XI, XII, XIII, and XIV. Chapter X is a reconstruction of the baseline precontact (pre-1840) Columbia Plateau Native American culture that focuses on the study categories identified above. Chapter XI is an interpretation of the emergence of Native American nationalism in the Columbia Plateau during the Native American Pre-Reservation period (1840-1854). Several pictorial plates on Native American culture are included in Chapter XI. Chapter XII is an interpretation of the emergence of nationalism in the region during the Native American Reservation period (1855-1914). The interpretation in Chapter XII focuses on indigenous cult resistance against Euro-American efforts to control them. Chapter XIII examines
selected pictorial and written examples of turn of the century Native American nationalism in the Columbia Plateau. Several pictorial plates are included in Chapter XIII. Chapter XIV sums up what the study has revealed about human behavior in extreme situations. It also provides implications for future research.
CHAPTER II
PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON THE COLUMBIA PLATEAU

The following literature review summarizes and critiques previous research on culture contact in the Columbia Plateau. This review is meant to demonstrate that most of the ethnographic, archaeological, and historical data have serious shortcomings. How the data have been interpreted is also open to criticism.

The Ethnographies

The ethnographic record of relevance consists of several ethnographies about Native Americans of the Columbia Plateau that were written during the first half of this century, and which are listed in Tables 2.1 and 2.2. These ethnographies provide the most frequently relied on descriptions of precontact Native American culture in the majority of anthropological and archaeological works that refer to the contact period in the Columbia Plateau.

Chronological Overview

The earliest ethnography listed in Tables 2.1 and 2.2, that of Lewis (1906), only provides very general descriptions of the various Native American groups within the vast Pacific Northwest. These are not based on his own fieldwork, but derived instead from historical accounts dating from the mid-nineteenth century.

Teit, on the other hand, did a good deal of fieldwork, beginning in the 1890s among Thompson (he married into this group) and Lillooet Native Americans of the Canadian Columbia Plateau. After the turn of the century, he carried out fieldwork among several groups residing in the United States, including the Salishan speaking Coeur d' Alene and Okanogan (1930), as well as the Sahaptin speaking Middle Columbia Moses' Band (1928). This latter fieldwork was under the direction of Franz Boas, whose influence is apparent on most of the other Columbia Plateau ethnographers of the time.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Researcher</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Dates/Duration</th>
<th>Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lewis (1906)</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>All groups</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spinden (1908)</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Nez Perce</td>
<td>Lapwai</td>
<td>1907/6 mos.</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teit (1928)</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Moses</td>
<td>Colville</td>
<td>1908/few days</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spier &amp; Sapir (1930)</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Wishram</td>
<td>Yakima</td>
<td>1905;1924-25 short visits</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teit (1930)</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Coeur d'Alene, Okanogan</td>
<td>Colville</td>
<td>1904;1908;1909 short visits</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ray (1933)</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>San Poil, Nespelem</td>
<td>Colville</td>
<td>1928;1930 several short visits</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turney-High (1937)</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Flathead</td>
<td>Flathead</td>
<td>over an 8-yr. period</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cline et al. (1938)</td>
<td>M&amp;F</td>
<td>Okanogan</td>
<td>Colville</td>
<td>1930/2 mos.</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ray (1938)</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Lower Chinook</td>
<td>Willapa Bay</td>
<td>1931-1936/ few mos.</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turney-High (1941)</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Kutenai</td>
<td>Flathead</td>
<td>1939;1940/ few mos.</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 2.2

Data On Columbia Plateau Informants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnography</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Ancestry</th>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teit (1928)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2-79</td>
<td>Moses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spier &amp; Sapir (1930)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>middle-aged to elderly</td>
<td>Wishram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ray (1933)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>40-90</td>
<td>Nespelem, Sanpoil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turney-High (1937)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Flathead, Pend d'Oreille</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cline et al. (1938)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16-90</td>
<td>Colville, Okanagan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ray (1938)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>65 &amp; 93</td>
<td>Lower Chinook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turney-High (1941)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Kutenai</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Spinden conducted fieldwork among Sahaptin speaking Nez Perce Native Americans of Idaho, and his ethnography (1908) has frequently been referred to as providing a good description of the "typical" Columbia Plateau Native American culture (this was cited in Chapter I). While Spinden was conducting his fieldwork, Sapir began linguistic fieldwork among the Wishram of The Dalles along the Columbia River in southern Washington State. Spier also visited this group, almost two decades later, to secure additional ethnographic data which Sapir did not address, and the two coauthored the ethnography cited here (Spier and Sapir 1930).

It was during the 1930s that the ethnographic record of the Columbia Plateau came of age. Even today, anthropological perceptions of Native American culture in the Columbia Plateau are based largely on such "classics" as Ray's (1933) ethnography on the Salishan speaking Sanpoil and Nespelem Native Americans, and his subsequent (1938) ethnography on the Chinookan speaking Lower Chinook. Turney-High's (1937) ethnography on the Salishan speaking Flathead group, as well as his (1941) monograph on the Kutenai speaking Kutenai Indians are also still widely cited. Finally, the monograph by Cline et al. (1938) is still relied on for the Salishan speaking Sinkaitk, or Southern Okanogan, Native Americans.

During this period, the increasing anthropological perspective was that Native American culture was entering its last throes of existence. This led to a field research explosion of salvage ethnography, the goal of which was to amass detailed information on as many Native American societies as possible. In addition to the ethnographies cited above several other studies of Columbia Plateau Native Americans appeared at this time, with the majority focusing on Native American religion, including DuBois' (1938) study of the Feather Cult, Ray's (1936) study of the 1870 Kolaskin Cult, and Ray's (1937) and Turney-High's (1933) studies of the Blue Jay Cult, Spier's (1935) monograph on the Prophet Dance, and Strong's (1945) study on the Ghost Cult of the Columbia Plateau.

Political organization was another research focus, including Ray's (1936) study of Native American villages and "groupings," and his (1960) work on nineteenth century confederacy among Columbia Plateau Native Americans. Other research centered on contrary behavior patterns (Ray 1945), Salishan and Sahaptin myths (Boas 1917), and Columbia Plateau material culture (Haeberlin et al. 1928). The only general ethnographic overviews of Columbia Plateau Native American culture are both by Ray (1939 and 1942): a relatively short monograph and culture element trait distribution listing.

**Theoretical Orientations**

The aim of the Lewis (1906) ethnography was to delineate Native American migrations within the Pacific Northwest after the introduction of the horse into the area circa 1740 (Haines 1938). Its theoretical
perspective was clearly unilinear cultural evolution, that is, a scheme that promoted the theme of cultural progression from "savagery" to civilization. Unilinear cultural evolutionists assumed all cultures were classified and ranked according to content. The ethnocentrism of this perspective is apparent since its proponents believed that existing hunting and gathering societies had less complex languages, less developed religion, and less proficient technologies (Riley 1955).

The majority of ethnographies written after Lewis (1906) were written by anthropologists who followed the American Historical School of anthropology, commonly referred to as Boasians since their training was under the "father of American anthropology," Franz Boas. The Boasian school of anthropologists adopted the traditional natural history approach of collecting, actually salvaging, bits and pieces of fast fading field data on remnant tribes. The Boasians relied on inductive rather than deductive methods, that is, they took into the field few preconceptions, and unlike their predecessors the unilinear cultural evolutionists, "...generally refrained from advancing grandiose generalizations of human behavior (Riley 1967:11)."

There is obviously a great deal of difference between the cultural evolution and Boasian theoretical perspectives. Additional evidence of differences between the two schools in their methodological approaches is provided by Riley (1967:8), whose description of the methods used by evolutionists such as Lewis (1906) makes evident why the Boasians saw a need for theoretical and methodological overhaul in the discipline:

...the investigator studied many cultural phenomenon without more than lip service to the underlying theory and with no serious attempt to fit the facts into the framework. To this was added a somewhat haphazard method, utilizing uncritical missionary and travellers accounts, accepting that could be tailored to fit preconceptions and rejecting what could not.

By contrast, the Boasians went into the field for the purpose of gathering data on Native American precontact and historic culture from the Native Americans themselves. The Culture Element Survey, for example, was a program that encouraged such field data collection during the Depression Era. Jorgensen (1980:10) offers insight into the Survey, as well as into the methodological approach of the Boasian ethnographers:

Although the Culture Element Survey was not begun until the mid-1930s, the investigators were told to seek the oldest and best informed people in each society, and to record the information these elders could give about the culture of their grandparents.
In other words, the ethnographers were asked to collect 'recall ethnographies' about what native cultures were like prior to Euro-American contact. The information from this survey was published as itemized entries on material and behavioral culture in so-called "trait lists" (see Ray 1942). The Culture Element Survey trait list however was beset by inherent limitations. For example, although a trait list can measure presence or absence, "...functional, integration, intensity and even to a large extent formal variation are beyond it (Riley 1967:22)." As is made evident further below, this research focus blinded the majority of Boasian investigators working in the Columbia Plateau to the current reality of the Native American situation during this period.

By 1950, 'recall ethnographies' were far less popular and the Boasian period was fading. Jorgensen (1980:12-13) is cited here to provide a summation of the post-Boasian period, a new era in the field of ethnology:

...the period from 1950 on has been a time for digestion of what is available, rather than for the collection of new materials. ...[and] increasing numbers of ethnologists of western tribes have been concerned mainly with modern affairs---modern religion, economics, kinship, politics, and the like.

This change of focus was evident among anthropologists working in the Columbia Plateau, who expanded beyond the method, theory, and subject matter (largely religion and politics) of the earlier Boasians. These researchers are discussed in Chapter III because of their concern with topics central to this thesis, but their proximity to the present does not allow them to be used as primary ethnographic sources, so they are not discussed further here.

Potential Biases In The Ethnographic Record

To assess the research potential of the ethnographic record for the contact period in the Columbia Plateau, a set of six 'control factors' has been adopted from Divale (1976). These include the ethnographer's sex, the fieldwork setting, fieldwork duration, ability to speak the language, nature of informants, and preparation of the published form of the ethnography. The control factors are meant to identify potential biases in the ethnographic record, and values for these controls, where available, are shown in Tables 2.1 and 2.2.

Sex of Ethnographer

With the exception of Cline et al. (1938), which includes as many females as males among the authors, the Columbia Plateau ethnographic record was created entirely from the perspective of post-Victorian Era
Euro-American males. The bias this introduces into most of the ethnographic field data is no doubt pervasive and serious, including the selection of topics for investigation that are largely male oriented.

Fieldwork Setting

With the exception of Lewis (1906), all of the ethnographies in Table 2.1 were based on fieldwork in the Columbia Plateau, but all of it was carried out on reservations. Furthermore, informants were lifetime residents of the reservations themselves, and what they remembered of their grandparents' generation was seen through reservation socialization and assimilationist efforts, critical points not addressed by any of the ethnographers.

Fieldwork Duration

The field seasons of these early ethnographers were usually of short duration. For example, the ethnography of the Nez Perce by Spinden (1908) was compiled from field notes taken during the summer of 1907 and one subsequent short return trip. The length of time Teit (1928:89) spent in the field among the Middle Columbia Native Americans amounted to "...only a few days...and [I] never returned." The amount of time he spent among the Coeur d'Alene and Okanogan Native Americans, however, in 1904, 1908, and 1909, was rather lengthy, even by today's standards.

Ray (1933) conducted fieldwork among the Sanpoil and Nespelem Native Americans on the Colville Reservation in the summer of 1928 and then made several subsequent visits ending in the summer of 1930. During the same summer and on the same reservation, several graduate students under the long distance supervision of Spier at the University of Arizona, conducted fieldwork among the Sinkaietk or Southern Okanogan (Cline et al. 1938). Turney-High (1941) conducted fieldwork among the Kutenai of western Montana from June until September, 1939, and made a brief return visit in 1940. His data also included informal conversations with Native Americans held over several years (Turney-High 1941).

Ability To Speak The Language

The only ethnographer conversant in the Salishan and Sahaptin languages was Teit, and his abilities were limited (Teit 1930). Spier (1938:5) bemoans the fact that, prior to conducting fieldwork among the Sinkaietk, or Southern Okanogan, "none of [his] graduate students received adequate training in transcription." Interpreters were therefore relied on extensively.
Nature Of Informants

The informants relied on by the ethnographers covered a wide range, including headmen, shamans, other tribal people, Native Americans from other areas, people of admixed descent, and Euro-American missionaries and government agents (see Table 2.2). All were, for various reasons, apt to 'control' the flow of information that they provided the anthropologist.

It is known that at least some of the informants were uncooperative with the anthropologists (Spier and Sapir 1930). This may have been a strategy employed to preserve some kinds of information which should not be known by outsiders, although sometimes an attempt was probably made to provide the responses that the ethnographers apparently wished to hear, out of a show of hospitality (Adeline Fredin, Colville Confederated Tribes, personal communication 1984).

It appears that male informants were employed more than females. The exception to this is Cline et al. (1938), for whom half of the informants were female. The ages of informants, on the other hand, show a much wider range. The youngest informant was an adolescent female of the Okanogan group, and the oldest was an Okanogan woman estimated to be in her nineties (Cline et al. 1938). A rough estimate of the average age of male informants in these ethnographies is about 66 years, while for females it is about 54 years. In many instances, however, age is either not provided or only mentioned in vague terms (for example, Spinden 1908; Teit 1930; Turney-High 1941).

Manuscript Preparation

A final limitation of the ethnographic record lies with the preparation of the published manuscripts. For example, it was actually Boas who compiled Teit's 1909 research notes, which were published in 1930 with Teit as author, after Teit had died. Boas admitted he was too far removed from the data to really do an adequate job (in Haeberrin, Teit, and Roberts 1928). Spier was chief editor of the ethnographic study on the Sinkaietk or Southern Okanogan, actually undertaken by Cline and other students of Spier. This was cited above, as is conventional, as Cline et al. 1938, but Spier's name is inscribed as editor of the volume. In Spier's "Introduction" to the work he states that:

I have added, deleted, and otherwise changed these manuscripts to a considerable extent, for the most part without consulting the authors or initialing my contributions... It is unanimously our feeling that this ethnographic account is incomplete and inaccurate... It is our feeling that the culture of the Sinkaietk
should be restudied by one who will use these data as merely provisional [p.4].

Nonetheless, this monograph came to be regarded with considerable respect. According to Hill (1967:v-vi):

That ...[Spier] was productive is attested by such monographic monuments ...[as the] Sinkaietk or Southern Okanogan of Washington (W. Cline et al.) for which Spier was largely responsible. These are still referred to as models of completeness in the presentation of ethnologic material.

Most of the original field notes by Cline et al. are curated by the University of Arizona. The rest are curated by the American Philosophical Society.

The Limited Potential of the Ethnographic Record

The Columbia Plateau ethnographic record is the result of preliminary investigations conducted on Native American reservations. The data base was provided by Native American and Euro-American informants, who were part of reservation culture in twentieth century pre-Depression Era and Depression Era America. The ethnographies described above are unlikely to represent accurate portrayals of precontact Native American culture. They are, instead, interpretations of a Native American world view that had already been transformed by decades of sustained contact with an encroaching Euro-American population. The anthropologists involved tended to overlook this important fact, embracing instead the concept of the "ethnographic present" (Murdock 1967), an ill-defined, illusive temporal span that was meant to suggest a pristine, precontact era.

Although the ethnographies contain important information about Native American culture, the topic of culture change in the contact period is never addressed. One reason for this absence is that interest in culture contact research only came to the forefront of the discipline toward the end of the 1930s, after most of the ethnographies had been published.

The ethnographies provide only general descriptions of the variables analyzed in the present study. These descriptions largely lack any chronological verification. It is in this respect that the ethnographies are of limited use, since analysis of culture change during the contact period requires temporal control of the data. Other limitations of the ethnographic record include the repetitious usage of a limited and select number of primary historical sources, while Euro-American missionary records and government sources are largely ignored.
The ethnographic record enhances other source material dealing with the contact period. It is up to the researcher to determine exactly where to fit the data found in an ethnography within the chronology under investigation.

**Historical Archaeology**

Interest in culture contact research in archaeology also began in the late 1930s. Woodward (1937) was one of the first Columbia Plateau archaeologists to recognize the need for a specialized subfield to document the influence of Euro-American culture on Native American society. The field of historical archaeology now plays an integral part in the search to better understand the contact period (South 1977).

**Critique Of Previous Research Directions**

According to Ross (1975), historical archaeological research on Columbia Plateau contact period sites should have the following goals: (1) archaeological documentation of the known historical record; (2) documentation of site-specific artifact assemblages; (3) documentation of site-specific architectural features; (4) testing of temporal stylistic sequences; (5) reconstruction of historic structures and synchronic lifeways; and (6) development and testing of new research and conservation techniques.

Papers applying nomothetic studies (Binford 1972), which aim to construct general propositions and then test them to discover processes responsible for the creation of the archaeological record (and those processes responsible for change), are limited for the Columbia Plateau (see, for example, Adams 1977; Weatherford 1980). Carley's (1981) research on the Hudson's Bay Company's limited efforts to aid Native Americans around Fort Vancouver during the early 1830s epidemics is also of note here.

From a summary of Columbia Plateau archaeology, Osborne (1957) concludes that it lacks interest for Americanists. Shiner (1961) has identified several specific failures of Columbia Plateau archaeological investigations: (1) archaeological research in the Plateau has failed to produce a clear picture of Native American culture; (2) archaeological research has been limited to a few major excavations and the time factor has been ignored; and (3) the Plateau remains one of the least known areas in North America despite thousands of sites within the area and thousands of unacculturated Native Americans alive today.

**Problems With The Site Investigation**

The general approach in Columbia Plateau historical archaeology has been to select a well known site, research its history, and then locate and excavate it. The majority of sites investigated have been
protohistoric and historic, and site reports emphasize descriptions of artifacts rather than explanations of cultural processes and change. Data analysis and interpretation usually fall within the culture history or reconstructionist paradigm (Binford 1972). More specific problems of the site reports include: (1) lack of justification of initial and terminal dates for phases or sites; and (2) only tentative identification of the Native American group associated with an archaeological site when the site chronology remains uncertain.

Historical Archaeological Data And The Research Problem

The Columbia Plateau historical archaeological record consists of material correlates of Native American behavior during the contact period, including correlates of religious expression, such as cult activity and altered states of consciousness. While the quantity of historical site excavations and published reports has been relatively low, the potential quality of the available research data is high.

Studies which provide archaeological evidence relevant to this study include the following: Butler (1959); Chance (1973); Collier, Hudson, and Ford (1943); Garth (1952); Heizer (1942); Osborne (1957); Rodeffer (1973); Shiner (1961); Smith (1943); Sprague (1971); Sprague and Birkley (1970); Steward (1927); Strong (1945); and Weatherford (1980). These and other site reports are used here to support the theoretical perspectives of social movement theory, altered states of consciousness theory, relative deprivation and information exchange theory (see Chapter III). The present study only relies on historical archaeological reports whose assemblages have secure dates and which provide information on any or all of the categories and their associated values under examination here.

Historical Research

Historians do not interpret data from an anthropological perspective. Their more particularistic focus on warfare, battles, and "important" people, contrasts with the anthropological interest in understanding human behavior in general. The theoretical and methodological foundations of historical interpretations of the contact period is the Frontier Thesis Model (Turner 1893).

The Frontier Thesis Model

Following the 1890 U.S. Census, the Census Bureau declared that the large scale westward migration of Euro-Americans into what had been perceived as unoccupied lands, had largely ended with the peopling by Euro-Americans of all of the territories belonging to the United States (Ostrogorsky 1982). This was referred to as the closing of the American frontier, and the American historian Frederick Jackson Turner supported
this conclusion (Ostrogorsky 1982). In response to the passing of the American frontier, Turner (1893) formulated an evolutionary model of the frontier experience known as the Frontier Thesis.

Throughout the years, historians, anthropologists, and other social scientists have redefined and debated Turner's thesis. Lewis (1977:154), for example, presents a revised frontier model which stresses colonization:

A frontier may be defined as a region in which the dispersal of settlements into new territory takes place. It is a zone that separates the unsettled and settled portions of a territory that lie within or under the effective control of the state. Collectively it is referred to as the area of colonization. As a temporal phenomenon, the frontier arises with the first influx of permanent settlement and ceases to exist only when an upper limit of growth is achieved, accompanied by a stabilization of the settlement pattern.

The frontier has also been interpreted by demographers as a particular type of migration. Lee (1961:23), for example, considers Euro-American westward expansion as a special case of migration that fostered nationalism:

...nationalism is promoted by interstate migration. Turner, himself, remarked that 'Nothing works for nationalism like intercourse within the nation' and that 'mobility of population is death to localism.'

Turner's thesis interprets Euro-American westward migration in a positive, progressive light, ignoring the devastating consequences of this migration for Native Americans and their cultures. The model itself is an explanation of how this westward expansion occurred. To apply Turner's model, the researcher subjectively slices time into periods, or frontiers, that are delineated on the basis of repetitive influxes into a region of waves of Euro-Americans, most of whom were motivated by greed. The Frontier Thesis model also has limited application as a research tool in the study of culture contact and its drawbacks are critiqued in the following chapter.

Application Of Historical Data To The Research Problem

The present study not only uses historical data that have received little attention in the past, but it also interprets it from a Native American perspective, rather than from the well known Euro-American historian's perspective. This means that a reinterpretation of the Frontier Thesis is required, and this also appears in the next chapter.
Although a few anthropologists and historians have utilized the Annual Reports of the Office of Indian Affairs, most social scientists have not taken this source seriously. These reports have remained for too long a neglected source of information of the contact period. Each volume contains a wealth of information, including annual statistics on the categories and their associated variables addressed in this study from the early 1870s to after the turn of the century. Useful information on the government's assimilationist goals, and how these changed through time, can even be inferred from the manner in which the data are presented in the reports, as well as from the categories on which information is reported. Some categories, such as Euro-American church membership, appear and disappear throughout the contact period as reported on by the Office of Indian Affairs. An in depth look at this and other ethnohistorical written sources is undertaken in Chapter IV.

Another source of data on the contact period that has received little attention is the pictorial record on Native Americans. This is a fruitful source of the kinds of ethnohistorical data pertinent to this study. The pictorial sample is addressed in Chapters V through VII.

**Conclusion**

Virtually all of the ethnographies pertaining to the culture contact period in the Columbia Plateau exhibit several shortcomings, and, by itself, the ethnographic record cannot provide a clear understanding of the changes Native American society experienced at that time. It is suggested here instead that the ethnographic record should be examined in light of their contribution to furthering our understanding of Pan-Indianism or Native American nationalism (see Chapter XIV).

The historical archaeological record is laden with incompleteness, concentrating upon particularistic topics and famous sites. Published archaeological research addressing the contact period in the Columbia Plateau (i.e., the latter half of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century) is very scarce (the exception is Chance 1973).

Curtis' 'ethnography', the twenty volume North American Indian (1907-1930), was not used in this study for several reasons. First and foremost, Curtis had no formal training in anthropology he was a professional photographer. In addition, according to Schuster (1982:79-80) the quality of the Curtis ethnography leaves much to be desired:

Although he is widely quoted as an ethnographic authority, Curtis' ethnographic material are 'shreds and patches,' with an emphasis on material culture and are deficient in many significant social customs. There is little information on [Yakima] religious beliefs and
practices, and he entirely missed the extensive long ceremonial cycle, extant and popular at the time.

Historians do not address the issue of culture change in the same way that anthropologists address the topic. Columbia Plateau history is interpreted through the perspective of Turner's (1893) Frontier Thesis, which assumes that Euro-American progressive control over the environment included control over the Native Americans in it as well. The view of culture contact in the Columbia Plateau that is presented here is based on a reformulation of Turner's model, supported by quantitative data from little used ethnohistorical sources, particularly the pictorial record. These data are considered in light of carefully selected ethnographic and historical accounts of this era in Native American history.

The combination of archaeological, ethnographic, and written and pictorial historical records offers the fullest appreciation of changes in behavior of Columbia Plateau Native Americans during an extremely tense period in their history. To achieve such an appreciation a theoretical and methodological framework needs to be assembled from these diverse records, and this is the focus of the following chapter.
CHAPTER III
THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON NATIVE AMERICAN RESPONSE
TO EURO-AMERICAN PRESENCE: CRISIS CULTS,
ETHNIC IDENTITY, AND NATIONALISM

Perhaps nowhere can acculturation be seen more clearly and more dramatically than in 'new' projective sacred systems, or crisis cults. These crisis cults...[arise] from culture shock and the strains of acculturation...[LaBarre 1971:4].

Overview

As soon as two societies, each possessing a distinctly different culture, come into contact with one another, a whole spectrum of novel opportunities, but also of unknown negatives, begins to evolve. Initial and continuous contact usually accelerates the rate of change in some, if not most, of a culture's components and may also result in the abandonment of other components.

Linton (1940) recognizes two different kinds of culture contact situations, directed and non-directed, both of which will be shown in Chapter XI to have occurred in the Columbia Plateau. According to Linton (1940), directed culture contact involves the subjugation of one society by the rules of another society's imposed cultural system. Directed culture contact occurs when: "...one of the groups in contact interferes actively and purposefully with the culture of another (Linton 1940:9)." Indigenous sociocultural change results from directed contact that is partly due to the stimulation of easily accessible innovations (Barnett 1953), but also to the repression of traditional cultural activities.

Contact situations also occur in which both societies' cultures interact but do not actively interfere with each other's norms, mores, and values (Linton 1940). Non-directed culture contact situations usually involve indirect control of another culture through innovation acceptability (Barnett 1953; Erasmus 1961; Foster 1973; Goodenough 1963; Spicer 1961). Directed contact situations usually evolve out of earlier non-directed contact situations.
It is suggested here that the continuation and direction of directed culture change becomes restrained once indigenous people activate what the author terms "survival-resistance strategies", and Spicer (1971) identifies as the "oppositional process" (see below). Survival-resistance strategies are defined here as nineteenth and early twentieth century Native American adaptive precontact and syncretic survival through resistance techniques which a.) collectively provided and enabled a local or regional population to weather all kinds of crises and, b.) instilled and promoted nationalism. Examples of survival-resistance techniques include but are not limited to, the formation and activation of politico-religious cult institutions; private and public, individual and group altered states of consciousness participation; and visible display of symbols promoting group identity, for example, ornamentation and dress.

Survival-resistance strategies ensure that the most critical, essential and cherished elements of the precontact world are, in some way or another, retained. Chapter VII defines the categories to provide the researcher with data to interpret Native American response to crisis through a temporal comparison between survival-resistance techniques and simultaneously occurring crises.

One of the aims of this study is to identify culture change within Native American societies in the Columbia Plateau through an examination of various kinds of reactive social movements formulated during the contact period. LaBarre (1971) terms such movements "crisis cults" and Wallace (1956) refers to them as "revitalization movements", both of which are discussed below. When contemporaneous indigenous social movements are combined it is suggested that a composite of the beginning of regional Native American nationalism among the Native American groups in the Columbia Plateau will then emerge (see Chapter IX). Native American nationalism is addressed later in this chapter.

Acculturation

One major aspect of culture change which has held the attention of anthropologists for well over half a century is acculturation. It was Herskovits who first conducted in-depth research on culture contact and, inspired by Redfield and Linton, developed some of the earliest theories of acculturation (Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits 1936). It should be noted that Herskovits was also influenced by earlier studies, such as Mead's (1932) research among the "Antlers," a fictitious Plains Native American group.

According to Herskovits, Linton, and Redfield (as cited in Herskovits 1938:10), acculturation includes:

...those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent
These three authors also identify important distinctions among the concepts of acculturation, diffusion, and assimilation.

Acculturation is perceived as being only one aspect of culture change. Diffusion, although occurring throughout the acculturation process, "... constitutes only one aspect of the process of acculturation (Herskovits 1938:10)." Assimilation also is perceived by Herskovits, Linton, and Redfield as sometimes a phase of acculturation. It is my position, however, that assimilation is a process that goes beyond acculturation since it requires complete acceptance of, and thereby submission to, the alien sociocultural system (see Feagin 1978; Gordon 1964). The processes of assimilation and diffusion are each treated separately below.

Numerous other definitions of acculturation have since appeared in the literature. For example, French (1961:379) defines acculturation as: "...the learning of culture content, including evaluations from an outside group." According to Walker (1972:1), acculturation refers to: "...a broad process defined as change in formerly autonomous cultures that come into contact." This definition is similar to the one proposed by Broom et al. (1967:256), for whom acculturation refers to: "...change in culture initiated by the conjunction of two or more autonomous culture systems."

The definition of acculturation to be used in the present study is a composite of the definitions just given. Acculturation will be broadly defined as a continuous, though perhaps irregular, process of culture change which results from either directed or non-directed contact between two or more distinctly different cultures. This may occur within an individual's lifetime or be spread out over more than one generation. This definition, following Erasmus (1961), does not presuppose that the technologically more complex culture is superior in all aspects, nor that one sociocultural system is totally controlled by the other, although it is frequently assumed, often implicitly, that technological complexity implies cultural superiority.

Processes of Acculturation

The majority of acculturation studies in North America have focused on analyzing changes in Native American sociocultural systems due to Euro-American directed contact. Such studies have examined the sequence with which various components of the Native American sociocultural system, including technology, religion, economics, and social change occurred in response to contact with Euro-American society (for the Columbia Plateau see French 1961; Ross 1968; Walker 1968; Weatherford 1980). Other researchers have investigated the impact of individual characteristics on culture change. For example, females have been found to be better curators of elements of precontact culture than are males.
Herskovits (1938); Walker (1972). Spindler and Spindler (1957) suggest that this is likely to be due to the greater continuity of female vs. male roles throughout the culture contact experience.

Bourguignon (1954:333) cautions that acculturation research should not be reduced to "...an inventory of culture content." Instead, we should also be concerned with the psycho-social realm of personal experience. Several studies have examined psychological changes that the individual experiences in the acculturation setting (Barnett et al. 1953; Bourguignon 1979; Hallowell 1952; Wallace 1956).

Most culture contact research on Native American sociocultural systems reveals that, in general, Native Americans were selective in their acceptance of material and behavioral traits from Euro-American culture, in line with Weiss' (1974) belief that acculturation often occurs in those areas of compatibility between two or more cultures. Native Americans of the Columbia Plateau chose Euro-American traits that "fit" into their changed world. Ewers (1976:102) emphasizes this point: "They took what they thought they could use and rejected what they did not want."

Acculturation studies concur that technological change is likely to occur first and, in general, a society's technology is the least resistant to change of all cultural components (Barnett et al. 1963; Gordon 1964; Linton 1940; Royce 1982; Schultz 1971; Vogt 1957; Walker 1967; Weiss 1974). At the other end of the spectrum, i.e., regarding those cultural components that are least susceptible change, Hofmeister (1969:1-2) states that the religious sphere "...proves to be slightly more volatile than social organization in the Plateau....". Schultz (1971), in general agreement, suggests that the value system, an integral part of religion, is one of the most persistent aspects of Columbia Plateau Native American culture to survive intact after contact. Golson (1953) and Spicer (1971) also support the notion that values are among the last aspects of Plateau culture to change. More recently, the author's stay with Native Americans on the Colville Reservation, Washington State, in 1979-80, substantiated these earlier conclusions.

Native Americans, like other members of the human species, are motivated by self interest and gratification, and both play an integral part in individual and group decision-making (Erasmus 1961; Goodenough 1963). This included the purposeful selection of Euro-American traits.

Native Americans reinterpreted Euro-American culture in light of their own precontact culture, as well as retaining a substantial number of precontact traits, either modified or unchanged. Acculturation among Columbia Plateau Native American sociocultural systems as elsewhere proceeded via three acculturation processes: retention, reinterpretation, and syncretism (Herskovits 1948).

Retention of a precontact trait in the contact situation means that the trait persists into the contact period, either unchanged or modified
in some way. In order to identify retained traits, a baseline of the precontact culture first needs to be established (Hallowell 1946; 1952). The baseline concept is discussed in detail in the next chapter.

Reinterpretations are retained traits that have been modified from their precontact state. According to Bourguignon (1954:330), reinterpretation refers to:

...the retaining or adopting of an element of one culture into another, with change of function, meaning, use and even partial form.

Bourguignon (1954:332) cites several examples of reinterpretation including: (1.) the use of material items in innovative ways; and (2.) "standardized" interpretations of the behavior of another group in terms of one's own belief and attitudes (mazeway): "...a culturally patterned form of projection." Reinterpreted traits fall into two categories: (1) those that trace their content to the precontact culture; and (2) those whose content originates in the alien culture.

Syncretism, a special type of reinterpretation, is the merging together of both alien and precontact cultural traits to produce something atypical of each (Bourguignon 1954). Syncretism enables people to reinterpret and adapt their culture to uncertain conditions that confront them. The new products aid in providing a psychological remedy to the changed world around them (Bourguignon 1954; LaBarre 1971).

The present study examines why some precontact Native American cultural patterns and traits persisted, i.e., were retained, while others were reinterpreted (became syncretic), and still others abandoned. Research on Native American culture contact and change for the Columbia Plateau is very limited, and particularly for the period under investigation here. However, there is ample acculturation research from other areas and periods to serve as a template for the present study (Dohrenwend and Smith 1962; Vogt 1956; Vogt 1957).

The Frontier Thesis Model

The Frontier Thesis (Turner 1893) is considered by most social scientists as one of the most important statements of nineteenth century nationalism in the United States. Anthropologists and ethnohistorians have relied on the Frontier Thesis as an interpretive tool in acculturation research, in spite of its unilinear theoretical perspective. A critique of the Frontier Thesis is presented next.

A Critique of the Frontier Acculturation Stage Model

Turner's (1893) Frontier Thesis ignores the devastating consequences of Euro-American westward migration for Native Americans
and their cultures. The Frontier Thesis model also has limited application as a research tool in the study of culture contact. One major drawback is that it promotes Euro-American nationalistic behavior and values which also put in jeopardy the traditional ways of life of Native American populations. What was glorified as the "taming of the wilderness," for example, was perceived by Native Americans as exploitation of ancestral lands. Similarly, to Native Americans the concept of 'manifest destiny' gave license to acts of genocide against them and the forced relocation of remnant populations to reserves. The right to private ownership of 'free' lands was perceived as the raping of Mother Earth. Attempts to instill the tenets of Christianity and progress into Native American sociocultural systems were viewed as attempts to destroy cherished values. These contrasting perceptions are elaborated on in Chapters VII and VIII.

The Frontier Thesis model is actually more useful for gaining insights into the techno-economic history of Euro-American colonialism worldwide, since it provides a chronological description of the growth of American corporate structure. The Frontier Thesis traces the rise of expectant capitalists and rugged individualists, who "tamed the wilderness", while downplaying the role of the far-removed, urban-dwelling owners of the corporations by whom the frontiersmen were employed.

The Frontier Thesis was published during the final decade of the nineteenth century, commonly known as "the gay nineties." More specifically, Turner published his Frontier Thesis in 1893, a year known to historians and economists as the economic panic of 1893. In reality, "the gay nineties" witnessed a drastic downturn in the American economy.

The Frontier Thesis is interpreted here as an ideology that promotes Social Darwinism and the Euro-American Protestant work ethic during periods of economic depression. In this respect, the Thesis functions to uphold: (1) the status quo in American social structure; (2) colonialism within the United States and its territories; and (3) the denial of non-Euro-Americans of their basic human rights. This last point is more evident if one considers that Turner (1893) neglects the Native American presence continuously felt by Euro-Americans every step of the way westward. The Frontier Thesis therefore does not apply to the non-Euro-American experience, especially for Native Americans.

As previously stated in Chapter II, the application of Turner's model requires the researcher to subjectively slice time into periods, or frontiers, that are delineated on the basis of repetitive influxes into a region of waves of Euro-Americans. Not only is the Native American experience largely lacking from Turner's Frontier Thesis, but when the model is specifically applied to the Columbia Plateau, the sequence and types of frontiers in this region (i.e., mining and reservation frontiers) do not fit the model, which is based on Mississippi Valley frontier development (Ostrogorsky 1982) as is made evident below.
An acculturation stage model analyzes each subjectively defined frontier in step format which in concert create an acculturation theoretical model that encompasses an entire research period. Several Columbia Plateau culture contact studies employ various acculturation models in an attempt to explain Native American acculturation (see Herskovits 1938; Redfield, Herskovits, and Linton 1936; Schultz 1968; Voget 1967; Walker 1970). For example, Schultz (1968) in his study of acculturation on the Colville Reservation in Washington State during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, utilizes the stage models of relative deprivation (Aberle 1965) and revitalization (Wallace 1956). In an evaluation of Wallace's stage model, Schultz (1968:109) states that although it provides an adequate framework for analysis, the model contains many shortcomings including:

...our inability to determine exactly when the period of severe cultural distortion ended and the period of revitalization began.

Voget (1967) is presented here as an example of a "typical" acculturation stage model. Voget's (1967) Native American acculturation stage model consists of five acculturative stages (Initial, Reciprocal, Dynamic, Polarized, and Integration) within which are phases (in only the Dynamic and Polarized stages). Sub-phases and variants are found only in the Polarized stage (Voget 1967).

Walker (1970:161) unsuccessfully attempted to apply Voget's (1967) stage model to the study of acculturation in the Columbia Plateau, concluding that stage models:

... not only...grossly oversimplify events, but they perpetuate an erroneous assumption that we understand the myriad interrelationships among aspects of cultures undergoing acculturation. Clearly we do not.

Walker (1970:164) also adds that "... not only do stage models severely restrict investigation, but they provide only chronological explanation of acculturation." He goes on to stress the need for explanatory, and not just descriptive, models.

Stage models, themselves grounded in the Frontier Thesis, have failed to address the complexities of acculturation and should always be employed in conjunction with other data. This study augments the stage model concepts of relative deprivation and revitalization with a wide variety of qualitative and quantitative ethnohistorical sources, in addition to several other theories addressed below. The aim is to discover predictive-causal relationships through an analysis of Native American responses to long term directed contact. Clearly a reinterpretation of the Frontier model is required. Such an interpretation is proposed in the next chapter.
Diffusion

Another important related component in the process of culture change is diffusion, which has been defined by Herskovits (1938:14) as:

... that aspect of culture change which includes the transmission of techniques, attitudes, concepts, and points of view from one people to another; whether it be through the medium of a single individual or of a group, or whether the contact is brief or sustained.

Diffusion takes place in both directed and non-directed contact situations, involving both material and ideational traits. Diffusion and acculturation are not synonymous, however, as Herskovits (1938:15) makes clear:

... both represent aspects of the process of the transmission of culture from one group to another—with the difference that diffusion applies to all such instances of transfer, while acculturation has to do with continuous contact and hence implies a more comprehensive interchange between two bodies of tradition—the term acculturation has further come to be restricted to those situations of contact over which there is historic control.

Diffusion will be defined here as all instances of the transmission of culture through directed contact or the indirect borrowing of alien cultural traits. Such instances occurred between Euro-Americans and Columbia Plateau Native Americans (as well as between various Plains and Columbia Plateau Native American societies) throughout that part of the contact period under investigation here. For example, Spier's (1935) study of the diffusion of the nineteenth century Columbia Plateau Prophet Cult is a classic among culture change studies.

As previously stated earlier in this chapter the diffusion of Euro-American traits, although sometimes rapid and ever increasing in certain areas of the alien culture, was nonetheless selectively received. The diffusion of Native American traits to Euro-American society and culture has yet to be fully recognized, thirty years after Hallowell's (1957) research on this lesser known aspect of acculturation.

Assimilation

There are several important differences between the concepts of acculturation and assimilation. In an early discussion of the concepts of acculturation and assimilation, Herskovits (1938:15) defined assimilation as:
...the process by means of which a synthesis of culture is achieved, whatever the degree of contact or amount of borrowing.

Assimilation is a life long process whereby a person willingly becomes an equal participant in an accepting community of an alien culture, and abandons the culture of his or her family heritage (Dohrenwend and Smith 1962; Teske and Nelson 1974; Weiss 1974). Although assimilation may be considered as a separate process from acculturation, they share two important features: both are distinct processes which may be analyzed on the individual or group level, and both require direct contact between two or more alien cultures (Teske and Nelson 1974). There the similarities end, however. Assimilation, unlike acculturation, is unidirectional, which means that members of culture 'A' become participants in culture 'B', but that the reverse rarely occurs. Assimilation also requires changes in the maze, including values, the reference group, internal psychological change, associated behavioral changes, and out-group acceptance (Teske and Nelson 1974). Assimilation prohibits the expression of retention, reinterpretation, and syncretism, since its adoption requires total conformity to the foreign society and its culture.

Teske and Nelson (1974), in an analysis of the literature on acculturation and assimilation, conclude that they are separate and distinctive processes which may occur independently of each other. These authors also conclude that acculturation is a necessary, though not a sufficient condition for assimilation to exist.

It should be reiterated here that assimilation is a process that occurs throughout the individual's life (Weiss 1974). One of the cornerstones of the assimilation process is "structural assimilation," first coined by Gordon (1964) and defined more recently by Weiss (1974:12):

...the entrance of the minority group into the primary institutions of the core (host) society at the primary group level. This process spans the lifecycle of the individual...it involves the entrance of immigrants and their descendants into the social cliques, organizations, institutional activities and civic life of the receiving (host) society (Gordon 1967:411).

It should be mentioned too that penetration into the alien society's sociocultural realm does not insure entrance into pre-existing economic and political institutions (Feagin 1978).

Weiss (1974:13) paraphrases the social anthropological model of Beattie (1964) and Parsons (1951) to explain the different effects of acculturation and structural assimilation, since each process exists at different levels in the individual's and group's social life:
...acculturation takes place at the level of meaning and its primary focus is the cultural system. Structural assimilation takes place at the level of action and centers upon the social system.

Weiss (1974), who acknowledges the influence of Gordon (1964), is cited at length since he provides insights into the processes that lead to structural separation (see no. 1 and no. 2 below), as well as those processes leading to structural assimilation (see no. 3 and no. 4 below). These processes apply to all subjugated (non-Euro-American) groups in the United States (Weiss 1974). To help achieve the goals in this thesis (see Chapter 1), this researcher has adopted these four processes proposed by Weiss (1974:13-14) especially for the reservation period:

1. A lack of intimate primary group relationships between the minority and the dominant groups tends to promote ethnically hostile attitudes. Structural separation prevents the development of personal and intimate bonds and encourages the formation of disruptive stereotypes (Gordon 1964:236).

2. Structural separation aids in the retention of beliefs and historical symbols for the minority group. This structural pluralism is accompanied by a modest degree of cultural pluralism (Gordon 1964:237).

3. The immigrant [reservation Native American] may adopt extrinsic cultural traits and engage in secondary social relationships but he will retain his primary-group communal life. The immigrant "sub-society" reservation [Native Americans] will mediate between his native culture and the [Euro-] "American" culture (Gordon 1964:243-4).

4. American born children of immigrants [Native American children born within the reservation system, 1855 to present] are on their way to virtually complete acculturation, although not necessarily structural assimilation, at selected class levels. There will be a tendency for native-born children [Native American children born within the reservation system, 1855 to present] to become alienated from their parents and the culture they represent (Gordon 1964:244-5).

It is suggested by this author, based on the above regularities identified by Weiss (1974), that any regression or deviation through time from the unilinear progression model of assimilation represents an anti-assimilationist or anti-acculturation response by Columbia Plateau Native Americans. Furthermore, this study focuses primarily on
structural separation where reservations are perceived as islands of ethnicity (see below).

Culture Change During Crises

The nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the Columbia Plateau of northwestern North America, and to a greater extent most of the United States west of the Allegheny Mountains, represented a time of rapid and overlapping Euro-American frontier expansion. This rapid culture contact was extremely stressful for the majority of Native American societies intruded upon. Wallace (1956:265-266) defines "stress" in psychological terms:

... a condition in which some part, or the whole, of the social organization is threatened with more or less serious damage. The perception of stress, particularly of increasing stress can be viewed as the common denominator of the panel of 'drives' or 'instincts' in every psychological theory.

People usually act to cancel out and manage stress. When this becomes a burden, other avenues are sought to remedy relief.

Central to Wallace's theory of stress is the concept of the "mazeway" (Wallace 1957). The mazeway is the individual's deep-seated mental image of nature, society and culture. The goal of effective stress reduction is achieved by working an acceptable change in the mazeway and the "reality of the situation." Wallace (1956:265) believes the effort is a group response or what he labels a revitalization movement:

...a deliberate, organized, conscious, effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture.

Unlike the classic processes of culture change discussed earlier (acculturation, diffusion, and acculturation) a revitalization movement depends on the deliberate intent by members of a society to change in response to foreign societal induced stress (Wallace 1956; 1957). Sanford (1974:518) sheds light on who in the society is dissatisfied with present conditions by suggesting:

...the theory that it is among those most nearly acculturated to another society that a revitalization ideology is likely to erupt into a movement.
Factionalism

One result of being a recipient of culture contact is internal conflict for both the individual and group. Although socially sanctioned conflict within a society is a normal state for its continuance, conflict in the form of factionalism may arise between two or more individuals or sub-groups of a society due to the nature of the contact experience. The topic of factionalism among various Columbia Plateau Native American societies is the main theme explored by Lahren and Schultz (1973), Ross (1968), and Walker (1968).

Ross (1968) defines factionalism as internal societal disruption between two or more subgroups based on the recognition that their objectives are mutually oppositional. Walker (1968:4-6), in his research on conflict and schism in Nez Perce acculturation, focuses on the areas of religion and politics, describing what he calls "schismatic factionalism" in Nez Perce society:

...that process which begins with the appearance of unresolved differences within a parent social grouping and leads to the formation of two or more new social groupings...

Factionalism is defined in the present study as the splintering of a Native American society due to the non-acceptance by some members of the Euro-American sociocultural system, especially values and religious dogma. While the term "faction" will be used interchangeably with the term "cult," it is recognized that there are important distinctions between the two concepts.

Relative Deprivation

The key element for Wallace's (1971:189) theory of stress is individual or group perception of themselves in a subordinate, and inferior position with respect to the members of another society:

The system, from the view of some of its members, is unable to make possible the continued reliance of certain values that are considered to be essential to well being and self respect. [The]...culturally disillusioned person...is an image of a world that is unpredictable...and is apt to contain severe identity conflicts. His mood...will be one of panic stricken anxiety, shame, guilt, depression or apathy.

It must be pointed out, however, that psychological stress is never a sufficient cause by itself for the emergence of a revitalization movement (LaBarre 1971).
Other research (Aberle 1966, 1972; Gurr 1970; Jilek 1974) has expanded on Wallace's (1956, 1957, 1971) theoretical paradigm. Aberle (1966), for example, identifies the primary reason for severe identity conflict as relative deprivation: the negative discrepancy between legitimate expectation and actuality. The primary reference points the group uses to make judgments include perceiving one's past in relation to one's present and future circumstances, and perceiving one's own circumstances in relation to someone else's circumstances (Aberle 1970). Aberle (1972) suggests that the ideology (values and beliefs) of any social movement emphasizes the deprivation(s) experienced by the group.

Aberle's relative deprivation theory, however, is not without criticism. LaBarre (1971), for example, indicates that the major problem with Aberle's argument is that it only proposes to be a psychological, and not also an economic, explanation. Gurr (1970:24), a political scientist, offers a different perspective of relative deprivation: "...the actors' perception of discrepancy between their value expectations and their value capabilities." According to Gurr (1970), value expectations are perceived by the group as the goods and conditions they rightfully should have, whereas, value capabilities are the goods and conditions they think they are capable of obtaining. Gurr (1970:21) defines values as "the goods and conditions of life."

Jilek (1974:55), a physician and psychiatrist who spent several years among the Coast Salish Native Americans of northwest North America, identifies aspects of relative deprivation as anomic depression:

...a chronic dysphoric state characterized by feelings of existential frustration, discouragement, defeat, lowered self-esteem and occasionally moral disorientation.

Anomic depression arises from contact between groups of radically different cultures which often involves deprivation for some or many members of the group (Jilek 1974). Anomic depression, in turn, may arise from any one, or a combination, of the following causes (Jilek 1974:55):

...culture identity confusion, rejection/discrimination, guilt about the denial of Indian or 'Indianness,' attempted identity with the aggressor or acculturation imposed through the education system.

Several studies focusing on revitalization movements and relative deprivation theory have been conducted on Columbia Plateau Native American societies (Aberle 1959; Emerson 1961; French 1961; Schultz 1968; Spier, Suttles and Herskovits 1959). In the present study, relative deprivation is associated with periods of crisis.
The Crisis

Throughout this study reference is made to the term "stress," several definitions of which have just been given. Frequent reference is also made to periods of stress as crises, following the usage of Miller (1985) and Rabb (1975).

Selection of the term "crisis" has the advantage that it is easier to define, identify, and measure a crisis than a stress, as is apparent from the characteristics of a crisis provided by Rabb (1975:29):

The phenomenon not only must be short lived but also--and this is crucial--it ought to be distinct, both from what precedes and from what succeeds.

Rabb (1975:30) places further restrictions on this formulation of crisis:

...a 'crisis' cannot merely be distinct, it must also be worse.... Although there are many ways of describing hard times, only one, 'crisis,' requires brevity and distinctiveness.

Rabb (1975:31) continues to refine his use of the term 'crisis' by adding that a "...crisis is always followed by resolution:"

To the extent that, as in medicine, a resolution offers the best proof that a 'crisis' has occurred, our evidence of a dividing point will derive mainly from what ensues... [crisis] will refer solely to the determinative quality of the period immediately preceding settlement or resolution.

Rabb (1975:32) further discusses "crisis" as follows:

...'crisis' will designate only those upheavals (and implicitly their last climatic stage) which are followed by resolution---by an unprecedented appearance of calm and assurance, with an attendant defusing of previous tensions. The change-over may not be immediate. In such long timespans, there is a blurring at the edges---or, to use another metaphor, there are aftertremors once the earthquake is over---but the emergence of a new situation is discernable nonetheless.

Like Turner's (1969) "betwixt and between" liminality in rites of passage, so too Rabb's (1975:32) focus on the discontinuity between "turmoil and calm:"
...although the word [crisis] will be limited, in effect, to the divide between turmoil and calm, it is that discontinuity which is the prime focus....

Finally, Rabb (1975: 34) defines crisis as "...the stage directly antecedent to relaxation."

LaBarre (1971) provides another definition of "crisis" in addition to the one discussed by Rabb above. La Barre's (1971:11) definition, more so than the one proposed by Rabb (1975), stresses the importance of relative deprivation:

'Crisis' is a deeply felt frustration or basis problem with which routine methods, secular or sacred, cannot cope. Any massive helplessness at a critical juncture may be a crisis: the recurrent and insoluble problem or death is, in a sense, a permanent crisis.

This study places emphasis on the crisis period which is elaborated on in Chapters VII and VIII.

Crisis Management:
Religious (Altered States of Consciousness) Participation

Long term research on Native American societies indicates that the major mechanism of social cohesion is religion. Wallace (1966:78) defines religion in these terms: "... loosely related cult institutions and other, even less well-organized special practices and beliefs." The religion of a society contains both ritual, and a belief system made up of myth, pantheon and values, "... whose component elements are logically well integrated only at the level of cult institutions (Wallace 1966:84)." Wallace (1966) also provides a good descriptive summation of the framework of religion, specifically applicable for analysis. This "fundamental pattern" (Wallace 1966:84) is comprised of a supernatural premise, which is founded on thirteen universal categories of religious behavior. The sequences of religious behavior, or rituals, are organized into cult institutions (Wallace 1966).

Ludwig (1972:11) provides a comprehensive definition of altered states of consciousness:

...any mental state(s) induced by various physiological or pharmacological maneuvers or agents which can be reorganized subjectively by the individual himself (or by an objective observer of the individual) as representing a sufficient deviation in subjective experience or psychological functioning from certain general norms for that individual during alert, waking
consciousness. This sufficient deviation may be represented by a greater preoccupation than usual with internal sensations, or mental processes, changes in the formal characteristics of thought and impairment of reality testing to various degrees.

This study also employs Bourguignon's (1979:235) definition of altered states of consciousness: "...conditions in which sensations, perceptions, cognition and emotions are altered." Cultural patterning, socialization (practice and learning), and expertise all exist in altered states of consciousness situations (Bourguignon 1979).

Certain types of altered states of consciousness are associated with certain rituals, for example, visionary trance and the Native American vision quest (Bourguignon 1979). One way in which cult solidarity is strengthened is through the attainment of altered states of consciousness in ritual settings performed on the individual and community level (Bourguignon 1979).

LaBarre (1972:305), in an important study on religion that includes a discussion on the Native American Ghost Dance, points out that whenever stressful factors appear threatening to the individual or group the traditional ways are sought:

Stress, trauma, and wounded narcissism invariably thrust both individuals and societies back onto autistic preoccupation with the old and intimate.

The major response, then, to stress-laden crises for Native American societies is religious adaptation through the mechanisms of retention, reinterpretation, and syncretism.

As previously stated, in most revitalization movements, especially among Native Americans, religion (or sanctioned altered states of consciousness participation) is the driving force. Lanternari (1974:487) also believes that religion is the central component of a revitalization movement, or "socio-religious movement":

Religion is a primary means of communication in less complex societies and embodies the fundamental values that give meaning to life: in such societies and/or sub-cultures, all the states of crisis caused by oppression, deprivation, or frustration, all the hopes for betterment, are expressed in mythic-ritual symbols.

According to Thomas (1965), initial reaction by Native American societies under stress is to join together with other Native Americans in an effort to widen and bolster a new identity in self-defense. It follows then that there should be identifiable, measurable increases in
religious participation whenever directed assimilationist policy
generates crisis situations.

The importance of religion in Native American societies of the
Columbia Plateau is evident from a review of the appropriate literature,
some of which was discussed earlier in this chapter as well as in
Chapter II. Brunton (1968), for example, focuses on the importance
ceremonies have played in bolstering regional Native American
solidarity. Ethnohistorical research on this aspect of religion will be
of relevance in Chapter IX, in which changes in Native American
societies during missionary and government sponsored (induced) periods
of crisis are interpreted.

Chance (1973) provides an ethnohistorical analysis of the varied
role the Hudson's Bay Company played in the Colville area. Weatherford
(1980), in another ethnohistorical analysis, concentrates on Native
American religion and social change in the Columbia Plateau in response
to Euro-American missionary and early pre-reservation (pre-1855)
government policies. Walker (1969:252) calls for additional studies in
the area of religion and social change: "Much more research is needed
in this neglected chapter in Plateau acculturation." Walker (1970)
concludes that adherence to traditions and beliefs is strong among
Native Americans of the Colville Reservation in Washington State, a
conclusion first brought to light by Ray (1942), and which also applies
today (based on the author's close to two years of participant observa-
tion of secular and sacred ceremonies while acting as tribal
archaeologist for the Colville Confederated Tribes, 1979-80). Schultz
(1971) too addresses the issue of acculturation and religion on the
Colville Reservation in Washington State. His conclusion indicates that
as acculturation and assimilation increases, Native Americans look to
religion as a focus around which to rally.

Crisis Cults

LaBarre (1971:11) defines "crisis cult" as "any group reaction to
crisis, chronic or acute, that is cultic." In general, the term "crisis
cult" includes fostering a "...new 'sacred' attitude towards a set of
beliefs (LaBarre 1971:11)."

Cults exist only within crises (LaBarre 1971). A definition of
"crisis cult" is provided below. Cult believers sometimes display
unconventional behavior and may also manifest physical symptoms of
stress (Devereux 1964; and LaBarre 1971). Cultural crises result not
only from the strains of directed contact (assimilationist efforts), but
also from the general consensus of the existence of a "...worsening
internally generated social and cultural problem (Wallace rebuttal in
LaBarre 1971:34)." Furthermore, any theoretical explanation of crisis
cults should focus on the "haves" as well as the "have nots" (LaBarre
1971).
Initial formulation of a theory on indigenous societal reaction to an alien society's culturally induced crises is credited to Linton (1943) in his renowned article "Nativistic Movements" (LaBarre 1971). A few years earlier Barber (1941), a sociologist, laid the groundwork for a socio-psychological perspective in the study of crisis cults with his article "Acculturation and Messianic Movements" (LaBarre 1971). Other important early theoretical works on crisis cults include Wallace's (1956) "Revitalization Movements" and "Mazeway Disintegration (1957)." as well as Voget's (1956) article "American Indian in Transition Reformation and Accommodation." Also, in a discussion of a history of empirical studies on social movements or "crisis cults" LaBarre (1971) echoes the sentiment of anthropologists and lists James Mooney's (1896) study on the Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890 as the first modern empirical study of crisis cults. It is interesting to note that the overwhelming majority of subsequent empirical studies conducted after Mooney (1896) focus on crisis cults in the Pacific Northwest (many in the Columbia Plateau) and include: Aberle (1959) on the Prophet Dance in response to Euro-American contact; Barnett (1957); Collins (1950); Gunther (1949); and Smith (1954) all on the messianic Indian Shakers; DuBois (1938, 1939) on the Ghost Dance of 1870, and the Feather Cult respectively; Nash (1937) on religious revivalism; Ray (1936) on the Kolaskin Cult; Spier (1935) on the Prophet Dance and its derivatives; Stern (1960) on the Umatilla Washani Cult (Prophet Dance); Suttles (1957) on the Coast Salish Prophet Dance; and Walker (1967) on acculturation stages and Nez Perce religious factionalism. These sources, in addition to several others, are addressed throughout this study.

This section specifically examines two cult institutions which play an important part in any analysis of culture contact in the Columbia Plateau: cargo cults and millenarian movements. While each movement has unique qualities, they share certain features and may coexist. Cargo cults and millenarian movements are considered to be types of revitalization movements (Wallace 1956), or crisis cults (LaBarre 1971).

Cargo cults emphasize the importation of alien values, customs, and material items into the indigenous society's mazeway (Wallace 1956). Material items are expected to arrive as cargo by way of sea-going vessels, overland, or (recently) air transport. Myths appear which emphasize the scheduled return of the cargo. Belshaw (1950) argues that cargo cults, like other cults, arise when people find themselves in a transitional state. Worsley (1959) identifies a central theme common to cargo cults: the world is about to end at any moment in a horrible cataclysm; thereafter, from the supernatural world, a Supreme Being, ancestors, or some local cultural hero will appear, and institute a global blissful paradise; death, illness, old age, and evil will vanish; and the wealth of "the whites" will be redistributed among the people. Destruction of the "old ways" including material items is also a common theme found in cargo cults (Devereux 1964).

Eliade (1970) suggests that such cults reflect cultural inheritance, in that cosmic regeneration mirrors the annual return of
the dead as part of the normal cycle. In addition, Eliade (1970:143) states that cargo cults might be rationalized as physical signs of an annual return of the dead:

If so many 'cargo cults' have assimilated Christian millenarist ideas, it is because the natives have rediscovered in Christianity their old traditional eschatological myth. The resurrection of the dead... was to them a familiar idea.

A millenarian movement projects the theme of mazeway transfiguration in an apocalyptic world transformation programmed by the supernatural (Wallace 1956). Table 3.1 is a listing of characteristics, identified by Barkun (1974:18-20), that are found in such movements.

Millenarian movements became anti-Christian when the indigenous society's politico-religious leaders understood that the Euro-American missionaries were not themselves believers in their own sermonizing, specifically:

...did not really believe in the arrival of the ships of the dead bearing gifts, that in effect they did not believe in the imminence of the Kingdom, the resurrection of the dead, and the establishment of Paradise [Eliade 1970:143].

Cultic reaction varied whenever such a juncture was encountered; from violent acts against the Euro-American missionaries to complete avoidance of them.

Only limited research has been undertaken on crisis cults, specifically Native American cargo cults and millenarian movements, in the Columbia Plateau (see Miller 1985; Walker 1968). In his analysis of Native American religious expression in the Columbia Plateau during the pre-reservation (pre-1855) contact period, Miller (1985) provides ethnohistorical data that a millenarian movement arose in response to Protestant (and Catholic) missionization and other Euro-American frontier encroachment on Native American societies. The results of Miller's (1985) research are integrated into the Native American baseline and pre-reservation periods for the Columbia Plateau, which are presented in Chapters X and XI. It is suggested that cultic reaction to sustained culturally-induced crises over time can evolve into nationalism (discussed below).

**Ethnicity**

Barth (1969) provides some of the earliest definitions of ethnicity, ethnic identity, and boundaries of the ethnic group. According to Barth (1969), an ethnic group is made up of individuals who share a
common ancestry. Royce (1982:27) also defines an ethnic group, as one with strong ties to the past:

... an ethnic group is a reference group invoked by people who share a common historical style (which may only be assumed), based on overt features and values, and who, through the process of interaction with others, identify themselves as sharing that style.

An ethnic identity exists when the members of a society recognize the contrast between "us" and "them." In fact, a key feature of ethnic identity survival lies in its successful application of political power (Royce 1982).

Ethnic identity, like cultural stability, is grounded in behavioral homogeneity (DeVos 1975:374):

Ethnic identity requires the maintenance of sufficiently consistent behavior to enable others to place an individual or group in some given social category, thus permitting appropriate interactive behavior.

The predictable course, it is believed, guarantees for the individual and group the survival of the most important cultural and environmental resources (Barth 1969; Goodenough 1963).

Any definition of ethnic identity must recognize the distinctive audio and visible material markers (symbols of dress, religious expression, physical appearance, language, food, dwellings, etc.), in relationship with the ideology of the culture (Cohen 1981). It is important to emphasize this point since "...the groups that survive and thrive have defined themselves in this combined way (Royce 1982:8)." Visibility markers are further addressed later in this chapter in the section on nationalism).

**Style**

Another important consideration in the study of ethnicity is visibility of "style" (Wobst 1977). Style is defined by Royce (1982:28) as an active process of continual change:

... a complex of symbols, forms, and value orientations that when applied to ethnic groups, signals both the overt cultural contents and the underlying subjective values and standards by which performance is judged (Royce 1975).

Style originates from symbols and stereotypes which bring about either short or long term predictability depending on what areas of the culture
are suffering the greatest devastating impacts "... since the symbols they display change in response to changing conditions (Royce 1982:147)." As stated earlier in this chapter, during acculturation, culture contact occurs in those areas in each culture which share similarities that are recognizable (Weiss 1974), that is, contact "... tends to take place in terms of mutually recognizable symbols and stereotypes (Royce 1982:145)."

Symbols are defined as "...multi-meaninged visible signs that promote action (Royce 1982:146)." Spicer (1971:795-796) also emphasizes the importance that symbolic meaning holds for the individual:

... an individual's belief in his personal affiliation with certain symbols, or more accurately, with what certain symbols stand for.

Stereotypes

The contact situation sometimes results in the foreign society reducing the variation of the (indigenous) ethnic group's display to only a few symbols, which may, depending on the outcome of the contact situation, be manipulated by the alien society to project a negative stereotype of the ethnic group. A stereotype is an inaccurate analysis of another group, "... an overgeneralization associated with a racial or ethnic category that goes beyond existing evidence (Feagin 1978:12)."

The continuation of sustained negative stereotypes may eventually cause the (indigenous) ethnic group to react in several ways (Messenger 1964). Indigenous response may include active resistance to the stereotypes through the promotion of a mythical hero to rally around or the formation of an alliance (or confederacy) with other such downtrodden groups, who also have experienced similar relative deprivation, anomie or other internal cultural disruptions (Messenger 1964). In general, Native American history reveals that negative stereotypes predominated, initially focused on phenotype (physical appearance), then expanded to include inferiority, and more recently, Native American "advancement" (Trosper 1981).

A stereotype focuses on tangible or intangible cultural traits including symbols, ideology, behavior, and physical appearance. Stereotypes may also be perceived as a positive component in promoting solidarity and identity or, on the other hand, may be negatively promoted by the foreign society in the form of prejudice (negative attitudes) and discrimination (negative action) as part of an assimilationist policy (Feagin 1978).

Ethnic Identity Model

Research in the present study is grounded in the ethnohistorical model of ethnic identity proposed by Spicer (1971). The theoretical
Table 3.1

Millenarian Movement Characteristic*

1. High risk taking
2. Association with periods of disaster, change, and social upheaval (crises)
3. Intense emotional expression
4. Unconventional behavior that appears to present or mimic psychopathological symptoms
5. Withdrawal from social, political, economic, and religious participation
6. Breach of accepted norms, taboos, and laws
7. Blanket condemnation of the existing political and social order, coupled with total renunciation of it's claim to legitimacy
8. Dependence on charismatic leaders
9. Aims so sweepingly comprehensive that outsiders consider them as impossible to achieve
10. Claims to esoteric knowledge and some measure of control of basic historical and social processes

* Adopted from Barkun (1974:18-20)
framework of the model is composed of two concepts: the persistent identity system and the oppositional process.

**The Persistent Identity**

The first concept refers to those components of an indigenous society's sociocultural system that have survived various foreign intrusions over an extended period of time by individuals and groups employing successfully tried strategies in each different component of the cultural system (Spicer 1971). A persistent identity system is a cultural system whose "fitness" (borrowing from biological evolutionary theory) is high for survival. The continued maintenance of a high survival level of a cultural system necessitates that the individual and group actively increase three areas of participation: (1) communication, including signs, symbols, and language; (2) the sharing of moral values; and (3) political organization (Spicer 1971). With regard to the last area of participation, political organization, it appears that indigenous ethnic based political alliances or confederacies are created when they realize that all of their cultural and environmental resources, including their own subsistence, are on the verge of extinction, that is, during times of crisis.

As will be born out in later chapters, however, the Euro-American society rarely has been offered information on the ideational or moral realm upon which Native American sociocultural systems are grounded, including the political structure. Therefore, according to Royce (1982:32), the outsiders are purposefully not made knowledgeable about the religious structure of the society, consequently this:

\[\ldots\] does not enter into their categorizations. This has led to frequent surprises for opposing peoples, who take a lack of overt activity as evidence of a loss or disintegration of identity.

In addition, although the retention of precontact Native American languages was discouraged by Euro-American assimilationist policies with some little success, the precontact political system appears from afar to have been somewhat easier to manipulate, change, and control due to its central, localized visibility. A closer inspection in later chapters will reveal that such was not the case in the Columbia Plateau.

**The Oppositional Process**

The second concept of Spicer's (1971) model is called the "oppositional process." Ethnic identity systems are politico-religious resistance movements (crisis cults) that staunchly oppose directed acculturation or assimilation policies (Spicer 1971). Several oppositional strategies are employed to enable effective resistance.
Such efforts range from non-violence (passive, silent resistance) to open warfare (Royce 1982; Spicer 1971).

The oppositional process instills a feeling of *esprit de corps* among indigenous societies. Such feelings are promoted by the creative, flexible and shared meaningful symbolic expression through the material culture characteristic of the process (Royce 1982), succinctly expressed by Spicer (1971:799):

The oppositional process frequently produces intensive collective consciousness and a high degree of internal solidarity. This is accomplished by a motivation for individuals to continue the kind of experience that is 'stored' in the identity system in symbolic form.

It appears, then, that during the oppositional process, symbols are more frequently displayed by individuals and groups to express ethnic unity and identity, that is, during periods of crisis. As previously stated earlier in this section, symbols are part of an ethnic group's flexible communication system and may be changed to adopt to changing circumstances (Royce 1982; Spicer 1971).

The greater the desire to secure or keep alive in the maze way those cultural and environmental resources most threatened with extinction (due to outgroup or environmental causes, i.e., assimilationist policy), the greater the need to "over-communicate" (through visible display) the identity of those traits (see Blu 1980; Despres 1975). The researching of photographs is a reliable medium to identify what resources are being over-communicated at a particular crisis point in time. In addition, the wider the range of visibility markers (symbols) available for individual and group display, the easier it is to distinguish "us" from "them." A closer examination of this communication strategy, specifically information exchange theory, is addressed next.

**Information Exchange Theory**

This study relies on the ethnicity-related information exchange theory of Plog (1980), Braun and Plog (1982), and Wobst (1977). This theory, like Spicer's (1971) model, also addresses the part that culturally stereotyped material items and behavior play in insuring the continuance of indigenous individual and group ethnic identity.

This study finds support in Hajda's (1984) research in which she successfully applies information exchange theory towards an analysis of the regional social organization of Native American societies in the Lower Columbia region from 1792 to 1830. Hajda (1984), who adequately summarizes the information exchange theory of Plog (1980) and Braun and Plog (1982), is cited below to reinforce the important point that the communicative value of culturally stereotyped material items and behavior varies with social distance.
During both acculturation and assimilation processes, visibility markers (ceremonies, material items, etc.) continuously transmit reliable information about status (one's social position in society) and role (the behaviors associated with one's status) from one individual to another and form one group to another. The display of visibility markers communicates repetitive coded information that insures predictability, i.e., maintenance of the status quo. A visibility marker's longevity is dependent on two factors: cost and effectiveness (Hajda 1984).

Visibility markers that communicate recurrent messages, such as group affiliation, target their effectiveness to "... those intermediate in social distance to each other (Hajda 1984:22)." Individuals and groups who are in close directed contact situations must supplement material items, sacred and secular activities with "... more frequent and fine grained communication (Hajda 1984:22-3)." Individuals and groups who experience infrequent directed contact situations, or who are recipients of nondirected contact "... will not meet often enough to be able to decode the messages reliably or to respond appropriately (Hajda 1984:22-3)."

In agreement with Hajda (1984), the following theoretical points have been adopted here: (1) various kinds of social communication are dependent on material items, sacred and secular activities; (2) social communication varies with material item and activity duration, size, and visibility; (3) when two societies share complementary mazeways, i.e., exhibit less social distance between them, the greater the likelihood of similarities among their corresponding material cultures, sacred and secular activities; and (4) for those individuals and groups experiencing culture change, i.e., intermediate social distance, similarities between material culture, sacred and secular activities, vary with contact event frequencies.

Native American Nationalism

Crisis cults among Native Americans, during the latter half of the twentieth century, have evolved into a single political movement referred to by most anthropologists as "Pan-Indianism," but which will be referred to here as "Native American Nationalism". The transformation of religious movements into political ones is far from unique to Native Americans. Historical documentation exists on such transformations within Native American societies as early as the fifteenth century (Witt 1965).

On a global level, there is little difference between the subjugated peoples of North America, South America, Australia, or Africa, in that the indigenous peoples of each continent experienced (or still are experiencing) the same problems created by European or Euro-American assimilationist efforts, more commonly referred to as colonialism (Steiner 1968). Lanternari (1974:498) emphasizes this point:
... in long range terms, the prophetic, messianic and nativistic movements in tribal society under colonial rule show a propensity towards a more secular, pragmatic and accommodative adjustment. Viewed more broadly, what this seems to imply is a shift from religion to politics.

This of course also applies to factions in the same society where politics assumes greater importance. For example, according to Walker (1968), factions on the Nez Perce reservation have replaced religion with politics as one of their primary points of contention, the other being kinship. In the late 1980's, the focus of the by now political Native American movement, A.I.M. (American Indian Movement), is transcontinental in scope.

Ray's (1960) study of a Columbia Plateau confederacy reveals earlier aspects of contemporary Native American nationalism during the mid to late nineteenth century in the Columbia Plateau. Ray describes various linguistic groups of Salishan and Sahaptin speaking peoples merging together against Euro-American encroachment. The problem with Ray's (1960) study is that it is too general in scope, lacks tight control of chronology, and only superficially touches on the topics addressed in the present study. In another recent study, Anastasio (1972) traces several examples of intergroup solidarity among Columbia Plateau Native Americans during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These ethnohistorical data reveal periodic solidarity displayed through intergroup gatherings during the contact period. There are several additional studies of contemporary Pacific Northwest Native American politics: Collins (1950); Lahren and Schultz (1973); Ross (1968); and Walker (1970).

Foster (1973) associates the beginnings of nationalism with the revival of precontact values and beliefs. Nationalism is also, in part, a response to disillusionment brought about by unrelenting relative deprivation experiences. Furthermore, it is perceived by Foster (1973:66) as "...a major force of modernization."

Native Americans face the contemporary world in their own unique way, but two basic objectives of nationalism are emphasized by Native Americans today. The first objective is an improvement in the quality of life, through formal education to obtain professionals to benefit Native American cultures (Levine and Lurie 1968). The second objective is revitalization of Native American identity through display of visible focal points (language, customs, etc.), and through emphasis on the community (Lurie 1965).

Thomas (1965:75) defines Native American nationalism in the following terms:

... the expression of a new identity and the institutions and symbols which are both an
expression of that new identity and a fostering of it.

This definition of nationalism mirrors the one proposed by Foster (1973:67):

... the identification of a way of life as peculiarly one's own, a positive creation of the people concerned, and not as an importation or borrowing from others.

Symbols of Nationalism

The identification of an ethnic identity is made possible through the manipulation of a series of symbols which must share two basic qualities: a high degree of visibility, and real or imagined antiquity stemming from the precontact culture (Foster 1973). Furthermore, the displaying of symbols is extremely important for any crisis cult movement to gain momentum to establish itself as a more complex political entity, i.e., as a nation or state. As Foster (1973: 73) puts it:

... pride in one's culture and belief in a nation's ability to progress are essential in developing strong states.

The recognition of an ethnic identity by the indigenous people themselves is important in the development of nationalism. Symbols of nationalism displayed among Native Americans today include language, dress, celebrations (rituals or pow-wows), dietary patterns, an interest in the past (archaeology), rural to urban migration, myth, reconstructed music, dance, art, humor, traditional medicine and religion, and sports. Architectural style is also considered as a symbol of nationalism (Farriss 1984). These and other symbols of ethnic identity are universally found among indigenous peoples developing towards nationalism (Foster 1973).

Dress and personal embellishment have special display functions especially among Native Americans. Maurer (1979:135) reveals that for Native Americans, dress is a visible statement that symbolizes one's mazeway:

For all the tribes of North America the harmony of the natural and the human world was the essence of their being. This harmony was also a basic foundation of their social order, and it found an eloquent and beautiful expression in the magnificent garments which were the visual symbols of the structure, honor, and sacredness of their lives.
Roach and Eicher (1979:21) have identified several other functions that personal embellishment serves to establish including, the communication of social roles and worth, political status, and:

... ideological inclination, as a reflection of magico-religious condition, as a facility in social rituals, and as a reinforcement of beliefs, customs, and values.

In an analysis of photographs of Nigerian Yoruba dress over five generations (1900-1970), Wass (1979:346-348) concludes that indigenous (traditional or precontact) dress visibility increased after 1960, a period of nationalism:

... nationalistic feelings fueled by the independence movement prompted Nigerians to use dress as one means of severing themselves from the colonialists and identifying with their political cause. Along with the independence movement came a renewed interest in Nigerian precolonial customs and manners... After 1940, 44 percent of the dress worn at special occasions was indigenous and after 1960 this climbed to 72 percent.

Wass (1979) provides ample support that dress and personal embellishment are visibility markers of nationalism, and as such, are quite applicable to the aims of this study. There is also support in the literature that foreign dress, like technology, is more likely to be accepted into the pristine culture early in the culture contact period (Weiss 1974). This acceptance does not remain constant throughout the contact period.

Discussion

During periods of crisis in Native American societies in the contact period, social distance will be less between Native American societies than between the latter and Euro-American society. Also during periods of crisis it is possible to identify and measure Native American cultic (oppositional) response to Euro-American culture, especially when the response is to abandon Euro-American material items and behavior. Such a response is politico-religious and evidences retained, reinterpreted, and syncretic behavior and material items. Native American cultic reaction includes visible statements which serve a two fold purpose: protest and insubordination towards the Euro-American assimilationist policy, and demonstration of ethnic solidarity, i.e., nationalism, with other Native American groups in immediate and more distant areas.

The ethnohistorical written and pictorial records should prove to be of value in analyzing human behavior during peaks of crisis by employing several visibility symbols of ethnicity to gauge the response,
and at the same time, identify initial expressions of regional Native American nationalism in the Columbia Plateau. This area of acculturation research is lacking for the region. This study attempts to remedy this by reconstructing Native American response to Euro-American pre-reservation and reservation assimilationist policies.

The revitalization of Native American identity expressed today via nationalism succeeds through the visible display of symbols from their cultural past and present, and include language, customs, and community solidarity (Lurie 1965). These and other visibility markers of Native American ethnic identity (dress, personal embellishment, food, architecture, politics) convey varying amounts of social identity information both to members of the society and to non-members.

In order to gain some control over the data, this study limits analysis to five symbols of ethnic identity (nationalism). This study attempts to reconstruct earlier ethnic expressions of nationalism evident among Native Americans today, and at the same time provide insight into human behavior during crisis periods through a diachronic analysis of the following visibility markers: personal appearance (dress and personal adornment), architecture (dwellings and settlement), religion and altered states of consciousness, politics, and demographic characteristics. For example, one objective of this study is to isolate and explain those periods of crisis within Euro-American frontiers which exhibit Native American departure from Euro-American dress during the reservation period. The above categories and values they take on are defined in Chapter VII on methods. Several ethnohistorical approaches and methods are also discussed in Chapter VII.

Part Two addresses the written and pictorial samples. Special attention is given to the people who originally created the sources. Inherent limitations of the samples are discussed, as are controls and guidelines necessary when researching different types of data.
CHAPTER IV

THE WRITTEN ETHNOHISTORICAL SAMPLE
OF THE COLUMBIA PLATEAU
A CRITIQUE

Introduction

The Columbia Plateau ethnohistorical sample is defined here in terms of the wide range of sources that make it up. These sources may be classified into four groupings which reflect the lines of evidence employed in this study:

1. primary (eye-witness) and secondary (by historians) written historical sources;
2. ethnographic sources, including "spin-off" studies, and the author's eighteen months of anthropological fieldwork and employment among the Colville Confederated Tribes of Washington State;
3. Columbia Plateau historical archaeological research;

These four groupings specifically include the following sources each of which contains diverse amounts of information on the study variables in varying degrees: missionary sources; traveller, immigrant, and mining sources; British government sources; United States government sources, including exploration, military documents, and Office of Indian Affairs reports; and Native American source material. The Columbia Plateau Native American pictorial sample is addressed in Chapters V-VI.

The format of this chapter is a critique of several written sources within topical categories. The aim here is to establish the potential the written sample provides towards achieving the goals of this study as identified in Chapter I.

Table 4.1 reveals that some of the written sources included in the written sample are either short-lived or discontinuous. The pictorial sample, on the other hand, exists throughout the entire period under investigation. The Native American periods indicated in Table 4.1 are discussed in detail in Chapter VII.
Table 4.1
Sources by Native American Period and Decade

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period and Decade</th>
<th>Source*</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Pre-Reservation</strong></td>
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<td>1840-1850</td>
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<td>1850-1860</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Reservation</strong></td>
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<td>1850-1860</td>
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<td>1860-1870</td>
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<tr>
<td>1900-1910</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td>1910-1920 [14]</td>
<td>x x</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*1. Immigrant, Traveller and Mining sources
2. Missionary sources
3. Exploration sources
4. Military sources
5. Office of Indian Affairs sources
6. Pictorial sources
The two written source categories that evidence the longest time depth are missionary sources and Office of Indian Affairs Annual Reports. It is for this reason that Chapter IV focuses much of its attention on these two categories.

**Missionary Sources**

There are two kinds of primary historical missionary source material used in this study: unpublished and published data. The author obtained missionary archival data from several Pacific Northwest institutions as well as from various university and public library collections in Ohio. Some of the data, for example, Catholic burial records and baptismal records of Colville Native Americans during the latter part of the nineteenth century have never before been used for research by social scientists.

**Unpublished Primary Documents**

The missionary data fall into two categories that reflect the two major religious groups in the Columbia Plateau: Roman Catholic, specifically, the Jesuit Society of Jesus (S.J.), and a host of Protestant denominations. There were sharp ideological and phenotypic differences between Catholic and Protestant missionaries. Columbia Plateau Native American perceptions of both groups of missionaries varies widely throughout the contact period from one of blind faith acceptance (since immortality was the promise and reward), to cult formation or factionalism.

During the Summer 1984 I also collected unpublished nineteenth century Society of Jesus data on the written observations by the Jesuits on several regional Native American groups and their cultures. In addition, some Jesuits during the late nineteenth century compiled Salishan and Sahaptin language dictionaries, and a collection was also secured by the author of several religious terms from each dictionary. It should be noted here that Protestant missionaries also compiled Salishan and Sahaptin dictionaries and printed them from their own printing press, the first one in Oregon Territory (1836) (Fuller 1931). Photocopies were made by the author (while at the Eells Collection at Whitman College, Walla Walla, Washington State) of nineteenth century Congregationalist, Presbyterian, and Methodist missionary records, most of which are unpublished. The data also include letters, correspondence, and other primary documents from two famous Protestant missionaries in the Columbia Plateau: Henry Spalding, and Marcus Whitman. Both missionaries arrived in the Columbia Plateau during the mid-1830s. Whitman and missionary staff, including his immediate family, were slain by a small group of Cayuse Native Americans in 1847 (reasons for which will be addressed in Chapter VIII). Spalding's records however, span from the mid-1830s to the mid-1870s, although several years in between were spent elsewhere in the Pacific Northwest.
The unpublished Protestant missionary data contain a wealth of information on various Native American cultures, especially for the Native American baseline and pre-reservation periods addressed in Chapters VII and VIII. It should be mentioned too that unlike the unpublished Protestant sources, the unpublished Catholic data covers the entire period under investigation here.

Published Primary Documents

Published primary documents by Jesuit missionaries appear in the form of diaries and accounts. The earliest source is by DeSmet S.J. (1847 in Thwaites 1906). DeSmet S.J., a Belgium, directed and recorded the initial culture contact events of Jesuit missionaries among the northern Salishan Native American groups in the early 1840s. DeSmet S.J. and other Jesuit missionaries who followed him to the Columbia Plateau made faithful and detailed accounts of their missionization efforts, and sent them to the Society's headquarters in Montreal from 1839 to 1874 (Fuller 1931).

The missionaries also corresponded with their superiors in the Vatican. This document Notices (et rapports) sur les missions du diocese de Quebec in all twenty one volumes, makes up a major source on the history of the Canadian and Columbia Plateau Jesuit missions, and although published it has not been translated from French into English. I was able to obtain the complete source and have my own copy on microfiche. The source contains over seven hundred pages of information on Pacific Northwest missionary activities of which half are devoted to the Columbia Plateau missions.

The Jesuits who accompanied DeSmet S.J. also kept detailed records of their experiences among the various Columbia Plateau Native American groups, for example, Mengarini S.J. (Lothrop 1977), and Point S.J. (Point 1967). Point S.J., in particular, kept a diary while living among the Coeur d' Alene and Flathead Native Americans (1841-1845). In addition, Point S.J. compiled a pictorial record which vividly portrays Native American culture during the initial contact period. Several of Point's S.J. paintings are included in the pictorial sample of this study.

It should be noted, however, that Point S.J. (1967) and his Jesuit companions were not the only missionaries to use pictorial representations to project religious dogma. Missionaries from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions representing Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and Reformed churches sent to the Columbia Plateau also used pictures in religious instruction. For example, three years prior to the Jesuits arrival in the northern Columbia Plateau (1840), Reverend Spalding presented the famous converted Spokane Native American headman (Spokane Garry) with several pictures, and:
Garry made a great impression with these pictures in his teachings, so much so that Lower Spokane Chief Big Head decided to go down to Spalding's Nez Perce mission to get some of them [Ruby and Brown 1970:62].

Other missionary sources which contribute to this study's written sample include accounts while "touring" the Oregon Territory (Allen 1850; Hines 1852) as well as by those living among the Native American people, for example, missionary Walker's nine year diary (1838-1848) which describes life among the Spokane Native Americans (Drury 1976).

Potential Biases and Imposed Controls

It is important to recognize that each primary source is a product of a Christian zealot, Protestants more so than Catholics (Berkhofer 1965). The content of a source is pervaded with an air of Christian superiority. In addition, the missionaries' own cultural background, and sexual bias, is reflected in each source, whether written from a European or American perspective. The author has recognized the need to control the data to minimize this bias by continuously being aware of it's existence, and by implementing several controls including cross-checking the content of the source with other contemporary data.

Another control imposed on missionary sources requires the construction of a set of criteria in order to get a handle on the data and judge it's accuracy. The following set of controls adopted here help to minimize the ethnocentrism inherent in the missionary sources so that information important to the ethnohistorian stands out:

1. denomination of missionary/author
2. missionaries'/author's background
3. cultural biases of missionary/author
4. cultural motives of missionary/author
5. date and location of event
6. missionaries'/author's role: participant or observer
7. prior events
8. contemporary events
9. when and where did the missionary/author transcribe information

Historical Secondary Sources on Missionization

This study also employs several secondary sources on Catholic missionization in the Columbia Plateau (Berkhofer 1965; Burns 1967; Drury 1976; Miller 1985; Prucha 1973; Rahill 1954; Schaeffer 1937; Schoenberg 1962; Slickpoo and Walker 1974; Walker 1967). Schoenberg (1962) provides a concise history of Catholic efforts in the Pacific Northwest from 1745 to 1960. This source contributes to the construction of a chronology of crises due to missionary, non-Plateau
Native Americans, or secular Euro-American interactions with Columbia Plateau Native American groups. The source by Burns (1967) also aids in filling in some of the voids in the chronology.

This study also relies on the research by Schaeffer (1937) who examines culture conflict between the Jesuits and Flathead Native Americans during the Native American pre-reservation period (pre-1855, and defined specifically in Chapter VII). Most of the secondary historical Protestant missionization sources focus on the missionary frontier in the Native American pre-reservation period (Drury 1976; Miller 1985).

One major problem in the literature on Catholic and Protestant historical sources is that they are limited in number for the Columbia Plateau reservation period (post 1855, and also defined in Chapter VII). The unpublished Society of Jesus documents help to fill the void, yet since this line of evidence appears scant, other lines of evidence must be substituted.

Keller (1983) examines American Protestantism and United States Native American policy during the same period (1869-1882). Rahill (1954) examines the interactions between Catholic missionaries, Native Americans, and bureaucrats on reservations during President Grant's Peace Policy in the 1870s. Beside Keller (1983) and Rahill (1954) there are two other reservation period studies included in this study. Both studies (Slickpoo and Walker 1974; Walker 1967) focus on missionization among the Nez Perce Native Americans on the Lapwai Reservation in Idaho. Slickpoo and Walker (1974) focus on the history of the Nez Perce specifically addressing missionization efforts and the impact of the United States Native American policy of allotment (see Chapter VIII). Walker (1967) provides rare data on Nez Perce Euro-American church membership (for both Catholic baptismal records: 1868-1963, and, Presbyterian communicant statistics: 1880-1962). These data are combined with the data I acquired during archival research at various Pacific Northwest institutions (1984) as well as with Office of Indian Affairs Annual Reports statistics obtained on Native American church membership for each Columbia Plateau reservation.

Other source materials (Berkhofer 1965; Prucha 1973) provide general overviews which emphasize the differences between Catholic and Protestant missionization policies with regard to reservation period Native Americans of the United States. These and other related studies on Euro-American missionization efforts are addressed in Chapters VIII, X, and XI.

Ethnographic and Historical Archaeology Sources

The Columbia Plateau ethnographic record contains little information on nineteenth century missionization among the respective Native American groups reported on. It may be that this topic was purposefully neglected since this area of research did not "fit" into
the ethnographer's reconstruction of an ideally pristine precontact culture (see Baseline in Chapter X), or missionization efforts were perceived by the ethnographer in the twentieth century as totally successful since public (open) expression of traditional religious beliefs had already endured a long history of active discouragement.

Very little exists in the Columbia Plateau historical archaeological record regarding nineteenth century Euro-American and Native American interactions at mission sites. Garth (1952) excavated Waiilatpu Mission (Whitman's station) for the purpose of identifying the structural remains. Tuohy (1958) conducted the first historical archaeological excavation in Idaho at the Catholic Sacred Heart Mission (serving the Coeur d'Alene Native Americans) (Sprague 1975). Both studies reflect a preoccupation with uncovering information on Euro-American structures and famous people at the expense of learning more about Native American-Euro-American interactions. This criticism, as previously stated in Chapter II, is just as applicable to the current state of historical archaeological research in the Columbia Plateau (for example, see any recent issue of *Historical Archaeology: Northwest section*).

**Immigrant and Traveller Sources**

Diaries by travellers, immigrants, foreign government officials, and miners offer pertinent data on Native American cultures during the Native American pre-reservation and reservation periods addressed in this study. One of the earliest accounts on Columbia Plateau Native Americans is by Parker (1846) a Protestant missionary who visited Oregon Territory in the mid-1830s.

During the 1840s, the famous Canadian artist, Paul Kane (Harper 1971) journeyed throughout the Columbia Plateau. Kane recorded detailed eye-witness accounts in a diary which focuses its greatest attention on the Native Americans of the Columbia Plateau. In addition, Kane, like his contemporary Father Nicolas Point S.J. (Point 1967), embellished his writing with paintings and sketches of Native American life when Native American culture was relatively free from direct Euro-American intrusion (before Americans entered into the region in great numbers less than a decade later). Both Kane (Harper 1971) and Point S.J. (Point 1967) are discussed at length in the following chapter.

Documents by immigrants who came to the Oregon Territory by way of the Oregon Trail (the overland route from Independence, Missouri to Whitman's Mission in southeastern Washington State) contain only limited information pertinent to this study. Only three sources by travellers and immigrants, beside those already mentioned, are included in this study: Johnson and Winter (1846); and Palmer (1847); and Phillips (1928).

Johnson and Winter (1846) were two participants in the early 1843 immigration, and produced a "guide book" in narrative form for fellow
travellers to follow. Palmer (1847) was a member of the later and much larger emigration of 1845. Palmer (1847) also produced a "guide book". Palmer's (1847) journal however, contains much more data on southern Columbia Plateau Native Americans than is contained in Johnson and Winter (1846).

The third document is known as the "Dinwiddie Journal," a diary by a young adult Euro-American male who made an overland journey from Indiana to the Oregon Territory in 1853 (Phillips 1928). The journal contains additional information which compliments the other sources. Emigration to the Oregon Territory was in the thousands during the early 1850s (Johansen and Gates 1967).

**British Government Sources**

Several journals and reports by the employees and overseers of the Hudson's Bay Company include a wealth of information on pre-reservation Columbia Plateau Native Americans (see Cox 1957; Douglas 1972; McLaughlin in Barker 1948; Ross 1925; Simpson 1947). Also included during this same period are numerous ethnohistorical studies specifically focusing on the fur-trapping frontier (pre-1840), and the role the Hudson's Bay Company played in the early acculturation of various Native American groups in the Columbia Plateau (Carley 1981; Chance 1973; Weatherford 1980). Historical archaeological research provides additional information during this period (Combes 1964; Garth 1952).

There are four British government agent's reports utilized in this study that describe in much detail a number of northern Salishan speaking Columbia Plateau Native American groups during the late 1850s and early 1860s (Lord 1866 [vol.I,II], Mayne 1862; Stanley 1970; Wilson 1865). All of the authors, excluding Stanley (1970), served in varying capacities as members of the British International Boundary Commission. This commission was delegated to work with their American counterpart to establish the 49th parallel international boundary between 1858-1862. Two of the sources, Lord (1866, vol. I, II) and Mayne (1862) have illustrations included in the text. These in addition to background information on the authors are discussed in detail in the next chapter.

**Mining Sources**

One of the earliest primary sources pertaining to mining in the Columbia Plateau is by Mullan (1865). The book (Mullan 1865), actually another "guidebook," was designed to help prospectors, travellers, and pioneers succeed in their endeavors. Mullan (1865) provides limited, yet more pertinent, data than earlier guidebooks including informative descriptions of the various Native American groups and population estimates during the height of the first mining frontier (mid-1850s to mid-1860s) in the Columbia Plateau (see Chapter VIII).
This study, however, relies more so on the in depth analysis of the development of the mining frontier in the region by Trimble (1914). Trimble's doctoral dissertation (1914) not only traces the development of the mining frontier but also identifies Native American responses to the overwhelming migrations to the "Inland Empire" (a historian's term for the Columbia Plateau culture area). The major flaw with the study (Trimble 1914) is that it does not examine, nor mention, the second mining frontier during the mid and late 1890s in the region. As a matter of fact, historical and culture contact literature on the Columbia Plateau only superficially address this resurgence in mining interests. There are several sources, however, that I compiled to provide a clearer picture of the mining resurgence impact to the Native American residents in the area during the 1890s, including, Moen (1975), my own fieldnotes on late 19th century mining site excavations and archival research on the Colville Reservation (1979-1980), Office of Indian Affairs Annual Reports, as well as information gleaned from numerous secondary sources (Fuller 1931; Johansen and Gates 1967; Ruby and Brown 1981), to name a few.

United States Government Sources

This study employs several sources in this category, and these are addressed below. Documents that fall into this category are divided into three groups: exploration sources, treaty and military sources, and Office of Indian Affairs Annual Reports. Table 4.1 reveals that each of these kinds of sources spans several of the Native American periods discussed at length in Chapter VII.

Exploration

Commander Wilkes (Wilkes 1845) led the United States exploratory expedition throughout the Pacific region during the late 1830s and early 1840s. Wilkes and party explored the Columbia Plateau region in 1841 and 1842. Volume 4 of the reports (Wilkes 1845) is especially important to this study since it contains hundreds of pages on several Columbia Plateau Native American groups, along with illustrations of the people and their material culture—all done by the expedition artists on location.

Probably the best known source on the Columbia Plateau Native Americans for the mid-1850s is the Reports of Explorations and Surveys to Ascertain the Most Practicable and Economic Route for a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean 1853-1855 (United States Army 1855-1860), and referred to here as Reports. The twelve volume document has several important features including a text loaded with information on initial contacts, subsequent treaties, and Native American behavior and material culture. The source (Reports 1855-1860), like Wilkes' (1845) a decade earlier, also contains striking lithographs of various Native American groups, and unlike Wilkes (1845), are in color. Many of
the lithographs and illustrations from each of the sources above are included in the pictorial sample of this study.

A later exploratory source during the Native American reservation period is by Symons (1882). Symons was a United States Army engineer officer who conducted the first United States government sponsored navigational survey of the Columbia River in 1882. This survey is published as Senate Document 186, 47th Congress (Symons 1967). The Symons Report (1882), as it is sometimes referred to in the literature, provides information on Native American groups residing along that part of the Columbia River which a decade earlier was proclaimed by Executive Order as the eastern and southern boundaries of the newly established Colville Reservation (the only Columbia Plateau reservation established without treaty negotiations). Possibly the famous Pacific Northwest photographer Curtis was part of this expedition (see Chapter V).

**Treaty and Military Sources**

There exists a wealth of information on Native American culture and their material culture within the various treaty reports of the mid-nineteenth century. Several of these reports are employed in this study, including: the proceedings of the Walla Walla treaty of 1855; the Flathead treaty later that same year; the proceedings of the Nez Perce treaty of 1863; and the Blackfeet and Flathead treaty proceedings of 1867 (Ellis 1972).

Ethnohistorical research abounds regarding the topic of Native American land retention and acquisition in the Columbia Plateau, especially in the findings of the Native American Land Claims Commission during the 1950s (Chalfant and Bischoff 1974; Chalfant and Ray 1974; Chalfant, Malouf, and Burlingame 1974; Chalfant, Ray, and Anastasio 1974). In addition, Madsen (1982) furnishes an interesting analysis of the communication strategies employed by Nez Perce leaders to retain their ancestral land during the 1855 Walla Walla treaty council meetings between various Columbia Plateau Native American groups and the newly appointed governor of Washington Territory, I.I. Stevens.

The primary historical military accounts of confrontations between Euro-Americans and Columbia Plateau Native Americans during the 1850s (Kip 1859, 1897; Stevens 1900), and late 1870s (Chief Joseph 1879; Howard 1881, 1907), not only reveal information on crises causes, and Native American responses but also contain ample data on the categories addressed in this study.

In addition to the sources listed above, Coan (1921, 1922) furnishes an in depth analysis of the establishment of the federal Native American policy in the Pacific Northwest during the 1850s. An excellent discussion of Columbia Plateau Native Americans not assigned to reservations who were surviving on remnant oases amid Euro-American land holdings from 1880 to 1912 is provided in Deutsch (1956). Both of these sources contain pertinent information on Native American behavior
during times of crisis, and are therefore quite valuable to this study, especially during the little known period focused on by Deutsch (1956).

Throughout the contact period Native American groups have employed several other strategies in order to retain ancestral lands including, warfare, legal action, and sending delegations to Washington D.C. (Viola 1981). These strategies and several more are examined in later chapters in this study. Native Americans employed such strategies in response to a United States Native American policy that stressed assimilation including the taking of Native American land through manifest destiny. Several sources are utilized in this study that focus on the United States Native American policy and manifest destiny, and the implementation of the policy through the process of the reservation system and later allotment (Carlson 1981; Kinney 1937; Otis 1973; Prucha 1973; Washburn 1975).

Office of Indian Affairs Documents

There exists a wealth of ethnohistorical data on Columbia Plateau Native American reservation period culture in the Annual Reports Of The Commissioners Of Indian Affairs (1856-1914). The reports are annual compilations of reservation appointed agent’s observations which include various statistics on topics central to the federal Native American policy. In addition, the reports from 1870 to 1914 include various assimilationist topics (which are also expressed through some of the categories and values discussed in Chapter VII). This study relies heavily on the Annual Reports, however, before any research is conducted using data from them it is first necessary to determine the quality and potential this data set has to offer.

An important background source that provides an overview on the Office of Indian Affairs from 1824-1880 including it's bureaucratic structure, is by Hill (1974). The text of each Annual Report contains excerpts from agents residing on various reservations throughout the United States. These agents were federally appointed and only males held such positions (Hill 1974). The overall goals of the assimilationist federal Native American policy were the major tasks the reservation agent was responsible for (Stuart 1978).

Data Potential

According to Johansson (1982:141) the quality of the Office of Indian Affairs records and the data included in them, especially Native American census data, is adequate, and, in fact, may be considered as good in terms of quality as is current population data on the Third World:

From the middle of the nineteenth century the quantity of the state and federal material
becomes impressive, although the quality of the records is poor. With the onset of the reservation system (roughly the 1870s) and the regular enumeration of reservation populations in the decennial national censuses (1890), the data available for North American native peoples are comparable in quality to that gathered for many third world populations...Since many of the native populations of the American West were entering the worst phases of contact shock during this period, some of the census data can be used to analyze contact shock (see, for example, Stoffe and Evans 1976).

Although the census data appears to be acceptable for scientific research the other data collected by the author from the Annual Reports has been intensely scrutinized, and several controls (addressed below) have been necessarily imposed on the data. The reason for such close scrutiny of the data is due to the fact that the agent was under pressure from his superiors in Washington D.C. to make the assimilationist policy a success. Inherent in the data then is the bias of the agent to sometimes inflate statistics, for example, of Native American Euro-American church membership, while downplaying other areas, for example, the number of Native Americans living in traditional types of dwellings.

Keller (1983:225-230), in an evaluation of Euro-American denominational performance on Native American reservations from 1870-1880 based on the agent's reports, sheds additional light on the problem of agent bias within the text of the Annual Reports:

[The reports] are often biased for or against the state of the agency depending on the agent's prior relation to the reservation (long term agents are too positive; first year agents are usually very critical).

One guideline proposed by Keller (1983), and adopted here, is to research an agent's tenure when examining their reports, in addition to comparing the data with other contemporary sources, including whenever possible pictorial sources.

Several limitations have been mentioned in the literature concerning the use of the Office of Indian Affairs Annual Reports for scientific research purposes (Keller 1983; Thornton 1981, 1986). Keller (1983:225) cites four major hindrances the researcher faces when using the reports to analyze church (not Native American) performance:

...(a) the difficulty in determining which agents and teachers were actually church appointed; (b) the lack of criteria to define
religion progress'; (c) the incompleteness and inaccuracy of much official data; and (d) the error of comparing data (e.g., church membership, conversion, mission) based on different definitions.

Keller (1983:225) also reveals that the majority of the official reports from 1873-1882 portrayed a far rosier picture than actually existed:

Schools that may appear strong in the official reports of the Indian Office, BIG, and churches often were weak and inadequate, according to private correspondence and inspection reports.

His concern is well taken, and the proper research controls (source comparison) have been implemented by this author to minimize such bias.

One major problem with Keller (1983) is that he does not adequately define the four categories he follows to evaluate denominational performance (see particularly page 229). In addition, Keller (1983) bases his rating system of performance on the assumption that the Columbia Plateau Yakima reservation is the "model agency". It is suggested here that Keller (1983) did not seriously analyze the Annual Reports which indicate that for the decade under consideration (1870-1880) Native American church membership on the Yakima reservation amounted to only about 14% on average of the reservation population for those years statistics were available (see Chapter IX), not to mention those Yakimas who were outside of the reservation boundaries. These so-called "renegade" or "non-treaty" elements numbered well into the hundreds perhaps thousands. Furthermore, Keller (1983) gives an "excellent" rating to all of the Columbia Plateau reservations; that is, federal assimilationist policies directed by various Euro-American denominations which were successful in their outcome, when, in fact, I found contradictory evidence. In all fairness, however, Keller (1983) only focuses on the Protestant influence on federal Native American policy that was implemented from 1869-1882, whereas the 14% average cited above for the Yakima reservation includes both Catholic and Protestant membership. The Catholic influence on the federal Native American policy on Columbia Plateau reservations is yet to be researched.

**Population Data**

Hundreds of population estimates were collected by the author from numerous primary historical sources, unpublished and published, including those in agent's reports (Annual Reports) as well as those collected from other sources (ethnographies and secondary historical sources). Varying amounts of information on Native American population including: size, sex, age sets, births and deaths, for both individual and reservation groupings. In all the author compiled population data
on over twenty Columbia Plateau Native American groups in this study covering the years 1840 to 1914.

Several studies have used census and other population data on Native Americans to analyze demographic characteristics in the Columbia Plateau (Chance 1973) as well as in sociological investigations into revitalization movements (Thornton 1981, 1986). This study expands on the works by Chance (1973), and Thornton (1981, 1986) as well as the research by Stoffe and Evans (1976) in which census data is applied to analyze crisis periods. These studies are given more attention in later chapters.

Several areas of error exist in ethnohistorical sources containing information on Native American population structure. One major error, according to Thornton (1981:91), is that the original eye-witness reports on population size may be miscalculations but are considered nonetheless as accurate, and, therefore, have never been questioned; and, a second error is:

…the impossibility of always obtaining data for the same year, from the same source, or for the same tribal unit. This results in error in the comparability of figures reported here. Both sources of error are unavoidable. Both are also basically unmeasurable (i.e., it is not possible to ascertain the amount of error, if any).

Thornton (1981:91) suggests one way of reducing error in the data is to establish a dichotomization of each population variable:

In this case, error may be considered slight, as it would result only from a tribe being listed in the wrong one of two categories.

A variation on this control is implemented here to analyze the variables of dress, religion, etc., which are segmented into two values: Native American or Euro-American (see Chapters VII and IX).

It is in the area of Native American demography that the Annual Reports find their greatest utility (Johansson 1982). In the forefront of this research application of these records is the sociologist.

One interesting study on Native American population structure change during a crisis that utilizes Annual Reports data may be found in Thornton (1981, 1986). The sociologist, himself a Native American, interprets the 1890 Ghost Dance as a demographic revitalization movement. Thornton (1981, 1986) suggests that tribal participation in the Ghost Dance is capable of analysis when two demographic characteristics, population size and change, are considered.
Thornton's (1981, 1986) research is relevant to this study primarily because the origin of the Ghost Dance points to the Columbia Plateau (Spier 1935; Suttles 1957; Walker 1969). It is assumed here that Thornton's methodology may be applied to help explain earlier, contemporary, and later cult formations in the Columbia Plateau. In addition, I will attempt to construct such an explanation for the Columbia Plateau since there is support in the literature:

Such demographic variables [population size and change, and Dance participation] may have importance for analysis of other nativistic movements as well [Thornton 1981:88].

Nineteenth and twentieth century Native American written primary sources fall within three categories: published articles by Native Americans, verbal statements transcribed by Euro-Americans into diaries, treaty agreements and other government records (i.e., Annual Reports), and, evidence provided by informants to anthropologists, including myself. The first category contains the least amount of sources, especially for the Columbia Plateau. The other categories contain much more source material and information.

Columbia Plateau Native Americans who published articles in Euro-American newspapers and magazines are few in number. A timely account by Nez Perce Chief Joseph of his perceptions on the causes and outcome of the Nez Perce War was published in 1879. The article (Chief Joseph 1879) also contains much information on Native American values regarding ancestral land retention.

Native American concerns are prominent in the various treaty agreements, commissions, and the Annual Reports throughout the contact period in the Columbia Plateau. Although the concerns, hopes, and values presented were those of Native American males only, it is assumed that they expressed their people's mazeway. Their words are kept for posterity since Euro-American government personnel usually included an "on location" translator and transcriptionist whenever meeting in council. Statements made by chiefs are invaluable for they address issues which would affect all of their generations to come.

The ethnographies also contain a wealth of information on several Native American cultures in the Columbia Plateau. The ethnographies, and their limitations and potential was examined in Chapter II. It is suggested that much of the information excluded during fieldwork (see, for example, Spier's comments in Cline, et. al. 1938) would aid future researchers in providing important data on Native American culture, especially if a restudy is undertaken, and it is up to the researcher to seek this out.

One other source by Native Americans acquired by this researcher while tribal archaeologist for the Colville Confederated Tribes was the employment of tribal elders to verify sacred and secular sites on and off the Colville Reservation in Washington State (1979-1980). During my
employment as tribal archaeologist I had the opportunity to become immersed in Colville Confederated Tribal cultures for over eighteen months and learned a wealth of information about contemporary and historic values, beliefs, and ways of life. I had the opportunity to observe and participate in several ceremonies (including a syncretic funeral) as well as secular functions. I kept written and mental notes of these impressive events and rely on them to interpret the data here.

Summary

This chapter identifies the potential and limitations of several types of written ethnohistorical sources. It appears that the written sample's potential to further our understanding of Native American behavior and response during the contact period, and to identify those early strategies developed into the contemporary phenomenon of Native American nationalism in the Columbia Plateau, is excellent. The potential is high because limitations inherent in the data can be minimized through implementation of several interdisciplinary controls.

Each written and pictorial source also contains varying amounts of information on the variables mentioned in Chapter I and defined in Chapter VII of this study. Pictures, however, are limited regarding population data, for instance, the identification of kinship structures in a photograph with few or several people is nearly impossible without written or oral records to go on.

The study sample is a compilation of written and pictorial sources. These diverse sources are the creation of famous and not so famous people who came to the Columbia Plateau from Europe, Asia, and elsewhere in North America, for known and unknown reasons, each of whom described accurately and inaccurately, bits and pieces of Native American society during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. An international perspective helps to minimize the bias of strictly an American historical interpretation i.e., Frontier Thesis (Turner 1893), and presents a more holistic atmosphere in which to work within.

Chapter V provides a chronological guide to the pictorial record of Native Americans of the Columbia Plateau, specifically focusing on the non-Native Americans whose pictures contribute to the pictorial sample addressed here. Chapter VI discusses the size and content of the pictorial sample, and examines its potential as well as inherent limitations and controls. Overall, the pictorial data (a picture's content) requires the researcher to be more attentive to a whole range of different kinds of problems than is found within a written source.

Within this study, the pictorial data not only embellishes the written ethnohistorical sample, but also challenges its accuracy. This kind of rigorous holistic approach is far superior to reliance on only the written record. As previously mentioned, this study is the first of its kind to utilize both data sets within the Columbia Plateau culture area.
CHAPTER V
A CHRONOLOGICAL GUIDE TO THE PICTORIAL RECORD
OF THE NATIVE AMERICANS OF THE COLUMBIA PLATEAU
1840-1914

Now that the tribal relations of these Indians are fast being successively sundered by the process of removal to reservations, which so greatly modifies the habits and particularly the style of dress of the aborigines, the value of such a graphic record of the past increases year by year; and there will remain no more trustworthy evidence of what the Indians have been than that afforded by these faithful sun-pictures, many of which represent the villages, dwellings, and modes of life of these most interesting people, and historical incident of the respected tribes, as well as the faces, dresses, and accoutrements of many prominent individuals. [Hayden Prefatory Note, in Jackson 1877:iii].

Introduction

This chapter and the following chapter examine several aspects of the ethnohistorical pictorial sample of Columbia Plateau Native Americans during the temporal span under consideration here. This chapter specifically examines the following three groups: artists and illustrators, photographers, and cinematographers whose pictures are included in the pictorial sample in this study.

An examination of the backgrounds of the artists and illustrators is undertaken below followed by an examination of the photographers' and cinematographers' backgrounds. An examination of a person's background helps in the evaluation of his or her picture by identifying possible bias.

Table 5.1 provides a chronological listing of those artists and illustrators who travelled throughout the Columbia Plateau, and whose pictures are included in the pictorial sample in this study. Table 5.2 contains the same information for photographers who worked in the
region either as contemporaries or later arrivals. Both Table 5.1 and 5.2 are divided arbitrarily into five year intervals (see Chapter VII).

The individuals responsible for the creation of the pictorial record of Columbia Plateau Native Americans have several points in common, for example, each portrayed Native Americans in the contact period, and each were bound by technological constraints (for example, cumbersome cameras and equipment). The artist, illustrator, or photographer also was a product of his or her own culture. They came from several areas of the world in addition to North America, including, Asia (Japan), and Europe (Denmark, France, Germany and Great Britain).

Definitions

Picture

Defined in this study as either a painting (the use of color), illustration (lithographs, pen and ink and pencil sketches or drawings), or photograph (a produced black and white image of objects upon a photosensitive surface through the chemical action of light). The terms pictorial data, or pictorial or visual source all have the same meaning here, specifically, pictures of Native American people, their material culture (dwellings, artifacts, dress and personal embellishment etc.), or pictures that evidence Euro-American acculturation (for example, frame houses, dress, etc.).

Pictorial Sample

Defined in this study as the composite sample of all paintings, illustrations, and photographs collected by the author from 1982-1985. The pictorial sample represents only a selection of the total universe of pictures, or the pictorial record, composed of known and unknown collections, on Native Americans in the Columbia Plateau.

Artist

Defined here as a person of recognized talent who creates visual pictures with or without using colors.
Illustrator

Defined here as a professional who creates a visual picture using pen and ink or pencil, or who through technological means, specifically lithography, creates a visual print which is then colored afterward.

Photographer

Defined here as an amateur or professional who takes photographs (images or prints) of the social and natural environment with a camera and film for a wide variety of known and unknown reasons for pleasure or business.

Cinematographer

Defined here as an amateur or professional who documents a particular social or natural event at a specific period in time with a motion picture camera, the end result being an edited or unedited motion picture interpretation of the event.

Potential of Pictorial Data

Pictorial collections are valuable to the researcher beyond their historical significance (Blackman 1980 and 1973; Collier 1979 and 1967; Glenn 1983; and Scherer 1975). Unfortunately, social scientists have neglected pictures for research purposes, especially research on Native Americans (Ewers 1976). A picture, however, is a source that contains information on many different aspects of Native American culture omitted from the written record, including change in material culture (dwellings, dress and personal embellishment technology, etc.), and change in social, religious (cult or altered states of consciousness activity), economic, or political behavior, and the physical appearance of the individual, especially when pictures of the same individual or dwelling are available. Scherer (1975:78, footnote 4) provides several ways for anthropologists who use photographs as a research tool to identify specific types of change within the content of the picture:

Who is sitting with whom and where they are arranged in a formal photograph especially during delegation visits, can be used by researchers in the study of politics and status. What dance (especially ceremonial) was being performed at a given time and whether the photographer was allowed to take photographs of
it in its entirety can be interpreted. Types of food being prepared and eaten can show economic conditions, as pictures of house types can show change of habitation and availability of material over time.

Pre-Reservation Period Artists and Illustrators (1840-1854)

The 1840s (the beginning of the pre-reservation period as defined in Chapter VII of this study) witnessed the missionary and immigration frontiers that include the earliest group of pre-reservation period (1840-1854) artists (Kane, Point S.J., and Stanley) and illustrators (Agate, Drayton, and Geyer) in this study to portray Native Americans in the Columbia Plateau. Although paintings were made only by Kane, Point S.J., and Stanley everyone above sketched Native Americans in the region during this period of early contact.

This section is divided, for convenience, into two parts: pre-reservation period artists and illustrators, and reservation period artists and illustrators. The pre-reservation period artistic representations, I believe, are the closest portrayals of what anthropologists label "ethnographic present," when precontact Native American societies were yet basically uncontaminated by Euro-American culture.

Artists

Kane. Perhaps the most famous of all Canadian artists is Paul Kane, (1810-1871), [Harper 1971:44, photograph of Kane], an artist-explorer by profession. At age 37 he traveled throughout the Columbia Plateau in the year 1847 (Harper 1971). This period of time is one of important Euro-American and Native American relationships the consequences of which are addressed in Chapter IX.

Kane (Harper 1971) kept a record of his observations on Columbia Plateau Native American culture, not only on canvas, but in an informative diary. It was originally published in 1859, Wanderings of an Artist, and more recently, along with a generous sample of his portfolio, in Harper (1971). Kane (Harper 1971) sketched his Native American subjects of the region on location, however, his paintings were sometimes completed at much later dates. This point is further elaborated on in the next chapter. The various Native American groups Kane portrayed include: Cayuse, Colville, The Dalles, Kettle Falls, Kutenai, Lakes, Nez Perce, Spokane, and Walla Walla.

Kane became inspired to dedicate his artistic talent to portraying Native Americans after he met the famous Native American artist, Catlin (below), in 1843 while visiting London England, where Catlin had an exhibition of his Native American paintings (since 1840 at Egyptian Hall...
in Picadilly) (Hunt 1982). From then on Kane's "calling" was to help preserve what he perceived as the disappearance of the Native American (Harper 1971).

Harper (1971:15) is cited here at length to provide the reader with a description of the materials Kane worked with in the field, materials which any artist of the day, for example, Catlin, might also use:

...books for pencil and water colour studies are no more than ten inches across: a larger one 10 X 14 inches, with marbled cover, contains Whatman paper watermarked 1843...For more important works he carried oiled paper (possibly prepared pages from a larger sketchbook) on which he sketched using oil paints. These oil sketches on paper were light and could be packed into a much smaller space than either canvases or paintings on board...Preliminary studies in water colour exist for others, and presumably he had transcribed them into oil at the first available moment while the immediate mood was still upon him.

**Point S.J.**. Point, S.J. (1799-1868), was a French Jesuit who accompanied DeSmet in 1840 from St. Louis, Missouri, to establish the Catholic faith among several northern Columbia Plateau Native American groups, including the Coeur d'Alene, Flathead, Kutenai, Pend d'Oreille, as well as the Nez Perce from 1841 thru 1845. Point's S.J. paintings, like those of his contemporary Drayton, embellish a lengthy and accurate description (taking into account the ethnocentric content discussed previously in this study) of various aspects of Native American culture in the Columbia Plateau.

Point S.J. (Fuller 1931; Point 1967:12, 94-95), was the official diarist for the Jesuit contingency in the Columbia Plateau, and he perceived his paintings as a means of "silent preaching," using them in conjunction with the Catholic Ladder (a visual representation of the chronology of the Church). Native Americans, however, perceived his paintings from their own perspectives (Point 1967). Native American perceptions of pictures in general are addressed in Chapter XIV.

Point S.J. (Point 1967) had no formal training as an artist yet he painted scenes and people with clarity "on location." Point's S.J. (Point 1967) pictorial collection also includes sketches, several of which may be found in DeSmet (1847 in Thwaites 1906). His own major literary contribution describes his experiences among the various Columbia Plateau indigenous groups during the first half of the 1840s: *Souvenirs Des Montagnes Rocheuses* which is included in Point (1967).

**Stanley.** When Stanley (1814-1872) [photograph in Taft 1938] was selected to be the leading artist for the 1853 Pacific railroad survey expedition, he had already gained prominence as one of the best western
illustrators of Native American subjects (Taft 1953). Several of Stanley's illustrations are found throughout the Pacific Railroad Survey Reports (1855-1860). The lithographs focus on several Columbia Plateau Native American groups, including the Flathead, Nez Perce, and Spokane. Stanley also portrayed the Catholic mission among the Coeur d' Alene, and the Protestant mission Tsimakain, among the Spokane (Taft 1953). All of Stanley's illustrations of the above mentioned Native American groups are included in the pictorial sample of this study.

Stanley returned to Washington D.C. in 1854 direct from the expedition to begin preparations of the lithographic illustrations found throughout the twelve volume reports of the railroad surveys which were published by the United States government between 1855 and 1860 (Hunt 1982). According to Taft (1953), however, it was a full year before work was begun preparing the field sketches as illustrations for the final survey reports.

Unfortunately, most of Stanley's priceless Native American gallery collection housed in Washington D.C. was destroyed by fire in 1865 (Hunt 1982). The collection included more portraits painted by Stanley of Spokane Native Americans than of any other Columbia Plateau Native American group (Ruby and Brown 1970).

Illustrators

Agate. The illustrators Agate and Drayton were from New York City and Philadelphia, respectively. They accompanied Commander Wilkes (Wilkes 1845) as artists working as part of the United States Pacific Exploring Expedition (1838-1842) (Viola 1981). The expedition reached the southern part of the Columbia Plateau in 1841 (Wilkes 1845).

Agate was an illustrator before joining the expedition (Hunt 1982). Upon his return to the United States in 1842, Agate moved to Washington D.C. where he prepared several sketches for publication in Wilkes' (1845 vol.4) reports (Hunt 1982).

Drayton. Prior to the Wilkes's expedition, Drayton was an engraver (Hunt 1982). In 1842 he once again joined Agate in Washington D.C. to help prepare the beautiful color lithographs found throughout Wilkes' reports (Hunt 1982). In addition, Drayton's sketches of Wishram, Chinook, and Walla Walla Native Americans embellish nearly one hundred pages written by him on these cultures within the Wilkes' reports (1845) (Fuller 1931).

Geyer. Geyer, a botanist from Dresden Germany, made sketches throughout Oregon Territory in 1843 and 1844. Geyer traveled with Sir William Drummond Stewart and his expedition to the Rocky Mountains in 1843 (Drury 1976). His sketch of the Protestant American Board of Commissioners Foreign Mission, called Tsimakain among the Spokane Native Americans, is also included in the pictorial sample of this study.
Table 5.1
Columbia Plateau Artists and Illustrators
(1840-1894)

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<tr>
<th>Time Period</th>
<th>Artists</th>
<th>Illustrators</th>
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<tr>
<td>1840 - 1844</td>
<td>Point</td>
<td>Agate, Drayton, Geyer</td>
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<tr>
<td>1845 - 1849</td>
<td>Kane, Point</td>
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<tr>
<td>1850 - 1854</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>Sohon, Stanley</td>
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<tr>
<td>1855 - 1859</td>
<td>Catlin</td>
<td>Sohon</td>
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<tr>
<td>1860 - 1864</td>
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<td>Bidwell, Lindley, Lord Lyall, Pierson</td>
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<td>1865 - 1869</td>
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<td>Toft</td>
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<td>1870 - 1874</td>
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<tr>
<td>1890 - 1894</td>
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<td>Routledge</td>
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Reservation Period Artists and Illustrators (1855-1916)

The following artists and illustrators have been included here because each has pictorial data in the pictorial sample of this study: Catlin, a famous mid-nineteenth century artist who portrayed Native Americans of the Trans-Mississippi West; Lord and Lyall, British members of the North American British International Boundary Commission party (1858-1862); Routlebg, a late nineteenth century illustrator for a Spokane Washington magazine; Sohon, a Prussian (German) immigrant; and Tofft, a Danish immigrant who became a famous Pacific Northwest illustrator during the late 1860s.

Artists

Catlin. Catlin's (1796-1872) contribution to the pictorial sample in this study is rather limited, with only one sketch of two Spokane Native American males. This sketch was made during one of Catlin's last excursions (1853-1860) among several Native American groups in the trans-Mississippi West (Ruby and Brown 1981 and 1970). Catlin's work is critiqued in Chapter VI.

Sohon. Sohon (1825-1903) [photo in Ewers 1948] was a portraitist and topographical engineer who emigrated to the United States from Prussia (Germany) in 1842 (Hunt 1982). Sohon enlisted in the United States army in 1852, and spent the next decade as an artist on many United States exploratory expeditions, including the Pacific Transcontinental Railroad Surveys (under I.I. Stevens and Captain Mullan, as well as artist Stanley, 1853-1854), and the equally famous Mullan's Road (a military road construction project from Fort Benton, Missouri to Fort Walla Walla in the Columbia Plateau, 1858-1862) (Ewers 1948; Taft 1953). Sohon served as a guide and interpreter on this latter project (Ewers 1948; Harper 1971; Hunt 1982; Taft 1953).

Sohon is best known for his portraits and illustrations of Columbia Plateau Native Americans during the 1855 treaty-making between Washington Territory Governor I.I. Stevens and various Pacific Northwest Native American groups. Sohon sketched prominent Native American leaders (headmen and shamans) of the Cayuse, Flathead, Iroquois, Nez Perce, Pend d'Oreille, Walla Walla, and Yakima groups (Ewers 1948).

In addition to his sketches, Sohon compiled a 1500 word and phrase Flathead to English vocabulary manuscript curated at the Bureau of American Ethnology in Washington D.C. (Ewers 1948). Sohon's Native American portraits are in pencil. They are also included in both the Reports (1855-1860) and in the official report by Mullan (1863) (Taft 1953). Some of the portraits are even color coded, that is, letters are assigned to represent various colors. The issue of color is addressed in the following chapter.
Illustrators

Lord. Lord received an education at the Royal Veterinary College in London, England (Stanley 1970). Lord was a veterinary surgeon with the Turkish army during the mid-1850s Crimean War in central Europe (Stanley 1970). He then served as naturalist for the British International Boundary Commission (1858-1862), and later, in archaeological and scientific research for the Viceroy of Egypt (Stanley 1970).

Upon Lord's return to England, after serving as naturalist with the British International Boundary Commission along the British Columbia and Washington State boundary, Lord (1866) published a two volume set of his scientific botanical findings and his keen observations of the Native American inhabitants of the region, specifically, the Colville, Kutenai, and Lake groups. The illustrator who drew the pictures found in Lord (1866), depicting the various Native American groups, their burial grounds, and dwellings, is most likely Lord himself, although another candidate is Pierson, an illustrator who is responsible for the illustrations of fauna. It is my opinion that the illustrations of Native Americans are by Lord since the signature in the corner of each illustrations appears to be a "J" superimposed over the letter "L".

Lyall. During the early 1860s, Lord (1866) was not the only member of the British North American International Boundary Commission to write of his experiences in the northern Columbia Plateau. British Naval Commander Mayne (1862) also wrote of his experiences, and his book includes a few sketches of Colville and Lake Native Americans by several other members of the Commission including Lyall.

Lyall was a surgeon and naturalist in the Royal Navy assigned to a British International Boundary Survey vessel in 1858 (Stanley 1970). Lyall was promoted to staff surgeon in 1861 and thereafter became Deputy Inspector of General Hospitals and Fleets, retiring in 1873 (Stanley 1970). Lyall, Lord, Mayne, Wilson, and other British International Boundary Commission members, provide an accurate written and pictorial portrayal of several Columbia Plateau Native American groups (Colville, Kutenai, Lakes, and Pend d'Oreille) during the early 1860s, a little understood time period in Columbia Plateau Native American history.

Toftt. Tofft (1825-1901), originally from Denmark, gained a reputation throughout the Pacific Northwest as an illustrator during the 1860s and 1870s (Taft 1953). Tofft's fame rests with his illustrations that accompany the article by Colonel Cornelius O'Keefe (Thomas Francis Meagher): "Rides Through Montana," in Harper's Magazine (1867:568-585 volume 35), (Taft 1953). The particular illustrations by Tofft included in the pictorial sample in this study focus on the Flathead Agency, and St. Ignatius Mission in Montana Territory: each contains Native American dwellings, and or people. Tofft accompanied O'Keefe on a journey across Montana Territory in 1866, and his sketches were based on eyewitness accounts (Taft 1953).

Routledge. There are many reasons provided below as to why only two illustrations in this study were chosen for analysis for the temporal
span 1870-1900. One depicts a Spokane family in 1890 by the illustrator Routlebge. No information was secured on Routlebge other than that this sketch appeared in the *West Shore* magazine (November 8, 1890). The other illustration represents several Native Americans at The Dalles fishery on the Columbia River in 1894. The illustrator sketched the camp in the *Northwest Magazine* (April, 1894). Background information is not available on this illustrator either.

**Author's Bias**

I found little data on illustrators in the pictorial sample assembled for analysis in this study after 1870. There are several possible reasons for this scarcity of illustrations during this period, and the complete lack of paintings in this study sample after the period 1840-1849. The most obvious lies within the selection process of the sample since newspapers, the major outlet of illustrations during the 1870s and 1880s were not sought out by the author. For example, illustrations appeared in *Harper's Weekly* (November 17, 1877) of the surrender of Chief Joseph and the "non-treaty" Nez Perce to General Howard of the United States Army (Josephy 1965).

Another reason for the lack of paintings and illustrations from the last quarter of the nineteenth century lies in innovations in photographic technology addressed below. By the 1870's photographic equipment was advanced enough to become portable (Blackman 1980) and portrayed an event with far greater detail than did a sketch. In addition, by the 1880s the camera was easier to operate so reliance upon it may have quickly supplanted the illustration.

**Columbia Plateau Reservation Period Photographers (1859-1914)**

The photographers whose subjects were Columbia Plateau Native Americans were people whose backgrounds and lives are as diverse as the artists and illustrators already discussed. This section provides a chronological overview of these photographers arbitrarily divided into decades. Most of the photographers whose pictures are included in the pictorial sample have been identified by name and are in Table 5.2.

**Overview: The Photographic Technological Revolution**

During the 1860s and 1870s, photography was a tedious process, especially in the field, since the photographer had to wield a huge camera, a dark tent, boxes of chemicals, and scores of large and bulky glass negatives (Blackman 1980). It was not until the mid-1880s that a revolution came about in photographic technology. In 1884 George Eastman introduced the first paper-roll film which replaced the heavy, cumbersome glass plates (Scherer 1975).
Photographers prior to 1884 only used the wet-plate process (Taft 1942). Scherer (1975:67) provides a description of the wet-plate process and addresses one of its most striking limitations, that is, the rigid expressions seen on the faces of the photographer's subjects:

"...the glass was covered with an iodized collodion and then bathed in a silver nitrate solution. The picture was then exposed for several minutes to fix the image and then developed immediately...The plate could be used only when it was wet...after the plate was dry it was varnished and packed in a wooden grooved box to await making prints at a later time. An individual being photographed was frequently backed into a metal vice to keep him, particularly his head, still during the exposure...This limitation of equipment should be taken into consideration when one views posed, 'stoic' portraits of Indians."

The decade of the 1890s witnessed an explosion in terms of the number of commercial and amateur photographers interested in the subject of the Columbia Plateau Native American. One reason for this apparent interest might have been the invention of the Kodak camera in 1888 by Eastman which appealed to a larger market (Lyman 1982). No longer did the photographer have to rely on the cumbersome wet-plate process, so the Kodak camera made it possible to make one hundred exposures without reloading the camera (Lyman 1982). But, according to Lyman (1982:31), the most important change was not with the Eastman Kodak camera per se, "...but the concept of separating the operation of taking the pictures from that of developing and printing."

Prior to this time, the photographer did all three steps, while after 1888 the photographer sent the paper roll of negatives to Eastman's company where they were developed and printed in a little less than three weeks (Lyman 1982). However, several photographers, most of them amateurs, continued to use the more cumbersome and time-consuming wet-plate process, probably due to cost, or a familiarity with the more widely used and accepted wet-plate process. There are several other reasons for the explosion of professional and amateur photographers in the Pacific Northwest during the 1890s which are a direct consequence of the new invention.

Money was to be made selling photographs for home entertainment with a viewer known as a "stereopticon." Another important reason (for the anthropologist and historian) was the desire to document, for posterity, what was believed to be the last of "the vanishing race."

1850-1860

Stanley. The artist Stanley brought the first daguerreotype camera on a western expedition, the Pacific Transcontinental Railroad Survey of 1853
Unfortunately, it appears that Stanley did not use his camera beyond Fort Benton, Missouri, and the extent to which it was employed remains unknown (Fleming and Luskey 1986; Taft 1942).

The earliest photographs in the pictorial sample in this study were taken by two unknown photographers both during the same year: 1859. One was taken in Portland, Oregon Territory in May or June, 1859 (Fuller 1931; Ruby and Brown 1970). The photograph was probably taken in a studio. It is a group picture of six northern Columbia Plateau Native American headmen and shamans, seated and dressed in ill-fitted Euro-American dress, with DeSmet, a prominent and famous Catholic Jesuit priest, standing behind them. It is possible that the photographer was Hender who had a studio in Portland around this time (Andrews 1964). Hender also made portraits of contemporaries Lane, McLaughlin, and Meek (Andrews 1964), each of whom is discussed in Chapters VIII and X of this study.

The other photograph was taken at the Hudson's Bay Company fur-trading post, Fort Colville, in Washington Territory. The three male Spokane Native American subjects were photographed either by an employee of the Company or by a member of the British North American International Boundary Commission in 1859. There is a photograph of a Commission member, Captain Wilson (1865) standing in front of the same door frame in 1860 as the Spokanes did the year before (in Stanley 1970). The Native American photograph was later made into an illustration and included in Lord's two volume set (1866) as well as in Ruby and Brown (1970).

From the 1860s to the present (1988) various Columbia Plateau Native American headmen representing a single Native American group or several groups have visited Washington D.C. in delegations to try to resolve their grievances over land disputes with the federal government. It is not surprising, therefore, that for each decade, excluding the decade 1900-1910, there exists in the pictorial sample in this study at least one photograph of a Native American delegation from the Columbia Plateau.

Two of the photographers, whose studios the early Nez Perce delegation of 1868 no doubt visited, were Gardner and Shindler. There appears to be some confusion in the literature as to who actually photographed this particular delegation since several of Gardner's photographs have erroneously been attributed to Shindler (Scherer 1975).

Gardner. Gardner (1821-1882) was a native of Scotland brought to the United States by the famous Civil War photographer, Brady, in 1856 (Taft 1938). In 1863 Gardner opened his own photographic gallery in Washington D.C. (Fleming and Luskey 1986; Taft 1938).
Shindler. Shindler (1823-1899) was an artist and photographer who left Bulgaria and also set up a gallery in Washington D.C. in either 1866 or 1867 (Glenn 1981). Shindler and Gardner must have known of each other's studios, but their backgrounds remain mired in confusion.

1870-1880

Jackson. Jackson (1843-1942) stands out among the other photographers of the 1870s as one who successfully, and accurately, portrayed Native Americans in everyday life (Fleming and Luskey 1986). Jackson was employed by the United States government as an official photographer, and he compiled and published the first descriptive catalogue on the United States Geological Survey's collection of photographic portraits of Native Americans (1877). The catalogue contains a report on valuable ethnological and photographic information on the Nez Perce Native Americans. A rare Jackson photograph of a Nez Perce camp in Montana Territory, dated 1871, is included in the pictorial sample of this study.

Haynes. The professional career of photographer Haynes (1853-1921) began in 1876 at Moorhead, Minnesota (Fleming and Luskey 1986; Taft 1942). Two years later Haynes undertook a tour of Fort Benton, Montana Territory, taking photographs along the way (Taft 1942). Although Haynes is best known as the official photographer of Yellowstone National Park in Wyoming State (1884-1916), his contribution to the pictorial sample in this study is an earlier photograph, one of Nez Perce Chief Joseph that was taken in 1878 at Bismark, North Dakota, less than a year after Joseph's surrender to General Howard. According to Josephy (1965) this particular photograph quickly became a collector's item all over the country.

Other Photographers. In addition to Jackson and Haynes several other photographers were active during the 1870s and 1880s and contribute to the pictorial sample here, including, Bell, Luy, and Phillips. Information on these photographers is limited, with background data only available on Bell who is discussed below.

The majority of photographs during this time period are of Nez Perce Native Americans with one of the pictures including another group, the Umatilla Native Americans. No other Native American groups are represented for the 1870s. One reason why this period is represented by only Sahaptin and not Salishan groups too, specifically the Nez Perce, is that the late 1870's were years of warfare for them (as well as for their neighbors the Plains Native American populations, both fighting against the United States). In addition, no Native American delegations were received in Washington D.C. for a year following the Nez Perce War of 1877 (Viola 1981).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Period</th>
<th>Photographers</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1855 - 1859</td>
<td>Hender (?), British Boundary Commission</td>
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<tr>
<td>1860 - 1864</td>
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<tr>
<td>1865 - 1869</td>
<td>Gardner, Shindler</td>
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<td>1870 - 1874</td>
<td>Jackson</td>
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<tr>
<td>1885 - 1879</td>
<td>Bell, Haynes, Luy, Phillips</td>
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<tr>
<td>1880 - 1884</td>
<td>Bailey, Dix, Mead, Bell, Prosch, Seufert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885 - 1889</td>
<td>Bell or Gill</td>
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<td>1890 - 1894</td>
<td>Gay</td>
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<tr>
<td>1895 - 1899</td>
<td>Avery, Jackson, LaRoche, Latham, Moorhouse, Pautzke, Prosch, Seufert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900 - 1904</td>
<td>Collier, Curtis, Gill, James Studio, Latham, Lesher, Moorhouse, Prosch, Rutter, Seufert, Spencer</td>
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<tr>
<td>1905 - 1909</td>
<td>Collier, Curtis, Fair, Latham, Matsura, Moorhouse, Nowell, Palmer, Prosch, Tolman</td>
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<tr>
<td>1910 - 1914</td>
<td>Curtis, Matsura, Palmer, Prentiss</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1880-1890: The Government Photographer and Delegations

Bell. As previously stated above, Gardner and Shindler photographed various Columbia Plateau Native American delegations during the late 1860s, and in the case of Gardner, throughout the 1870s. During the late 1870s, Bell (1848-1893), who had a gallery in Washington D.C., was employed by the Department of the Interior to photograph Native American delegations (Fleming and Luskey 1986; Viola 1981). Throughout the next decade (1880-1890) at least five Columbia Plateau Native American delegations visited Washington D.C.: the Columbia delegation (1879), the Okanogan and Spokane delegations (1883), the Flathead delegation (1884), and the Umatilla delegation (1889). Each of these delegations is represented in the pictorial sample in this study. It is not known exactly how many delegations visited Washington D.C. since the first in 1863 (Nez Perce), but other Columbia Plateau Native American delegations during this period for which there are no photographs in this study’s sample include: the Coeur d' Alene delegation (1887), and the later combined Columbia and Colville delegation (1899) (see Viola 1981).

Although several of the Columbia Plateau Native American delegation photographs during the 1880s do not contain information on the photographer, it is assumed for most of them that the photographer was Bell, since Gardner died in 1882, and the next prominent government photographer, Gill, was not hired until 1888 (Glenn 1983).

Gill. Immediately after Gill's appointment from supervisor of the United States Geological Survey to government photographer for the Bureau of American Ethnology (1889), he began photographing delegations for ethnological reasons (Fleming and Luskey 1986; Scherer 1975). As government photographer for the next forty-four years (1888-1932), Gill went on several expeditions to various Native American reservations, as well as continuing to photograph delegations visiting Washington D.C. (Fleming and Luskey 1986; Scherer 1975).

On-location Photographers

Bailey, Dix, and Mead. Several on-location photographs of Columbia Plateau Native Americans taken during the 1880s are also included in the pictorial sample in this study. They include photographs by Prosch, Seufert, and the gallery of "Bailey, Dix, and Mead." Andrews (1964), in a study of western picture gallery pioneers, lists an F.C. Bailey as a photographer in Spokane, Washington during the rather lengthy time period 1850-1910; whether this person is the same Bailey in Bailey, Dix, and Mead is unknown. Fleming and Luskey (1986) however document Bailey, Dix, and Mead during the late 1870s and early 1880s at Fort Randall, Dakota Territory.

Prosch. Prosch was a famous turn of the century Seattle, Washington newspaper reporter and amateur historian (Gidley 1979). Prosch's earliest photographs in the sample in this study were taken in 1880 and are photographs of Native Americans (both living and dead) in British
Columbia. These photographs were included with those of the Native American groups comprising the Colville Reservation sample of the pictorial data in this study.

Prosch's 1890s photographs in this study's sample include pictures of Entiat or Wenatchee and Nez Perce Native Americans. Turn of the century photographs by Prosch, also included here, consist of Chelan, Columbia, Nez Perce, Umatilla, and Yakima Native Americans.

Seufert. The Seufert family came to the Columbia Plateau during the early 1880s, and soon after installed fish-wheels and seines along a mid-section of the Columbia River, known as Celilo Falls (Seufert 1980). To several Columbia Plateau Native Americans Celilo Falls was considered both a sacred and secular site, the ramifications of which are discussed in Chapters XII and XIII.

The Seuferts not only kept written records on their world famous cannery for over three generations, but also created a visual record which includes photographs of the resident Native Americans, some of which are rare, for example, of the Wishram-Wasco, and their well-known burial island, Memaloose, at the turn of the century (Seufert 1980).

1890-1900

United States government photographers continued during the 1890s to photograph Columbia Plateau delegations who visited Washington D.C.. Two such photographers, previously discussed, were Jackson and Gill. As was also previously mentioned, both Prosch and Seufert, both amateur photographers, were also busy photographing Columbia Plateau Native Americans throughout the Columbia Plateau during this period.

In addition to the above photographers, the pictorial sample in this study for the 1890s includes photographs by Avery, Curtis, Gay (one of only two female photographers in the sample), La Roche, Latham, Moorhouse, and Pautzke. The majority of these pictures were taken around the turn of the century. Background information, although admittedly sparse in some cases, was secured for all of the above photographers, except for Pautzke.

Avery. Avery was superintendent of schools on the Spokane reservation in Washington State (and bordering the eastern boundary of the Colville reservation) at the turn of the century (Gidley 1979). He was also an amateur photographer whose pictures have only recently come to light (Gidley 1979). Avery was well acquainted with two other photographers during this period: Moorhouse, United States reservation agent on the Umatilla reservation, Pendleton, Oregon; and Latham, Indian Affairs physician on the Colville reservation, Nespelem, Washington (Gidley 1979).

Curtis. By 1892 Curtis had the leading portrait studio in Seattle, Washington (Holm and Quimby 1980). There is some confusion in the
literature, however, as to the date Curtis began photographing Native Americans on a full-time basis: Gidley (1981:6) sets the date at 1895, whereas Lyman (1982:38,154) puts the date at 1898.

In 1899 Curtis accepted the position of official photographer for the Harriman Alaska Expedition (Holm and Quimby 1980). This does not appear to have been his first assignment as an expedition photographer. Although I was unable to locate any Curtis photographs earlier than the 1890's, he appears to have been employed as a photographer with the 1881 United States government sponsored Upper Columbia River system survey led by Symons (Hunt 1982). Whether in fact Curtis took photographs of Native Americans in addition to (it is reasoned) shorelines or other topographic features remains unknown to me. Curtis, however, is not mentioned in the final report, known as the Symons Report previously discussed in the last chapter (Symons 1967).

As guest of outdoorsman and editor of Field and Stream magazine, Grinnel, Curtis visited the Native American Crow reservation in Montana State in 1900 (Lyman 1982). Here he decided to dedicate himself full-time to photographing Native Americans (Holm and Quimby 1980). Grinnel believed the Native American was vanishing, which was true, demographically, for the United States Native American population dropped to an 1890 nadir of only 228,000 (Thornton 1981).

Curtis, like several artists and photographers before him (Kane, Catlin, Jackson, Stanley, etc.), was compelled to create a comprehensive pictorial record of the Native American (Gidley 1981). In 1906, multimillionaire J.P. Morgan subsidized fieldwork expenses for Curtis' (1907-1930) twenty-volume undertaking, The North American Indian, which took Curtis over twenty-three years to finish and which also contained ethnographic information (Flemming and Luskey 1986; Lyman 1982). When Curtis died in 1952, his fame as a photographer of Native Americans had already waned. Recently, however, his work is seen in a new light, as the most famous photographs of Native Americans (Lyman 1982).

Gay. In the late 1880s Jane Gay and anthropologist Alice Fletcher renewed a forty year friendship. When Fletcher, "the measuring woman," (the title given to her by the Nez Perce) went to the Nez Perce Lapwai Reservation in Idaho State to direct the United States governmental policy of allotment, Gay accompanied her as companion, domestic and to try her hand at photography (Flemming and Luskey 1986; Hoxie and Mark 1987).

Fletcher and Gay lived seasonally on the Nez Perce Lapwai Reservation in Idaho State for several years during the 1890s. Gay served as unofficial photographer of reservation life during that time (Flemming and Luskey 1986).

La Roche. La Roche, as his contemporary Curtis, was a professional photographer who owned a studio in Seattle, Washington, during the 1890s. La Roche had made a name for himself by taking photographs of
the gold miners, prospecting camp females, and important people who were on their way to the Klondike gold rush in the late 1890s (Gidley 1981).

Latham. Latham, on the other hand, was not a commercial photographer (Gidley 1979). In 1890 Latham was appointed as agency physician to the Colville reservation where he remained in Nespelem, Washington, until his retirement in 1910 (Gidley 1981). Latham's correspondence to his superiors in Washington D.C. contains not only information regarding the health of the Native Americans, but also other noteworthy observations on the numerous tribal groups residing on the reservation.

Moorhouse. Major Moorhouse was a commercial photographer during the 1890s in addition to his federal appointment as Indian Agent for the Umatilla Reservation. Moorhouse transported his gallery, including studio props, wherever he travelled throughout the Pacific Northwest (Scherer 1975).

1900-1913

Several of the photographers who were active during the 1890s continued to photograph Columbia Plateau Native Americans after the turn of the century, including Avery, Curtis, Latham, Moorhouse, and Prosch. In addition, post-1900 photographs taken by the following photographers and studios were also obtained for inclusion into the pictorial sample in this study: Brown, Collier, Fair, The James Studio, Rebecca Lesher, Matsura, Nowell, Palmer, Rutter, Spencer, and Tolman. Information was secured on the following: Brown, Fair, Lesher, The James Studio, Matsura, Nowell, and Tolman.

Brown. At the beginning of this century, Brown was a young lawyer who eventually became a Superior Court judge in the Pacific Northwest (Roe 1981). Brown set up his practice in the town of Okanogan, Washington, which borders the Colville reservation (Roe 1981). He became close friends with a Japanese-born photographer, Frank Matsura (see below), during the early 1900s (Roe 1981). Brown became an amateur photographer, no doubt influenced by his friendship with Matsura (Roe 1981).

Fair. The only information on the photographer by the name of Fair comes second hand from his contemporary, Prosch. On a photograph of a Nez Perce grandfather dated 1906, Prosch wrote that the picture is attributed to a Lewiston, Idaho, photographer named Fair (Pacific Northwest Collections, negative #NA 1320). No other information is available on Fair.

The James Studio (Yakima Washington). Postcard photographs were as popular during the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century as they are today in the late 1980s. One postcard photograph is included in the pictorial sample in this study. On March 10, 1901, Mr. and Mrs. Tommy Henry, both Yakima Native Americans, had their picture taken at The James Studio in north Yakima, Washington State.
Information on the Henrys was researched by Mrs. Adeline Fredin, Colville Tribal Historian, and provided to the author (Colville Tribal Photographic Collection, #lk-0004).

Lesher. The only other female photographer represented in the pictorial sample in this study besides Jane Gay is Rebecca Lesher. Dr. Lesher was the Native American Flathead reservation physician, located in Jocko, Montana State, at the turn of the century (Fahey 1974). It is assumed that Rebecca Lesher was Dr. Lesher's wife. The Rebecca Lesher photographic collection is curated at Gonzaga University, Spokane, Washington (Fahey 1974), and one photograph from this collection was obtained here for the pictorial sample.

Matsura. Frank Matsura [Sakae Matsuura] left his home in Japan in 1901, and arrived in the defunct mining town of Conconully, Washington, near the western boundary of the Colville reservation in 1903 (Roe 1981). During the early 1900s (1907-1913) Matsura, the professional photographer from Japan, left a pictorial legacy of the social and physical environment of the Colville reservation and the immediate regions beyond it's western boundary:

...pictures of an unusual quality and historical importance that are a record of life on one of North America's last frontiers [Roe 1981:13].

Matsura never returned to Japan, and died from tuberculosis in 1913, in the nearby town of Okanogan (Roe 1981).

Matsura, upon arrival to the Okanogan country, took on a job as a cook's helper and laundryman during the day, and at night developed his photographs in laundry room sinks (Roe 1981). He used both nitrate film and dry plates (Roe 1981).

Since Matsura did not have a studio until 1907, most of his earlier pictures were taken outdoors (Roe 1981). According to Roe (1981) he is also credited with introducing picture postcards to this Pacific Northwest frontier region.

Nowell. Nowell, another Pacific Northwest commercial photographer, was official photographer of the 1909 Alaska-Yukon Pacific Exposition (Andrews 1964). The Exposition commemorated the tenth anniversary of the arrival of the first ship bearing Klondike gold to Seattle, Washington (Roe 1981). Nowell's photographs of Nez Perce performers at the Exposition are included in the pictorial sample in this study.

Tolman. The photographer Tolman may have been an early resident on the Colville reservation and a neighbor of Dr. Latham, agency physician (Gidley 1979). According to Gidley (1979:126) Latham took the pictures for Tolman who then had them copyrighted, and:
Somehow, the reverse story got abroad and, it seems, was generally believed. The copyrighting of other people's work is also quite common in the history of photography, and was certainly not necessarily an unfriendly gesture.

Although this may be true, included in the pictorial sample in this study is a 1906 photograph taken by T.W. Tolman of Gregory Stuyochin, a Kalispel Native American (in Fahey 1974). This particular photograph is dissimilar to those taken by Latham during this same period, both in content and style.

**Cinematography**

There are two 16mm documentary films that deal with negative twentieth century impacts sustained by Columbia Plateau Native Americans, specifically the Native American people of the Colville reservation in northeastern Washington State. The importance of these two films is that each contains several elements of contemporary Native American nationalism, and therefore may be used in the process of upstreaming (see Chapter VII).

**Echoes of Yesterday (Ball 1939)**

The earlier (1939) of the two films, entitled *Echoes of Yesterday*, is an eye-witness account of Native American response to the initial pool raise of the Grand Coulee Dam, Washington State, which inundated hundreds of prehistoric and historic secular and sacred sites and disrupted Colville traditions. An interview with the filmmaker's son, Mr. Donald Ball, conducted by the author during the Summer 1984 enhanced the value of the information obtained from the film itself.

**Lucy Covington: Native American Indian (1978)**

The other film is entitled *Lucy Covington: Native American Indian* (1978). This film focuses on the late respected tribal elder councilwoman of the Colville Confederated Tribes of Washington State, Lucy Covington. In the film, Lucy Covington expresses her deeply held feelings that it is the land that is most important to the Colville Confederated Tribes, and that termination (the 1950's federal Native American policy that attempted to disengage Native Americans from tribal identification and right to their lands) must always be guarded against.

Personal knowledge of Lucy Covington, and her relatives, with whom I worked for 18 months as tribal archaeologist, added a tremendous amount of knowledge about contemporary Native American values.
Summary

This chapter specifically examines those individuals, including their backgrounds where possible, who were responsible for creating the pictorial sample. This chapter and the next chapter continue to follow the format established in the preceding chapter, with the overall goal of providing the reader with an adequate appraisal on the authenticity and accuracy of the pictorial sample.

Chapter VI is a discussion of the overall makeup of the pictorial sample. Chapter VI also establishes the accuracy and authenticity of the pictorial sample through an examination of the artists', illustrators', and photographers' motives and pictures as well as identifying several limitations within the pictures, for example, the use of studio props by a photographer. In addition, the author after conducting an in depth critique of the data (a picture's content) imposes controls to minimize any bias.
CHAPTER VI
THE PICTORIAL SAMPLE

Introduction

Chapter VI examines the pictorial sample of this study. The sample is a rich legacy of 19th and early 20th century Native Americans. The chapter is divided into five sections. The first section discusses the chronological framework of the sample. The second section describes the sample's size and content including: number of people by sex; number of individual portraits, group, and people absent pictures; number of posed (formal) photographs; and the number of "natural" photographs. The third section discusses the spatial and temporal limitations in the sample. The fourth section is a discussion of controls and guidelines adopted here to minimize bias, for example, what license, if any, did the artist, illustrator, or photographer take to introduce props, or retouch a picture?

The fifth section establishes the accuracy and authenticity of the pictorial sample. Several of the artists and photographers whose pictures make up the sample are examined to determine if the pictures are authentic and accurate portrayals of Native Americans of the Columbia Plateau.

The Chronological Framework

The entire sample of 405 pictures was subdivided into fifteen five-year blocks of time. Pre-selected, standard five-year intervals were arbitrarily chosen, i.e., 1840-1844, 1845-1849, ...1910-1914.

Dated illustrations and paintings were assigned dates by the artists and illustrators themselves, usually on location. Dated photographs, whether a specific year or lengthy span, was usually assigned to a photograph by the photographer, a contemporary of the photographer, or a later ethnohistorian or historian.

Size and Content

The total number of paintings, illustrations, and photographs in the sample is 405 pictures. How the pictures were specifically selected is discussed in Chapter VII. The original sample was projected to be
415 pictures. However, when the temporal controls created by the author were implemented during the final selection process the sample was reduced to its present number.

The composition of the pictorial sample is as follows: 84 illustrations (21%); 59 paintings (14.5%); and 262 photographs (64.5%). This composition is made even more specific when these categories are addressed by reservation.

Table 6.1 provides data from 1840-1914 on the number of illustrations, paintings, and photographs, for all five Columbia Plateau reservations addressed in this study (see Table 7.2). Table 6.2 lists the Native American groups in the pictorial sample.

The pictorial sample is made up of seventeen Salishan speaking northern and central Columbia Plateau Native American groups, and ten Sahaptin speaking central and southern Native American groups. The Sahaptin speaking Nez Perce Native American sample is the most complete, in terms of chronology. The Nez Perce, in fact, are the only group (and reservation) represented in every five-year interval from 1840 to 1914.

A ranking from highest to lowest percent of the total number of pictures per five-year interval reveals both the earliest and terminal intervals contain much higher percentages than do those in-between (Table 6.1). On average, the sample may be broken up into the following distribution: the earlier five-year period intervals (1840-1859) contain about 35% of the total sample; the middle five-year set (1860-1894) about 11%; and the terminal five-year interval set (1895-1914) represents about 54%.

The initial and terminal intervals indicate that there exists enough data available to analyze the culture contact variables defined in Chapter VII. It also reveals that for the intermediate five-year interval set (1860-1894), where there exists the least number of pictures, more reliance must be placed on the ethnohistorical written record. There are several reasons for the scarcity of pictures during this intermediate temporal span, including, but not limited to: the United States War between the States (1861-1865); the Northwest and Plains Native American wars (1847-1878), and related governmental Native American policy; the early state of photographic technology; and Native American perceptions and beliefs about being "captured", that is, sketched or photographed.

Colville reservation sample

The Colville reservation pictorial sample contains the greatest number of pictures of all five reservations (158 pictures, 39%), specifically: 13 illustrations, 33 paintings, and 112 photographs. The Colville reservation sample also contains the largest number of paintings and photographs. The influence of the Colville reservation
Table 6.1

The Pictorial Sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>5-yr. Period</th>
<th>Colville</th>
<th>Flathead</th>
<th>Nez Perce</th>
<th>Umatilla</th>
<th>Yakima</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1845</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>20</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
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<td>1885</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>1900</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>405</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

^ A = Paintings; B = Illustrations; C = Photographs
Table 6.2

Native American Populations in the Pictorial Sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Colville</th>
<th>Flathead</th>
<th>Nez Perce</th>
<th>Umatilla</th>
<th>Yakima</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pre-Reservation (1840-1854)</td>
<td>Coeur d' Alene</td>
<td>Flathead</td>
<td>Nez Perce</td>
<td>Cayuse</td>
<td>Cascade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Colville</td>
<td>Flathead</td>
<td></td>
<td>Umatilla</td>
<td>Chinook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1855-1914)</td>
<td>Flathead</td>
<td></td>
<td>Walla</td>
<td>The</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kutenai</td>
<td>Kutenai</td>
<td></td>
<td>Walla</td>
<td>Dalles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lakes</td>
<td>Pend d' Oreille</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Wishram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Spokane</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rese-</td>
<td>Chelan</td>
<td>Flathead</td>
<td>Nez Perce</td>
<td>Cayuse</td>
<td>The</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ervation (1855-1914)</td>
<td>Columbia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Palouse</td>
<td>Dalles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Colville</td>
<td>Kalispel</td>
<td></td>
<td>Umatilla</td>
<td>Wishram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kutenai</td>
<td>Kutenai</td>
<td></td>
<td>Walla</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lakes</td>
<td>Pend d' Oreille</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yakima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nespelem</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nez Perce</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Okanogan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Spokane</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Entiat-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wenatchee</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yakima</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
sample on the total sample is apparent especially for the earliest five-year interval (44% for 1840-1844) as well as later five-year intervals (61% for 1900-1904; and, 82% for 1905-1910). However, the Colville sample's influence on the total sample at other times is minimal, for example, 13% for the five-year block 1910-1914, reasons for which are provided below in the section on Curtis portraits.

Flathead reservation sample

The Flathead reservation has the second largest number of pictures in the sample (97 pictures or 24%), specifically: 36 illustrations, 19 paintings, and 42 photographs. The Flathead reservation sample, in terms of illustrations, is the most numerous of all of the reservations (43% of the total sample).

Nez Perce reservation sample

The Nez Perce reservation ranks third in the total number of pictures contributing to the sample (61 pictures or 15% of the total sample), specifically: 11 illustrations, 6 paintings, and 44 photographs.

Yakima reservation sample

The Yakima reservation sample ranks fourth, and includes 47 pictures (12% of the total sample), specifically: 8 illustrations, and 39 photographs. There are no paintings represented in the sample for the Yakima reservation.

Umatilla reservation sample

The Umatilla reservation sample ranks last (42 pictures or 10% of the total sample), specifically: 1 painting, 16 illustrations, and 25 photographs.

Sample Population by Sex

The pictorial sample is made up of 1,307 identifiable Columbia Plateau Native American females and males. The sample contains 482 females (37%) and 825 males (63%). Table 6.3 provides information on the number of females and males in the sample by year. The sample does not contain any Euro-American people.

Native American females and males were counted separately. However, no distinction was made by the author between adults, adolescents, or children. The number of infants in the sample is relatively small (less than 3%).
It is interesting to note in Table 6.3 that the percentage of females and males in the sample appears to be about equal for the post-1900 five-year intervals. One reason is bias in the sample: the inclusion of 38 photographs of Native Americans from several Colville reservation groups taken by resident governmental physician, Dr. Latham, of which 36 photographs contain only females in them.

Latham found Colville reservation Native American females much more agreeable to pose than he did males (Gidley 1975). Gidley (1979), however, includes just about as many Native American males photographed by Latham in his book as he does females.

**Portrait, Group, and People-Absent Pictures**

The pictures in the sample may be classified into the following three categories: individual portraits of females or males; group pictures of either sex, and of both sexes represented; and, pictures without people, represented by material items or environmental scenes, for example, baskets, dwellings, pictographs, or sacred sites (vision quest stations).

Table 6.4 provides a listing by reservation, in five year intervals, on the number of individual and group pictures in the sample. A group picture is defined in this study as an illustration, painting, or photograph, containing two or more Native Americans. There are 197 individual portraits (49%) and 175 group pictures (43%) in the total sample of 405 pictures.

Table 6.4 also provides data on the number of paintings, illustrations, and photographs without people. This category is made up of 33 pictures (8% of the sample), specifically: 8 illustrations, 3 paintings, and 22 photographs. Photographs of material items or environmental scenes represent only 22 photographs (8%), leaving 240 (92%) of the photographic sample with people in them.

**Formal (Posed) and Natural Photographs**

The sample contains 262 photographs (Table 6.1). It is of interest to examine the sample to determine how many of these photographs are formal or posed, and how many are natural, that is, taken by a photographer who was only an observer of the event.

Table 6.5 lists the occurrence by decade of posed and natural photographs. Each type of photograph, natural or posed, is divided into one of two categories: inside or outside location.

Table 6.5 indicates that 79 (33%) of the posed photographs of the total sample (240 posed photographs) were taken inside, specifically, in a studio; and, the remaining 146 (61%) posed photographs were taken
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Period</th>
<th>No. of Males</th>
<th>No. of Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1840 - 1844</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1845 - 1849</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850 - 1854</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855 - 1859</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860 - 1864</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865 - 1869</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870 - 1874</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875 - 1879</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880 - 1884</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885 - 1889</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890 - 1894</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895 - 1899</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900 - 1904</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905 - 1909</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910 - 1914</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals (%)</td>
<td>825 (63)</td>
<td>482 (37)</td>
<td>1307</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
outdoors. This suggests that 94% of the photographs represent Native Americans who were posing before the camera.

Table 6.5 indicates, on the other hand, that natural photographs (where the photographer is observer) of Native Americans make up only 15 (6%) of the 240 photographs in the photographic sample. Table 6.5 also reveals that none of the photographs fell into the "natural inside" category, all of the 15 photographs (6%) were in the "natural outside" category.

The primary reason why the majority of photographs fall into the posed outdoors category is directly due to the influence on the sample of the following post-1900 photographer’s contributions to it: Curtis, Latham, and Matsura. In addition, other photographers during the later five-year intervals (post-1900) chose for a number of reasons, from financial to aesthetic, to photograph subjects outdoors.

Limitations

Although some limitations in the sample exist, they are not insurmountable. Limitations are grouped here into two categories: temporal and spatial. Temporal limitations include gaps, sometimes extensive, in the sample due to the unavailability or scarcity of pictures during the collection procedure.

One temporal limitation discussed below is the date assigned to a picture, specifically a lengthy time span, for example, a date between 1890 and 1910. It was necessary, in such cases, to establish a more definite "absolute date". Another limitation is the disproportionate number of group pictures in several five-year intervals. Yet another temporal limitation is the presence in the sample (for certain five-year intervals) of bias that favors one artist or photographer, for example, Curtis (1910-1914), Latham (1900-1904), Matsura (1904-1909) or Point (1840-1844).

Spatial limitations also occurred due to a lack of pictures. This required the author to assign the various Native American groups into one of five reservations in the Columbia Plateau. The Columbia Plateau Native American study unit and reservation classification scheme are both addressed in Chapter VII.

Colville Group Photographs

Another limitation that adds bias to the sample is the disproportionate number of group photographs per five-year interval representing only one Native American reservation: the Colville reservation. Table 6.5 reveals that the Colville reservation sample contains 63% group pictures and 61% of the individual portraits of the total sample for the interval 1900-1904; and, 83% group pictures and 83% individual portraits for 1905-1909.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Period</th>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Individual</th>
<th>People Absent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1840 - 1844</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1845 - 1849</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850 - 1854</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855 - 1859</td>
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<td>1860 - 1864</td>
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<td>1865 - 1869</td>
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<td>1870 - 1874</td>
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<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875 - 1879</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880 - 1884</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885 - 1889</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890 - 1894</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895 - 1899</td>
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<td>1900 - 1904</td>
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<tr>
<td>1905 - 1909</td>
<td>29</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>1910 - 1914</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals (%)</td>
<td>175 (43)</td>
<td>197 (49)</td>
<td>33 (8)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6.5
Posed and Natural Photographs in the Sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Period</th>
<th>Posed Studio</th>
<th>Posed Outdoors</th>
<th>Natural Inside</th>
<th>Natural Outdoors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1840 - 1849</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
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<td>1860 - 1869</td>
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<td>1870 - 1879</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>1880 - 1889</td>
<td>9</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>1890 - 1899</td>
<td>22</td>
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<td>1900 - 1909</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>79</td>
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<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910 - 1914</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals (%)</td>
<td>79 (33)</td>
<td>146 (61)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>15 (6)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Colville sample's influence during the two post-1900 five year intervals is made even more apparent if one considers that the ratio between group and individual pictures for all five reservations combined is 69% and 31% respectively (1900-1904); and, 55% and 45% respectively for 1905-1909. The ratio between group and individual pictures for the Colville reservation during these same intervals is 52% group pictures and 48% individual pictures (1900-1904); and, 68% group pictures and 32% individual pictures for 1905-1909. To minimize these discrepancies, the sample is also made up of photographs from several other photographers of Native American groups for all five Columbia Plateau reservations throughout the temporal span under consideration.

**Curtis Portraits**

During the final five-year interval 1910-1914, group pictures make up only 27% of the total photographic sample as compared to 73% individual portraits. This increase is due primarily to the influence of the Curtis photographs, since the majority of his photographs fall in this terminus interval. However, for this same time, the Colville sample's influence is minimal: 12% group pictures and 13% portraits.

**Lack of Color: Black and White Photographs**

One obvious limitation in the photographic sample is the state of photographic technological development during the mid to late nineteenth century previously discussed in Chapter V. The sample, in terms of its photographic content, is void of color, unlike the earlier paintings by Point S.J. (Point 1967) or Kane (Harper 1971), or the later cinematography of Ball (1939). Even for some of the illustrations by Sohon there is at least an idea of the colors worn.

It is unfortunate in many respects that the photographs are without color. With the addition of the element of color our knowledge of Native American material culture including the display of symbols would be greatly enriched, especially since certain colors represent a myriad of beliefs (ethnographers have identified particular colors as being more important and carrying different meanings for particular Columbia Plateau Native American groups, for example, Ray 1933). Possibly, computer colorization of these archival photographs is just on the horizon.

**Studio and Museum Props**

The identification of studio or museum props in a photograph is important to this study since one goal is to identify Native American allegiance to the Native American group, for example, by their dress, and interpret why the person or group was portrayed in the manner depicted at a particular time in history. Posed or formal photographs
with props in them do not necessarily mean that the rest of the picture's content is entirely inaccurate.

Once the researcher has identified and eliminated the props, and hopefully understands why they were included in the first place, there is still a wealth of material and behavioral data to be addressed (Collier 1967; Scherer 1975; Wagner 1979). It is not the author's sole intent to identify reasons why props were included by an artist or photographer but, more importantly, to understand why Native American subjects posed with props.

**Clothing.** The giving of Euro-American suits as gifts to Native American delegates began in the late eighteenth century (Viola 1981). The United States government's goal was to portray the Native American as an adherent to "civilization and progress."

One prop the researcher must consider is exchanges of clothing between various Native American Washington D.C. delegation members as well as Native Americans dressed in Euro-American machine sewn Native American costumes on hand at galleries and studios across the country. The author has found evidence of the use of props in the sample, for example, the 1884 Flathead Native American delegation photograph including machine made fringe and a backdrop with Native American skin lodges depicted on it.

Photographs should be scrutinized closely to identify if the same clothing is worn by several people especially when "...judgments are to be made about either the studio or the authenticity of the attire worn by the delegates (Viola 1981:182)." This caution I believe also applies in cases where Euro-American clothing is worn by the Native American delegation.

As late as 1905 two Native American Yakima leaders were prohibited from leaving the Yakima reservation in Washington State to participate in T. Roosevelt's Inauguration Parade in Washington D.C. until they appeared before the authorities dressed in Euro-American suits (Viola 1981). It is clear, however, that once the Native American delegate left Washington D.C., most often the "citizen's dress" was also left behind.

**Dwellings.** In addition to government photographers using various props, including painted backdrops with Native American lodges in them, actual lodges have been used by photographers for props. The author has found evidence of this in the sample, for example, in the Curtis (1910) photograph entitled "Spokane Camp", in which a canvas Plains Native American dwelling appears to have been set up only for the photograph.

Overall, the pictorial sample does not contain many props in it. A discussion aimed at solving the prop problem is presented below.
Controls and Guidelines

Controls and guidelines are imposed on the sample by the author in order to minimize bias. Several controls and guidelines are worthy of discussion to help rectify the limitations in the sample identified earlier in this chapter.

Because the subfield of ethnographic pictorial analysis is a recent one to the discipline of anthropology (Collier 1967) it is important to review recognized guidelines below. The pictorial record, perhaps even more so than the written record, must be carefully analyzed and studied by employing interdisciplinary guidelines to aid the researcher in identifying inaccuracies in the data (Scherer 1975). Several anthropologists and social historians have proposed numerous guidelines for the purpose of identifying bias in the pictorial record (Blackman 1973, 1980; Collier 1967, 1979; Scherer 1979; Taft 1938; Wagner 1979).

The social historian Taft (1938) established one of the earliest criteria upon which to judge the historical value of a photograph:

a.) the photographic content is of significant aspects of Euro-American material culture or environment (Turner's (1893) frontier influence is evident here), or its development, including any person, event, or scene of potential historical value (Taft 1938).

b.) ...the photograph must show not only arrested time but elapsed time, which may be done by securing photographs at intervals, recorded from the same location [Taft 1938:319].

c.) documentation of information on subject and photographer, the date of the recording (either given or established).

d.) determination of truthfulness i.e., through a comparison with written records and other photographs to identify technical tampering and altering, or the inclusion of studio props (Taft 1938).

The author has adapted "a" above to identify significant aspects of Columbia Plateau Native American culture, instead of Euro-American culture. Scherer (1975) identifies several other guidelines to follow in evaluating the authenticity of the pictorial record:

a.) The photographer's background, including biases and goals.

b.) Location.
c.) Purpose for which the photograph was taken.

d.) Type of equipment and its limitations.

e.) Subject's background, including reaction to being photographed.

f.) The presence or absence of studio or museum props.

g.) The photograph in relationship to the surrounding historical period.

**Studio and Museum Props.** A control is required to identify studio and museum props. The content of each picture was carefully searched for studio and museum props. If the prop was damaging in regards to the significance of meaning of the picture (Taft 1953), that is, if the prop was the highlight of the content, for example, Curtis' use of Euro-American manufactured beaded buckskin dresses or Native American Plains war bonnets not indigenous to the Columbia Plateau Native American wearer, the picture was omitted from inclusion in the sample.

**Clothing.** A determination by the author as to whether a Native American in a photograph was wearing his or her own (or a relatives) clothing and not a studio prop is a detailed process. The following checklist was created by the author as an aid in determining whether the Native American was wearing his or her own clothing, or studio or museum props:

1. Ill-fitting Euro-American clothing.

2. Euro-American designed and machine sewn tailored fringed Native American costumes.

3. Beadwork and personal adornment items (including wigs) of Euro-American manufacture and design.

4. Native Americans from different and non-related groups wearing the same dress and personal adornment.

5. Museum accession tags or Euro-American manufacturing tags on clothing or material items.

**Dwellings.** The author also needed to determine whether a dwelling was a prop or an occupied home base. The following guidelines were created to identify a photographer's use of a dwelling as a prop:

1. The condition of the dwelling(s): new or weather-worn.

2. The presence or absence of a use area outside and surrounding the dwelling(s).
3. The presence or absence of camp gear (cooking utensils, drying racks, etc.), and condition of the gear.

4. The spatial arrangement of the dwelling(s): a single dwelling, or part of a group; and, the distance between similar dwelling types, and from Euro-American dwellings.

Illustrations. The same guidelines and controls applied to paintings may be used for illustrations. A pictorial sample is a collection of a set of documents, and as such determines if a picture's content depicts an actual event:

...the historian prefers as literal a transcript as the artist can render...it should be remembered that we are seeing, or attempting to see, past life through other skills and from a different viewpoint than that of the written record [Taft 1953:250-251].

The researcher should be aware that the reliability of eye-witnesses to events has occasionally been tarnished (Taft 1953).

Limit on Sample Population Size. One control employed to minimize bias in the sample was to limit the number of people per Native American group picture to ten individual females or males with another person of each sex counted for every additional five. This was accomplished through random selection.

Sample Accuracy and Authenticity

Establishing the accuracy and authenticity of the sample is of critical importance since analysis and interpretation rests on the outcome of the findings. The author has undertaken an examination of the backgrounds, motives, and contemporary works of the artists, illustrators, and photographers in order to make a determination of truthfulness, that is, the extent of "artistic licence," i.e., the use of props and/or an artist or photographer's own bias in interpretation. This is followed with a discussion of the necessary controls and guidelines imposed on the sample.

Background Data: Artists and Illustrators

Agate and Drayton. The artists Agate and Drayton sketched various southern Columbia Plateau Sahaptin speaking Native American groups in 1841. Both of these men came from the East coast of the United States, went to the Oregon Territory for one year (1841), and then returned to Washington D.C.
Drayton's sketches match his written contributions in the Wilkes (1845) report. I believe the works of Agate and Drayton are accurate depictions of Native Americans for several reasons, including: both men had no prior experiences among the Columbia Plateau Native American groups they came into contact with so neither one had any preconceived ideas on the groups; the artists were among the Native Americans for less than a year; and, they were both professional artists hired by the United States government to document the social and physical environments in the Pacific region, i.e., they were eye-witnesses.

Comparative analysis reveals that Drayton's illustrations of a female Walla Walla Native American wearing a precontact buckskin beaded "wing" dress (Wilkes 1845:399) is quite similar to the Nez Perce Native American dress Reverend Spalding mailed to his friend in Oberlin, Ohio in 1846 (Fletcher 1930), and to Native American dresses sketched by Kane and worn by Colville and Kettle Falls Native American females in 1847 (Harper 1971).

Catlin. Catlin, like his contemporary Kane, followed the format of delaying transcription, for example, he produced a series of paintings from field sketches obtained during his travels to South America and Northwest North America between 1853 and 1860. Catlin included also at that time for transcription to paintings several earlier sketches of Native Americans of the Trans-Mississippi West (Hunt 1982). The pictorial sample in this study includes only one field sketch by Catlin, and I consider it to be accurate based on a comparison of contemporary pictures of other Columbia Plateau Native Americans.

Kane. The 1840s slogan, "Go West young man", applied just as much to artists as it did to soldiers of fortune and other immigrants. The Oregon Territory during this period witnessed the arrival of several artists, probably the best known is the Canadian, Kane. As a matter of fact, Stanley, one of the most famous American artists at that time (and a friend of Kane's since the 1830s), arrived at Fort Vancouver in present day southern Washington State at the same time Kane was departing from the fort to travel north among several of the Salishan speaking Columbia Plateau Native American groups (Harper 1971).

The historical accuracy of the content of Kane's pictures has been previously established by Kane, himself, as well as by others (Harper 1971). As insurance, Kane secured certificates of authenticity from well known Hudson's Bay Company employees, such as Douglas at Fort Vancouver and Lewes at Fort Colville (Harper 1971). Harper (1971:38) considers Kane's pictures are accurate portrayals of Columbia Plateau Native Americans:

Whatever regrets we may have about Kane's departure from his sketches in painting his canvases, it is still true that they are an important contribution to our knowledge of the frontier of his day. Together, the sketches and canvases form an immense and striking panorama.
of the west and present the Indian and his life in all their variety. That panorama made an impression on everyone who saw it: the man in the street, a newspaper editor, a contemporary Canadian artist.

Point. The pictures by Point have been evaluated by the ethnohistorian Ewers (Introduction, Point 1967). Ewers (in Point 1967:ix) concludes that Point's pictures are quite accurate:

They are first-hand graphic representations of the Indians he knew and of their customs. Those pictures in which the human or animal figures are rendered at large-enough scale to show details, become pictorial documents of great interest to historians and anthropologists. They cover a wide range of subject matter. I marvel at his ability to reveal so much in such small pictures. Point's numerous scenes of Indian life are equally revealing as accurate portrayals of tribal customs of the eighteen forties.

Point painted his subjects in brilliant colors. Most importantly, Point took little, if any, artistic licence: "...his forms are rendered with precision and remarkable accuracy in detail (Ewers, in Point 1967:vii)."

It would appear that paintings by a religious person might contain content emphasizing denominational doctrine. In Point's pictures only about half contain holy symbols while the rest are void of them (Ewers, in Point 1967).

One other limitation of Point's paintings is the low number of females portrayed. This criticism is applicable to all of the artists, illustrators, and photographers whose pictures make up the pictorial sample here. This limitation is probably a reflection of their own socialization and professional training.

Sohon. The pictures by Sohon are entirely made up of sketches. Sohon's individual portraits (1854) of Flathead and Pend d' Oreille Native Americans, and his group illustrations of Flathead and Nez Perce Native Americans have also been judged by Ewers (1948:13) to be accurate:

...Sohon's drawings comprise the most extensive and authoritative pictorial series on the Indians of the Northwestern Plateau in pre-reservation days.

I am of the opinion that Ewers might now reconsider his earlier statement (1948) in light of the pictorial collection by Point (Point 1967), a full decade earlier than Sohon's sketches, and more varied and numerous. The potential Sohon's portraits reveal about early Euro-American and Native American contact in the Columbia Plateau are also addressed by Ewers (1948:62-63):
His portraits have given form and substance to some of the strongest Indian characters in western history. The appearance of the subjects of Sohon's portraits illustrates the Indian's selective adaptation of the white man's culture... At his best, in the portraits of the Flathead leader, Pelchimo, and the three Iroquois, Sohon's portraits deserve to rank with the finest works of white artists who visited the western Indian country in pre-reservation days.

Stanley. The illustrations by Stanley of Columbia Plateau Native Americans and their cultures are also accurate representations since they too were done when the artist was an eye-witness to various events while assigned to Steven's Pacific Railroad Survey expedition in 1853.

An idea of Stanley's fieldwork techniques, and his attention to detail may be found in a memorandum he wrote to I.I. Stevens of the role the artists would play on the Pacific railroad survey expedition (Reports 1855, Vol.I: 7-8; Taft 1953:275 footnote 58):

Sketches of Indians should be made and colored from life, with care to fidelity in complexion as well as features. In their games and ceremonies, it is only necessary to give their characteristic attitudes, with drawings of the implements and weapons used, and notes in detail of each ceremony represented. It is desirable that drawings of their lodges, with their historical devices, carving and etc., be made with care.

Stanley's representations of the various Columbia Plateau Native Americans are accurate portrayals.

One not so serious limitation of Stanley's artistic ability is that his illustrations for the final survey report (Reports 1855-1860) were made from field sketches that were already two years old (Taft 1953). As indicated in this section the practice of waiting until the artist returned from fieldwork (a tour) to transcribe sketches into paintings or illustrations at some later date was routine (Harper 1971; Taft 1953).

Background Data: Photographers

The photographers whose pictures make up the study sample were an international composite of amateurs and professionals. This predominately male group who focused their talents on photographing Columbia Plateau Native Americans and their cultures may be divided into
three categories of photographers: the anthropological and commercial photographer (after Scherer 1975), and the amateur photographer.

The recognition between the various kinds of photographers is important when performing content analysis. Sometimes it is difficult if not impossible to distinguish between them (Scherer 1975). Generally speaking, the anthropological photographer's objective was to document the perceived rapidly "vanishing American Indian" (in this study, for example, Bell, Gill, Gardner, Jackson, and Shindler). The commercial photographer, on the other hand, aspired to a different goal--profiting from the selling of photographs either by themselves or for use in a stereopticon as part of frontier and urban home entertainment (Scherer 1975). The Pacific Northwest photographers La Roch and Matsura fall into this category while Curtis and Moorhouse traverse the two kinds of photographers.

There also exists a third kind of photographer, the amateur photographer, represented by Gay and possibly Lesher in the sample here, whose sole motive for taking photographs was only for amusement. It is interesting to note that the only amateur photographers in this sample, Gay and Lesher, are also the only two female photographers.

Gardner and Shindler. The earliest identifiable photographs in the sample are by Gardner and Shindler. One of the two photographed the 1868 Nez Perce delegation in a Washington D.C. studio (Josephy 1965). Confusion as to who should be credited with the copyright of a photograph is considered by the author to be a minor problem in this sample.

Gardner is believed to have had his own collection of Native American costumes (Viola 1981). The extent to which he utilized these props was limited (Scherer 1975). This appears to be true since photographic evidence around 1870 (when Gardner was an active photographer of Native American delegations) indicates that the 1868 Nez Perce delegation wore and were photographed in their own or relative's dress (Taylor 1981).

Shindler is known to have employed a head vice to keep the Native American subject from moving and blurring the picture due to the lengthy exposure time required (Scherer 1975). At a later date than originally taken, another (unknown) photographer tampered with one 1860s photograph, also included in the study sample, by Shindler by painting out (only the top half of) the head vice, leaving the remaining bottom half in full view located between Nez Perce Chief Jason's legs (Scherer 1975).

Jackson. It is known that Jackson (1877:v) did not employ any props prior to 1877 as he provides a statement on the accuracy of his descriptive catalogue of photographs of Native Americans:

Particular attention has been paid to proving the authenticity of the portraits of the various
individuals represented, and it is believed that few, if any, mistakes occur in that aspect...all of the following portraits and views are photographed direct from nature.

The one photograph by Jackson (1877) included in the sample is an 1871 Native American Nez Perce camp in Montana Territory.

Gill. Gill, a later Washington D.C. government based photographer, took pictures of Native American delegations most likely without the aid of studio costumes. This conclusion is based on research by Glenn (1983:18) of around 1,000 of Gill's photographs:

Unless Gill had access to a very large wardrobe and it seems unlikely that this (supplying costumes) would be possible if he regularly furnished clothing to his subjects...it also seems possible that he took his subjects as he found them and that the Indians themselves are responsible for the way in which they are dressed.

Gay. Jane Gay was an amateur photographer who accompanied her childhood friend and companion Alice Fletcher, an early anthropologist, to the Nez Perce Lapwai Reservation during the 1890s (Hoxie and Mark 1987). Gay apparently photographed Native Americans for her amusement only, since she did not perceive her photographs to be of importance:

So little did she value the results of her work that she left the plate glass negative in Idaho, where they were stored in the attic of the Lapwai mission house [Hoxie and Mark 1981:xxx]." The author therefore believes that the photographs by Gay are accurate and authentic portrayals of Nez Perce reservation life during the turbulent early 1890s.

Curtis and Moorhouse. In addition to Washington D.C. studios, props, especially Native American Plains dress and ornamentation or combinations of Plains and Columbia Plateau style, were employed by several commercial photographers in the Columbia Plateau. The author concludes from an analysis of the pictorial sample that both Curtis and Moorhouse (two late nineteenth century and early twentieth century commercial photographers) sometimes used props in their pictures, including their own machine manufactured costumes (see Blackman 1980).

Schuster (1982:79) offers the following criticism of Curtis' photographic portrait of Native American Yakimas which I believe is just as applicable to Curtis' and Moorhouse's and a few other photographer's pictures of non-Yakima Columbia Plateau groups:
Many of Curtis' photographs are sensitive portraits of Yakima life, but other scenes are too posed and artificial, hardly representative of Yakima Indians in the first decade of the twentieth century and certainly not of aboriginal culture.

The Curtis photographs in the study sample have been examined with the utmost care by the author since Curtis was a commercial photographer first and amateur anthropologist second.

Curtis, for example, carried with him ethnological props from museums (Blackman 1980; DeWall 1982). Curtis, however, (after the author's scrutinizing of his pictures in the sample of this study) appears to have taken artistic licence with several props by using the same ones indiscriminately for several non-related Native American groups. For example, a deerskin "wing" dress is worn by a Salishan speaking Nespelem Native American female in the picture Nespilem Girl as well as by a Sahaptin speaking Cayuse Native American in In the Forest; and, the same war bonnet is worn by two Nez Perce males in the photograph Yellow Bull-Nez Perce and in Nez Perce Warrior (also in Lyman 1982).

It is rather doubtful if Curtis, who took over 40,000 photographs of Native Americans, and used 700 of these in the North American Indian (1907-1930), would have had at his disposal hundreds of costumes, but instead, what seems reasonable is that he did carry a select few with him (Hoda and Quimby 1980; Lyman 1982). Curtis often had his Native American male subjects of the Northwest Coast wear wigs to cover up their short hair (Blackman 1980). To what extent Columbia Plateau males were required to wear wigs for Curtis is hard to say, however, in this sample it appears to be infrequent.

Latham and Matsura. Two early twentieth century photographers, Latham, and Matsura [Sakae Matsuura], photographed various Native American groups on the Colville reservation, and apparently did not know of the other's photographic talents (although it is hard to believe) living at either end of the seventy mile wide (east-west) reservation. Both men have sizable collections included in the study sample for the following five year intervals: 1900-1904 and 1905-1909.

Considering their contribution to this sample, in terms of number of photographs and number of Native American groups photographed, it is important to first determine the accuracy of each collection. It is helpful to recall that Latham was by profession an agency physician on the Colville reservation from 1892-1910, and second, an amateur photographer (Gidley 1979). Matsura, on the other hand, was a professional commercial photographer who arrived in Okanogan, Washington, a Colville reservation border town, in 1903 after leaving his homeland, Japan, with little money in 1901 (Roe 1981).
It is the author's opinion that the photographs of Colville reservation Native Americans by Latham and Matsura provide an accurate portrayal of Native American reservation culture at the beginning of the twentieth century. The only props that appear in both photographer's photographs are blankets used for backdrops, or to stand on, or rugs, or furs used for the same purpose. Such props however were the "current rage" of photographers as they were perceived to provide that special aesthetic quality:

At the turn of the century there was a convention that Indians should be photographed against natural textiles—wool, beaten cedar-bark, or whatever. Both Curtis and Moorhouse did so. Latham worked within the convention and took it a stage further: many of his figures also stand on blankets or furs [Gidley 1979:140].

Several photographers (Curtis, Moorhouse, and possibly La Roche) had their own studio props, including female and male Columbia Plateau and Plains Native American costumes many of which were machine sewn. Latham and Matsura, on the other hand, had no control over the dress and regalia worn by their Native American subjects, not to mention their dwellings. To what extent the other (unknown) photographers whose pictures are included in the pictorial sample here utilized props was deduced through a careful comparison of other photographs of Native Americans of the same group taken at the same time.

Latham and Matsura were both observers of the world around them. The following discussion is undertaken by the author in defence of the authenticity of the photographs by Latham and Matsura as accurate portrayals of Native Americans at the turn of the century.

Latham as an agency physician had a meager income (Stuart 1978). In addition, more than once he had to pay out of his own pocket to obtain medical supplies (cocaine, for example) for the resident Native American population (Gidley 1979). It is doubtful that Latham had extra income for Euro-American manufactured Native American costumes for Colville reservation Native Americans to wear, the majority of whom were, and still are, very traditional.

Matsura arrived in the region not as a wealthy man. There is evidence in the literature that Native Americans living on and off the Colville reservation came to Matsura's studio (or he went to their homes) dressed in their best regalia for posed photographs (Roe 1981).

Summary

In the previous chapter the author examined several primary and secondary historical written sources employed in this study. The author concluded that the majority of the sources were reliable and accurate
documents, once bias and limitations were identified and controls imposed to minimize them. The same is true for the pictorial sample.

Investigations into the pictorial sample reveal that a few limitations exist that require the author to impose corresponding controls or guidelines. Most importantly, the limitations identified in the sample are resolved.

Investigations into the backgrounds of the artists, illustrators, and photographers suggest that their pictures are, indeed, factual documents of mid nineteenth to early twentieth century Columbia Plateau Native American people and culture. Generally speaking, props play a relatively insignificant role in terms of bias.

The content of the 405 pictures can confidently be subjected to analysis since the sample appears to be accurate and authentic. Answers as to why and when Native Americans chose or were forced to pose for non-Native American artists and photographers is attainable from written sources. However, attention must first be directed towards the construction of a research design and methodology compatible to both sets of data (pictorial and written). Research design and methodology are the focus of the next chapter. Chapter VII also provides definitions on culture contact areas, categories, and variables employed in this study.
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CHAPTER VII
RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

Introduction

The overall aim of this study is to identify and interpret general trends in human behavior in response to crises. The particular time and peoples in question are nineteenth and early twentieth century indigenous Native Americans of the Columbia Plateau, in part a reflection of my own personal and professional experiences as the Colville tribal archaeologist in Washington State (1979-1980). More specifically, this study provides an interpretation of the rise of nationalism, and especially of crisis cults, among Columbia Plateau Native American societies.

This chapter first defines ethnohistory and describes the methods from ethnohistory, ethnography, and archaeology that were used to analyze both written and pictorial samples. The discussion stresses not only definition and procedure but also inherent bias. Next, definitions of culture contact domains and categories, identification of Columbia Plateau reservation populations used in this study, and a classification of Native American periods and Euro-American frontiers, is addressed. The study categories are divided into two values, i.e., a category's values will have either a Native American or Euro-American expression. Following this is a section on selection and classification.

The next section presents the author's interpretation of the Frontier Thesis model. A new methodological orientation is adopted in this study. Crisis types within frontiers are substituted for the frontier periods themselves as the central focus of analysis. This is obviously the most appropriate viewpoint to take when researching non-Euro-American peoples under Euro-American colonialism, but one that has not previously been adopted. Instead, reliance is usually placed on the perspective offered by the Frontier Thesis (Turner 1893), which blatantly excludes the non-Euro-American experience. The methodological framework established here should be applicable to other culture areas for which ethnohistorical and pictorial records exist.

The last section of the chapter describes specific measurement and analysis techniques applied to the pictorial and written data. A summary follows.
Methods

This section constructs the methodological framework of the study from the following archaeological and ethnohistorical methods: the baseline; the direct historical approach; upstreaming; the comparative approach; and content analysis. An overview of these methods is followed by an examination of each method focusing on procedure and bias.

Overview

The baseline establishes a temporal point of departure away from the pre-contact culture, that is, the beginning of the contact period. The direct historical approach is a method which permits an examination of contemporary evidence of Native American acculturation and assimilation, and indigenous response, through the identification of material correlates in the historical archaeological record. Upstreaming requires the researcher to identify and select contemporary cultural elements or processes and trace them back in time (to the baseline) for the purpose of reinterpreting historical and ethnohistoric sources.

Related to both the direct historical approach and upstreaming is the comparative approach. This methodology also involves the selection and examination of the same set of variables representing cultural traits at different points in time to determine which ones are more or less resistant to acculturation and assimilation.

The method of content analysis involves the selection, tabulating, measuring, comparing, qualifying, and tracking of a set of variables in pictorial and written sources to identify and interpret trends in cultural processes (Collier 1967, 1979). Previously addressed in the last chapter, content analysis is a central methodological component in this study.

An in-depth examination of each method, including any shortcomings, is in order because of the important role they play here. Many of these methods have been employed in several culture contact studies on Native American and Euro-American interactions in the Columbia Plateau including: Blackman (1973), Carley (1981), Chance (1973), Lahren and Schultz (1972), Miller (1985), Ross (1968), Weatherford (1980).

Ethnohistory

Ethnohistory is a field that combines pictorial and written data with historical, archaeological and anthropological methodologies and approaches to study non-literate peoples (Blackman 1973; Dobyns 1957 and 1959; Eggan 1960; Hadja 1984). The goal of ethnohistory is to better understand cultural processes through a chronological analysis of human behavior using all kinds of available historical evidence.
The aims of ethnohistorical research are best accomplished by following the procedures established by Hadja (1984:35):

By listing all that the sources reveal of general descriptions, persons, events, types of activities, settings, physical objects, and so on, with careful attention to time and place, it is possible to discover something of sociopolitical structure and the types and contents of exchange and communication.

Ethnohistorical research can even identify short term trends (Hadja 1984). The importance of ethnohistorical research to the aims of this study is that it is capable of identifying both crises and societal responses (trends) during brief temporal spans.

Farriss (1984) strongly urges researchers to seek out all kinds of available data when undertaking ethnohistorical research, including pictorial and material data in addition to written data and oral traditions. In her own research, Farriss (1984) uses a wide range of sources (except pictorial) in her study of Meso-American Mayan culture collapse and revitalization. Blackman's (1973, 1980) ethnohistorical research on Pacific Northwest Coast Native Americans combines both written and photographic data, but similar work remains to be done on the Columbia Plateau.

The Baseline

A baseline is a chronological starting point from which to identify retentions (existing pre-contact traits) for a particular culture under investigation (Bourguignon 1954). The establishment of a baseline requires knowledge of the pre-contact culture (Hallowell 1946, 1952; Herskovits 1938), a difficult job, however:

...it is in the establishing of such a baseline, that ethnohistory makes its most important contribution to the student of acculturation [Bourguignon 1954:329-330].

The problem is magnified if one considers that the precontact Native American culture is an idealized interpretation based on an inaccurate ethnographic record "...made long after their subjects had come under intensive foreign influences (Chance 1973:12)."

The baseline period created here is a composite of several lines of evidence, including archaeological. The primary reason for selecting the temporal span of "pre-1840" as the terminus for the baseline period is that several Columbia Plateau Native American populations up to 1840 had experienced "non-directed" contact with Euro-Americans, hence only minor changes occurred in their cultures. During the mid to late 1830s both Protestant and then Catholic missionaries arrived in the region,
and from then on conducted "directed" acculturation and assimilationist efforts towards Native American populations and cultures with varying degrees of "success".

Most Columbia Plateau culture contact research focuses on pre-reservation Euro-American frontiers and the roles Native Americans played in their development to the exclusion of those Euro-American frontiers which came after the establishment of the reservation system (post-1855). One reason for this bias is offered by Gunkel (1978) in his study of pre-reservation period Columbia Plateau Walla Walla Native American culture: reservation life presents different problems and issues to address than pre-reservation life.

It is recognized in this study that enough is known about the baseline period (pre-1840) in the Columbia Plateau to adequately provide an accurate generalized description of precontact Native American culture. An overview of the pre-1840 baseline Columbia Plateau Native American culture is presented in Chapter VIII.

The Direct Historical Approach

The creation of the direct historical approach is primarily credited to Steward (1942), who became aware of parallels between living Native Americans and artifacts recovered from archaeological surveys. Strong (1940:595) suggests that when the archaeologist proceeds from known historical sites into the unknown prehistoric past such an approach "...objectively link history with prehistory and anchor archaeology to meaningful social science."

There exist in the literature on culture contact in the Columbia Plateau several pre-reservation period studies that employ archaeological evidence to support historical interpretations of acculturation through the application of the direct historical approach (Carley 1981; Chance 1973; Collier, Hudson and Ford 1942; Garth 1952; Osborne 1957; Shiner 1961; Spier 1935; Sprague and Miller 1979; Strong 1945; Weatherford 1980). These studies and others are heavily relied on in this study.

The direct historical approach is not without criticism among anthropologists and historians. One major problem is that the researcher takes interpretive liberties and makes inferential leaps over vast temporal spans in the absence of supportive continuous lines of evidence. Farriss (1984:403), in commenting on the difficulties inherent within this approach, concludes, however, that its benefits outweigh its limitations since "... the information is often unique in quality and much more could and should be done with colonial sites."

As identified in Chapter I, one of the aims of this study is to identify and explain religious and altered states of consciousness behavior during the contact period. The archaeological lines of evidence
gathered by the author when coupled with pictorial and written ethnohistorical data provide a much more solid foundation from which to infer cult participation, ethnicity, and nationalism.

Upstreaming

Anthropologists, and to a certain extent historians, employ the ethnohistorical method of upstreaming in order to substantiate, refute or enrich primary historical source content. The technique of upstreaming involves using various data from a contemporary culture to reinterpret earlier historical and ethnographic accounts (Blackman 1973; Fenton 1952, 1962; Sturtevant 1966). This method requires the researching of selected contemporary cultural elements and tracing them back through time.

The method of upstreaming has long been recognized by anthropologists as an important tool in culture change studies. For instance, according to Bourguignon (1954:333), Edward Sapir (1884-1934):

...was concerned with reconstruction of past events on the basis of contemporary psychological and cultural phenomena, which may be projected backwards in time.

An analysis of contemporary cultural forms through upstreaming archival sources enables the researcher to minimize errors in ethnohistorical reconstruction and increases one's chances of accurately reinterpretting culture history (Carmack 1971). Farriss (1984:404) believes, however, that too many anthropologists employ upstreaming to project an "ethnographic present" into a period that lacks archival sources: "...the present is used as a substitute for rather than a supplement to historical documentation." This concern is also applicable to the historical archaeological record as referred to in Chapter II of this study.

The technique of upstreaming is central to this study. The contemporary status of the culture contact variables addressed in this study is traced back in time to uncover the nineteenth century beginnings of Native American nationalism today. The term "contemporary" is defined here as covering the decade 1978-1988.

The Comparative Approach

The comparative approach compliments the above methods in that it involves comparing the same variables at different points in time in order to determine which traits are more or less resistant to change, and the direction and magnitude of change. This approach should be employed with caution since it relies on inference "...from the more fully known to the less fully known" (Farriss 1984:403). However, Farriss (1984:404-5) adds:
...the more information available about different periods the more confidently one can fill in the pieces of fact and interpretation from one to the other.

Farriss’s (1984) ethnohistorical interpretation of the Yucatan Maya Colonial Period is based principally on the comparative approach. In this study too, inference is sometimes necessary, however, the short temporal span of the study, and the large quantity of varied source material helps insure that it is kept at a minimum.

Content Analysis

Content analysis is another important method relied on to extract data from the written and pictorial samples in this study. Content analysis is the creation of an inventory of "significance" by counting, measuring, comparing, qualifying and tracking of selected variables identified in pictorial and written sources (Collier 1967, 1979). Specifically, analysis of selected variables within photographs or written source materials reveals changes in cultural patterns through time:

...by condensing scattered evidence into schemes of statistical design. These designs become the basis for responsible judgement and verbal concepts about environment and human behavior [Collier 1967:12].

Content analysis is an important research method to employ once controls and guidelines have been adopted. Patterns emerge and significant trends may be identified through the creation of systematic inventories of the photograph's content especially when pictorial content from one period is compared to older, younger, and contemporary pictorial data. The solution is to precisely define the research categories and variables at the very beginning of research (Farriss 1984).

Culture Contact Categories and Values

The culture contact categories and values are defined here in specific terms so that each may be applied without ambiguity to both samples (pictorial and written). Table 7.1 provides a listing of the categories and values used in this study.

The culture contact values and the categories they take on are defined subjectively, yet explicitly, because the ethnohistorical sources do not provide adequate definitions on them. For example, in the area of personal appearance the category "dress" is of interest to this study. One data source relied on here that presents both qualitative and quantitative information on this category (and others)
is the Annual Reports of the Office of Indian Affairs, in which appear annual estimates of the number of Native American on reservations who "wear citizens's attire." The major problem with these data is that only one agent (on the Flathead Reservation in Montana) in the more than sixty Office of Indian Affairs reports examined by the author defines "citizen's dress."

This study employs both qualitative and quantitative pictorial and written data on the culture contact categories in Table 7.1. The major drawback is that the information for the culture contact categories is uneven. This problem is minimized when both qualitative and quantitative data are combined. The result is the emergence of a larger information base that enables a more accurate account of Native American history than presently exists.

Personal Appearance. The personal appearance of an individual and group is defined as wearing a particular style of clothing and regalia. Through research of personal appearance descriptions in pictorial and written sources one is able to ascertain with confidence that a particular group or person is either (precontact) Native American or Euro-American in one's overall projected personal appearance.

The categories and values in the category of personal appearance examined here include:

**Dress**...Dress is used in this study interchangeably with the terms "attire," "clothing," and "costume," and share the same meaning. Dress refers here to male and female hand crafted or machine sewn garments including headgear, shirts, trousers, foot gear, and dresses or gowns. The variable of dress is assigned two categories: Native Americans who, either through written description or visual evidence, are clothed predominantly in some style of precontact (Columbia Plateau) and/or syncretic (Plains) Native American dress; or Native Americans who wear predominantly Euro-American dress.

**Personal Adornment**...Personal adornment is used interchangeably here with the terms "embellishment," "regalia," and "ornamentation," and these too share the same meaning. Personal adornment refers to all accessories that modify either the bodily appearance of the person wearing the clothing, or the clothing itself. The category of personal adornment is assigned two values: Native Americans who either through written description or visual evidence are personally embellished in predominantly Native
Table 7.1
Culture Contact
Categories and Values

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domain</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Value*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Personal Appearance</td>
<td>Dress type</td>
<td>NA;EA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Personal Adornment</td>
<td>NA;EA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architecture</td>
<td>Dwelling type</td>
<td>NA;EA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Settlement pattern</td>
<td>NA;EA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>Religious affiliation;</td>
<td>NA;EA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Altered States of</td>
<td>NA;EA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Consciousness</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political</td>
<td>Political structure</td>
<td>NA;EA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>Population size</td>
<td>NA;EA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: There are two values (which represent two cultural traditions) for each category: either a (NA) Native American or (EA) Euro-American expression.
American ornamentation (including syncretic); or Native Americans who are personally adorned with predominantly Euro-American regalia.

Architecture. The architectural structures which individuals and groups construct and occupy temporarily (on a seasonal round) or on a more permanent basis is also of importance here, specifically examining dwelling types and settlement patterns. The categories and in this area include:

Dwelling Type...A dwelling is defined here as a single structure, constructed for either temporary or permanent occupation with a distinctive Native American or Euro-American architectural appearance. This category is assigned two values: Precontact Columbia Plateau and syncretic Plains Native American dwellings (for example, Salishan conical and Sahaptin extended tule mat lodges or Plains skin tipis); or Euro-American dwellings (for example, the log cabin or the wooden frame structure).

Settlement Pattern...A settlement is comprised of a grouping of people who share one specific dwelling type (Native American or Euro-American), or a predominance of one type, with spatial distance being an indicator of social acceptance. The category of settlement is also assigned two values: Native American or Euro-American communities.

Religion and Altered States of Consciousness. The religious beliefs that individuals and groups adopt and/or construct as well as display is also of importance to this study. In particular this study is an examination of the choices people make to participate in and be identified with Native American cults or to join Euro-American religious denominations, and participation in Native American or Euro-American or syncretic altered states of consciousness activities.

The categories and values in the area of religion and altered states of consciousness include:

Religious Affiliation...Religion was addressed in Chapter III. The category of religion is assigned two values: Native Americans who are members of Euro-American religious denominations; or Native Americans who are members of Native American cult institutions (which are often times themselves syncretic).
Altered States of Consciousness... Altered states of consciousness was also discussed in Chapter III. The category of altered states of consciousness is assigned two values: Native Americans who participate in Native American types of altered states of consciousness attainment (vision quest, dances, the Wawish ceremony [Wilkes 1845], gambling etc.); or Native Americans who participate in Euro-American kinds of altered states of consciousness attainment (primarily alcohol consumption and smoking tobacco).

Political Category. The political structure adopted and participated in by the majority of people as well as the political factions are also examined here with emphasis on the implementation of social controls by Euro-Americans and Native American reactions to them. This category is represented by an abundance of qualitative data but a dearth of quantitative data for both samples.

Many social movements arise as a result of the realization by one or more oppressed groups (a conscious awakening) that the oppressor's goal is power and resource acquisition. Consequently a struggle for power and rank emerges. Problems arise in the political and economic sectors during culture contact when challenges for power and resources sharpen already differing views in the mazeway. This point is emphasized by Cohen (1981:322):

People do not resort to violence against one another because they differ culturally; but if they do resort to such violence it is almost always because their cultural differences articulate opposing economic and political interests.

The categories and values in the area of politics include:

Political Structure... The political structure is defined as the organizational framework by which power and resources are allocated. The category of political structure is assigned two values: Native Americans who follow the precontact doctrine of self-determination; or Native Americans who have either joined or have been co-opted into perpetuating Euro-American governmental policies on their own people.

Population. The size of a Native American group is an important consideration in this study. A Native American population is defined here as a local population made up of people sharing similar cultural, linguistic, and phenotypic traits. Native American tribal population
estimates by reservation, compiled from the written record, will be plotted from the baseline period to the early twentieth century.

**Columbia Plateau Native American Study Unit**

The Columbia Plateau Native American study unit is defined here in terms of five indigenous geographical areas. These five geographical areas are analogous to the following five United States government controlled Native American agencies and associated reservations spread throughout the Columbia Plateau: the Colville Agency in northeastern Washington State includes the Coeur d'Alene reservation (Idaho), and the Columbia, Colville and Spokane reservations (Washington); the Flathead Agency consisting only of the Flathead reservation (Montana); the Nez Perce Agency composed of the Nez Perce reservation (Idaho); the Umatilla reservation made up of the Umatilla reservation (Oregon); and the Yakima Agency consisted of the Yakima reservation (Washington).

The following Native American groups, the Coeur d'Alene, Columbia, Colville, and Spokane and several others comprised the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs Colville Agency. There was not enough pictorial or written information available to the author for inclusion in the written and pictorial samples on the Coeur d'Alene, Columbia, and Spokane groups and their respective reservations, as separate reservations unit of study. This is due to the following reasons:

a). The scarcity of pictorial and written data available to the author during the research collection stage.

b). The scarcity of information on these particular Native American groups who have yet to have adequate ethnohistorical, anthropological or archaeological research conducted on them.

c). The fact of their rather late ratified treaties by the United States government in creating these reservations.

The author has collapsed the data on the above identified reservations into one: the Colville Agency reservation, in order to gain better control over the data. In addition, I have chosen to use the terms "reservation" and "agency" interchangeably, although there are important bureaucratic distinctions between them.

**The Columbia Plateau Reservation Population**

The author has compiled both qualitative and quantitative pictorial and written data on all five Columbia Plateau Native American reservations. Figure 7.1 is a map of the locations of the Columbia Plateau Native American reservations.
Table 7.2 lists the Native American populations associated with one of the five Columbia Plateau reservations addressed in this study. Selection of a Native American population was predicated on the amount of pictorial data available, and information contained in the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs Annual Reports from 1855-1914.

Native American Periods and Euro-American Frontiers

The chronological framework in this study consists of the following Columbia Plateau Native American periods: the baseline (pre-1840), pre-reservation (1840-1854), and reservation (1855-1913). Table 7.3 identifies those Euro-American frontiers that existed during the three Columbia Plateau Native American periods. Each frontier period is defined on the basis of Euro-American contact which stimulated the strongest influence among Native American groups, although some frontiers may continue on with lesser influence (Weatherford 1980).

Table 7.3 is an adaptation based on Weatherford’s (1980) Euro-American frontier chronology for the Columbia Plateau which serves as the template for the historical overview in this study to be discussed in Chapter VIII. The author’s justification for the selection of the initial and terminal dates for the Native American periods as well as the Euro-American frontiers contained in them is also provided in Chapter VIII.

Evident within Table 7.3 is Euro-American frontier overlap. This vividly illustrates not only how they interact through time but it also suggests within each frontier that some crisis types lasted longer although not necessarily more severe than others associated with the shorter temporal Euro-American frontier periods. Specific crises within the frontiers are examined in Chapter VIII.

Data Selection and Classification

Three reasons come to mind concerning the selection of the particular sources cited throughout this study:

1. To contribute information on the culture contact variables addressed in this study.

2. The ability of a source to yield information on the various Euro-American frontiers and the crises within them Native Americans experienced;

3. The ability of a source to shed light on aspects of Native American nationalism in the Columbia Plateau.

The pictorial and written samples contain very different types of data and each therefore requires in-depth treatment.
Figure 7.1
Map of the Columbia Plateau Reservations Circa 1895.
## Table 7.2
Columbia Plateau Reservation Populations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Colville</th>
<th>Flathead</th>
<th>Nez Perce</th>
<th>Umatilla</th>
<th>Yakima</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chelan</td>
<td>Flathead</td>
<td>Nez Perce</td>
<td>Cayuse</td>
<td>Chinook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coeur d'Alene</td>
<td>Kalispel</td>
<td></td>
<td>Umatilla</td>
<td>Dalles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Columbia</td>
<td>Kutenai</td>
<td></td>
<td>WallaWalla</td>
<td>Palous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colville</td>
<td>Pend d’Oreille</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Piscouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entiat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Wasco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalispel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Wishram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methow</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yakima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nespelem</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nez Perce</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Okanogan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sampoil</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spokane</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wenatchee</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# Table 7.3

## Columbia Plateau Native American Periods and Frontiers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Native American Period</th>
<th>Euro-American Frontier</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Baseline:</strong> Pre-1840</td>
<td>Exploration (1740-1854)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fur Trade (1787-1871)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Missionary (1824-1875)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Immigration (1836-1853)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pre-Reservation:</strong> 1840-1854</td>
<td>Exploration (1740-1854)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fur Trade (1787-1871)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Missionary (1824-1875)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Immigration (1836-1853)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Military (1849-1900)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>U.S. Native (1850-1914)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>American Acts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Reservation:</strong> 1855-1914</td>
<td>Fur Trade (1787-1871)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Missionary (1824-1875)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Immigration (1836-1853)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Military (1849-1900)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>U.S. Native (1850-1914)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>American Acts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mining (1854-1914)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agency (1855-1914)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ranching (1862-1914)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Railroad (1869-1914)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agriculture (1880-1914)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Riverine** (1880-1914)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban Growth (1885-1914)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Refinement of Weatherford's chronology (1980)

**Cannery and Steamboat frontier along Columbia River
The Written Sample

Data on culture contact variables, frontiers, and crises were compiled and classified according to reservation affiliation and Native American group affiliation. The tabulated data were filed by year in five year blocks of time (see below in Tabulation of Data and Analysis).

Data Selection and Classification

Three reasons come to mind concerning the selection of the particular sources cited throughout this study:

1. To contribute information on the culture contact variables addressed in this study.
2. The ability of a source to yield information on the various Euro-American frontiers and the crises within them Native Americans experienced;
3. The ability of a source to shed light on aspects of Native American nationalism in the Columbia Plateau.

The pictorial and written samples contain very different types of data and each therefore requires in-depth treatment.

The Written Sample

Data on culture contact variables, frontiers, and crises were compiled and classified according to reservation affiliation and Native American group affiliation. The tabulated data were filed by year in five year blocks of time (see below in Tabulation of Data and Analysis). The quantitative written data includes yearly estimates on the number of Native American Euro-American church members made by missionaries (for the Nez Perce and Colville reservations) and by United States Native American reservation agents for all of the reservations. The quantitative written data also includes annual estimates made by the reservation agents of several other culture contact variables important to this study.

Table 7.4 is a classification framework devised to aid in the organization and subsequent analysis of the written qualitative and quantitative data on each of the culture contact variables. The list is composed of ten areas of information directly related to the variables and crises. Whenever information was gathered on a variable or crisis it was recorded on an index card and assigned to one of the ten categories listed in Table 7.4. A number corresponding to one of the ten categories was then placed on the index card for easier retrieval during analysis.
Table 7.4
Data Classification System

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Culture Contact Category and Crisis Data</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Native American dwelling types; Native American personal appearance (dress and regalia); Native American subsistence practices; Native American languages.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Evidence on assimilation including: Euro-American dwellings; personal appearance; religion; education.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Native American religious and altered states of consciousness practices including but not limited to: shamans; sacred and secular rituals, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Native American political structure including: factionalism and chiefs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Native American factionalism and protest; Native American nationalism; Native American cults and participants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Evidence on assimilation including: pro-allotment; cession of lands; treaties; agricultural subsistence; Euro-American Native American reservation policy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Evidence on assimilation including: Native American reservation police and courts; crimes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Population data including: Native American group size during the pre-reservation and reservation periods; Euro-American population size; and, United States reservation agent’s reports on the accuracy of census statistics.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Crises including but not limited to: threats, disputes and rumors about land encroachment; boundary disputes; anti-treaty actions; anti-allotment and cession.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Crises including but not limited to: unfulfilled treaty stipulations; property damage; disease and epidemics; war; murder; relative deprivation; environmental, climatic and other natural occurrences.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Pictorial Sample

The pictorial sample is made up of several hundred photocopies of paintings and illustrations, and several hundred more photographs (prints). The pictorial sample's size, content, and authenticity were discussed in the previous chapter.

The sample was created by photocopying pictures of Columbia Plateau Native Americans and their cultures randomly selected from various ethnohistorical sources described in preceding chapters. Photographs were also obtained by the author while conducting photographic archival research at the Pacific Northwest Collection in Suzzallo Library University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, and the Colville Confederated Tribal History Department, Colville reservation, Washington State during the summer, 1984. These pictures were selected in the same manner as were the other pictorial sources. The author randomly selected photographs from inventory lists which represented as many different tribal individuals and groups on as many different reservations for as many years as the available data bases in each collection permitted.

The next step involved examining the entire assemblage of illustrations, paintings, and photographs and omitting those which did not have a date associated with them. Also omitted were those pictures which could not be assigned to a particular Native American group. In cases of duplicate pictures of the same person or same group event taken by the same photographer at the same time, only one was randomly chosen.

Each picture was checked (using magnification) for information on the culture contact domains. It should be mentioned here that a picture might contain information on one or all of the culture contact domains (with the exception of population).

The number of instances each value of each category was recorded for all illustrations, paintings, and photographs, was recorded on a form developed for this purpose. This form was created to record information on the following culture contact categories: dress type, personal adornment, dwelling type, settlement pattern, religious affiliation, and evidence of altered states of consciousness. Other information recorded on the form includes: year of picture; location (reservation or precontact area); Native American group(s); dwelling types; personal appearance; indicators of altered states of consciousness (e.g., dances, gambling), and other religious behavior (e.g., types of burials). This was done for the entire pictorial sample for each reservation (or precontact area), year by year (depending on the availability of pictures).

A Reinterpretation of the Frontier Thesis Model

A reconsideration of the usefulness of the Frontier Thesis (Turner 1893) in understanding the Native American experience is essential since
one of the goals here is to decolonize Native American history. A reinterpretation is presented here which aims to contribute to the decolonization of Native American history in the Columbia Plateau, a need voiced by several anthropologists writing in this area (Miller 1985; Schleiser 1974; Steiner 1968).

Clearly the Frontier Thesis promotes only a Euro-American perspective. Few studies have examined the usefulness of the Frontier concept in attempting to explain what happened to Native Americans, as it were, from their own perspective. It is not impractical to consider Columbia Plateau Native Americans as experiencing their own frontiers since "...a frontier is created when a sociocultural system expands into an area, there are logically two sorts of frontiers (Waselkov and Paul 1980: 311)."

Up until now only the Euro-American component of the Frontier experience has been investigated and debated by social scientists. A new frontier perspective is presented here which focuses on emphasizing crisis events (below) and the subsequent impacts felt by Native American societies and their sociocultural systems primarily due to Euro-American events within a particular frontier.

The emphasis here is not to provide yet another explanation and justification for manifest destiny, the foundation of the Euro-American Frontier Thesis (Turner 1893), by documenting the history of the Native American-Euro-American contact period from a traditional Euro-American perspective. The emphasis here is rather to examine a frontier from the perspective that each new and successive Euro-American frontier meant more added stress with which the for Native American peoples had to deal, since several of the frontiers overlapped.

**Culturally-Induced and Environmental Crises**

A crisis is a short-lived upheaval, a distinct event from a pre-crisis and post-crisis period, specifically the final and worst stage (Rabb 1975). A crisis is always followed by a resolution:

...) an unprecedented appearance of calm and assurance, with an attendant defusing of previous tensions. The change over may not be immediate. In such long time spans, there is a blurring at the edges-or, to use another metaphor, there are after-tremors once the earthquake is over-but the emergence of a new situation is discernable nonetheless [Rabb 1975:32].

Crisis data for each reservation were recorded on a five year interval form containing the following information: the source, date of source, reservation, Columbia Plateau Native American group, date of event, location (either the precontact home base territory or
reservation); Native American group name(s); year of crisis occurrence; Euro-American frontier; extent (local or regional); crisis type (as identified in Table 7.5); cause of crisis; Native American response (violent or non-violent); the source; year of source; and, summary description of the crisis itself.

Crisis Types

The author compiled the list of seven cultural-induced and six environmental crisis types in Table 7.5 from the anthropological and sociological literature on human population extinction and survival (Bodley 1985; Laughlin and Brady 1978; Mileti, Drabek, and Haas 1975) and my own experiences as tribal archaeologist while on the Colville reservation (Mt. St. Helens explosion, May 18 1980; and witness to several of the crises below). Crises are grouped together under broad categories.

Table 7.5 (see below) lists cultural-induced (and to a much lesser extent environmental) crises which Native Americans were (and still are) faced with on a daily basis over varying lengthy (frontier) periods of time. The historian's much hailed "boom phase", the apex of Euro-American economic, political, and sociocultural attainment of a frontier, is assumed here to be the worst period of crisis within a frontier, since it was during the boom phase that there was the greatest threat to Native American survival. Consequently, the data will be examined especially closely just prior to, during, and just after each such crisis event.

Specific examples of the types of culturally-induced and environmental crises identified in Table 7.5 (letters a through m) are provided next. The letter "a" represents human rights violations, including but not limited to, illegal acquisition of land, trespassing, Euro-American rape of Native American women or marrying them in name only for their land, denial of religious freedom, and freedom of expression. The letter "b" signifies United States governmental social controls forced on Native Americans, including but not limited to, laws, treaties, and Office of Indian Affairs rules and regulations. The letter "c" represents rapid United States citizen population immigrations which caused several other crises to occur. Also included in this category are the rapid influxes of Euro-Americans known to have occurred during the boom phase of a frontier.

The letter "d" signifies epidemics (malaria, measles, smallpox, and scarlet fever) due to Euro-American population increase and contact which caused considerable demographic change in many (if not most) Columbia Plateau Native American populations, and for several others mass depopulation as well as extinction. The letter "e" represents discrimination and/or prejudice against Native Americans by Euro-Americans. For example, not letting Native Americans live among settlers, verbal and physical harassment of Native Americans by Euro-Americans, and spreading false rumors about Native Americans by Euro-
Americans as a ploy to put pressure on the authorities to tighten control, and then made it easier for Euro-Americans to make claim to Native American lands. The letter "f" represents warfare between Native Americans, or between Native Americans and Euro-Americans, short or long term. The letter "g" indicates Native American murder(s) either by Euro-Americans, or other Native Americans, and Native American suicides.

Environmental crises are self explanatory. The environmental crisis types are labeled as follows: the letter "h" represents winter storms; "i" stands for drought or famine due to drought or unpreparedness; "j" indicates volcanic eruptions; "k" represents earthquakes; "l" floods; and "m" comets.

**Tabulation of Data and Analysis**

The pictorial and written samples are segmented into five year blocks of time. The author selected arbitrary standard demographic five year intervals because I did not want to introduce any biases by presupposing any other division prior to data analysis. In addition, because it was necessary to make the written sources of data comparable for analysis with pictorial data, they were collapsed into the same five-year time blocks.

The major problem with the analysis of quantitative data in five year blocks is that some trends may be obscured or minimized. To avoid this problem, both quantitative and qualitative data for crisis years and the years immediately preceding and following them will be examined.

A picture was assigned to one of two values for each category. This information was recorded on a form. The forms were filed in five year blocks, and then the values were tabulated. Written numbers falling into each value were recorded annually. All numbers were converted to percents for comparability between the pictorial and written data (e.g., percent wearing Native American vs. Euro-American dress). These are represented as means for the pre-selected five-year intervals (1840-1844, 1845-1849, ...1910-1914).

Quantitative data on population estimates were recorded for each Native American group annually, this was accompanied by recorder, date, and location. In cases of several different estimates for the same group for the same year the mean estimates were used for their analysis, as are means for each reservation over five-year intervals.

The intensity of a particular crisis on a society is difficult to measure since the researcher has to apply subjective criteria to rank crises from greatest to least impact. However, by matching the nature of a crisis (type, longevity) with values for the culture contact categories, it is possible to attain a less subjective assessment of the intensity of a crisis on a society and of the nature of society's response.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Culturally-Induced</th>
<th>Environmental</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Human Rights Violations</td>
<td>H. Winter Storm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Alien Governmental Social</td>
<td>I. Drought/Famine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Rapid Alien Immigration</td>
<td>J. Volcano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Epidemics</td>
<td>K. Earthquake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Discrimination/Prejudice</td>
<td>L. Floods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Warfare</td>
<td>M. Comets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. Murder/Suicide</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Quantitative data on crisis longevity and occurrence was recorded and tabulated on a form for every five year interval. This was achieved by labeling the crisis types in Table 7.5: cultural-induced crises were assigned letters "a" through "g", and environmental crises letters "h" through "m". Each crisis type recorded on the five year block crisis form was assigned a "type" letter. Counting each crisis type per five year block provides information on the number of crises experienced and their duration. Appendix A contains source information on crises by reservation and region-wide for each five year interval.

The specific aims of the analysis, which is presented in Chapter IX, are twofold: to plot the occurrence of crises through time, and to examine simultaneous changes in the culture contact categories. Descriptive material from the ethnohistorical sample are used to embellish the quantitative data analysis by shedding light on crisis events and aiding in the interpretation of concomitant changes in the contact categories. This interpretation is presented in Chapters X through XIV. The overall goal is to explain Native American response to largely Euro-American induced crises.

Summary

This chapter explored various techniques and approaches from several disciplines which serve as the methodological framework of this study. Although the methods and approaches cited contain a few problems, when combined together their strengths outweigh any pitfalls and biases.

It is suggested that the methodology and research designs created and adopted here offers a new direction in ethnohistorical research. This new approach has the potential to be applied to other Native American culture areas since much of the same kinds of written and pictorial sources are available on them. Furthermore, it is suggested here that such an approach offers promise to revive an interest in culture contact research and enhance the field of ethnohistory in general, since it is applicable where ever colonialism existed or continues to exist in the world.

When ethnohistorical, archaeological, and pictorial data are combined, a stronger case emerges to interpret and explain behavior during the contact period. The culture contact variables as defined here, may through content analysis of the pictorial and written samples, help provide additional insight into both short and long term Native American response during pre-crisis, crisis, and post crisis periods.

Chapter VIII provides a general historical overview of the contact period in the Columbia Plateau focusing on Euro-American frontiers and environmental and culturally induced crises experienced by Native Americans. The overview is divided into the three temporal spans identified earlier in this chapter: baseline, Native American pre-reservation and reservation periods. The objective in Chapter VIII is
to create an overview that not only addresses Euro-American westward frontier expansion, but more importantly, Native American response. This is needed since such an overview is currently lacking in the culture contact literature on the Columbia Plateau.
CHAPTER VIII
A CHRONOLOGY OF EUROC-AMERICAN FRONTIERS IN THE COLUMBIA PLATEAU

Introduction

Historical overviews provide in-depth discussions on the socioeconomic development of Euro-American frontiers in a particular area, for example, the Great Columbia Plain (Meinig 1968). Most historical overviews are patterned after Turner's (1893) westward expansionist frontier model.

The primary objective of Chapter VIII is to present an overview of Euro-American frontier periods for the Columbia Plateau region by focusing on events in them that pertain to the five Columbia Plateau reservations of interest here. The goal of this chapter is to present to the reader a description of each frontier so that by the end of the chapter one has gained an understanding of the interplay between the various Euro-American frontiers and Native Americans in the Columbia Plateau.

Chapter VIII is divided into two parts. The first part is a chronology of the Columbia Plateau prehistoric, protohistoric, and historic periods created by the author. The baseline period is discussed in the next chapter, and focuses on the study categories as well as crisis types.

The second part is a historical overview of Euro-American frontiers in the Columbia Plateau. The overview specifically includes information on the various frontiers that cover the five reservations of interest in this study. The frontier periods were listed in Table 7.2. (Chapter VII).

As previously stated in Chapter VII, a frontier chronology was adopted here from Weatherford's (1980) chronology of historic frontiers in the Columbia Plateau. It is suggested that the chronology presented here is more precise than the one provided by Weatherford (1980).
The frontiers are grouped together into the following four sets:

a. Exploration and Fur Trade.
b. Immigration, Missionary, and Mining.
c. Agriculture, Railroad, Ranching, Riverine (Cannery and Steamboat), and Urban Growth.

Groupings are based on common themes, for example, initial contact; Euro-American settlement and resource exploitation; land use change; and United States Native American policy.

Columbia Plateau Chronology

The Columbia Plateau chronology constructed here is from 12,000+ years B.P. (Before Present time) to 74 years B.P. (1914 A.D.). This chronology is composed of the following periods: prehistoric (10,000 B.C. to 1600 A.D.); protohistoric (1600-1740); and, historic (1740 to 1914). As previously discussed in Chapter VII, the historic period is made up of two Native American periods: pre-reservation and reservation periods with Euro-American frontiers included in them.

The Columbia Plateau Native American chronology is presented in Table 8.1. Selection of initial and terminal dates for each period is justified below as well as in each frontier grouping in Part Two.

Prehistoric period


The prehistoric period in the Columbia Plateau is defined here from 10,000 B.C. to 1600 A.D.. This terminal date was selected because Spanish (and probably also Russian vessels explored the Pacific Northwest Coast during this time, and traded with the Native American populations, as part of their colonization of California (Johansen and Gates 1967; Quinby 1948; Ruby and Brown 1981). Knowledge about the Spanish, including their appearance, and perhaps cargo too, was probably disseminated by Northwest Coast Native Americans into the interior Columbia Plateau populations.
Table 8.1
Columbia Plateau Native American Chronology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Temporal Span</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prehistoric</td>
<td>10,000 B.C. to 1600 A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protohistoric</td>
<td>1600 A.D. to 1740 A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historic</td>
<td>1740 A.D. to 1914 A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Baseline</td>
<td>1740 A.D. to 1839 A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Pre-Reservation</td>
<td>1840 A.D. to 1854 A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Reservation</td>
<td>1855 A.D. to 1914 A.D.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 7.2 lists the Euro-American frontier periods.
Protohistoric period

The protohistoric period begins in A.D. 1600 and ends in A.D. 1740. This terminal date was selected because the horse had become a part of Columbia Plateau Native American culture (Haines 1938). The eastern bordering Plains populations, such as the hostile (yet willing to trade) Blackfoot, had received their first horses from the neighboring Shoshone in 1730 (Lewis 1942). The Flathead and Nez Perce received horses around 1720 from Spanish southwestern settlements (Haines 1938; Nelson 1973).

Prehistoric and Protohistoric Crises

The majority of prehistoric and protohistoric crises in the region appear to have been primarily environmental (volcano: Mt Mazama, winter storms, droughts/famine). It is assumed here that only infrequent conflict with neighboring and distant Native American populations occurred in the prehistoric or protohistoric past in the Columbia Plateau due to low population density and large territories with abundant resources.

It is recognized here that the Euro-American westward expansion across the United States during the latter part of the protohistoric period caused massive displacement of Native American populations which must have resulted in impacts (direct and indirect) to Columbia Plateau populations. The displacement of Columbia Plateau Native Americans due to westward Euro-American expansion during the protohistoric (and early historic) period is an area of research that has only been examined by the early ethnographers, for example, Ray (1936, 1937) and, Teit (1900, 1906, 1928, 1930). A need exists to research this important topic from an ethnohistorical perspective in the Columbia Plateau and elsewhere since the protohistoric and early historic periods are, in general, poorly understood.

It is assumed here that crises were limited in number in the prehistoric and protohistoric archaeological record from 10,000 B.C. to 1740 A.D.. It is important to add however, even though crises may be assumed to have been infrequent and of limited durations, the impacts from such crises on prehistoric and protohistoric Native American populations, particularly in the Columbia Plateau, have not yet been adequately investigated nor understood.

Historic period

The historic period begins in A.D. 1740 when indirect contact (Euro-American cargo) became more frequent due to trade with Plains Native Americans (and other regions), and swift and cost effective vehicles (horses). The terminal date of the historic period is defined here as A.D. 1914. The reason for selecting the 1914 date is because in that year President Wilson established (by executive order) the last
reservation in the Columbia Plateau, the Kalispel reservation in Montana State (Carriker 1973).

**Euro-American Frontiers**

**Exploration (1740-1854) and Fur Trade (1787-1871)**

Temporal Boundary Justification. The date A.D. 1740 was selected for the beginning of the Exploration period because it is accepted by anthropologists and historians as the time when the horse became an integral part of Columbia Plateau Native American life, thereby drastically altering their cultures and societies (Haines 1938; Nelson 1973; Osborne 1957; Shiner 1961). In addition, it is probable that by 1740 Columbia Plateau populations had indirectly received limited amounts of European cargo from Northwest Coast, Plains, and possibly Southwest Native American contacts. The terminal date of A.D. 1854 was chosen because the exploratory and treaty-making United States Pacific Railroad Survey expedition under Governor Stevens had entered newly created Washington Territory (Reports 1855-1860).

The date of A.D. 1787 was selected as the beginning of the fur trade frontier because there is concrete evidence that the European fur trade was flourishing on the Northwest Coast. Overland routes westward were made to contact interior Native Americans, for example the Kutenai, in the northern Columbia Plateau (see below). In addition, American fur trading vessels arrived in the Northwest Coast within a year (Fuller 1931; Quimby 1948). The terminal date of A.D. 1871 was selected because that was the last year of operation in the Columbia Plateau for the Hudson’s Bay Company (Chance 1973).

Chronology. Spanish explorers sailed into the present day Straits of Juan de Fuca in 1602-1603, and made limited contact with the local Northwest Coast Native American populations (Johansen and Gates 1967). It is difficult to determine how far back in time contacts were between the various Asian, British, French, Russian, and Spanish populations and Native Americans of the Pacific Northwest Coast, however, it is not unreasonable to expect Asian contact to have occurred years, perhaps centuries, before Europeans entered the region. Information on the latter is lacking in the culture contact literature, except for a limited number of studies, for example, Beals (1980), however, there exist several regional Native American myths about the first arrival of foreign (perhaps Asian, European, and or Russian) vessels (Boas 1917; Clark 1953).

In the latter part of the eighteenth century Britain, Russia, Spain, and the United States were in active competition against one other for the rights and title to the Pacific Northwest to establish an international economic market and urban settlement in the Pacific Northwest (Heinig 1968; Wishart 1979). At the beginning of the nineteenth century the United States and Britain were the leading
contenders in the economic development of the region and its colonization (Fuller 1931; Johansen and Gates 1967; Meinig 1968; Quimby 1948; Ruby and Brown 1981).

One point to stress here, based on data in Johansen and Gates (1967), and Quimby (1948), is that by the time Lewis and Clark reached the southern Columbia Plateau in 1805, over 130 British and American trading vessels already had been up and down the Pacific Northwest Coast (not to mention the longstanding Spanish naval and trading presence). Gray, an American naval officer, who first came to the Pacific Northwest Coast in 1788, returned and entered the mouth of the Columbia River in 1792 (Ruby and Brown 1981).

European vessels (British) began regular annual visits to the Coast as early as 1774 which increased to two vessels per year from 1775 to 1779, then stopped, for primarily economic reasons (Quimby 1948). The Russian and Spanish were visiting the area more than a century earlier (Pethick 1976). American economic interests began in 1788 when Gray sailed up the Northwest Coast to trade with the various Native American populations (Fuller 1931). European priests were among the Northwest Coast Nootka as early as 1789 (Johansen and Gates 1967). It is likely that incomplete, yet syncretic, ideas about Christianity diffused east from the Coast into the interior Columbia Plateau soon after a European presence was made known on the Northwest Coast.

Cook (1972), Mooney (1928), Teit (1930) and others indicate that a severe epidemic struck Northwest Coast and (primarily) southern Columbia Plateau Native American populations, in the early 1780s (Mooney provided the date of 1782). Based on Quimby's (1948) data, it is suggested here that a more probable date might be 1778 when Cook sailed the Coast to explore and trade, and reported a loss of iron to the Northwest Coast Native Americans, or 1779, the last time a British vessel anchored in the region, assuming no unrecorded vessels entered the region during that time. It is also suggested here that the British were the bearers of the epidemic (probably smallpox), since American vessels began arriving along the Coast in the late 1780s, (specifically Gray's expedition in 1788).

The majority of the trading vessels during the 1790s to the Northwest Coast were American, and over seventy-nine cargoes were traded or sold to Northwest Coast Native Americans in an eleven year period: 1794-1805 (nine were British) (Johansen and Gates 1967; Quimby 1948). The United States entered the fur trapping frontier more as a group of privateers than as a country (Pethick 1976).

An international race to claim the Pacific Northwest was in full heat between the British and American governments by 1803, a primary reason Jefferson sent Lewis and Clark overland from St. Louis in 1804 (Fuller 1931). Cargo and other Euro-American trappings quickly entered the Columbia Plateau. Lewis and Clark (Thwaites ed. 1905) mention that the Nez Perce had been participants and receivers of non-directed contact, specifically, information on Euro-American religious belief,
technology, phenotypic appearance, including dress and ornamentation, and behavior and manners.

The same year Lewis and Clark left the Columbia Plateau (1805-1806) to return to Washington D.C. to report to President Jefferson on their findings from the two year exploration of the northern part of the Trans-Mississippi West. Native Americans along the Coast experienced, for the first time since 1780, a prolonged absence of vessels (and cargo). From 1805 to 1814 only three British vessels traded on the Northwest Coast, and Americans were absent altogether (Johansen and Gates 1967).

The drastic decline in the amount of cargo and vessel visits, specifically by American vessels, is due to economic and political reasons experienced by the United States during the early nineteenth century. It is suggested here that such a decline to Native Americans, especially after receiving cargo for so many years, may have been interpreted (by them) as a form of relative deprivation, and that the cargo was being withheld from them.

In support of the existence of a cargo cult in the Northwest Coast and Columbia Plateau are the various Native American myths that recall the first non-Native American vessel to the Northwest Coast, and their anticipation of the arrival of the non-Native Americans with their magical cargo, and promises of immortality (Boas 1917; Clark 1953; DeSmet in Thwaites 1906 vol. 27 and 29; Parker 1846).

Prior to the beginning of the nineteenth century, several eastern Native American (Delaware, Iroquois, and Shawnee) emigrations to the Pacific Northwest had taken place, for example, Ewers (1948) indicates between 40 and 100 Iroquois emigrated in 1798 with at least one other (Iroquois) emigration before that. According to DeSmet (1843 in Thwaites 1906 vol. 27), eastern Native Americans brought with them information about Euro-American culture.

The Euro-American cargo influx via the Pacific Northwest Coast, and along the Columbia River to the Columbia Plateau (to a much lesser extent) declined by 1806 (Quimby 1948). The trans-Atlantic trade was then supplemented by increased overland trading networks. In the United States news of Lewis and Clark's explorations fed eager expectant capitalists who organized and then expanded their economic markets in the Pacific Northwest with European and American trading companies, sea lanes, overland routes, and manned posts in existence throughout the Pacific Northwest by winter, 1807 (Fuller 1931; Johansen and Gates 1967; Ruby and Brown 1981; Wishart 1979).

Thompson, a British adventurer and fur trapper, was among the Flathead, Kutenai, and Pend d'Oreille in 1787 (Lewis 1942; Teit 1930; Tyrell 1916). One of the earliest fur trading posts in the region was established by Thompson and the British North West Company in 1807 at Kootenai House among the Kutenai (Coues 1897 vol. I and II; Tyrell 1916). During the summer, 1807 the American Lisa party (which included
several from the earlier Lewis and Clark expedition) set up a military post on the confluences of the two major and most southern tributaries of the Columbia River, and began active trading with the Flathead and Kutenai (Johansen and Gates 1967).

The North West Company built a temporary depot at Kootenai Falls in 1808, and the following year Kullyspell House on Lake Pend d'Oreille and Saleesh House near Thompson Falls on the Clark Fork River (Coues 1897 vol. I and II). The North West Fur Trading Post Company then opened Spokane House in 1810, a fort trading post, in Spokane Territory (Fuller 1931; Ruby and Brown 1981). As evidence of initial acculturation (syncretism), Combes (1954) excavated Spokane House, and uncovered twelve projectile points, one of which was made out of iron.

There is ample evidence in the literature to lend support that by 1811 Northwest Coast and Columbia Plateau Native American peoples were in communication with each other. Thompson (Coues 1897 vol. I and II; Fuller 1931) was informed by the northeastern residing Columbia Plateau Kutenai that it would take one full month (a Summer Moon) to travel down the Columbia River to its mouth and back again.

Ross (1923:313), circa 1810, stated that the Okanogan traded hemp for the higua and cargo in the possession of Northwest Coast people:

Traffic is their object: they carry along with them the wild hemp of the interior, prepared and neatly put into small parcels, which they give in exchange for the higua and trinkets. The hemp is used for making fishing nets, and is always in great demand on the coast. The higua...the circulating medium throughout the country.

Figure 8.1 identifies the various Euro-American fur trading posts and missions throughout the Columbia Plateau during the pre-reservation period (pre-1855). Figure 8.1 is adopted from Meinig (1968:113). It is suggested here that by 1810, Columbia Plateau Native Americans had in operation a successful trading network with Coastal peoples for cargo, a network that did not adversely affect the natural environment (see Chapter X).

Whether or not Pacific Northwest Native American people used hemp for altered states of consciousness attainment through smoking or fumigation in secular and sacred activities is unknown at the present time. To date, there has not been any ethnobotanical analysis of pipe resins in this region due in part to the fact that prehistoric and historic archaeologists are more interested in description and accession (which involves cleaning the object for display) than the examination of human behavior, particularly altered states of consciousness attainment. There is ample evidence in the literature from the fur trapping frontier to the turn of the century of Columbia Plateau Native Americans "fondness" for smoking in both secular and sacred contexts. Jesuit
Figure 8.1 Columbia Plateau Pre-Reservation Fur Posts and Missions (from Meinig 1968:113).
missionaries grew hemp on their mission grounds. This topic will be further addressed in the last chapter.

Stuart and the American Astorian Trading Company established a post (Fort Okanogan) in 1811 at the confluence of the Okanogan and Columbia rivers (Grabert 1968). The North West Company experienced economic decline in 1814 to 1821 due to internal strife, and by 1825 had become part of the more secure Hudson’s Bay Company established in the mid seventeenth century (1670) by Parliament (Johansen and Gates 1967).

The Hudson’s Bay Company inherited four Columbia Plateau North West posts in 1824 including: Flathead House, a supply depot on the Snake and Blackfoot rivers; Spokane House (abandoned in 1825 after Fort Colville established in the same year); and Fort Nez Perce (or Walla Walla), an outfitting post along the Snake River (Ruby and Brown 1981; Simpson 1947 vol. 10). Fort Vancouver located on the southern Columbia river in 1828 became the regional capital and headquarters of the Hudson’s Bay Company Columbia Department (Johansen and Gates 1967; Simpson 1947 vol. 10).

American competition with the Hudson’s Bay Company was in full swing by the late 1820s, for example, from 1827-1829 Americans drove down the prices of cargo so low that the Native Americans began to trade exclusively with them (Simpson 1947 vol. 10). By the end of the 1820s the northern Columbia Plateau Native American populations had felt the adverse effects from the fur trade on their social and natural environments (Barker 1948).

American adventurers and businessmen, Jackson and Sublette, transported supplies via wagon train in 1830 up to the South Pass, called the Gateway to the West, and was also known as the Road to Oregon, or The Oregon Trail (Fuller 1931; Johansen and Gates 1967). By the 1870s the Oregon Trail was abandoned in favor of better transportation routes only after tens of thousands of Euro-American immigrants and prospectors had utilized it (Fuller 1931). DeSmet (in Chittenden and Richardson 1905) called the Oregon Trail the "Great Medicine Road of the Whites". There were about 400 American fur traders in the Rocky Mountains in 1833 (Johansen and Gates 1967).

Wilkes (1845) reported that the imported cargo to the Hudson’s Bay Company post at Fort Vancouver, Washington Territory in 1841 was divided into three classes: articles of gratuity (knives and tobacco); articles to trade (blankets, cloth, guns, powder, and shot); and, articles intended to pay for small services, labor, and provisions (upon which Europeans and Americans relied on greatly), including: beads, handkerchiefs, ribbon, and shirts. Wilkes (1845:333) also provides evidence that the Northwest Coast potlatch was widespread in 1841 for Native Americans received presents or "potlatches" in addition to the fair market price of an article:
The Indians and settlers understand well the worth of each article, and were not inclined to give for it more than its real value, besides getting a present or 'potlatch' to boot.

The potlatch is considered here to have been in existence as early as the 1770s (perhaps earlier) when European trading vessels regularly visited the Northwest Coast. The potlatch is also considered here as a key ingredient in the Columbia Plateau and Northwest Coast cargo cult movements which arose during the latter part of the eighteenth century.

The Hudson's Bay Company was the longest enduring and most successful fur trading company in the Columbia Plateau (1820s to 1871) (Chance 1973; Fuller 1931). The Hudson's Bay Company's only post in the Columbia Plateau was at Colville, Washington Territory during its final year of operation (1871) in the United States (Chance 1973).

The Trans-Mississippi Fur Trapping Frontier declined rapidly during the 1830s due to economic, environmental, and fashion changes, for example, silk hats replaced fur ones (Wishart 1979). Throughout the Columbia Plateau, however, Native Americans maintained a faithful reliance on Hudson's Bay Company cargo and foods because they preferred them to American cargo, and the British to the Americans, who they called "Bostons" (Chance 1973; Gunkel 1978).

Missionary (1824-1875), Immigration (1836-1853), and Mining (1854-1900)

Temporal Boundary Justification

The date of A.D. 1824 for the beginning of the Missionary frontier period was selected because in that year Columbia Plateau Spokane male and female adolescents (upon agreement with Simpson, head of Hudson's Bay Company Columbia and Thompson districts) went east hundreds of miles to the Hudson's Bay Company Red River post to learn about the "Whiteman's Book of Heaven" (Oliphant 1937; Ruby and Brown 1970). In essence, they were groomed to be assimilation agents or cultural brokers. The terminal date of A.D. 1875 was selected because by that time the influence of the Euro-American missionaries on the Columbia Plateau Native American populations had waned even though President Grant in 1872 appointed Euro-American denominations to reservations to hasten his assimilationist Peace Policy (Prucha 1981; Rahill 1954).

It is suggested here, and will be borne out in later chapters, that Euro-American missionaries after 1875 never had the blind faith of Native Americans so evident during the baseline and pre-reservation periods. In addition, as will be seen in later chapters, by 1875 various Native American Christian factions and syncretic politico
religious cults were at ill-ease with the other for control over the spiritual and secular destiny of their people.

The A.D. date 1836 for the beginning of the Immigration frontier was selected because on that date the first American immigration, which included Protestant missionaries, had arrived in the Columbia Plateau (Johansen and Gates 1967). The terminal date A.D. 1853 was selected because by that time the focus of the Euro-American immigration pattern, in existence from the mid-1830s, changed from one of dispersed settlement to rapid influxes of thousands of Euro-American expectant capitalists into the region, to extract the mineral wealth found throughout the Columbia Plateau Native American territories (Johansen and Gates 1967; Meinig 1968).

The date A.D. 1854 for the beginning of the Mining frontier was selected because in that year gold was discovered in the Colville region, Washington Territory (Chance 1973; Fuller 1931). The terminal date of A.D. 1914 was selected because the mining frontier was still very active throughout much of the northern Columbia Plateau. This is also true today, for example, the town of Republic, Washington (located on the "old" northern half of the Colville reservation) is one of the leading gold producing areas in the United States.

**Chronology**

Several international treaties signed during the first half of the nineteenth century enabled the United States to define its boundaries and legal rights in the Trans-Mississippi West as well as future American settlement through manifest destiny which did not require Native American consent for their ancestral lands (Coan 1921; Johansen and Gates 1967; Kinney 1937; Prucha 1973; Ruby and Brown 1981). American nationalism grew during the first half of the nineteenth century with every step westward across the Mississippi (Johansen and Gates 1967; Miller 1985).

Euro-American settlement of the Columbia Plateau occurred primarily via transcontinental east-west land routes rather than sea routes (Johansen and Gates 1967). Euro-American emigration to the Oregon Territory from the early 1800s to the 1840s was due to demographic, political, religious and ideological interrelated reasons, and actively promoted in both the secular and religious press (Fuller 1931; Miller 1985).

It is suggested here that from the 1820s to the 1840s the United States Euro-American population, at large, was a millenarian oriented society that heeded the call "Go West...", and organized religious missionary societies whose representatives accompanied the emigrant wagon train trek to Oregon to save the depraved Native American through assimilation (phenotypic and cultural transformation to an ideal and never attainable or acceptable agrarian Protestant "American") from a wilderness which too became "civilized" (cultivated) (Berkhofer 1963
During that time period the majority American Protestant population was anti-British, and anti-Catholic, and whose representatives formulated and implemented a policy of "manifest destiny" (Berkhofer 1965; Burns 1966; Johansen and Gates 1967; Schoenberg 1962; Whitman Collection papers, Eells Library, Whitman College).

Euro-American Protestants actively fought a holy war during the nineteenth century against Roman Catholics in the New World, including the Columbia Plateau, in part due to the increasing number of Catholic immigrants to the United States (Burns 1966; Johansen and Gates 1967; Whitman Collection papers, Eells Library). This religious war erupted in the region when each denomination began to "protect" the same Native American populations from the other's doctrines which resulted by 1840 in confusion and factionalism (including the strengthening of pre-existing precontact cults) in Native American society (Burns 1966; Johansen and Gates 1967; Miller 1985; Ruby and Brown 1981).

Euro-American Christian doctrine is founded on cargo cult and millenarian cult themes (Eliade 1970). Christian doctrine stimulated Native American cult formation of these types during the late eighteenth and nineteenth century since it encouraged the accumulation of things, and private property ownership of the environment (Gunkel 1978; Miller 1985). In 1880 a Columbia River Native American elder headman recalled his reply to a sermon given by a Methodist minister (probably Lee) at Willamette Falls, Oregon Territory sometime between 1835 and 1843, a reply that stresses the existence of a Native American cargo cult founded on Euro-American trade and promoted by missionaries:

Yes, my friend, if you give us plenty of blankets, pantaloons, flour and meat, and tobacco, and lots of other good things, we will pray to God all the time and always [Ruby and Brown 1981:71].

There is also ample evidence in the literature to support the fact that the Jesuits also used secular and sacred items to buy Native American faith (DeSmet in Thwaites 1906 vol. 27 and 29; Point 1967).

It appears overall that Catholic missionization among the various Native American populations in the region was more successful when compared to the Protestant effort:

If continuous missionary service were the final test for success of the two religions among the Indians, the laurels would go to the Catholics [Johansen and Gates 1967:175-176].

The Jesuits during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had several advantages over their Protestant counterparts regarding missionization efforts among Native Americans in the Columbia Plateau including: worked with isolated Native American populations in the
interior region; molded expectations to meet the capacity of the people; no need to require study of the problems of doctrine; and, demanded of their converts only a basic expression of faith (Burns 1966; Johansen and Gates 1967; Ronda and Axtell 1978).

The overall missionization goals of the Catholic and Protestant denominations regarding their "program" for Native American salvation differed substantially. Catholic missionaries urged caution against contact with Euro-Americans, limited religious instruction, and confinement to their own cultures on large reserves, much like the Paraguay model employed throughout Central and South America during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Protestant missionaries stressed obedience to religious doctrine, the Work Ethic, and persisted in their assimilation efforts more actively than the Jesuits (Ronda and Axtell 1978).

There are several other reasons why the success rate of missionization efforts went better for Catholics than Protestant denominations: a) the Jesuits were free to travel without uprooting family and home; b) the daily, weekly, and seasonal Catholic rituals (processions and rites: Extreme Unction was most popular—it guaranteed everlasting life (Point 1967)), and religious visibility symbols (pictures, the Catholic Ladder, vestments, embellished chalices, crucifixes and rosaries, etc.) to which Native Americans were exposed; and, c) Catholic missionaries, trained in the Classical languages, did not need to rely solely on interpreters, and were better able to develop religious materials and Native American dictionaries (Burns 1966; Johansen and Gates 1967; Ronda and Axtell 1978; personal communication with Father Clifford Carroll, S.J., Gonzaga University, June, 1984).

In 1824 the Hudson's Bay Company sent Spokane Garry and other Spokane adolescents to its Red River Colony, an eastern Canadian post (some of whom died there), with the aim of becoming para-Christian ministers, i.e., agents of assimilation (Simpson 1947 vol. 10). Spokane Garry returned to the Columbia Plateau in 1829, and preached among several Native American populations including the Coeur d' Alene, Colville, Flathead, Lakes, Nez Perce, and Spokane (Ruby and Brown 1981).

The New York Christian Advocate and Journal in 1832 carried a fever pitch story of the 1830-1832 ill-fated attempts by Flathead and Nez Perce delegations to St. Louis to obtain the "Whiteman's Book of Heaven" (Fuller 1931; Johansen and Gates 1967; Miller 1985; Ruby and Brown 1981). Religious and secular newspapers quickly picked up on the story and fueled the interest of Protestant zealots to "save from eternal damnation" the Native American (Drury 1976).

The American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions, which represented Congregationalist, Dutch Reformed, and Presbyterian denominations, sent Reverend Parker and Dr. Whitman in response to the Columbia Plateau Native American call to explore the potential for missionization of the Oregon Territory (Parker 1846). The 1836 American
emigration to Oregon Territory consisted of male fur trappers and, in response to the Native American plea for the Book (interpreted here as something Euro-Americans had which would provide Native Americans too with unbounded knowledge, and a promise of ever-lasting life), a small party of Methodist ministers and their families, a total perhaps of twenty six (Johansen and Gates 1967; Parker 1846). Parker and Whitman spoke with Flathead and Nez Perce people who were eager to learn Christianity in 1835 at the fur trader's rendezvous (Johansen and Gates 1967; Parker 1846).

Two years after their missionaries went to the Columbia Plateau (1836) the American Board of Foreign Missions had three mission stations among several Columbia Plateau Native American populations (Ruby and Brown 1981). In 1836 Whitman settled with his family and missionary workers in Cayuse territory, at Wailapuntu (place of rye grass), twenty five miles east of Fort Walla Walla (Ruby and Brown 1981). Whitman was also a medical physician by practice, and considered a shaman by the Native Americans (Ruby and Brown 1972). In that same year, Spalding, family, and missionary workers settled on a small prairie at the confluence where the Lapwai Creek meets the Clearwater River (Idaho Territory), and began preaching to Nez Perce (Drury 1976). Two years later, Eells, Walker and family, and other missionary workers were sent north to establish the Tshimakian (place of the springs) mission along a trail twenty five miles northwest of present day Spokane, Washington (Drury 1976).

While Protestant denominations were spearheading the Euro-American immigration in 1836, Congress authorized the United States Exploratory Expedition to undertake a comprehensive seagoing and land survey of the entire Pacific region (Fuller 1931; Johansen and Gates 1967; Ruby and Brown 1981). Two years later, 1838, the Expedition sailed under Commander Wilkes. The naval military and research force entered the southern Columbia Plateau in 1841 and explored the region for several months (Wilkes 1845).

Due to accounts by Wilkes (1845), various fur trappers (Cox 1957; Douglas 1972; Ross 1923, 1925), and missionaries (DeSmet in Thwaites 1906 vol. 27 and 29; Parker 1846), Euro-American immigration to the Land of Eden, also known as the Oregon Territory, increased during the 1840s. Soon after their arrival, two Protestant missionaries Lee and Whitman, returned to the eastern United States in 1838 and 1842 to seek additional workers and funding for their missions, and then led back emigrant wagon trains to Oregon Territory (Drury 1976; Gunkel 1978; Ruby and Brown 1972; Whitman Collection, Eells Library: 1836-1843). Lee was removed from the Oregon ministry in 1843 by the Methodist denomination for "improper actions", and never returned to the region (Ruby and Brown 1972).

Roman Catholic Society of Jesus missionaries were in the Columbia Plateau by 1838 several years after the Protestants began missionization efforts in the region (Weibel n.d., Society of Jesus Oregon Archives). Reverend Blanchet and Demers arrived via a Hudson's Bay Company brigade
from Quebec in November, 1838 at Fort Colville, Washington Territory (known as Columbia to the British) among the Kettle Falls Native Americans, and marked the official beginning of the Catholic Church in the northern Columbia Plateau (Weibel n.d. Society of Jesus Oregon Archives).

Father Demers left Fort Vancouver in 1839 and spent the summer preaching at Fort Colville, Okanogan, and Walla Walla (Schoenberg 1962). Later that year Pambrun, Catholic agent in charge of Fort Walla Walla, welcomed Fathers Blanchet and Demers (the first Roman Catholic priest in the region) who then met the headmen and people of the Cayuse and Walla Walla, and discussed the Great Spirit (Schoenberg 1962).

The Protestant immigration (53 Americans) or "great reinforcement" from the East, was led by Methodist Reverend Lee (on his second return trip). The Protestants arrived in the southern Columbia Plateau during spring, 1840 via the Oregon Trail in call of "Oregon Fever," i.e., manifest destiny which gave Euro-Americans the "right" to exploit the natural (and cultural: Native American) resources (Fuller 1931; Johansen and Gates 1967). This was the first American colony in the Oregon Territory, and was funded in part from the United States Secret Service budget (Bancroft 1874; Thwaites 1906 vol. 29).

The Jesuit DeSmet and Flathead headman Little Ignace crossed the continental divide on the Oregon Trail in June 1840, and DeSmet informed his travelling companion of the Oregon Trail's "religious"importance:

The Great Medicine Road of the Whites, the broadest, longest, and most beautiful road in the whole world--from the United States to the Pacific Ocean [Chittenden and Richardson 1905 vol. 2:671; Schoenberg 1962:9].

During the early 1840s the Flathead, like other Native Americans in the Plateau, believed the blackrobes to be bearers of "medicine": good fortune and immortality, and were so impressed with the Jesuits that DeSmet baptized over 600 in 1840 (Ronda and Axtell 1978; unpublished records of the Society of Jesus, Oregon Archives).

St. Mary's Flathead mission opened in 1841 then closed in 1850, and reopened in 1866 until 1891 (when the Bitter Root Flathead moved onto the Jocko reservation), when the mission became Stevensville, Montana, a Euro-American settlement (Partoll 1938). St. Mary's mission was the first Jesuit mission established in the Pacific Northwest (Schoenberg 1962).

The Jesuits established St. Mary's mission among the Flathead due to previous Native American pilgrimages to St. Louis in 1831, 1837, and 1839 to secure "blackrobes" and the "Whiteman's Book of Heaven", and to extend the Catholic Church's influence in the New World to "civilize" the Native American inhabitants west of the Mississippi river (Fahey 1974; Schaeffer 1937; Point 1967). DeSmet (in Thwaites 1906 vol. 29)
estimated the entire Columbia Plateau Native American and Canadian population during the early 1840s around 110,000 Native Americans of whom 6,000 (5%) were Catholic, and 1500 Canadians and settlers who were predominant Catholic.

Over one hundred Americans arrived from the United States to the southern Columbia Plateau in 1842, and was led by White and Hastings (Fuller 1931). The following year over 1,000 immigrants entered into Nez Perce Territory, and beyond, to Whitman's mission in Umatilla Territory (in present day southern Washington State) (Johnson and Winters 1846; Spalding letter 4-5-1844 Whitman Collection S-202A8).

Over 700 Euro-Americans immigrated to the Oregon Territory in 1844 (Ruby and Brown 1972). Additional Catholic missionaries and, for the first time, Sisters arrived in 1844 at Fort Vancouver, and Native Americans were amused by the "lady black robes" (Schoenberg 1962).

Over 3,600 United States immigrants travelled the Oregon Trail in 1845 to the Columbia Plateau (Ruby and Brown 1972). An additional 1,350 immigrants entered the Oregon Territory in the following year (Fuller 1931).

The largest immigration during the 1840s occurred in 1847 when 5,000 Euro-American immigrants entered the Columbia Plateau, and encamped while harboring an epidemic at Whitman's Mission, the terminus of the Oregon Trail in Cayuse territory (Fuller 1931; Harper 1971; Johansen and Gates 1967; Ruby and Brown 1972, 1981). The Cayuse and several other Native American populations in 1847 waged war on the local Euro-American population (beginning at Whitman Mission) for several reasons, including: Euro-American immigrations and epidemics; Dr. Whitman, his family and workers, living on Cayuse land for a decade without compensation or payment; Euro-American (including those at the Whitman mission) violations of Native American human rights, including discriminatory, prejudicial, and racist treatment; and, Dr. Whitman who practiced his "power" i.e., medicine, on Euro-Americans but denied Native Americans entrance to his (Cayuse owned) property, and medical attention (Johansen and Gates 1967; Ruby and Brown 1972, 1981; Trafzer and Scheuerman 1986). Another possible reason may have been the severe shortage of cargo in the Columbia Plateau during late 1847 due to the great influx of Euro-Americans into the region:

The economic impact of these new arrivals [some 4,500 immigrants] was enhanced by the fact that many were of comfortable means...Indeed by late 1847 there was an acute shortage of merchandise and supplies in the Northwest [Cox 1974:42].

The Euro-American emigration to the Pacific Northwest tapered off from 1848 to 1851 due to the Whitman killings, and the resultant Cayuse War in the Columbia Plateau as well as the discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill, California Territory (Fuller 1931). The Whitman murders closed many Catholic missions in the Pacific Northwest (Schoenberg 1962).
After the Whitman murders Protestants withdrew from the Columbia Plateau until the 1870's (Johansen and Gates 1967; Slickpoo and Walker 1974).

Hostilities caused the removal of Americans from eastern Washington and Oregon Territories from 1848 until 1855 when treaties were made with the Native Americans in the region (Coan 1921, 1922). There were 700 immigrants to the Plateau in 1848, and only 400 in 1849 (Fuller 1931; Ruby and Brown 1972). One year after the Whitman murders the Jesuits founded missions among the Yakima including one at The Dalles where Methodists had established a mission several years earlier (Johansen and Gates 1967; Schoenberg 1962).

The Euro-American population in Oregon Territory was over 13,000 in 1850 (Gunkel 1978). In 1850 over 2,000 immigrants arrived, and in 1851 another 1500 entered the region (Fuller 1931). Due to the discovery of gold in British Columbia, Idaho and Washington Territories from 1850 to 1855 the Euro-American population in the area surpassed 30,000 (Johansen and Gates 1967; Trimble 1914).

Thousands of United States emigrants arrived in the Columbia Plateau in 1852, via the Oregon Trail, in response to the Donation Land Law (1850), and discoveries of gold (Phillips 1928 no.2). Fuller (1931) puts the number of immigrants in 1852 at 2,500. The next year (1853) over 3600 Euro-American emigrants, 780 covered wagons, and over 10,000 head of cattle passed through the Umatilla reservation (Oliphant 1968; Phillips 1928 no. 2). The first wagon trains in 1853 went through the Umatilla reservation, and took a short cut across the Yakima reservation on their way to the Pacific Coast (Schuster 1982).

Gibbs (Reports 1855 vol. 1) reported in 1853 that the American Board's missions at Waiatpu (Whitman mission, non-existent by 1848), Tschimiakian (Eells and Walker), Lapwai (Spalding), and Kaina (Smith) were all abandoned, as was the Methodist mission at The Dalles. Gibbs (Reports 1855 vol. 1) portrayed a far rosier picture for the Jesuits in the area: priests at Fort Colville, and among the Pend d' Oreille as well as the Coeur d' Alene, and, Oblates at the mission near the abandoned Whitman mission among the Cayuse and one near the Yakima. The first Catholic church built for the Nez Perce was with the aid of prospectors along the Clearwater river some thirty-eight years after a delegation went to St. Louis to secure "blackrobes" (Schoenberg 1962).

The decline of the missionary frontier period was well on its way by the beginning of the early 1860s, however, Euro-American missionary efforts (both Catholic and Protestant) were rekindled when President Grant assigned various denominations to Native American reservations in 1871, and reservation schools then emerged in the 1870s to the 1890s (Adams 1975; Keller 1983; Rahill 1954). For example, in 1873 the Sisters of Charity of Providence opened a reservation school for girls on the Colville reservation, and five years later the first school for boys was opened by the Jesuits at nearby St. Francis Regis mission (Schoenberg 1962). The Sisters then established another school in 1888 on the Yakima reservation which closed in 1896 due to a lack of
government funding (Schoenberg 1962). The following year, the Jesuits established St. Mary's mission among the Okanogans:

...the most successful mission in the Northwest...St. Mary's became the cultural center for all Indians in a vast area in north central Washington [Schoenberg 1962:131].

By the turn of the century most reservation schools were closed (Adams 1975). The majority of non-reservation schools were also closed by 1918 in preference for mixed day public schools (Gearing 1973).

Unlike other frontiers, the mining frontier rapidly led to urban Euro-American settlement (Paul 1964). Gold rushes occurred from 1850 to 1855 throughout Washington and Idaho Territories and British Columbia, and added 30,000 Euro-Americans to the region (Johansen and Gates 1967; Trimble 1914). This resulted in another unprecedented increase (as in 1847) demand for supplies (cargo) and services (Johansen and Gates 1967).

Gold was discovered in the Colville region in 1854 (Chance 1973; Fuller 1931; Gibbs in Reports 1855; Ruby and Brown 1970; Schoenberg 1962). An earlier rush of over 200 prospectors occurred in 1850 in the Spokane country but nothing came of it (Chance 1973). Another gold rush took place in 1858 along the Fraser River, British Columbia, and several thousand Euro-American prospectors, and cattle, enter the region by encroaching on several Columbia Plateau reservations and precontact non-reservation territories (Johansen and Gates 1967; Oliphant 1968; Trimble 1914).

With the completion of Mullan's Road (Mullan 1863, 1865) in 1860 thousands of miners travelled from Missouri to Missoula, Montana Territory (Trimble 1914). This included various Euro-American exploratory parties who sought out mineral deposits on the Clearwater River, between the Coeur d' Alene and Salmon rivers in Idaho Territory (Johansen and Gates 1967).

There were over 500 miners working the northern Colville area around the Kettle River in 1860 (Stanley 1970). Fort Colville (formerly the Hudson's Bay Company post) during the 1860s became the outfitting point for Columbia Plateau prospectors (Howard 1939 no. 28).

In 1861 fifteen thousand miners were working placers throughout Idaho (Nez Perce) Territory, especially around the Boise Basin (OIA 1861; Trimble 1914). Idaho City (originally Bannock City), became overnight a booming mining camp, and became the hub of the Pacific Northwest in the early 1860s (Ostrogorsky 1982).

Numerous cattle drives from California to the northern Washington Territory mining districts went through the Walla Walla valley in 1862 (Oliphant 1968). The Umatilla reservation also became a regular route for prospectors, beginning with over 4,000 in four months during 1862,
who were headed to the gold mines discovered along the Powder River, and escalated to thousands in 1863-1864 (House Executive Documents 1182 1863, and 1220 1864; Ruby and Brown 1972). Rich gold strikes in the Caribou district, British Columbia also that year (1862) brought a repeat performance as the Frazer river discoveries two years earlier (Johansen and Gates 1967; Trimble 1914).

The influx of miners, via steamboats, during 1862 from Walla Walla to Lewiston, Idaho Territory was well over 24,000, and the mining population reached it's height in 1863-1864: 75,000 Euro-American males driven to the area by gold, and to escape conscription to fight in the American Civil War (Johansen and Gates 1967; Oliphant 1968). At the height of the gold rush in the mid 1860s Lewiston, Idaho was a booming town of over 20,000, and surpassed Portland, Oregon in population (Oliphant 1968). Hundreds of prospectors and businessmen in 1863 entered non-reservation Kalispel lands adjacent to the Flathead reservation in Montana Territory (Carriker 1973; Fahey 1974; House Executive Document 1182 1863; Trimble 1914).

Several roads were engineered through the Umatilla reservation in 1865 due to the constant flow of Euro-American prospectors on their way to and from the gold mines to the north and east (Ruby and Brown 1972). In the Nez Perce region in 1866 there were over 3,500 Euro-American and Chinese prospectors working mines (OIA no.75 1866). Euro-American immigration to Idaho, Montana, and Washington Territories was in the thousands each month in 1866 (OIA no.7 Oregon Superintendency 1866). Over 700 prospectors entered Coeur d' Alene Idaho territory in 1868 (Chalfont and Bischoff 1974).

Gold rushes occurred from 1873 to 1877 in the Kootenai District, British Columbia (Trimble 1914). As a consequence of the northern mining fields the Flathead, and other neighboring Native American populations continued to witness the constant traffic of prospectors through the Jocko reservation during the mid-1870s (Fahey 1974). Between 1880 and 1890 the Coeur d' Alene region increased in population from 518 to over 4,000 people due to mineral exploitation of the area:

> It is increasingly clear that gold, silver, and lead revolutionized the political, social and economic life of this entire area [Chalfont and Bischoff 1974:223].

A quartz mining rush began in 1883 in the Coeur d' Alene mountains, Idaho Territory, and continued through 1884 (Chalfont and Bischoff 1974). Euro-American miners in the region established Eagle City and other settlements with populations of over 2,000, and cut vast amounts of timber on the Coeur d' Alene reservation (Chalfont and Bischoff 1974). The height of the gold rush in this area occurred in 1884-1885 (Chalfont and Bischoff 1974).
A lead mining boom from Metaline Falls to Kalispel, Montana Territory in 1885 promoted Euro-American settlement (Carriker 1973). The Moses Columbia reservation was officially opened to prospectors in 1886 (Ruby and Brown 1965). Miners also opened the Ruby mine near Conconully, Washington Territory in 1886 (Moen 1975; Roe 1981).

A gold rush occurred on, and adjacent to, the Colville reservation in 1890, and many mining towns, such as Blewett city, were founded (United States Public Works Washington State Project vol. III 1938). Mines and camps were then quickly established just north of the present day Colville reservation line, and swarms of prospectors invaded that northern area (OIA 8-11-1890). The northern half of the reservation was opened to settlement in 1891 (Gidley 1981). Cole, the Colville agency agent during this time, anticipated another Oklahoma land rush, although on a smaller scale (OIA 8-11-1890).

The discovery of rich gold fields in the northern half of the Colville reservation in 1896, opened the region to mineral entry (Deutsch 1956; Ruby and Brown 1970, 1981). Euro-American prospectors did not restrict themselves to the northern area but entered the southern half of the Colville reservation as well as the Spokane reservation, due to rumors of gold there too (House Executive Document 3489 1896). Several mining camps sprang up overnight in 1897 throughout the Colville region located in Okanogan county (Ruby and Conconully mines), Chelan county (Peshastin placer mines), Yakima county (gold rush in Wenatchee district), and, in Ferry county (in southern half of reservation: Republic, originally called Eureka or Old Town) (Moen 1975; United States Public Works Washington State Project vol. III 1938).

Gold was discovered on the southern half of the Colville reservation in 1898, and opened to mineral entry to Euro-American "sooners" (Ruby and Brown 1965, 1970, 1981). The overnight mining camp of Keller along the Sanpoil river established in 1898 evolved into a settlement with stores two months later (Moen 1975; United States Public Works Washington State Project vol. III 1938). At present the town of Keller is inundated by the backwater of the Grand Coulee Dam, known as Franklin D. Roosevelt Lake.

By 1900 every tributary to the Sanpoil river, Colville reservation, had prospectors along them (Gidley 1981; United States Public Works Washington State Project vol. III 1938). The southern half of the Colville reservation was formally opened to mineral entry in 1901, and overrun with miners (House Executive Document 4290 1901). The Spokane reservation was thrown open to mineral entry in 1902, and settlement after lands were allotted then overrun by Euro-American prospectors and businessmen (House Executive Document 4458 1902; Ruby and Brown 1970).

Temporal Boundary Justification

The initial date of the Ranching frontier, A.D. 1862, was selected because it was directly tied to the mining frontier. Various primary historical sources confirm that Euro-American livestock invaded their way north to the mining districts, and passed through several Columbia Plateau reservations during the early 1860s (Oliphant 1968; Trimble 1914). The selection of the year 1880 as the beginning date for the Agriculture, Cannery and Steamboat, and Lumber frontiers is based on the fact that although each had emerged a few years earlier, they all experienced expansion when the railroad system was established in the early 1880s throughout the Pacific Northwest.

The terminal date of A.D. 1914 for the various frontiers in this grouping was selected because each frontier was still active at that time, although in varying states of expansion and decline. As a matter of fact, except for the navigational frontier due to the construction of hydroelectric dams, these frontiers, and several others, are evident today on the various Columbia Plateau reservations.

Chronology

During the late 1830s (1837) the Willamette Cattle Company was financed by Lee, a Methodist minister, and McLoughlin, who was in charge of Hudson's Bay Company Fort Vancouver (Fuller 1931; Oliphant 1968). The following year the Company had driven over 600 cattle up from California (Johansen and Gates 1967; Oliphant 1968). The majority of Euro-American immigrants brought livestock with them over the Oregon Trail during the 1840s and 1850s.

Euro-American encroachment of cattle on Native American lands began in the 1860s and continued into the twentieth century in the Columbia Plateau (Oliphant 1950, 1968). The primary reason for the increasing invasion of livestock and Euro-American settlement on the reservations was because Congress failed to establish exact and precise boundaries (Oliphant 1950).

The Columbia Plateau range and ranch frontier peak period of development was from 1870 to 1890 (Oliphant 1950, 1968). After 1890 the ranching frontier declined due to over-exploitation of ranges, increase in sheep breeding, and cultivation of arable land in eastern Washington and northern Idaho States (Oliphant 1950).

Not all of the Columbia Plateau reservations were affected by the cattle frontier in the same way. The reservations which were impacted varied in length of time, and number of people and livestock to invade the region (Oliphant 1950).
The Okanogan Valley was used to transport cattle (over 22,000 head) to the Canadian gold fields during the early 1860s, and the peak years were 1862-1866 (Roe 1981). Ten thousand cattle and 3,000 horses owned by Euro-Americans trespassed on the Umatilla reservation in 1878, a pattern that continued into the twentieth century (Oliphant 1950).

Euro-American cattle (>12,000) roamed the Okanogan Valley from 1881 to 1883 (Oliphant 1968). The extinguished Columbia reservation was overrun in 1887 by tens of thousands of cattle and sheep owned by Euro-Americans (Oliphant 1950).

The history of the steamboat frontier on the Columbia River is the history of the Oregon Steam Navigation Company tied to the mining frontier (Trimble 1914). More prospectors travelled by way of steamboat up the Columbia River and other Pacific Northwest rivers during the 1860s than overland (Trimble 1914). The Coeur d'Alene region in 1887 had seven steamers and three barges on Coeur d'Alene Lake to transport the miners and their equipment to nearby placer fields (Chalfont and Bischoff 1974). The Okanogan Steamboat Company hauled mined coke from the mouth of the Sampoil river down the Columbia River to Wenatchee, Washington in 1908 for the canneries along the lower Columbia River (Ruby and Brown 1970). The steamboat frontier was also tied to the railroad frontier beginning in 1880 (Ruby and Brown 1970).

During the late 1870s Euro-American canneries sprang up and down the Columbia river, and resulted in widespread Native American starvation due limited amounts of salmon made available to them (OIA Simms Report 1877). Columbia River salmon canning in 1880 was the second largest export from Oregon and Washington territories (Seurfert 1980).

More than thirty American owned canneries were in operation along the Columbia River in 1881, and none employed Native Americans (Johansen and Gates 1967). American owned fishwheels lined the Columbia River from the 1880s until the late 1930s when the federally funded Columbia River Basin Dam projects were begun (Seufert 1980).

The Hudson's Bay Company developed the first foreign trade in Pacific Northwest Coast forest products, and shipped them to Hawaii during the 1830s (Cox 1974; Johansen and Gates 1967). Several of the early Protestant missions had their own sawmills in operation, for example, Wilkes (1845) reported that the Nez Perce Lapwai mission under Spalding produced over 3,000 feet of lumber per day.

The early lumber industry in the Pacific Northwest shifted inland during the early 1880s when several railroad lines were established throughout the region (Cox 1974; Johansen and Gates 1967). The golden age of the lumber industry in the Pacific Northwest occurred during the 1880s (Cox 1974).

Post completed the first sawmill in Coeur d'Alene territory (Post Falls) in 1880 (Chalfont and Bischoff 1974). The Montana Improvement
Company entered into a twenty year contract in 1883 to exclusively supply the Northern Pacific Railroad with lumber from Miles City, Montana State to The Dalles, Washington State (Cox 1974). The Clearwater River (Nez Perce territory) near Lewiston, Idaho in 1883 was described as one hundred miles of "floating woodyard" (Cox 1974).

The Coeur d'Alene reservation also had seven sawmills and five shingle mills owned and operated by Euro-Americans in 1888 (Chalfont and Bischoff 1974). By 1893 the logging boom had ended, yet the lumber companies managed to manipulate the allotment system for capital gains well into the twentieth century (Cox 1974).

**Railroad (1869-1914) and Urban Growth (1885-1914)**

**Temporal Boundary Justification**

The beginning date A.D. 1869 was selected for the Railroad frontier because that year the Northern Pacific Railroad survey went through the Umatilla reservation (OIA no. 16 1869). The beginning date A.D. 1885 was selected for the Urban Growth frontier since Euro-American migration to Oregon and Washington Territories during the 1880s was an urban movement, for example, the population of Spokane, Washington Territory in 1880 was 350, and in less than a decade had increased to 20,000 (Johansen and Gates 1967). The terminal date of A.D. 1914 applies here to both the Railroad and Urban Growth frontiers since each continued to play a vital part in expanding Euro-American colonization of the Pacific Northwest.

**Chronology**

The Yakima Valley was officially opened in 1861 to Euro-American settlement (Schuster 1982). Euro-Americans however had occupied the most valuable land in the Yakima region by 1860 (OIA 1860). A 230 mile strip from the Flathead Agency, Montana Territory to Virginia City, Nevada was mostly settled by 1865, with over 700 settlers in western Montana (including the Bitter Root valley, home of the Flatheads) (Fahey 1974).

A stage route opened in 1866 from the Yakima reservation to Satus Pass to Goldendale, Washington Territory (Schuster 1982). Three years later (1869) a United States mail stage line went through the Umatilla reservation twice a day, and in 1869 the Union Pacific Railroad survey crossed it (OIA no. 16 1869). By 1868 the Bitter Root Valley was filled with Euro-American farmers (House Executive Document 1633 1868). The following year Euro-Americans outnumbered Native Americans in the Bitter Root Valley (Fahey 1974). Euro-Americans in 1869 were in possession of lands along the highway from the Umatilla reservation to Boise City and Salt Lake City hundreds of miles to the east (OIA no.16 1869). There
were very few Euro-Americans in the Colville region prior to 1870 (Chalfont, Ray, and Anastasio 1974).

In the 1870 United States census, the total Native American population for Oregon State, and Washington and Idaho Territories was 31,705 with 72% living on reservations (United States Census 1870). During the 1870's Idaho Territory added over 17,000 Euro-American settlers, Washington Territory increased by 51,000, and the state of Oregon increased by 83,000 (Johansen and Gates 1967).

Euro-American settlers arrived in the Colville valley in 1870 in anticipation of the building of the Northern Pacific railroad through the region (House Executive Document 1449 1870). The Wallowa Valley (Idaho), home of the Nez Perce non-treaty faction, was opened to Euro-American settlement in 1875 (OIA 1877).

The first (sparsely) populated Euro-American villages in the Colville region were established during the 1880s, as well as in other interior areas, due to the emergence of a railroad system throughout the region (Chalfont, Ray, and Anastasio 1974). Railroad expansion in the Pacific Northwest was primarily stimulated by the global demand for lumber products from the Pacific Northwest (Cox 1974). The primary reason for the construction of railroad lines around the Coeur d'Alene region was the need for a direct transportation system between the mines and smelter (Chalfont and Bischoff 1974).

During the early 1880s large immigrations from the eastern United States arrived via railroad into the Pendleton, Oregon (Umatilla reservation) area, and in 1884 the majority of valuable land was owned by Euro-Americans (OIA 1884; Ruby and Brown 1972). The town of Pendleton, Oregon was formed in 1881 within the Umatilla reservation (OIA 1881). A year later cession of the Pendleton, Oregon town site was completed (Ruby and Brown 1972). In 1881 Spokane Falls had a population of over 1,000 people, and a railroad line (Northern Pacific Railroad) (Ruby and Brown 1970).

Euro-American settlers during the 1870s became increasingly vocal to further reduce the size of the Columbia Plateau reservations (Johansen and Gates 1967). The construction of a railroad route in 1882 through the Flathead Jocko reservation in Montana Territory brought an influx to the reservation of more than 7,400 workers (Fahey 1974; OIA 1882). A railroad system was constructed upriver along the Columbia river to Walla Walla, Washington Territory in 1882 by Chinese immigrant crews (Johansen and Gates 1967).

The Northern Pacific Railroad was laid through the Lapwai reservation in 1882 (OIA vol. 33 1884). The Northern Pacific Railroad was in operation in the Yakima Valley in 1883, and created an avenue for the greatest immigration to the area up till that time (Schuster 1982).

The Oregon Railroad and Navigation Company completed a line across the Umatilla reservation in 1884 (Ruby and Brown 1972). The Northern
Pacific Railroad brought thousands of settlers to Kalispel territory in 1884, lands classified as public domain (Carriker 1973).

The Flathead reservation had running through it in 1885 railroad, stagecoach, and steamboat lines (Fahey 1974). The Coeur d' Alene region in 1886 had telephone and telegraph lines strung across it (Chalfont and Bischoff 1974). Swarms of prospectors entered the Coeur d' Alene reservation in 1887 due to established transportation lines such as the Spokane Falls and Idaho, and Coeur d' Alene railroad lines (in addition to the seven steamers and three barges on Lake Coeur d' Alene) (Chalfont and Bischoff 1974).

The Northern Pacific Railroad and Oregon Railroad and Navigation Company routes operated in 1888 through the Coeur d' Alene reservation, and telephone and telegraph lines linked Walla Walla, Washington Territory with the town of Coeur d' Alene (population 12,000), Idaho Territory (Chalfont and Bischoff 1974). By 1889 there were twenty-two logging railroads in operation in present day Washington State and seven in Oregon State (Cox 1974). Northern Pacific railroad lines were placed just south of the Colville reservation in 1888-1889, and the town of Wilber emerged as a railroad depot (United States Public Works Project Washington State vol. 2 1938).

The Northern Pacific railroad survey continued from 1890 to 1892 from Spokane, Washington to Bonners Ferry, Idaho (Carriker 1973). All of the important lines of communication and transportation (railroads, wagon and horse roads, telephone and telegraph lines) were in operation in 1890 in the Coeur d' Alene region (Chalfont and Bischoff 1974). The Pend d' Oreille Valley in Montana Territory in 1890 was opened for settlement (Carriker 1973).

The period from 1890 to 1900 was one of small town expansion throughout the Colville region, and included the establishment of Ephrata, Quincy, Wenatchee, and other towns (Chalfont, Ray, and Anastasio 1974). The surplus lands from allotment on the Nez Perce reservation were thrown open to Euro-American settlement when President Cleveland declared in 1895 that the 1893 Agreement was in effect, and caused a second "Oklahoma land rush" (House Executive Document 3489 1895; Hoxie and Mark 1987; Schoenberg 1962; Slickpoo and Walker 1974). In 1899 over 85 miles of railroad track had been laid across the Nez Perce reservation (House Executive Document 3915 1899).

At the turn of the century railroads were permitted right of ways through all reservations (Ruby and Brown 1970). After the turn of the century the Colville region witnessed significant Euro-American settlement expansion (Chalfont, Ray, and Anastasio 1974). The northern half of the Colville reservation was opened for homesteading in 1900 (Ruby and Brown 1981). By 1900 the city of Coeur d' Alene had a population of 350 Euro-Americans (Ruby and Brown 1970).

Euro-American settlement was not restricted to only the Colville reservation. Thirteen towns and twenty post offices were established on
the old Nez Perce Lapwai Reservation in 1902, and by 1906 there were over twenty five saloons in operation on the remnant reservation (Hoxie and Mark 1987). According to Walker (1968) the changes Euro-American settlement produced on the Nez Perce reservation at the turn of the century were greater than any that had previously occurred.

The Spokane and Big Bend Railroad Company and Big Bend Transit Company were in full operation by 1905 (Ruby and Brown 1970). The Southern Pacific and Southern Railway completed their southern line in 1906, and established a stop called Spedis (for a Native American patriarch) near the Native American (sacred and secular) fishing village of Wishram along the Columbia River (United States Public Works Project Washington State vol. 1 1936). The Spokane and British Columbia Railroad received a right of way in 1906 through the Colville reservation along the Sanpoil river (Ruby and Brown 1970).

The city of Coeur d'Alene in 1909 had a population of over 10,000 with four steam train routes, twenty-six electric trains to Spokane City, and dozens of steamers that connected points in the Idaho mining district (Ruby and Brown 1970). New towns emerged at a rapid pace around the Yakima reservation in 1913 due to railroad lines (McWhorter 1913; Schuster 1982).

Military (1845-1900),
U.S. Native American Acts (1849-1914),
and Agency (1855-1914)

Temporal Boundary Justification

The date of A.D. 1845 for the beginning of the military frontier was selected because in that year Euro-American West Coast and Pacific Northwest Native American hostilities erupted which resulted (two years later) in the Cayuse War (see below). The terminal year of A.D. 1900 was selected because at the end of the nineteenth century the military frontier was on the wane. For example, in 1898, Fort Spokane, one of the last (if not the last) military posts located on or adjacent to a reservation in the Columbia Plateau, was abandoned (Gidley 1981).

The date A.D. 1850 was selected for the beginning of the United States Native American Acts frontier because Congress enacted the Donation Act which entitled Euro-American immigrants the right to claim private property in Native American territories which promoted the policy of manifest destiny (Johansen and Gates 1967). The Act was one of the primary catalysts to the Pacific Northwest Native American wars in the mid-1850s (Johansen and Gates 1967; Reports 1855).

The date A.D. 1855 was selected for the beginning of the Agency reservation frontier period because that year several treaties were made with Columbia Plateau Native American populations for their lands, and then confined to reserves (Institute for the Development of Indian Law
n.d.). The terminal year A.D. 1914 for these two frontiers was chosen to reflect that, except for the military frontier, each is still very much in operation today, almost a century and a half later, and continue to have control over Native American self-determination (although there are significant signs of decline).

Chronology

The son of the Walla Walla leader Peo Peo Mox Mox was murdered by Americans at Sutter's Fort, in northern California in 1845 while there on a mission to trade for horses (Harper 1971; Palmer 1847). The Walla Walla leader and 200 men went to avenge the death of his son the following year, and while in California a measles epidemic hit the group and thirty died (Harper 1971; Ruby and Brown 1981). For these and other reasons, Native Americans rose up in 1847 against Euro-Americans, including the missionaries Whitman and company, and other regional events brought on the Cayuse War which lasted a year (Drury 1976; Johansen and Gates 1967; Ruby and Brown 1970).

The United States Congress enacted the Donation Land Law in 1850 to promote manifest destiny throughout the Pacific Northwest and elsewhere (Johansen and Gates 1967; Reports vol. 1 1855). The Donation Land Act granted 320 acres to single persons and 640 acres to married couples with an actual residence of four years (Ruby and Brown 1972). Stevens (Reports 1855 vol. 1:422) called the Act "...the greatest source of evil in Oregon...".

On March 2, 1853 President Fillmore signed a bill that created the Washington Territory, and appointed General I.1. Stevens Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs (Carriker 1973; Coan 1922; Johansen and Gates 1967; Ruby and Brown 1981; Stevens 1901). Governor Stevens led the Pacific Railroad Survey in 1854 to the Columbia Plateau in order to ascertain the best transportation route from the East, and extinguish Native American title to their lands (Coan 1922; Reports 1855; Stevens 1901).

In May, 1855 Stevens held the Walla Walla Council between the Cayuse, Nez Perce, Umatilla, Walla Walla, and Yakima which resulted in the signing of several treaties (Coan 1922; Gunkel 1978; Institute for the Development of Indian Law n.d.; Kipp 1897; Kinney 1937; Ruby and Brown 1972, 1981; Schuster 1982; Stevens 1901).

Several bands of Nez Perce who happened to be away in buffalo country came in at the end of the Walla Walla treaty negotiations and accused their representative Nez Perce of selling the lands of their ancestors (Kipp 1897). Thus began the long standing feud between Nez Perce treaty and non-treaty factions (Chief Joseph 1879; Josephy 1965; Johansen and Gates 1967; Madsen 1982; Ruby and Brown 1981; Slickpoo and Walker 1974; Walker 1968). Several other Native American populations such as the Colville and Spokane did not attend the negotiations but were nonetheless treated afterwards as if they had signed treaties.
As reported by interpreter McKay, Stevens told Kamiakin, leader of the Yakimas and many other populations at the Council: "If they don't sign this treaty, they will walk in blood knee deep (Ruby and Brown 1972:203-204)." Kamiakin on hearing Stevens was enraged as evidenced by the fact that he did not speak but rather bit his lips to the point they bled (Ruby and Brown 1972).

The United States army built and stationed soldiers at Fort Henrietta in 1855, a garrison near the Umatilla reservation since Fort Walla Walla was abandoned that year (Phillips no. 18 1932). The Umatilla reservation was established by treaty on June 9, 1855, and the Cayuse, Umatilla, and Walla Walla populations received small parcels of land (Institute for the Development of Indian Law n.d.; Kinney 1937; Madsen 1982; Ruby and Brown 1972, 1981).

In July, 1855 Stevens concluded the Hell Gate Treaty with the Flathead, Kalispel, Kutenai, and Pend d' Oreille (Carriker 1973; Coan 1922; Fahey 1974; Institute for the Development of Indian Law n.d.; Kinney 1937). In October, 1855 Stevens concluded the Blackfoot Peace Council with Roman Catholic factions of Flathead and Nez Perce as well as the Blackfeet Plains Native American populations (Fahey 1974; Institute for the Development of Indian Law; Kinney 1937; Phillips no. 3 1937; Ruby and Brown 1981).

The Yakima in response to the Euro-American manifest destiny efforts killed several miners and their appointed United States agent thus beginning the Yakima War in 1855 which expanded throughout the entire Pacific Northwest, and ended in 1858 (Johansen and Gates 1967; Kipp 1859; Ruby and Brown 1965, 1970, 1981; Schuster 1982). The Yakima were then joined by several other Native American populations to turn back the tide of the Euro-American invasion (Kipp 1859). In October, 1855 Major Haller and 500 Euro-American "Indian killers" were driven from the southern Columbia Plateau by a combined Native American force of (800-1500) Flathead, Nez Perce, Pend d' Orieille, Spokane, and Yakima warriors under the Yakima leader Kamiakin during the Toppenish Fight (Josephy 1965; Kipp 1859; Ruby and Brown 1970, 1981).

In 1856 the Cayuse, Umatilla, and Walla Walla joined the Nez Perce (Kipp 1859; OIA 1857). Some designates of these Native American populations came within one and one half miles of Fort Henrietta and made a design on the ground to warn the troops that there were 1500 warriors assembled under Peo Peo Mox Mox (Walla Walla), and represented: 400 Cayuse, 300 Klikitat, 200 Palous, 200 Tenino, and 400 Yakima (Kipp 1859; Ruby and Brown 1972).

Peo Peo Mox Mox, leader of the Walla Walla, and four other Walla Wallas were captured in 1856 by United States volunteer troops (Ruby and Brown 1981). When about to be bound one of the Native American captives with the headman resisted, and all were murdered then scalped (Trafzer and Scheurerman 1986). Peo Peo Mox Mox's head was entirely peeled, ears cut off, and brought as a trophy to The Dalles settlement (National Archives Roll 6 vol. E-2 1-8-1856). The Euro-Americans at The Dalles
were more fearful of the volunteers than the Native Americans (OIA 1856; Schoenberg 1962).

The Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon, Nesmith, opened the Walla Walla valley in 1857 to Euro-American settlement (OIA 1857; Ruby and Brown 1972). The United States army under Steptoe was defeated in May, 1858 by a combined force of Columbia Plateau Salishan and Sahaptin speaking Native American groups (Kipp 1859; Ruby and Brown 1970, 1981; Schoenberg 1962). The Yakima War then spread throughout present day northern Idaho State, northern Oregon State, eastern Washington State, and ended in September, 1858 (Johansen and Gates 1967; Kipp 1859; Ruby and Brown 1981).

President Buchanan signed a bill in 1859 that created the state of Oregon (Johansen and Gates 1967). During that same year the United States and British governments began the 49th Parallel United States International Boundary Survey (Lord 1866; Mayne 1862; Wilson 1865). The United States Congress also ratified the 1854-1855 Pacific Northwest treaties that year (OAI 1860). Construction began on the military road known as Mullan's Road (named after the project director Lt. Mullan) in 1859 which extended east from Walla Walla, Washington through northern Idaho Territory to Fort Benton, Missouri, and completed the following year (Fuller 1931; Johansen and Gates 1967; Mullan 1863, 1865; Ruby and Brown 1981).

The Office of Indian Affairs (OIA 1862) realized that the Native American populations in the Bitter Root (Flathead), Columbia and Okanogan (Colville, Spokane, and Okanogan), and Snake River (Nez Perce) valleys occupied rich mineral deposit areas and had to be placed on reservations before a regional outbreak occurred. Fort Lapwai was established in 1862 three miles south of present day Spalding, Idaho, and >30,000 miners overran the Nez Perce reservation so that by 1865 there were ten times more Euro-Americans on the reservation than Nez Perce (Josephy 1965). The infamous 1863 Nez Perce treaty was signed and later that year the United States Congress created the Territory of Idaho that included the present states of Idaho, Montana, and Wyoming (Institute for the Development of Indian Law n.d.; Johansen and Gates 1967; Josephy 1965; Ruby and Brown 1981; Slickpoo and Walker 1974). Congress created the Montana Territory in 1864 with Bannock as the capital (Fahey 1974).

The 1867 Report of the Secretary of the Interior concluded that the several reservations throughout Washington Territory had small resident Native American populations most of whom lived off the reservations, and recommended the sale of their lands and their transfer to other
reservations (OIA 1867). The Coeur d' Alene reservation was established by executive order in 1867 (Institute for the Development of Indian Law n.d.). The Oregon State legislature memorialized Congress in 1867 to throw open the Umatilla reservation to settlement (Oliphant 1950).

In order to secure employment of Civil War military veterans, the Indian Peace Commission in 1868 recommended that the army take on a more active role in Native American affairs, especially the removal of trespassers from Native American reservations, and in the distribution of treaty annuity goods (cargo) (Fahey 1974; Prucha 1981). The last treaty ratified by the Senate for the Pacific Northwest Native Americans was with the Nez Perce on August 13, 1868 in Washington D.C. (Institute for the Development of Indian Law n.d.; Josephy 1965; Ruby and Brown 1981; Slickpoo and Walker 1974). The Flathead ceded the remainder of the Bitter Root valley to Euro-Americans, and located on the Flathead Jocko reservation and reserved land in the valley (Fahey 1974).

One of the recommendations of the Peace Commission acted upon by Congress and approved by President Grant in 1869 was the establishment of the Board of Indian Commissioners to ensure tighter control over the reservation system (Prucha 1981). The Board established an assimilationist policy which included the following goals: allotment of Native American lands; abolition of treaty making; establishment of schools; and, cessation of payment of money treaty annuities to Native Americans (Kinney 1937; Prucha 1981). The Board was abolished in 1933 by executive order during Roosevelt's first term in office (Kinney 1937).

President Grant announced his new Peace Policy in 1870 (which lasted until 1882), and included the subjective assignment of Euro-American denominations to the reservations, with the majority going to Protestant denominations (Prucha 1981; Rahill 1954; Ruby and Brown 1972, 1981; Schoenberg 1962; Tyler 1973). Congress then passed an act on March 3, 1871 that declared the United States would no longer recognize Native American populations as sovereign nations, or provide monetary annuities to Native American leaders, and ordered Native Americans on reservations, with military force if they refused (Harmon 1941; Ruby and Brown 1981).

Grant issued an executive order in 1871 for the relocation of the Flatheads to the Jocko (Flathead) reservation (Fahey 1974). Congress approved negotiations with the Umatilla for their lands and relocation on July 1, 1871 (House Executive Document 1449 1870; OIA 1872 no. 15; Ruby and Brown 1970). The Washington Territorial legislature memorialized Congress in 1871 to reduce the size of the Yakima reservation (Oliphant 1950).

Garfield, the United States Commission representative, entered into an agreement with the Flathead in 1872 for their removal to the Jocko reservation, however, Garfield forged Charlot's (leader of the Bitter Root Flathead) signature (Fahey 1974). The Colville reservation was established in 1872 by executive order, and was bounded on the east
and south by the Columbia river, north by the international boundary (49th Parallel), and west by the Okanogan river (Institute for the Development of American Indian Law n.d.; Kinney 1937; Ruby and Brown 1981; Schoenberg 1962).

On June 16, 1873 President Grant declared the Wallowa Valley (in present day Idaho State) a reservation for the Nez Perce non-treaty faction upon stipulation that they were peaceful, and would not harass the Euro-Americans rapidly settling the area (OIA 1877). Another reservation was established by executive order in 1873 for the Coeur d'Alene who relinquished title to their lands, and one for the Spokane (Chalfont and Bischoff 1974). Also in 1873 the Shanks Commission met at Fort Colville with several resident Native American groups to listen to complaints about the Colville reservation boundaries and other issues (OIA Shanks Commission Report 11-17-1873).

Congress opened the Bitter Root Valley, Montana Territory, in 1874 to settlement in anticipation of the Homestead Act, to those settlers who occupied land prior to 1872 (Fahey 1974). The Oregon State legislature memorialized Congress on October 10, 1874 to remove and relocate the Umatilla to the Nez Perce Lapwai reservation, and open "at an early period" the Umatilla reservation for Euro-American settlement (Oliphant 1950:53).

Congress passed the Homestead Act in 1875 which promoted Euro-American settlement in and around Native American reservations (Deutsch 1956; Ruby and Brown 1981). The Act assured Native Americans property rights if they renounced tribal allegiances. The Office of Indian Affairs (OIA 1875) recommended in 1875 (and was adopted) revocation of the order establishing the Wallowa Reservation (Idaho) signed by executive order in 1873 since, according to the Office (OIA 1877), the Nez Perce non-treaty faction led by Chief Joseph (among others) did not go on the reservation to "settle" or respect the rights or property of the Euro-American settlers (Josephy 1965).

The United States Congress appointed the Nez Perce Commission in 1876 to investigate the non-treaty faction's complaints (including the murder of four members of the Dreamer Cult), and negotiate a settlement between the Native Americans and Euro-Americans (Josephy 1965). The Commission's findings restricted Nez Perce freedoms, for example: a.) the return to the Lapwai reservation of all Dreamers and medicine men, and if they refused they were to be exiled to Indian Territory, Oklahoma; b.) quick military occupancy of the Wallowa Valley with strength enough to suppress any uprising; c.) use of force to capture Native Americans off the reservation and return them; d.) if deprivations were committed on Euro-American property, or hostile acts committed against Euro-American people, a military force was used to subjugate them and bring them bound back to the reservation (Johansen and Gates 1967; Josephy 1965; OIA 1877).

The Washington Territorial legislature memorialized Congress in 1877 to concentrate all of the Native American populations in present
day eastern Washington State on one reservation in the Colville Valley (Oliphant 1950). The Spokane reservation was established for the Lower Spokane in 1877 (Chalfont, Ray, and Anastasio 1974).

The Nez Perce War between the United States and Nez Perce non-treaty factions under the leadership of Chief Joseph began on June 4, 1877 and ended October 5, 1877 (Howard 1881, 1907; Josephy 1965). The casualties inflicted on the United States army led by General Howard included 127 soldiers and 50 civilians killed (Josephy 1965). The Nez Perce toll was 151 killed and 80 wounded (Gidley 1981; Josephy 1965).

The President in 1877 authorized the establishment of a military post at Missoula, Montana Territory (Fahey 1974; Josephy 1965). Due to increased Euro-American immigration to the Colville area two military posts (Camps Coeur d'Alene and Chelan) were established in 1879 to prevent hostilities. The following year (1880) another post, Fort Spokane, was established, and Camp Chelan was abandoned (due to location) (Chalfont and Bischoff 1974; Ruby and Brown 1970; Symons 1967).

The Columbia Moses Delegation went to Washington D.C. in 1880 to petition for their own reservation (Ruby and Brown 1965). In summer 1880, President Hayes and General Sherman visited Washington Territory and were swayed by prospectors to petition Congress to extinguish the Moses Agreement (Chalfont and Bischoff 1974).

On January 31, 1881 the Lower Spokane reservation was established by executive order (154,898 acres) on the north side of the Columbia river in present day Washington State, a small six mile plot of land (Ruby and Brown 1965, 1970). The Secretary of the Interior Directive (OIA 1882) to agency personnel in 1882 ordered agents to eradicate Native American customs, specifically, the authority vested by Native Americans in their leaders and shamans, through the establishment of the Courts of Indian Offenses (Fahey 1974). Three Native American judges were appointed for each reservation (Fahey 1974).

The Columbia reservation was established by executive order in 1880 (Ruby and Brown 1970, 1981). Three years later (1883) an Agreement with the Columbia and Colville Tribes, also known as the (Chief) Moses Agreement, was signed in Washington D.C. by a Colville and Columbia delegation which restored to public domain the Columbia reservation (over 2 million acres were added to over 700,000 acres earlier in the year), and the Agreement became effective on July 4, 1884 (Institute for the Development of Indian Law n.d.; OIA 1883).

The Washington Territorial legislature memorialized Congress in 1883 to break up the reservations and give each Native American male a quarter section of land in severalty (property owned by individual right) (Oliphant 1950). In 1884 Congress enacted the second Homesteading Act which permitted Native Americans to homestead without severing their family and tribal ties (Ruby and Brown 1981). The Flathead Delegation went to Washington D.C. in 1884, and concluded with
Charlot, leader of the Flatheads, refusing to move from the Bitter Root Valley (OIA 1888).

The legislature in Idaho Territory petitioned Congress in 1884 to begin allotment on the Lapwai Nez Perce reservation, and open the remainder to Euro-American settlement (Oliphant 1950). The exiled Chief Joseph Nez Perce non-treaty band returned to the Columbia Plateau from Indian Territory with the majority sent to the unfamiliar northern distant Colville reservation because of Euro-American resentment in Idaho Territory, and Native American unwillingness to become Christian (Chalfont and Ray 1974; Josephy 1965; Slickpoo and Walker 1974).

In January, 1885 the Oregon legislature memorialized Congress to open to Euro-American settlement reservation "surplus" lands (Oliphant 1950). Also in January (13), 1885 Congress enacted an Agreement with the Yakima Nation, Washington Territory, that extinguished over 1,000 acres for a Northern Pacific Railroad Company roadbed line and a 250 foot right of way (Institute for the Development of Indian Law n.d.). On March 3, 1885 Congress enacted An Act To Ratify An Agreement With The Cayuse, Walla Walla, and Umatilla Tribes (the Slater Bill) that reduced the size of the Umatilla reservation by one quarter, to 100,000 acres, and placed the resident Native American populations under allotment and opened the surplus lands to settlement (Institute for the Development of Indian Law n.d.; OIA 1885; Ruby and Brown 1972).

During 1886 Congress established a commission and met with the non-treaty Native American populations throughout the Columbia Plateau (Idaho, Montana, and Washington Territories) (Ruby and Brown 1970). The goal of the commission was to reduce the number of reservations in the Pacific Northwest (Carriker 1973). The Washington Territory legislature memorialized Congress in 1886 to offer the Yakima people liberal allotments of land in severalty (Oliphant 1950).

The Dawes Allotment Act of 1887 was enacted with the intention of ending tribal relations and reservations (Carlson 1981; Kinney 1937; Otis 1973; Prucha 1981; Ruby and Brown 1981; Schuster 1982). Native Americans had hoped that the patents in fee would protect them against further Euro-American invasions on their lands, and their removal by the United States government (Otis 1973; Prucha 1981). The Act was amended in 1906 (Burke Act see below) (Prucha 1981).

The Pacific Northwest Congressional Commission met with the Upper and Middle Spokane people in 1887 and they ceded to the United States all lands outside their reservation (Ruby and Brown 1970). The Native Americans agreed to settle on the Coeur d' Alene reservation in Idaho Territory, the Colville reservation in Washington Territory, or Jocko reservation in Montana Territory (Carriker 1973; Institute for the Development of Indian Law n.d.; Ruby and Brown 1970). The Commission also met with the non-treaty Flathead and Kalispel who refused to accept the Commission's conditions (Carriker 1973; OIA vol. 31 1887). Directed by federal legislation the Spokane reservation established in 1887 a court of offenses and police force (Ruby and Brown 1970).
The Washington Territorial legislature memorialized Congress in 1888 to vacate the Colville reservation Native American populations since Euro-Americans had rights, in the name of progress, to the minerals located on it (Oliphant 1950). In 1888 military troops were sent to the Kalispel Valley from Fort Spokane and Fort Sherman (located in the valley) to quell Native American and Euro-American conflict (Fahey 1974). In the same year the Idaho Territorial legislature memorialized Congress to reduce the size of the Coeur d' Alene (Coeur d' Alene) and Lapwai (Nez Perce) reservations (Oliphant 1950). Cession of the Umatilla reservation took place on December 4, 1888 (Ruby and Brown 1972).

On March 2, 1889 Congress ratified an agreement with the Flathead Tribe that authorized the Bitter Root Flatheads to sell their patented lands, and then to remove to the Jocko reservation in Montana Territory (Fahey 1974; Institute for the Development of Indian Law n.d.) On March 26, 1889 Congress ratified An Agreement With The Coeur d' Alene Tribe which resulted in the Coeur d'Alene relinquishing their rights to lands outside the Coeur d’ Alene reservation, and removal to the reservation (Institute for the Development of Indian Law n.d.; Kinney 1937). This Agreement became effective in 1891 (Royce 1899).

Alice Fletcher, Peabody Museum anthropologist, arrived in 1889 on the Lapwai reservation, and began the allotment process (Hoxie and Mark 1987). On September 9, 1889 Congress enacted An Agreement With The Coeur d' Alene Tribe which substantially reduced the size of the Coeur d’ Alene reservation (Royce 1899). The Agreement became effective in 1892 (Chalfont and Bischoff 1974; Institute for the Development of Indian Law; Royce 1899). Montana and Washington became part of the United States in 1889, and Idaho was admitted in 1890 (Johansen and Gates 1967).

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1890 Directive (OIA 1890) stated that Native Americans must adopt Euro-American names, specifically English Christian names, and use shortened Native American surnames (Fahey 1974). The United States Native American policy in 1891 abolished the precontact office of chief (Ruby and Brown 1972).

The Lake Mohawk Conference (OIA 1891) laid out specific goals of the federal policy: a.) education of Native Americans; b.) transformation of Native Americans to industrious citizens; c.) active interference with traditional Native American customs and replacement with American ideals and laws; and, d.) to weaken Native American religious practices and rituals (Lake Mohawk Conference Proceedings 1891; Prucha 1972, 1981). An 1891 Act of Congress approved, under certain conditions, the right by Native Americans to lease their lands to Euro-Americans (OIA 1894).

On July 1, 1892 Congress enacted An Act Ratifying An Agreement With The Colville Tribe in which the northern half (over 1.5 million acres) was ceded from the Native Americans on Colville reservation, and those
residing on the northern half had the choice of receiving 80 acres allotment or removal elsewhere (Gidley 1981; Institute for the Development of Indian Law n.d.; Kinney 1937; Ruby and Brown 1981). The 1892 Commissioner of Indian Affairs (OIA 1892) Directive by T. J. Morgan was a "Native American crime list" of banned activities not permitted on reservations, and included: a.) dances; b.) polygamy; c.) intoxication; d.) refusal to work on road crews or other directed work; e.) practices by shamans; and f.) Euro-Americans were not permitted to prohibit Native Americans from adopting "civilized habits and pursuits" (Gidley 1979). Land cessions began on the Yakima reservation in 1892 (House Executive Document 3088 1892; Schuster 1982).

Washington State courts ruled in 1893 that the Court of Indian Offenses was illegal and discontinued them on reservations in that state (House Executive Document 3641 1895). The Commissioner of Indian Affairs recommended in 1893 that the Native Americans on the Yakima reservation relinquish their sole rights to their ancestral (sacred and secular) Tum Tum (Wenatshapam) fishery along the Columbia River. The decision was based on the reasoning that it was not needed by the Native Americans because of rapid Euro-American settlement of the area and the fact that the Northern Pacific Railroad extended towards the fishery (OIA 1893).

On May 1, 1893 the Nez Perce Lapwai allotment and reservation surplus land sale, previously approved by the (Christian) Nez Perce, was ratified by Congress (Hoxie and Mark 1987; Institute for the Development of Indian Law n.d.; OIA 1893). The Nez Perce received semi-annual payments for the following five years which made them the wealthiest community in Washington State during the late 1890s (House Executive Document 3382 1895).

The United States economy experienced a major depression from 1893 to 1895 (Cox 1974; United States Public Works Washington State Project vol. III 1938). One result of the depression was that Euro-Americans were not hasty to buy up surplus reservation lands (Fahey 1974).

In January, 1894 Congress ratified an Agreement With The Yakima Nation of Indians in Washington which ceded from Native Americans their (sacred and secular) Wenatshapam Fishery and required the Wenatshapam people near the Fishery to either accept allotments along the Wenatchee river or be removed to one of several reservations in the region (Institute for the Development of Indian Law n.d.; Kinney 1937; Schuster 1982). On February 7, 1894 the Coeur d' Alene signed An Agreement With The Coeur d' Alene Indians in Idaho which further diminished their reservation along the northern border (Institute for the Development of Indian Law n.d.; Royce 1899). The Montana legislature in 1895 memorialized Congress to open the Flathead reservation for settlement (Fahey 1974). All of the unallotted lands on the Nez Perce reservation were opened to Euro-American settlement in 1895 (House Executive Document 3489 1895; Hoxie and Mark 1987; Schoenberg 1962; Slickpoo and Walker 1974).
A United States Commission met with the Flathead in 1897 to relinquish their lands (House Executive Document 3641 1897). Later that same year Congress created the Flathead and Bitter Root National Forests from lands surrendered by the Flathead earlier in the decade (Fahey 1974). A United States Commission attempted to gain the Yakima's 600,000 acres of surplus land after allotment was completed in 1897 as well as surplus Nez Perce land (Carlson 1981; House Executive Document 3641 1897; Ruby and Brown 1965). Congress prohibited the Flathead to hunt in the National Forests without passes in 1898, and that same year, the Montana legislature prohibited them from bearing arms (Fahey 1974). Fort Spokane on the Spokane reservation was abandoned in 1898, and for a short period after was used as a government school then a tuberculosis sanitarium (Gidley 1979).

Congress enacted legislation on March 2, 1899 that enabled railroads to acquire easements across Native American reservations (Ruby and Brown 1970). Congress then permitted right of ways through reservations in 1901 for electric plants, poles, and lines for electric power, telegraph, and telephone transmission (Ruby and Brown 1970). Congress also authorized the Department of the Interior in 1901 to grant permission to state and local Euro-American authorities to establish roads through the reservations (Ruby and Brown 1970).

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs issued the short hair order in 1902 which pertained to male Native Americans, however, due to Euro-American public uproar, the order was rescinded (OIA 1902). The Spokane reservation was opened to settlement after the sale of surplus lands in 1902 (Kinney 1937). The Umatilla reservation Provision Act of May 27, 1902 permitted the sale of inherited Native American land to Euro-Americans (House Executive Documents 4458 1902; 4798 1904). The Provision Act was an assimilationist policy that attempted to force the sale of the unsold portion of the Umatilla reservation since the private sale of (unsold) land was not included in the revised boundaries, and gave Euro-Americans a preference to purchase coveted Native American property (House Executive Document 4458 1902).

Congress introduced a reservation grazing tax in 1903 (House Executive Document 4645 1903). Congress authorized on April 23, 1904 a survey of the Flathead and Yakima reservations for allotment purposes, followed by surplus land sales (Kinney 1937). An Act of December 21, 1904 required federal policy to correct a two decade old Yakima reservation boundary dispute, and provided compensation to the Yakima (Chalfont, Ray and Anastasio 1974).

Congress permitted citizens and companies in 1905 the right to use the waters of the Spokane river (the southern border of the Spokane reservation) for power production (Ruby and Brown 1970). Congress also enacted legislation that same year which detached the Coeur d' Alene reservation from the Colville Agency (House Executive Document 4959 1905). On December 1, 1905 the Colville reservation Native American people entered into the McLaughlin agreement for the cession of surplus lands (for settlement) within the "diminished reservation," after
allotment of 80 acres per man, woman and child, and settlement of grievances regarding the reduction of reservation land taken by the government without their consent (House Executive Document 5118 1906; Institute for the Development of Indian Law n.d.).

Congress passed The Burke Act on March 8, 1906, an updated version of the 1887 Dawes Allotment Act with some important distinctions (Prucha 1981). The Burke Act converted allotments to ten year trust patents which permitted the Native American holder to sell all but 80 of 640 acres (Deutsch 1956). The Burke Act made discretionary the period in which allotted lands were held in trust, and provided the granting of United States citizenship to eligible Native Americans at the end of the trust period, not at the beginning as indicated in the 1887 Dawes Act (Deutsch 1956; Prucha 1981). Allotment, then the sale of surplus land followed by open settlement on reservation land, was enacted by Congress in 1906, and affected the Coeur d’ Alene, Colville, Spokane, and Yakima reservations (House Executive Document 5118 1906; Kinney 1937; Ruby and Brown 1970). The United Supreme Court in 1906 defined and upheld the rights of Native Americans to fish along the Columbia River (House Executive Document 5118 1906). The Missoula, Kootenai, and Lolo forest preserves were also created in 1906 from two-thirds of the land surrender by the Flatheads (Fahey 1974). On May 15, 1906 an Agreement was made with the Umatilla, Walla Walla, and Cayuse Bands of Indians on the Umatilla Reservation which enabled the lawful trespassing of Euro-American livestock on roads constructed across the reservation (Institute for the Development of Indian Law n.d.).

A Flathead delegation met with Secretary of the Interior Garfield in 1907 to oppose opening the reservation to settlement (Fahey 1974). The Cabinet forest preserve was then created in 1907 from lands surrendered by the Flathead (Fahey 1974).

Congress passed an Act in 1908 that authorized the sale of unallotted agricultural lands on reservations (Ruby and Brown 1970). A Flathead delegation went to Washington D.C. in 1908 to denounce allotment, which began upon their return to the reservation (Fahey 1974; Kinney 1937). The Blackfoot Forest preserve was then created from the land the Flathead surrendered in 1908 (Fahey 1974).

The President signed a proclamation in 1909 to purchase the surplus agricultural lands on reservations (Ruby and Brown 1970). Surplus land sales and settlement began in 1909 on the Flathead reservation (Fahey 1974; Kinney 1937). The unallotted agricultural lands were disposed of by lottery in 1909 on the Coeur d’ Alene, Flathead, and Spokane reservations (Fahey 1974; Ruby and Brown 1970).

Congress enacted legislation in 1910 that permitted the Coeur d’ Alene, Colville, Flathead, and Yakima reservations to be opened to Euro-American settlement after allotment was completed, through the sale of reservation surplus lands (Kinney 1937). In the same year (1910) President Taft signed the Dixon Bill which authorized the Flathead to sell 60 of their allotted 80 acres, since six out of seven Flathead
farms were operated by Euro-Americans (Fahey 1974). The southern half of the Colville reservation was thrown open to settlement also in 1910 (per one of the treaty agreements in the McLaughlin Agreement) (Gidley 1981). Over 98% of the allotments on the Nez Perce Lapwai reservation were leased in 1910 to Euro-American farmers (Carlson 1981; Hoxie and Mark 1987).

Formal reservation allotments were completed at the end of 1912 (Deutsch 1956). The entire Colville reservation was thrown open to entry under the general land laws in 1912 (Colville Confederated Tribes History notes 1979). The Indian Bill enacted by Congress in 1913 enabled President Wilson in the following year (1914) to establish the Kalispel reservation: one-one thousandth the size of their precontact territory) (Carriker 1973). President Wilson also proclaimed the surplus lands on the Colville reservation opened to Euro-American settlement in 1916 (Kinney 1937).

Summary

It is the author's opinion that the greatest flaw in a historical overview lies in its failure to address an equally important topic: the resultant crises thrust upon Native American populations. This should come as no surprise since the Turner (1893) frontier model, upon which historical overviews are patterned, only provides superficial treatment of the Native American experience during the contact period, and is itself a product of late 19th century American nationalism.

The Columbia Plateau frontier chronology suggests that Native American populations were influenced and controlled more by frontiers directly associated with the United States Native American policy than those associated with Euro-American settlement of the region. Chalfont, Ray and Anastasio (1974:382) draw this same conclusion for the Colville area:

The extent to which native life was disturbed, and the aboriginal pattern modified, was that which resulted from military and other governmental actions rather than the taking over of the country by white settlers.

This does not imply that Euro-American settlers were not influential. They were, in fact, the major instigators behind federal, state, and territorial legislation which curtailed Native American human rights from the baseline period to the terminal date of this study, and beyond. This will become clearer in the following chapters. In addition, the mining frontier played an important role in the development of the northern Columbia Plateau especially after 1880 (Chalfont and Bischoff 1974).

The historical overview in this chapter reveals that each Columbia Plateau Native American reservation experienced several frontiers at the
same time, some frontiers more prominent than others, and not all reservations experienced the same kinds of frontiers. In addition, a frontier period, and its stages, was not uniform in its development, nor occurred at the same point in time, on all of the reservations.
CHAPTER IX

A TEST OF THE ASSIMILATION MODEL

Introduction

Chapter IX is made up of four interrelated parts. Part One presents two hypotheses (null and alternative) that are analyzed in this chapter. Both hypotheses are concerned with indigenous response to directed contact. The hypotheses specifically focus on Columbia Plateau Native American assimilation, that is, the adoption of Euro-American culture from 1840 to 1914. Part Two discusses the culture contact literature relevant to the null and alternative hypotheses. Supportive theoretical literature for both hypotheses is grounded in social movement and crisis theory and the frontier thesis previously discussed in Chapter III. A brief recapitulation of this literature is presented in Part Two. Part Three analyzes the hypotheses using pictorial and written data on the study categories and crises (all graphs and tables of the data are grouped together at the end of the chapter). Part Four is a discussion of the two data sets (pictorial and written), specifically identifying trends and examining whether the null or alternative hypothesis is best supported by the data.

Data from both pictorial and written samples were combined and considered for all five Columbia Plateau pre-reservation and reservation period Native American populations together in order to examine Native American response to assimilation on the regional level. The primary justification for a regional analysis is that all five Native American reservation populations went through similar directed contact experiences at about the same time. By combining the two samples, a clearer picture of the contact period emerges.

The pictorial sample spans the period 1840-1914. Data on population size, crises, and the adoption of Euro-American political structure are not available from the pictorial sample. Quantitative analysis of the pictorial sample focuses on the categories of the adoption of Euro-American dress, display of Euro-American religious visibility markers (crucifix, rosary, cross, etc.), and presence of Euro-American dwellings. Quantitative analysis of the written sample focuses on all of the study categories (Euro-American church membership replaces religious markers) except the political category, which is examined in the next chapter using qualitative data. Quantitative written data also include Native American population size and Euro-American-induced and environmental crises. The written data cover the
temporal span 1870-1914 except for population size and crises, which span the entire period (1840-1914).

All of the pictorial and written data in the tables and graphs have been grouped into five year intervals and converted to percents from raw counts for greater comparability among categories and among data source. All the graphs have the y (vertical) axis as percent, ranging from 0 to 100. The x axis represents the temporal span from 1840 to 1914, segmented into five-year intervals.

**Hypotheses**

The null and alternative hypotheses presented below represent two different theoretical perspectives (assimilation vs. nationalism) on the direction taken by Native Americans after extended exposure to Euro-American directed culture contact.

The Null Hypothesis:

As Euro-American-directed contact increases so will assimilation, that is, the adoption of Euro-American culture by Native Americans, as manifested in an increase in Euro-American dress, housing, religion, and other observable traits, and a corresponding decrease in Native American culture.

The Alternative Hypothesis:

As Euro-American directed contact increases so will the likelihood of severe Euro-American-induced crises experienced by Native Americans, which in turn will result in an abandonment of Euro-American culture and reaffirmation of their precontact culture. This will be reflected in a fluctuating levels of assimilation, that is, in the adoption of Euro-American dress, housing, religion, and other observable traits, and corresponding increases in Native American culture, as the number of crises fluctuates through time.

**Supportive Literature**

Null Hypothesis

The null hypothesis suggests that, through time, the more exposure to Euro-American culture the greater the increase in Native American
adoption of Euro-American culture. The null hypothesis does not predict Native American abandonment of Euro-American culture.

The human species, by its very nature, is activated by self-interest and gratification, and these drives are central components in individual and group decision making (Erasmus 1961; Goodenough 1963). In culture contact situations, people of the indigenous culture make comparisons between what they have and what they desire, between what the alien group has access to and what their own resources are, and between their legitimate expectations and the actual conditions they find themselves in (Aberle 1966, 1970; Gurr 1970). Human inclination is to acquire those things in life that reduce psychosocial stress and simultaneously increase self-esteem, power, and prestige among peers and competitors (Erasmus 1961; Goodenough 1963). This appears to be especially true in a directed culture contact setting.

When Euro-Americans entered into areas inhabited by Native American populations, they introduced new technology and culture. One result was the emergence of syncretic cults among Columbia Plateau Native Americans. The ethnohistorical evidence reveals that cargo cult believers focused on the possession of cargo (material), and adopting the outward appearance of its Euro-American owners. However, cargo cults are not solely concerned with material culture, but also with customs and values (Wallace 1956). Therefore, cargo cults provide a foundation for assimilation.

Assimilation is a lifelong process in which a (Native American) person is both accepted and respected by a foreign (Euro-American) community and freely abandons his or her family heritage and becomes totally immersed in the foreign socio-cultural system (Dowrenwend and Smith 1962; Teske and Nelson 1974; Weiss 1974). As previously stated in Chapter III, assimilation is unidirectional (Teske and Nelson 1974). Over time, the indigenous population will increase adoption of alien cultural traits, whereas the alien population will never adopt indigenous culture. Assimilation prohibits the expression of precontact traits since it requires complete conformity to and total emersion in the foreign social fabric (Teske and Nelson 1974).

It is suggested here that for the individual to attain complete assimilation would require the individual (or group) to undergo a lifelong physical and psychological (mazeway) transformation, including, but not limited to, changes in appearance, dress, values, religious beliefs, diet, kinship structure, economy, technology, housing, population (family) structure, and political realm. In terms of Native Americans, there will be a steady increase in the adoption of Euro-American culture.

The null hypothesis predicts that Native American populations on their way to complete assimilation will exhibit a continuous increase in manifestations of Euro-American culture, such as dress, housing, religion, and other observable traits. The null hypothesis predicts that once exposed to Euro-American culture, Native American populations
will recognize and accept, in order to satisfy their own drives of self-interest and gratification, the benefits from and the "superiority" of Euro-American culture. The null hypothesis further predicts that complete assimilation of Euro-American culture will be achieved because of continuous and increasing exposure to the growing Euro-American population in the region, because of exposure to desired innovations, and because of positive interrelations between the two populations that result in mutual respect and inclusion of Native Americans into Euro-American society.

The null hypothesis is in conformity with 19th century United State's Native American policy. The null hypothesis also shapes present day United States foreign policy. The null hypothesis is supported by the historian Turner's (1893) frontier thesis, which champions westward-moving Euro-American subjugation of the natural environment and (indirectly) of Native American populations. The United States Native American policy frontier in this study begins in 1850 (see Table 7.3), and has been selected as the beginning of increased Euro-American directed contact in the Columbia Plateau.

Figure 9.1 (see end of chapter) is the author's conceptualization of the null hypothesis (assimilation model) from 1850 to 1914 in the Columbia Plateau. Figure 9.1 does not reveal any points of inflection, rather, it is a straight and unidirectional diagonal line. The model shows the level of Euro-American assimilation going from 0 to 100 percent over this time period and provides a means by which to compare the actual degree of assimilation as revealed by the pictorial and written data, separately and together, from 1850 to 1914. Table 9.1 shows the percentages that were plotted in Figure 9.1. The model rate of assimilation increase among Columbia Plateau Native Americans is approximately 1.54% per year, or about 7.7% per five year interval, from 1850 to 1914, assuming the continuous, unilineal adoption of Euro-American culture from 0 to 100% in this time period. The actual rate of assimilation shown in the model is somewhat arbitrary, since it is assumed that once directed contact begins, complete assimilation will occur within a lifetime, that is within about 65 years. In fact, mid-to-late nineteenth century United States bureaucrats believed that the complete assimilation of Native Americans would be achieved even more rapidly than this. However, its actual rate is less of an issue here than its assumed unidirectional nature, and it is in this way that the alternative hypothesis differs from the null hypothesis.

**Alternative Hypothesis**

The alternative hypothesis (above) predicts that when Native American exposure to assimilation, or directed contact, is crisis-laden, a primary Native American strategy in the oppositional process is to abandon Euro-American culture and to display the precontact culture, that is, to create a persistent ethnic, and eventually, pan-national identity. The alternative hypothesis also predicts that a decrease in directed contact will lead to a decrease in crises experienced by Native
Americans and an increase in the adoption of Euro-American culture by Native Americans. Unlike Figure 9.1, the rate of increase in Native American adoption of Euro-American culture through time is likely to reveal many points of inflection as the number of crises fluctuates through time. Recipients of directed contact become disillusioned and dissatisfied when conditions worsen instead of improve, and when self-interest and gratification become stymied due to culturally-induced crises. Deteriorating conditions and disappointments may include non-acceptance by the alien society as barriers are set up by the alien society to exclude and control the indigenous population.

Rabb (1975) indicates that the best proof that a crisis has occurred is a dividing point, which is evidenced by what ensues. Crises are brief and distinct. Crises are followed by resolutions in which there is an "...unprecedented appearance of calm and assurance," an "...attendant diffusion of previous tensions (Rabb 1975: 32)." If we apply Rabb's (1975) model here, the emergence of a revitalization movement, which includes the abandonment of Euro-American culture, should be quite discernable, increasing during periods of great crises and decreasing during reduced crisis periods.

One means of dealing with crises, which the indigenous population may set into motion, is a revitalization movement:

...a deliberate, organized, conscious, effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture [Wallace 1956:256].

A revitalization movement (faction or cult here) is a group response to relieve anomic depression (Jilek 1974) or relative deprivation (Aberle 1966) resulting from directed contact, that is, to alleviate the psychosocial stress produced by culturally induced crises. Linton (1940:517) indicates that it is from disappointment and disillusionment with the "new order" that nativistic (revitalization) movements emerge and focus on the precontact culture:

...a glorification of past or passing phases of culture with a conscious attempt to reestablish them.

The level of participation in the revitalization movement and, correspondingly, the level of abandonment of Euro-American culture, is dependent upon the intensity and scope of culturally-induced crises, that is, on the "discomfort" or psychosocial stress that is adversely affecting the population:

The more intense and widespread the discomfort due to change, the more widespread these attitudes are likely to be [Linton 1940:517].

A revitalization movement will arise first among those most nearly acculturated to another society because they are the best judges whether
their self interest and gratification are being served by directed contact. They are also most aware of the deteriorating conditions around them (Sanford 1974).

A primary Native American oppositional strategy to relieve the stresses from their disillusionment with assimilation is to abandon Euro-American culture, and increase visibility of the precontact culture:

Stress, trauma, wounded narcissism invariably thrust both individuals and societies back onto autistic preoccupation with the old and intimate [LaBarre 1972:305].

Native American abandonment of Euro-American culture is defined here to mean separation from Euro-American culture. This definition of abandonment is not intended to mean a complete return to all components of the precontact culture. In short, syncretism emerges during revitalization periods, as Euro-American cultural elements are selectively retained in such a fashion as to draw attention to the Native American presence. Syncretism, the creation of new innovations from elements of two or more foreign cultures, helps to provide a psychological remedy to the disheveled world the individual experiences during prolonged directed contact (Bourguignon 1954; LaBarre 1971).

The abandonment of Euro-American culture may be considered as a pronouncement of ethnic identity. Abandonment is both a physical (for example, discarding Euro-American dress) and psychological (for example, discarding Euro-American religion) separation. The ethnic group provides for an individual a strong and positive physical and psychological reference point with ties to the past and distinctive visibility markers that emphasize the relationship between their ideology and culture (Cohen 1981; Royce 1982).

Ethnic identity systems (discussed in Chapter III) are politico-religious resistance movements opposed to assimilation (Spicer 1971). These movements set into motion an intensive collective consciousness with internal solidarity. When such movements take on regional dimensions the ethnic identity becomes "pan-national".

Anti-assimilation movements are motivated by a desire to continue the kinds of experiences curated in the identity system in symbolic form (Spicer 1971). Communication through symbols with specific meanings translated only by Native Americans aided in their separation from Euro-American culture, and those symbols that were over-communicated represent cultural traits that were closest to extinction (Blu 1980; Despres 1975). An interpretation of the Columbia Plateau Native American oppositional process is provided in the remaining chapters.
Testing the Hypotheses

Crises

Table 9.2 identifies the number and kinds of culturally-induced and environmental crises that occurred throughout the entire Columbia Plateau from 1840 to 1914, which are plotted in Figures 9.2-9.6. Included in Appendix A are tables showing the number and kinds of crises for each area/reservation during the pre-reservation (1840-1854) and reservation (1855-1914) periods.

Table 9.2 is a chronological tabulation of crisis types identified in Table 7.5, as they appear in the ethnohistorical literature. Local and regional crises were grouped together when the final tabulation per five-year intervals was undertaken since the study focuses on the entire Columbia Plateau. Culturally-induced crisis types are labeled with the letters "a" through "g", where environmental crisis types are labeled "h" through "m". Some culturally-induced crises were counted more often if they represented more than one crisis type. For example, if the crisis was due to a government agent restricting Native Americans from going off the reservation without passes, then this crisis would be counted as a human rights violation (type a), governmental social control (type b), and discrimination/prejudice (type e).

Figure 9.2 is a composite of the total number of culturally induced and environmental crises in the region. The number of crises have been plotted as percents of the maximum number of crises in any five-year interval, the greatest number (100%) being 180 crises for two different five-year intervals, 1885-1889 and 1890-1894. The least number (14) of crises per five-year interval was found predictably, in the beginning intervals, 1840-1844 and 1850-1854. The final five-year interval (1910-1914) also shows a relatively low level of crises (24).

In order to get a handle on the data, environmental crises are combined and divided into two groupings: "h" and "i" represent frequent crises; and "j", "k", "l", and "m" represent infrequent crises. These are shown in Figures 9.3 and 9.4, respectively. It is obvious that the five-year intervals 1884-1889 and 1890-1894 not only witnessed the greatest number of Euro-American-induced crises, but also the greatest number of environmental crises as well (Table 9.2; and Figures 9.3, 9.5, and 9.6). Culturally-induced crisis categories are also combined and divided into two groupings (Figures 9.5 and 9.6, respectively): Euro-American governmental induced crises (represented by the letters "a", "b", and "f" from Table 7.5); and Euro-American nongovernmental induced crises, that is, due to Euro-Americans not employed by the United States government (represented by the letters "c", "d", "e", and "g", also from Table 7.5).

Governmental controls, according to Chalfont, Ray and Anastasio (1974), were responsible for the greatest adverse impacts to northern Columbia Plateau indigenous culture. As shown by the relative numbers
of governmental and non-governmental-induced crises in Figures 9.5 and 9.6, respectively, Euro-American governmental-induced crises were by far more numerous for the entire Columbia Plateau region. Specific periods, for example, 1885-1889 and 1890-1894 (see Table 9.2), reveal marked increases in Euro-American-induced crises, which reflect periods of the increased enforcement of Native American Policy rules and regulations on all reservations in the region. It is of interest to note that Euro-American governmental-induced crises (Figure 9.5) follow the same trends as do non-governmental-induced crises (Figure 9.6). This is interpreted here as the United States government's response to Euro-American immigrant desires to achieve manifest destiny in the region. A comparison between Figure 9.1, the assimilation line for the null hypothesis, and Figures 9.5 and 9.6, governmental-induced and non-governmental-induced crises, suggests a positive correlation between assimilation and culturally induced crises.

**Euro-American Frontiers**

Table 9.3 lists the number of Columbia Plateau Euro-American frontiers that occurred between 1840 to 1914, per five year interval. These frontiers were listed in Table 7.3 and discussed throughout Chapter VIII. The number of Euro-American frontiers shown in Figure 9.7 follows the same general pattern as the number of culturally-induced crises shown in Figures 9.5 and 9.6. There appears to be a positive correlation between frontiers and crises, in that the greatest number of frontiers, which are themselves composed of directed contact events, occur during those five-year intervals that also contain the greatest number of crises.

**Culture Contact Categories and Values**

This section provides a discussion of the combined quantitative written and pictorial data on the study categories. Data are provided on each category in several of the tables and graphs below. The study category of Native American population size is examined below independently of the other categories. Data on dress and religion are combined within the pictorial data and within the written data as well as for both data sets together. An interpretation focuses on the combined data (on both data sets) on the following three categories: Native American adoption of Euro-American dress, dwellings, and religion (Tables 9.9, 9.10, and Figures 9.19, 9.21, 10.23, and 9.24), which is justified below.

**Native American Population.** Native American population size was compiled from various written ethnohistorical sources from 1840 to 1914 for the entire Columbia Plateau. Table 9.4 provides data on the regional population size, averaged over five year intervals, and expressed as percent of the maximum number population size for the entire 74-year time period. The data from Table 9.4 are plotted in Figure 9.8. A comparison between crises (Figure 9.2) and population
(Figure 9.8) reveals a negative correlation between the two. During peak crisis periods (1855-1859; 1865-1869; and 1885-1894) population size is lowest, whereas during low crisis periods, population size increases to all time highs. This suggests that Native American populations were adversely affected by crises. Out-migration (off reservation) may have been undertaken by Native American populations during several of the crisis-laden periods as an oppositional survival strategy.

Dress, Dwellings, and Religion. The Office of Indian Affairs Annual Reports (1848-1914) annual estimates not only provide data from 1848 to 1914 on pre-reservation and reservation Native American population size (Table 9.4 and Figure 9.8), but also from 1870 to 1914 on the number of Native Americans who wore Euro-American "citizen's dress" (Table 9.5 and Figure 9.9), belonged to Euro-American churches (Table 9.6 and Figure 9.12), and occupied Euro-American dwellings (Table 9.7 and Figure 9.15). Church membership data were unavailable from 1880 to 1884, and no written data were available on any of the study categories from 1905 to 1909, except for Native American population size. Office of Indian Affairs data were tabulated as percents for the categories of dress, dwellings, and religion, both separately and combined, for each reservation, and the entire Columbia Plateau, per five-year interval from 1870 to 1914.

Unlike the quantitative written data, the quantitative pictorial data are available for the entire temporal span of the study, and thereby add additional information to the pre-1870 period in which there exist a majority of qualitative written data. The pictorial sample examined in this chapter provides quantitative information on the following study categories: adoption of Euro-American dress (Table 9.5 and Figure 9.10), display of Euro-American religious paraphernalia (Table 9.6 and Figure 9.13), and presence of Euro-American dwellings (Table 9.7 and Figure 9.16). The quantitative pictorial data was tabulated in the same manner as the written data.

The validity of the Office of Indian Affairs data was established earlier in this study. Another test of its validity is to compare it with the pictorial sample, which is done below. If the Office of Indian Affairs annual records of the study categories are accurate, an analysis of the study categories using the pictorial data should reveal similar trends as evidenced in the written data for those five-year intervals where there are data from both sets, and indeed it appears that this is the case.

It is suggested here that analysis of the pictorial and written data on each category separately provides an incomplete picture of Native American adoption of Euro-American culture. In order to conduct quality ethnohistorical research one must acquire several lines of data from which to make sound judgments about human behavior. By combining the quantitative and qualitative information contained in the two data sets (pictorial and written), a stronger case will emerge for the interpretation of Native American response to directed contact.
When the pictorial and written data on the study categories of Euro-American dress, dwellings, and church membership (or religious indicators) are combined, a fuller picture is made available from which to judge whether the ethnohistorical data lend support to the null or alternative hypothesis, especially since the categories are interrelated to one another (elements of ethnicity and nationalism). Trends that corroborate either the null or alternative hypothesis should be evident from the combined study categories in relationship to the trend in crises.

The combined pictorial and written data are considered for each of the following categories: dress (Table 9.5 and Figure 9.11), religion (Table 9.6 and Figure 9.14), and dwellings (Table 9.7 and Figure 9.17). Values for Euro-American dress and religion are averaged and provided in Table 9.8. These values are plotted separately for written and for pictorial data and, for both data sets together, in Figures 9.18 (written), 9.20 (pictorial), and 9.22 (combined), respectively.

Combined pictorial and written data on all three study categories are averaged and provided in Table 9.9. The values are plotted separately for written and for pictorial data and for both data sets together, in Figures 9.19 (written), 9.21 (pictorial), and 9.23 (combined), respectively. Figures 9.19 (written data), 9.21 (pictorial data), and 9.23 (combined data sets of all study categories) reveal similar patterns over the temporal span 1870 to 1914. The peak periods of assimilation occur in approximately the same time periods, 1875-1879, and 1885-1889, and the periods of least assimilation (1880-1884, and post-1885-1889) also occur at approximately the same time in these figures. In addition, the data in Figures 9.19, 9.21, and 9.23 reveals that the low periods 1880-1884, and 1895-1899 are also occurring at approximately the same time.

Table 9.10 provides averaged data on all of the study categories considered together (both data sets combined), where they are compared with the assimilation model. The data provided in Table 9.10 are plotted in Figure 9.24. Figure 9.24 also plots the previously discussed data on crises and population. The data shown in Figure 9.24 are the focus of discussion presented next.

**Discussion**

If the null hypothesis were supported by the data, values for the study categories would parallel the assimilation model. The null hypothesis would also predict only slight inflections in Native American population size through time. In fact, however, the trends revealed in Figure 9.24, which plots all the study categories combined, population, crises, and the assimilation model, seems to better support the alternative hypothesis. This graph reveals that as Euro-American directed contact increased so did the number of Euro-American induced crises experienced by Columbia Plateau Native Americans. Furthermore, Columbia Plateau Native American response was abandonment of Euro-American culture, and reaffirmation of their precontact culture and a
decline in population size, most likely attributable to out-migration. A decrease in assimilation is suggested in Figure 9.24 by trends that evidence an abandonment by Native Americans of their adoption of Euro-American culture around the same time that crises are peaking in number. When crises decline in number, (which may correspond to Rabb’s (1975: 32) "...unprecedented appearance of calm and assurance"), Native American adoption of Euro-American culture increases—until the next wave of increased crises becomes unmanageable.

In support of the alternative hypothesis the following example is provided. There are several other examples from earlier periods that also reveal similar trends. The period of greatest culturally induced and environmental crises was from 1885-1889. A review of United States Native American policy in Chapter VIII reveals why this period is the most crisis-laden, however, even governmental control could not sustain this level beyond this five year period. Although Native American assimilation during the five-year interval 1885-1889 reached the level predicted by the null hypothesis, this greatest of crisis periods was immediately followed by a dramatic decrease (abandonment) of Euro-American culture, greater than for any of the other periods examined in this study, despite the fact that directed contact (and crises) remained at an all time high level during the next five-year interval. Native American population fell to a level lower than it had been since the beginning of the reservation period (1855-1859). Native American population decline during this period (1885-1889) was due to epidemics, extreme weather conditions, and to Euro-American government controls probably which led to out migration. In response, Native American population during that period was the lowest it had been since the beginning of the reservation period (1855).

It is proposed here that a regional indigenous revitalization movement emerged in this period (1885-1889). The revitalization movement was in response to the extreme number of crises during this period (1885-1889) as well those experienced in preceding periods. In addition, it is proposed here that by the end of the temporal span of this study, Native American nationalism had emerged in the Columbia Plateau. This interpretation draws support from Figure 9.24 in that the level of Native American assimilation (as measured by the study categories) at the beginning of the study, which was during the pre-reservation period of nondirected contact (1840-1844) was approximately 33%, whereas the level of Native American assimilation at the end of the reservation period (1910-1914) was also approximately 33%. Figure 9.24 is interpreted here to reveal that, contrary to a majority of primary and secondary historical sources, complete Euro-American assimilation of Native Americans was far from being achieved.

Figure 9.24 also reveals that during periods of relaxation, that is, five-year intervals that had low levels of culturally-induced crises, Columbia Plateau Native Americans increasingly adopted Euro-American culture. This suggests that, when left to their own self-determination, assimilation increased among Native Americans. It is suggested here that the greatest threat to Native American self-
determination was the Euro-American allotment policy which emerged during the crisis-laden period of 1885-1889. Carlson (1981) supports this contention in his study of allotment's impact on Native American farming, in particular on the Columbia Plateau Coeur d' Alene reservation. Carlson (1981:137-138) concludes that the number of Native Americans who were farmers decreased (abandoned farming) once allotment was imposed on them:

...perhaps the most successful Indian farmers of any on the closed reservations, ...The success of the Coeur d' Alene farmers before allotment stands in sharp contrast to their decline after allotment.

Chapters X through XIV present an interpretation of the alternative hypothesis of directed contact in the Columbia Plateau from 1840 to 1914. This interpretation specifically focuses on the Columbia Plateau Native American oppositional process during the period 1840 to 1914, which enabled them to resuscitate their culture after being repeatedly suffocated by Euro-American directed contact. The interpretation focuses on the behaviors measured by the study categories during peak crisis periods, and how their abandonment by Native Americans aided in promoting separation and nationalism throughout the entire region. Revitalization movements are politico-religious cults, and the abandonment of behaviors reflected in the study categories was vital to the evolution and success of such movements. Abandonment is interpreted here to be a primary means that enabled Columbia Plateau Native Americans to reestablish an identity of themselves by deliberately and consciously reconstructing a more satisfying culture through the glorification of the past. Chapters X through XIV examine Native American nationalistic (cult) response by utilizing pictorial and written qualitative data to embellish the quantitative data analyzed in this chapter.
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Table 9.2

Culturally Induced and Environmental Crises

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^A-Frequent; B-Infrequent; C-Governmental; D-Non-governmental (Sources are included in Appendix A).
Table 9.3

Number of Columbia Plateau Frontiers

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Columbia Plateau Indigenous Population Size

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Table 9.5

Euro-American Dress: Pictorial and Written Sources

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\(^1\) ND indicates that no data are available for this period.
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Table 9.8

Dress and Religion: Pictorial and Written Sources

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Dress, Dwellings, Religion: Pictorial and Written Sources

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\(^1\) ND indicates that no data are available for this period.
Table 9.10
Assimilation: Null and Alternative Hypotheses

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1 Expected and observed degree of adoption of Euro-American dress, dwellings, and religion (from Tables 9.1 and 9.9, respectively).
Figure 9.1 Assimilation Line for Null Hypothesis.
Figure 9.2 All Crises in the Columbia Plateau
Figure 9.3 Frequent Environmental Crises
Figure 9.4 Infrequent Environmental Crises
Figure 9.5 Governmental Induced Crises
Figure 9.6 Non-governmental Induced Crises
Figure 9.7 Number of Euro-American Frontiers
Figure 9.8 Columbia Plateau Indigenous Population
Figure 9.9 Euro-American Dress: Written Data
Figure 9.10 Euro-American Dress: Pictorial Data
Figure 9.11  Euro-American Dress: Combined Data Sets
Figure 9.12  Euro-American Religion: Written Data
Figure 9.13 Euro-American Religion: Pictorial Data
Figure 9.14  Euro-American Religion: Combined Data Sets
Figure 9.15  Euro-American Dwellings: Written Data
Figure 9.16  Euro-American Dwellings: Pictorial Data
Figure 9.17  Euro-American Dwellings: Combined Data Sets
Figure 9.18 Euro-American Dress and Religion: Written Data
Figure 9.19 Euro-American Dress, Dwellings and Religion: Written Data
Figure 9.20  Euro-American Dress and Religion: Pictorial Data
Figure 9.21  Euro-American Dress, Dwellings, and Religion: Pictorial Data
Figure 9.22 Euro-American Dress and Religion: Combined Data Sets
Figure 9.23 Euro-American Dress, Dwellings, and Religion: Combined Data Sets
Figure 9.24 Assimilation Model, Study Categories, Crises, and Indigenous Population
CHAPTER X

THE COLUMBIA PLATEAU
NATIVE AMERICAN BASELINE PERIOD
(1774-1839)

Introduction

This chapter is a general overview of Native American society in the Columbia Plateau during the baseline period (1774-1839). A chronology of the baseline period is presented below.

The overview is made up of two parts. The first part is a composite of selected examples of the study categories for each of the five baseline cultural areas (reservations). The second part examines specific area (reservation) and regional cultural-induced and environmental crises that occurred during the baseline period.

This baseline overview is far from complete. The author refers the reader to the primary and secondary historical accounts and sources found throughout this study for supplemental information on Columbia Plateau Native American groups during this period. The Native American pre-reservation and reservation periods are the focus of the remaining chapters in this study.

Chronology

Columbia Plateau Native American populations, in less than a generation after the end of the baseline period (1839), would have their territories become drastically reduced in size to remnant reserves controlled by United States governmental agencies. The baseline is included in the historic period (in Table 7.3 Chapter VII).

The baseline period, as defined here, began in A.D. 1774, and ended in A.D. 1839. The initial date (1774) was selected because in that year the first British cargo vessel arrived on the Northwest Coast, and thus began the Pacific Northwest Coast fur trade (Quimby 1948).

The Pacific Northwest fur trade expanded in 1787 from sea-going vessels along the Coast to east-west overland routes established throughout the northern Columbia Plateau. As previously discussed in the last chapter, contact was initiated at that time between interior
Columbia Plateau Native Americans and Euro-Americans when Thompson arrived overland from the east into Kutenai territory.

The terminal date (1839) was selected because Society of Jesus missionaries, who had arrived among northern Columbia Plateau Native American populations in 1838, were converting southern Cayuse and Walla Walla populations the following year at Fort Walla Walla (Schoenberg 1962; Weibel n.d. Society of Jesus Oregon Archives). The terminal baseline date also represents the year in which the last two Protestant missions were established in the Columbia Plateau, prior to the Cayuse War in 1847 (in the pre-reservation period). These missions included Tshimakain among the Spokane headed by Walker, and the temporary Kamiah mission among the Nez Perce, headed by Smith (Drury 1976; Josephy 1965; Ruby and Brown 1970). In support of the terminal date Shiner (1961) also believes that the period 1835-1840 should mark the end of the early historic period, referred to here as the baseline.

One result of the early competition between the Jesuits and Protestant denominations in the region to convert Native Americans to Christianity and civilization was the spread of religious factionalism among several Columbia Plateau Native American societies during the baseline period. Point (1967), for example, indicated that factionalism was evident among the southern Nez Perce, and other Sahaptin speaking populations, as well as the northern Coeur d'Alene, Flathead, Spokane, and other Salishan speaking people upon his arrival among the latter groups in 1841.

Baseline Culture Contact Categories

The examples presented below focus on the categories of dress and ornamentation; dwellings and settlement; religion and altered states of consciousness; political structure; and population. The category of population has been subsumed into the category of dwellings and settlement.

Dress and Personal Adornment

Columbia Plateau region. Euro-American clothing and cloth was available to southern Columbia Plateau populations before Lewis and Clark entered the region in 1805 (Gunkel 1978). These southern populations probably obtained Euro-American cargo from the Northwest Coast.

It is suggested here that Euro-American dress during the baseline period was at first restricted to Columbia Plateau Native American headmen, then other males, and last females, whereas, ornamentation was first adopted by females. Gunkel (1978:298-299) supports this claim with his comments on the adoption of Euro-American dress by the Walla Walla during the early 1800s:
Euroamerican clothing was adopted especially quickly by the men. The earliest known record of Euroamerican clothing among the Wallawalla pertains to August 1814, when David Stuart of the PFC [Pacific Fur Company] gave paramount Chief Tumatapam a suit of clothes.

The Northwest Company introduced Euro-American dress, specifically coats and blankets, to the Walla Walla sometime after 1814 (Cox 1957). Beginning in the 1830s the Hudson's Bay Company began to supply male Euro-American garments to several Native American (Cayuse, Nez Perce, and Walla Walla) headmen, and cloth to the women in order to keep peace in the southern Columbia Plateau (Douglas 1959; Gunkel 1978; Simpson 1947 vol. 10; Wilkes 1845).

**Colville area.** The fur trapper Cox (1957:259) described the Okanogan, circa 1817, as "...wretchedly poor and nearly naked." Ten years later, Archibald McDonald, Hudson's Bay Company Chief Clerk of the Thompson River District posts, described the "typical" male dress of the "Salmon Tribes" of the northern Colville region:

Their covering for the most part is the skin of the small deer with the hair on it—that and the quiver with his Bow and Arrow constitute the whole costume of one of our Indians unless he is provident enough to secure bits of dressed leather to cover his legs...[Simpson 1947 vol. 10. Appendix A:231-232].

**Flathead area.** The fur trappers, Cox (1957) and Ross (1923) provided descriptions of female and male Flathead dress and personal adornment, circa 1812. Females wore full length loose fitting deerskin robes embellished with feathers, quills, and were fastened in the front at the breasts with a stick. Woven bark hats were worn, and also served as bowls. It was the task of females to manufacture the clay whitened deerskin clothing for their family:

...dehaired deerskin cut with a stone knife to patterns memorized in childhood; sewn with twisted sinew [Fahey 1974:33].

The Flathead male wore leggings which were not sewn at the torso, and extended from his waist to ankles. A loose deerskin shirt was worn over the leggings, and reached the knees (Cox 1957; Ross 1923).

**Nez Perce and Umatilla Areas.** Lewis and Clark reported in 1805-1806 that the Cayuse desired beads more than anything else (Ruby and Brown 1972). According to Ross (1923:137), circa 1812, who had married a Native American from the (Fort) Okanogan region, Cayuse, Nez Perce, and Walla Walla females and males were well dressed, and differed widely in appearance from the Chinook and other groups nearer the mouth of the Columbia River:
The men were generally tall, raw-boned, and well-dressed, having all buffalo robes, deerskin leggings, very white, and most of them garnished with porcupine quills. Their shoes were also trimmed and painted red; altogether their appearance indicated wealth...The women wore garments of well-dressed deerskin down to their heels, many of them richly garnished with beads, higuas, and other trinkets, leggings and shoes similar to those of the men. Their faces were painted red.

Attire and personal adornment worn by Cayuse shamans was also described by Cox (1957) and Ross (1923). A shaman (headman) wore a wolfskin on his head that was ornamented with bird feathers and bear claws. When on horseback the headdress trailed to the ground. A black leather girdle bound a painted shirt. The headman carried a medicine bag, pipe, lance, knife, bow, arrow quiver, and "sacred" gun. The Cayuse, Walla Walla, Nez Perce and other groups not only ornamented themselves but also embellished their mounts (Cox 1957; Ross 1923) in order to portray:

...an illusion of physical unity between man and beast to match what they considered the mystical union between them [Ruby and Brown 1972:37].

Chance (1973:40-41) indicates that Black, a Hudson's Bay Company overseer at Fort Walla Walla, noticed in 1829 that Euro-American dress to the local Native American populations was becoming a "badge of riches," and much of a syncretic display, "...of the aboriginal pattern...of signalling wealth with elaboration of costume and face painting." What appears to be evident is that by the late 1820s Columbia Plateau Native American headmen desired to emulate Euro-Americans in dress, through the accumulation and display of cargo, in order to achieve status, not only among their own people, but just as important, perhaps more so, among the Euro-Americans.

Yakima Area. The fur trapper and explorer Thompson (Tyrrell 1916:486), on his riverine journey of the Summer Moon down the Columbia River in 1811, described the impoverished dress of Native Americans living at Priest Rapids:

The men...were poorly clothed; and the women equally so, two of them were naked, but not abashed. They all had shells round their wrists or arms, but want of clothing made them appear to disadvantage.

Cox (1957:259-260), six years later, offered a similar description for the Priest Rapid Wanapum, and their northern neighbors, the Okanogan:
...we met during the fishing season some straggling bands, wretchedly poor and nearly naked. The men are without any garments. The women wear a leather belt around the waists, from which a narrow slip passes from the front and is secured behind...The rest of their person is quite naked; and their appearance, particularly that of their old women, is extremely disgusting.

Cox (1957:259) also stated, circa 1817, that the dress worn by Yakima males consisted of leather shirts and leggings, and women wore "shifts of the same material...".

Dwellings, Settlement, and Population

Columbia Plateau region. Columbia Plateau Native American dwellings during the baseline period consisted of the following four types: conical mat and/or skin lodges; large extended and oblong inverted "Y" (without the bottom half of the "y") mat and/or skin lodges; rectangular cedar board sheds; and, semi-subterranean pithouses. The latter type was on the wane by the beginning of the reservation period (post 1854).

During the seasonal salmon runs along the Columbia River, particularly where the rapids occurred, were located Native American settlements such as Kettle Falls (Colville region), Priest Rapids (Colville and Yakima region), and The Dalles (Umatilla and Yakima region), and these grew in size to several thousand people. The settlements were cosmopolitan centers where multi-dialects represented as many autonomous populations.

Stuart (1953:66), the fur trapper, in 1812 compared these villages during the fishing season to great cities "...the headquarters of vitiated principles." The Native Americans spent several weeks each spring, and autumn, and shared in the bounty, and also participated in various secular and sacred activities, including marathon gambling and horse racing events (Ross 1932; Stuart 1953).

Colville area. Lewis and Clark (Chance 1973), in 1805, recorded that the Colville lived in 130 lodges. Chance (1973) provides an inferred 1805 Colville population total of 1,040, which suggests about 8 people per lodge. Thompson (Glover 1962:335; Chance 1973:44) in 1810 described a Sxoiielpi (Colville) village as follows:

This village is built of long sheds about twenty feet in breadth by from thirty to sixty feet in length, they were built of boards which somehow they had contrived to split from the large Cedars drifted down the [Columbia] River, partly covered with the same and with Mats...each Shed had many cross poles for smoke drying the Salmon.
Lewis and Clark (Thwaites 1959) in 1805 reported that the Sanpoil lived in 45 houses, and numbered 800 (about 17.7 per lodge). This occupancy estimate either is inflated, or suggests that the Sanpoil were living in large lodges, such as described above by Thompson, or Sahaptin extended mat lodge type, or semi-subterranean pithouses.

Lewis and Clark (Thwaites 1959) indicated that the neighboring Spokane lived in 30 houses, and had a population estimated at 600, in 1805 (about 20 people per lodge). A Spokane village described by Cox (1831:199-200) in 1812 consisted of both Salishan and Sahaptin types of dwellings:

Their village was situated at the point formed by the junction of the two rivers. Some houses were oblong [Sahaptin], others conical; and were covered with mats or skins according to the wealth of the proprietor.

This suggests that Sahaptin speaking and Salishan speaking people had established close cultural connections for years.

The Colville, as well as other Salishan speaking Columbia Plateau populations also lived in conical mat lodges, and some, such as the Coeur d' Alene and Spokane, continued to live in Salishan speaking population extended mat lodges as well as conical type dwellings during the pre-reservation period (Point 1967). These dwelling types continued into the reservation period (see Stanley's 1853 sketch of the Spokane Tshimakain Protestant mission).

McDonald (Simpson 1947 vol. 10. Appendix A:231), in 1827 provided population estimates on the various Native American populations in the Thompson River District, about three thousand square miles, which included several Columbia Plateau populations (Lakes, Methow, Okanogan, Sanpoil, etc.), their chiefs or principal men, and the total number of males and females under (1,436) and older (2,041) the age of twelve, in total 3,477 for the entire region:

...as in general is the case all over the Indian country, the lists of young hunters and married women are swollen up with children of 10 and 12 years old, and will in some measure account for our great proportion of adults.

The prehistoric semi-subterranean circular dwelling, the pithouse (Leeds, Jermann and Leeds 1980), was in seasonal (winter) use during the late 1820s among the "Salmon Tribes" of the Columbia River in the Colville area, according to McDonald (Simpson 1947 vol. 10. Appendix A:231):
The Salmon tribes are of a very indolent habit—during the summer and autumn they live quite exposed along the rivers and in winter bury up themselves in circular pits underground.

The last recorded Columbia Plateau Native American population to live in pit houses was the southern British Columbia Plateau Thompson population, which they abandoned in the mid-1890s (Teit 1906).

**Flathead area.** Cox (1831:192) provided a description of a Flathead lodge he visited in 1812:

> Their lodges were conical, but very spacious, and were formed by a number of buffalo and moose skins thrown over long poles in such a manner as to keep them quite dry. The fire was placed in the centre, and the ground all around it was covered with mats and clean skins free from vermin we felt so annoying at the lower parts of the Columbia.

The time of season determined the length of stay of a Flathead camp which was at most ten to fifteen days in one location, except in winter (Fahey 1974).

Lewis and Clark (Thwaites 1959) in 1805 estimated the Flathead population at 300, and living in 25 skin lodges (about 12 people per dwelling), and the Kalispel/Pend d' Oreille population at 1900 in 55 lodges (about 34 people per lodge). Ogden (1853) stated that the Flathead lived in 200 lodges in 1823. The following year (1824) Ross (Merriam 1967) conducted a census of the Flathead, and included 42 lodges and 306 people (about 7 people per lodge).

Work (1923) indicated in 1831 that a winter Flathead camp was made up of 38 lodges. Stuart (1953:191) in the following year (1832) estimated the Flathead population at 1,000 "souls," and residing in 110 lodges (about 11 people to a dwelling). Later Flathead dwelling occupancy estimates secured by the author during the pre-reservation period appear to have decreased in number. This will be further addressed in later chapters.

**Nez Perce Area.** The Nez Perce and other Sahaptin speaking Columbia Plateau Native Americans (Cayuse, Umatilla, Walla Walla, and Yakima) lived in large extended oblong mat and/or skin lodges (Lewis and Clark in Thwaites 1959). The Nez Perce population in 1805 was estimated by Lewis and Clark (Thwaites 1959) to have been about 5,600, and based on the population and occupancy estimates of two Nez Perce bands, there were about 25 people per lodge. Work (1923) indicated that a winter, 1832 Nez Perce camp was made up of between 25 and 30 lodges.
Umatilla Area. Lewis and Clark, in their original draft, estimated the Walla Walla population in 1805 at 1,000 (revised to 1,600) which probably included the Umatilla, and living in 46 dwellings (about 22 per lodge) (Thwaites 1959). The Cayuse population of 250 were living in 33 lodges in 1806 (7.5 people per lodge) (Ruby and Brown 1972; Thwaites 1959). When Cayuse and Walla Walla populations and dwellings are combined, they were living in 79 lodges (about 16 people per dwelling). Stuart (1953) indicated that a winter, 1835 Walla Walla village was made up of 12 lodges.

Yakima Area. Lewis and Clark (Thwaites 1959), in 1805, estimated the Yakima population in their original draft at 1,600, and living in 71 lodges (about 22.5 people per lodge). Morse (House Executive Document 1822) in 1822 estimated the Yakima at 1,200 people, and living in 60 houses (about 20 people per dwelling), however, it should be mentioned that his estimate was taken from an earlier revised 1805 Lewis and Clark figure.

Religion and Altered States of Consciousness

Columbia Plateau regional. Spier (1935), and subsequent other researchers (Aberle 1959; Herskovits 1938; Miller 1985; Ross 1968; Spier, Suttles, and Herskovits 1959; Walker 1968) concluded that the Ghost Dance cult movement originated in the interior Columbia Plateau area. The Ghost Dance arose in response to several events, including: initial culture contact with eastern North American Native Americans (Delaware, Shawnee, and Iroquois) whose populations had, or were experiencing millenarian cults from Euro-American contact, and came to the Plateau as immigrants and Hudson’s Bay Company employees to forewarn the local Native American populations of Euro-American designs; a regular supply of European and Euro-American cargo; and, an associated alien cultural induced crisis (a Trans-Mississippi West epidemic) around 1782 (Miller 1985; Mooney 1928; Spier 1935). It is known that in 1798 between 40 and 100 Iroquois emigrated to the Columbia Plateau, and there was one earlier Iroquoian migration (Ewers 1948).

Captain Bonneville, in his journey throughout the southern and middle Columbia Plateau during the early 1830’s, was informed of the existence of several cults among the Sahaptin speaking Cayuse and Nez Perce, as well as the Salish speaking Flathead (a generic name during the baseline period for several other Salish speaking groups) (Irving 1868). Other contemporary sources also confirm this period as one of cult activity (Parker 1846). For example, the fur trapper Stuart (1953), in 1831 stated that a Flathead shaman and one-fifth of the population left to form their own band.

Ruby and Brown (1972) point out that cult factionalism during the 1830s posed a threat, not only to the initial Euro-American missionary frontier, but also to the existing Native American religious framework. During the early 1830s Columbia Plateau Native Americans viewed Euro-
Americans as the physical representation of the "Great Master of Life" who had the power to see into the heart (Chance 1973).

Changes in burial patterns among Columbia Plateau Native Americans occurred during the baseline period, having been influenced by Euro-American contact. Burials included Euro-American cargo, much of which included trade beads, and other ornaments. Many of the excavated burials reveal that the grave goods were purposefully destroyed, or "sacrificed". Destruction of property is a cargo (and I suggest millenarian) cult characteristic (Devereux 1964).

Euro-American coffins were adopted late in the baseline period, and were reserved for headmen. Sprague and Birkley (1970) indicate that Columbia Plateau Native American Christian burials were oriented with the head to the west. It is suggested here that southern Columbia Plateau populations also buried their dead in above ground wooden vaults on islands in the Columbia River as part of the emerging cargo cult during this period.

Colville Area. During the early 1800s the Okanogan interred their dead in graves located on "...some eminence, rocky ground or stony place, and the spot is always held sacred (Ross 1923:347)." A Hudson's Bay Company Fort Okanogan fur trapper, Alexander Ross (Ross 1923:346-47), provides a first hand account of an Okanogan male burial ritual, circa 1812:

A few hours after death the body is interred. For this purpose a round hole is dug in some convenient spot, and the body is placed in a sitting posture, but inclining a little backwards, with the knees raised up nearly to the breast. All the most valuable trinkets and trophies of war possessed by the deceased are laid on his breast, supported by his knees and interred along with the body. If any of these articles be withheld from the grave the spirit of the deceased according to popular belief, can never be at rest; consequently the custom is religiously observed. After the grave is filled up with earth and stones, a small pile of wood is placed over it and several articles are suspended from the pile, indicating the quality of the deceased. If he be a warrior, the bow and scalp mark his grave; if a hunter, an animal is portrayed thereon. The spear and salmon in like manner point out the fisherman's place of rest. Immediately after the interment all the valuable property, such as horses, guns, bows, and other things not put into the grave are destroyed and scattered around it as a sacrifice.
This quotation not only emphasizes the importance of property (material possessions), a cargo cult characteristic, but also the millenarian characteristic of the destruction of property.

The importance of property in the Okanogan's burial ritual attests to their belief that material possessions, in themselves, were sacred:

The property of each individual, even of the slave, is held sacred [Ross 1923:347].

It may be concluded that Euro-American cargo had achieved an important syncretic position in the Okanogan mazeway by 1812. Cargo had attained a position such prominence by this time as it was perceived as the ultimate form of compensation: "...property pays for all offenses [Ross 1923:52]."

The Spokane in 1812 also buried their male dead in a manner similar to their western neighbors, the Okanogan:

When a man dies, several horses are killed, and the skins are attached to the end of long poles, which are planted in the graves: the number of horses sacrificed is proportioned to the wealth of the individual. Besides the horse-skins, buffalo and deer robes, leather shirts, blankets, pieces of blue, green, and scarlet cloth, strips of calico, moccasins, provisions, warlike weapons, etc. are placed in and about the cemetery; all of which they imagine will be more or less necessary for the deceased in the world of spirits [Cox 1831:200-201].

It appears that Euro-American cargo had made inroads into Spokane culture as it had in other Columbia Plateau populations during the early 1800s. Spicer (1961) indicates that it was about 1811 to 1812 when large quantities of Euro-American cargo began to enter the central part of the Columbia Plateau.

Alcohol consumption by Native Americans in the region during the baseline period was almost non-existent since headmen, and the policy of the Hudson's Bay Company, prohibited its distribution among the people in the region (Simpson 1947 vol. 10).

Gambling can lead to instant prestige, power, and the acquisition of material possessions, or, poverty, violence, drug (alcohol) dependency, and even suicide. Gambling among the various Native American groups, including those of the Colville area, during the baseline period was reported in the literature as rampant, for example, in the late 1820s among the Okanogan it was "...a consequent evil attendant on their sedentary life [Simpson 1947 vol. 10. Appendix A:232]."
Native Americans in general, including those in the Columbia Plateau, were extremely fond of smoking to attain an altered state of consciousness whether in secular or ritualistic activities. After almost a year and a half absence, Cox (1831:345-346) returned to Spokane House in 1814 where the entire Spokane population gathered around to receive the coveted tobacco from him, as their headman proclaimed:

My heart is glad to see you: my heart is glad to see you. We were a long time very hungry for tobacco; and some of our young men said you would never come back. They were angry, and said to me, "The white men made us love tobacco almost as much as we love our children, and now we are starving for it.

The same was true for the southern Columbia Plateau region circa 1812. For example, Ross (1855:40) stated in 1814 that neither the Nez Perce nor Cayuse would allow his fur company brigade to depart "...till they had smoked themselves drunk."

McDonald (Simpson 1947 vol. 10. Appendix A:232) in 1827 also described one of the Okanogan's most frequently desired altered state of consciousness attainment: smoking tobacco, and their unawareness of alcohol:

Nothing can exceed their fancy for Tobacco--to appearance they indulge in smoking, with no other view than that of gratifying the passion; but I believe it is also combined with strong motives of devotion--deaths, Sickness, Scarcity of Salmon, bad luck in the chase, or any other misfortune is immediately attributed to the want of Tobacco--the most inexorable heart (according to their way of thinking) must be cured by Tobacco, and when the HEART is good no evil can follow--Rum they know nothing of.

Euro-American tobacco during the baseline period was a much more potent strain than the species currently grown in the United States today.

Flathead Area. Facial and body painting, and the wearing of feathers, were (are) an integral part of a Native American's dress and adornment. Ornamentation which included various signs and symbols depicted one's sacred power sources, so too for the Flathead during this time (Fahey 1974).

Nez Perce Area. When the Nez Perce visited the Hidatsa in present-day North Dakota State in 1805, they not only secured their first guns from them, but knowledge that the Euro-American Lewis and Clark expedition went west to their homeland with wondrous cargo (Josephy 1965). The Nez Perce considered the impact of the Lewis and Clark visit from the
perspective that more cargo would be destined their way, brought only to
them by Euro-Americans (Josephy 1965).

Umatilla Area. The Cayuse began burying their dead in Euro-American
coffins as early 1831 when the relatives of a deceased headman requested
the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Walla inter him in the British-Canadian
or "French" manner, and included a cross being placed on the grave
(Chance 1973; Gunkel 1978). Over 200 Walla Walla, including women and
children attended a Christian ceremony at Fort Walla Walla in 1835
(Gairdner 1841).

The Reverend Parker informed Cayuse shamans in 1836 that he had
come to select a location for a Protestant mission, and did not intend
to take their lands for nothing, instead various cargo would be brought
on ships, and given to them:

After the doctor is come there will come every
year a big ship loaded with goods to be divided
among the Indians. These goods will not be sold
but given to you. The missionaries will bring
you ploughs and hoes to learn you how to
cultivate the land, and they will not sell but
will give them to you [Annual Reports 1857-58
House Executive Document No. 38, 35th Congress,
First Session, Serial 955:18].

The following year (1837), the Cayuse headman, Splitted Lip, asked an
associate of Parker, Dr. Whitman, when the cargo would arrive among them
that Parker had previously described, and whether Whitman would pay the
headman for the land Whitman claimed for his mission, or if Whitman's
intent was to steal the Cayuse lands:

...they constantly told the doctor to pay them,
or else go away; and the doctor always persisted
in remaining there without paying them, saying
that the Indians were talking lightly, and they
would do him no harm [Fort Walla Walla
interpreter, John Toupin's statement in 1848,
Whitman Collection, Eells Library, Whitman
College, # W-10 40].

Yakima Area. During the baseline period several historical primary
sources describe numerous above ground wooden vault burial sheds that
were constructed on islands, for example, Berrian and Memaloose, in the
lower Columbia River. Southern Columbia Plateau Native Americans, such
as the Wishram, placed their deceased in stacked rows in the plank
sheds. It is suggested here that these unique burial places were part
of the emerging cargo cult, that is, the dead were waiting to be taken
aboard Euro-American vessels, and transported to the land of
immortality. Ross (Thwaites 1904:143) noted, circa 1814, that the
Wishram's northern neighbors, the Wanapam Native Americans had their
Priest Rapids burial places located on "small eminences," and "...a few small sticks always point out the cemetery."

Political Structure

Columbia Plateau Regional. The Native American populations in the Columbia Plateau had a homogeneous political organization. Various primary historical fur trader’s accounts reveal that a chief or headperson (usually but not always a male) had a contingency with him, and often, the headman was a shaman.

A headperson was elected to the post by majority, and was a person who had distinguished himself or herself in act or deed. Cox (1831 vol.1:198) in 1812 described the chief of the Spokane, Illimspokanee (Son of the Sun), as a "harmless old man..." who held the respect of his people.

Colville Area. Slavery, according to Ross (1923), and cited above, appears to have existed in the early 1800’s among the Okanogan, and several other northern as well as southern Columbia Plateau Native American populations. It is suggested here, however, that by the late 1820s the economic situation in the area had changed due to a Native American cultural induced environmental crisis, and slavery was economically too costly to maintain for the Okanogans, and other groups, given the reasons presented below in the section on environmental crises. The Okanogans were considered as one of the Salmon Tribes mentioned by McDonald (Simpson 1947 vol. 10. Appendix A: 231-232), and, as such, Native American populations along the Columbia River, "...have no slaves and a plurality of wives not prevalent."

Culturally Induced and Environmental Crises

Part Two is divided into two sections: cultural induced, and environmental crises. Table 7.5 (Chapter VII) lists the various crisis types in these two categories. Two major baseline cultural induced crisis types are examined below: epidemics and warfare between Native American populations. The major environmental crises discussed here are faunal species overkill, volcanoes, and meteoric showers.

Culturally Induced Crises

Columbia Plateau Regional. During the late eighteenth century, circa 1780, a severe and widespread epidemic came from Missouri across the Rocky Mountains to the region, having been contracted from Euro-Americans. The result was a depopulation of several Native American populations throughout the Pacific Northwest (Cook 1955; Cox 1831; Mooney 1928; Spier 1935; Teit 1928).
Smallpox swept through Saskatchewan Province, British Canada, in 1780 (Coues 1897; Gunkel 1978). The Nez Perce may have suffered from a smallpox epidemic in the 1770's (Gunkel 1978; Walker 1968).

The exact source of the late eighteenth century smallpox epidemic has never been pinpointed. Several researchers suggest that it came from the east. It is also suggested here that Euro-American sailing vessels may have also brought epidemics to the Coast which travelled inland among Columbia Plateau populations during the late eighteenth century.

During the late 1820s and early 1830s (1829-1833), malarial epidemics (intermittent fever or ague) were rampant up and down the Columbia River, and again resulted in the depopulation of several Native American populations (Carley 1981; Cook 1972). The worst months of the malarial epidemic was during autumn (Carley 1981).

DeSmet (1847 in Thwaites 1906 vol. 29) indicated that a severe epidemic (a disease according to DeSmet) during this period carried off over two-thirds of the Native American populations residing along or near the Columbia river. Cook (1972:192) examined the mortality consequences of the malaria epidemic of 1830-1833 along the Columbia river on the Native American population, and concluded a somewhat higher rate than provided by DeSmet:

The evidence pertaining to the malaria epidemic on the Columbia River indicated a mortality among the Indians of approximately 75%...This is a startling and disturbing result.

Entire villages that lined the Columbia River were burnt down to arrest the epidemic (DeSmet 1847 in Thwaites 1906 vol. 29). Dr. Tolmie (1963:183; Carley 1981:20) in 1833 stated that the "...intermittent fever...has almost depopulated the Columbia Plateau of Aboriginies."

The following year Townsend (Carley 1981:20), an eyewitness to the malarial epidemic, wrote:

...a hundred individual men, women and children were writhing in agony on the floors of the houses with no one to give them assistance.

The malaria epidemics continued in the southern Columbia Plateau until at least 1841 (Carley 1981). The northern Columbia Plateau populations escaped the epidemics which were still occurring in the southern region when DeSmet arrived among the northern Flathead in 1840 (Thwaites 1906 vol. 29). The Native Americans believed that the Europeans and Americans were responsible for having brought the epidemic upon them, in particular the Hudson's Bay Company (Carley 1981; Chance 1973; Tolmie 1963).

Colville Area. A smallpox epidemic in 1836 began near the mouth of the Columbia River, and spread upriver to Fort Colville in the northern
Columbia Plateau, wiping out over half of the Native American population (Gunkel 1978; Splawn 1917; Teit 1928). Walker, the Protestant missionary among the Spokane reported that in the Spring, 1839 the Native Americans in the region were suffering through an epidemic of chicken pox or measles (Chance 1973; Drury 1976).

Flathead Area. Frequent and continuous fighting between the Flathead and Blackfeet, as well as several epidemics resulted in a decline in the number of males in the Flathead population during the early 1800s (Fahey 1974). From 1825 to 1840 there was a marked increase in the proportion of Flathead females over males who included captives, slaves, and mates of polygamous marriages, attributed to:

Deaths of men from smallpox and warfare and the usefulness of women in the burgeoning bison trade...[Fahey 1974:46].

A smallpox epidemic (acquired from Euro-Americans upon return from the 1838 fur trading rendezvous) claimed everyone except for fifteen children in the Flathead Bitter Root camp while their buffalo parties were in the field (Fahey 1974).

When DeSmet arrived among the Flathead in 1840 he noticed that earlier smallpox epidemics had not only resulted in a significant demographic change but also a change in settlement pattern, and the adoption of a millenarian perspective:

The smallpox is the principal disease that alarms the natives; they are in continual dread of it, and imagining that they have a short time to live, they no longer build the large and convenient cabins to which they were formally accustomed (DeSmet 1847 in Thwaites 1906 vol. 29:123).

Umatilla Area. The Shoshone raid near Fort Walla Walla (Northwest Company post) in 1819 resulted in the deaths of several Cayuse and Walla Walla children and women (Gunkel 1978). Hudson's Bay Company employee, Black (Chance 1973), wrote that by the end of the 1820s, the Walla Walla population size did not change, due to the high rate of suicide among both sexes covering all ages in conjunction with low fertility and high rates of miscarriages among females, and few children was common. It is suggested here that the high suicide rate is attributable to the fact that during the mid-1820s the Cayuse, Walla Walla, and most likely, also the Umatilla, severely suffered from a disease of epidemic proportions, probably smallpox (Hines 1851; Teit 1928; Simpson 1947 vol. 10).

Yakima Area. The first Euro-American settler in the Priest Rapids area, Andrew Splawn, spoke with Wanapam and Columbia elders who recalled the geographic extent of the epidemics that occurred in the mid-1830s:
...the smallpox broke out among them [the Wanapam] in 1836: in fact more than half of the Indians died along the Columbia River from it's mouth to Kettle Falls, then Fort Colville [Splawn 1917:390].

Environmental Crises

Columbia Plateau Regional. Several volcanic eruptions occurred in the Cascade range during the 19th century. Mt. St. Helens was very active during the 1830s and 1840s, specifically in 1831, 1841, 1842, and 1843 (DuBois 1938; Holden 1898 vol. 37 no. 1087). The literature reveals that baseline period Columbia Plateau Native Americans who witnessed the "falling snow" (ashfall) thought that their world was coming to an end.

On November 12 and 13, 1833 a meteoric shower occurred which was visible all over the present United States, part of Mexico, and the West India Islands (Cypus and Sarchet 1911). A description of the event by one midnight reveler in Cambridge, Ohio who recalled it in 1890 is filled with millenarian themes:

Together with the small shooting stars, which fell like snowflakes and produced phosphorescent lines along their course, there were intermingled large balls of fire, which darted forth at intervals, leaving luminous trains, which remained in view several minutes, and sometimes half an hour or more!...Some one of the number, going out, returned with the cry that the 'stars were falling.' We all looked upon the scene with wonder and amazement, and one of the number said, 'What's the use of making apple butter, when the world is coming to an end!' [Cypus and Sarchet 1911:380-381].

It is now recognized that the Leonid meteor shower occurs every November, however, in 1833 it amazed everyone and produced over 100,000 streaks an hour (Burns 1988). Another eyewitness to the 1833 event wrote:

Upward of (100) people lay prostrate on the ground---some speechless, and some with the bitterest cries, but with their hands raised, imploring God to save the world and them. The scene was truly awful; for never did rain fall much thicker than the meteors fell towards the earth [Burns 1988].

It is assumed here that Native Americans of the Columbia Plateau witnessed this event, and may have also thought that their world was coming to an end, especially in light of the depopulation they were
experiencing at that time due to the severe epidemics rampant throughout the region.

**Colville Region.** The decline of the fur trapping boom phase in the mid-1820s in the northern Columbia Plateau brought about more than a decline in the quantity of material possessions the Hudson's Bay Company could barter, trade, or sell to Native Americans. From 1822 to 1826 the Native American annual returns of beaver to the Hudson's Bay Company’s Thompson River District, specifically Fort Okanogan, fell from 695 to 196, nearly a seventy-five percent decline (Simpson 1847 vol 10). It was clear to the Company by 1827 that the Native American populations in the Okanogan area had trapped and hunted several riverine and boreal animal species to the verge of extinction, and the Company then encouraged them to hunt small furs, especially martins (Simpson 1947 vol. 10.).

As a result of faunal species overkill for Euro-American cargo, severe economic and dietary changes occurred in the Okanogan and other participatory Native American populations, as pointed out by Archibald McDonald:

> ...the Okanogans...resort most to the chase...however, even they are become dependant on that resource [salmon] now and after collecting what berries and little fishes they can, they either remove to the Kettle Falls on the Columbia or the lower part of Thompson's river; but often they are reduced to roots--preparations from Pine Moss and such like to keep body and life together [Simpson 1947 vol. 10. Appendix A:231].

Wishart (1979) cites the near annihilation of the fur-bearing animals as the greatest factor in the decline of the Rocky Mountain trapping system, even greater than the collapse of the international market (due to silk replacing fur hats) in the mid-1830s.

**Summary**

Columbia Plateau Native American males, specifically headmen, were the first to adopt Euro-American clothing as early as the 1820s probably for status reasons. Women appear to have adopted Euro-American items for ornamental purposes first, and began towards the end of the baseline, to use cloth to make the Columbia Plateau wing dress.

It is important to point out that precontact ornamentation and technology during the baseline period was not replaced but only supplemented with Euro-American cargo (Shiner 1961). Northwest Coast and Plains Native American cultural traits were also making inroads into
the Columbia Plateau during the baseline period.

The vast majority of Columbia Plateau populations during the baseline period dressed in the precontact attire described earlier in this chapter. Throughout the baseline period, Plains Native American attire had gained in popularity, not only among the indigenous people in the region but also Euro-Americans, especially the fur trappers.

Columbia Plateau Native American dwelling styles during the baseline period remained unchanged from their precontact origins. As with attire, very few Native Americans adopted Euro-American style dwellings, and the few who lived in log cabins were headmen, and this only occurred at the end of the baseline period (Chance 1973). It is suggested here that due to the demographic changes resultant from the severe epidemics during the baseline period there was also a change in the number of occupants per dwelling, and probably a change in settlement patterns from large villages to smaller ones.

Columbia Plateau Native American populations during the baseline period had political organizations that were homogeneous. There was also widespread uniformity in social organization, and undifferentiated economies (Shiner 1961). The baseline period, however, was also a time of widespread disturbance due to Euro-American contact that forever changed precontact Columbia Plateau Native American cultures, more so than the adoption of the horse less than a century earlier.

Columbia Plateau Native American populations experienced several different kinds of crises during the baseline period. A ranking by the author of these crises, in terms of their adverse affects on the resident populations, indicates that the number one cultural induced crisis type category during the baseline period was Euro-American induced epidemics. During the late 18th and early 19th century smallpox and malaria caused the greatest depopulation in the region, especially among the central and southern Columbia Plateau Native American populations.

Baseline Columbia Plateau Native Americans were also in conflict with other Native Americans primarily caused by competition for the same resources due to Euro-American Trans-Appalachian then Trans-Mississippi westward expansion. For some cultures, such as the Flathead who fought against the Blackfoot, a major adverse affect on the Flathead population resulted in a substantial decline in the number of males. In general, for the entire Columbia Plateau, the casualties from warfare were minimal when compared to the depopulation resultant from rampant epidemics. When the two are combined together the results are staggering.

Environmental crises during the baseline period fall into three types: faunal (fur bearing animal) species overkill, volcanoes, and meteor showers. It is suggested here that the greatest adverse impact on baseline period Native American populations, especially the northern Columbia Plateau groups, was faunal species overkill because this
affected all aspects of their culture, including their ability to obtain coveted cargo (including tobacco) from Euro-Americans.

It is suggested here that volcanic eruptions, depending on their length and subsequent devastation, caused baseline period Columbia Plateau Native American to believe that the world was about to come to an end, and contributed towards a millenarian attitude among them. It is further suggested that the least adverse affect on a baseline population was to witness relatively brief (less than a day) meteor showers, however, as was previously indicated, this too probably aided in the instillation among Native Americans of a millenarian philosophy as it did among early nineteenth century Euro-Americans.

By the end of the 1830s those Columbia Plateau Native American populations that had survived the severe regional epidemic earlier in the decade were practicing cargo and millenarian cult rituals, and at the same time had drastically altered their cultures and environments in their quest for cargo. Although the Columbia Plateau populations had begun to receive, through trade with Northwest Coast, Plains, and Southwest Native Americans, various Euro-American cargo, including the horse, during the mid-eighteenth century it was not until the last half of that century that both cargo and millenarian cults were in existence (although these cults may predate this time).

In following Spier (1935) and other researchers, it is suggested here that a cargo cult developed in the Pacific Northwest when European trading vessels entered the area in the 1770s, perhaps earlier, and east-west overland routes began to be established among northern populations. A few years later, during the early 1780s, in response to European (or American) caused epidemics, a millenarian cult also arose, fueled in part by eastern Iroquoian immigrations, and Native Americans in the region then fused elements of both cults together (syncretism). This is evidenced by several examples, including the modes of burial adopted by northern and southern populations.

The analysis presented in the preceding chapter, and this chapter on the baseline period, reveals the complexity of culture contact in the Columbia Plateau. A framework has now been constructed from which to establish an interpretation of Native American response to Euro-American assimilation during the pre-reservation and reservation periods, the focus of the next three chapters.
THE EMERGENCE OF COLUMBIA PLATEAU NATIONALISM:
THE NATIVE AMERICAN PRE-RESERVATION PERIOD
(1840-1854)

Introduction

The goal of the United States Native American Policy was the complete assimilation of the Native American. The policy should have promoted unilineal cultural evolution, because the attempt was to enforce Native American advancement towards Euro-American assimilation. In direct conflict with this Euro-American assimilation policy, during the directed reservation period (1855-1914), the Columbia Plateau Native American goal was to preserve their precontact culture and self-determination status. The data presented in this chapter focus on Native American oppositional strategies that encouraged and promoted Native American nationalism throughout the Columbia Plateau during the latter part of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. If the null hypothesis were supported by the data, then at the turn of the century, both pictorial and written data sets would have shown high percentages of Native American adoption of Euro-American culture (as reflected in the study categories). Instead, the opposite is true.

The pictorial and written data support the interpretation that regional Native American opposition against Euro-American directed contact was active in the late 1840s. This Columbia Plateau Native American confederacy was cemented by a common political concern (self-determination) and directed by religious (cult) leaders, and existed throughout the reservation period. It evolved from an earlier fur trade cargo cult confederacy. The evolution of the post-1850 religious and political confederacy is addressed later in this chapter as well as in the remaining chapters. The goal of the confederacy was to preserve the precontact mazeway that also included their natural environment and to implement oppositional strategies that promoted visible expressions of nationalism among themselves and other indigenous populations, and before Euro-American society.

The following Native American oppositional strategies, implemented to stem the tide of Euro-American assimilation, are examined below for both the pre-reservation and reservation periods:
1. Abandonment of Euro-American culture.


3. Cult activity including: (a) precontact and syncretic political, religious and altered states of consciousness participation; and (b) civil disobedience, both violent and non-violent.

The focus on the study categories in this chapter, and in Chapter XIII is restricted to the beginning of the pre-reservation period (1840-1844) and to the turn of the century (1895-1904) in the reservation period. Eleven pictorial plates on this early period are included at the end of this chapter, and several other plates on turn of the century Native American culture are found in Chapter XIII. The reason for the selection of the period around the turn of the century (1895-1904) is that this interval immediately follows the crisis-laden period (1880-1894) and exhibit a distinct change from that preceding crisis-laden period (see Figure 9.24 in Chapter IX and below).

1840-1844

This discussion of the period, 1840-1844, is divided into two subsections: crises and Native American responses. A discussion (summary) of the study categories (pictorial and written) analyzed in Chapter IX is included in this initial five year interval in order to establish a pictorial and written baseline for the pre-reservation period (1840-1854). The creation of the baseline permits a comparison between the non-directed pre-reservation period pictorial and written sample with the turn of the century pictorial sample (1895-1904). The results support the alternative hypothesis which in turn supports the interpretation of the presence of Columbia Plateau Native American nationalism at the turn of the century.

Crises (1840-1844)

During this five year interval, Columbia Plateau Native American populations experienced several non-governmental crises induced by Euro-American (Protestant) missionary and immigration activities. Several thousand Euro-American immigrants came to Oregon Territory via the Columbia Plateau during this period. Smallpox epidemics continued among the Columbia Plateau Native American population, having originated during the baseline period (pre-1840). Other infections were also introduced by Euro-American immigrant trains, which were responding to (ironically) "Oregon Fever." For example, Eliza Spalding (1844) wrote to her parents that the 1,000 emigrants who stopped by the Nez Perce Lapwai mission in 1843 brought with them, scarlet fever, which she, her husband, the Reverend Spalding, their children, and Nez Perce had contracted:
...our dear little children, I found them both quite unwell with scarlet fever, mine was doubtless a species of scarlet fever, tho it was at the time considered typhus. The children's fever was rather light, yet their mouths, and throats were very much cankered and very sore.

The resultant Native American population decimation during this period was apparent to Euro-Americans visiting the region. Smallpox reached the northern Columbia Plateau in the early 1840s. An (smallpox?) epidemic in 1842 swiftly struck the Coeur d' Alene population and resulted in much loss of life (Point 1967). The indigenous populations throughout the southern region were also decimated; for example, Gibbs (1855:408) reported that the Yakimas and Klikitats "suffered severely" from a smallpox epidemic in 1843. Their neighbors the Wanapum and Walla Walla also suffered severely from epidemics at this time (Gunkel 1978). Native American populations in 1844 around Fort Vancouver suffered more than a ten percent mortality rate due to an epidemic (DeSmet 1847 in Thwaites 1906).

The major regional environmental crises during this period were due to volcanic activity along the Cascade Range, especially Mt. Baker, Rainer, and St Helens (DeSmet 1847 in Thwaites 1906; Johansen and Gates 1967; Johnson and Winters 1846). Each erupted more than once during this five-year interval (1840, 1841, and 1843). Mt. Rainer erupted in 1840 with such force that the top blew off and volcanic ash covered the entire region (Phillips 1928 no. 2). All three of these Cascade Range mountains erupted during the winter, 1843.

Another environmental crisis was faunal overkill due to Native American desire for (inflated priced) cargo from the Hudson's Bay Company, which not only resulted in fur-bearing animal species decline but also Native American population decrease. DeSmet (1847 in Thwaites 1906) indicates that faunal overkill due to fur trade competition was so complete by the early 1840s that Native American poor exposed to weather in all seasons, and that this widespread exposure contributed to population decrease.

Native American Responses (1840-1844)

Population Avoidance/Out-Migration. During this temporal span the indigenous populations remained for the most part in non-directed contact with Euro-American populations except for short periods of time. Columbia Plateau Native American populations in the Colville region near the Hudson Bay Company's major northern supply post, Fort Colville, rarely visited the post, and when Native Americans rode their horses to the fort's gates their horses became frightened of the noises and sights of "civilization" (Wilkes 1845). In addition, Euro-American population size estimates during this time period for the entire Columbia Plateau are negligible when compared to the regional Euro-American population over the next few decades.
Cult Activity. The Flathead, Kutenai, and several other indigenous populations in the Plateau and Northwest Coast, had been indirectly exposed to Euro-American religion for decades, by European fur trappers and several migrations of Iroquois to the region prior to the end of the eighteenth century. Therefore, by 1840 pre-contact Native American religions had already been (non-directly) influenced by Euro-American religious and pseudo-religious Protestant Christianity and Roman Catholicism for at least 40 years, if not longer. The practitioners of Native American religion purposefully selected only certain cultural elements associated with Euro-American religion (millenarian and cargo cult) to add to their rituals, and this did not change much after Protestant missionaries arrived in the Columbia Plateau during the 1830s. However, the situation did change when Roman Catholic missionaries arrived in the region in force in the early 1840s. Euro-American religious competition for Native American souls was directed contact that struck at the very foundation of Native American society, i.e., their religion.

Native American response to Euro-American religious assimilation efforts during this time were varied. Internal religious divisions (cults) within bands and tribal nations were apparent during this five year interval. These cults may be grouped into three categories: (a) converts to Euro-American Protestant Christianity; (b) converts to Euro-American Roman Catholicism; and (c) practitioners of the pre-contact religions. The major criterion of a cult is that the believers are convinced that their way is the right and only way to salvation. It is safe to say that during the early 1840s the followers of all of these cults believed that their religion was far superior in all aspects than any other.

Native American response to Euro-American religious assimilation during the early 1840s was shaped by several Eastern and Southeastern Native Americans who had been displaced by Euro-American assimilation efforts (manifest destiny) several years earlier. For example, the Shawnee (or Delaware) warrior, Tom Hill, a veteran of the Southeastern 1832 Black Hawk War, migrated to the Columbia Plateau and urged Cayuse and Nez Perce leaders in 1841 to reject Euro-American religion, as quoted by Catherine McDonald (in Phillips 1930 no.11:3):

...the Parent Spirit was not to be found in dresses, or bits of paper, pictures, or in yellow or red iron or beads, insisting that the sacred man [DeSmet] that came so far must be a fool come to preach some things he did not know and for which the God Chief cared nothing, and told them it were better to ask that Spirit to give them health and buffalo and help them to scalp their enemies than listen to useless prayers that had no life but in the effort of them.
Hill was respected by Columbia Plateau Native Americans because he had fought the Euro-Americans and survived. Also in 1841, the Iroquois-European Joel Grey, a Hudson' Bay Company employee, informed the Cayuse that their resident Protestant missionaries were making them (the Cayuse) miserable and that payment for their lands the missionaries laid claim to was long overdue.

The Coeur d' Alene chief, Stellam, met Spokane Garry in 1842 and openly challenged Spokane Garry's Christian teachings by painting himself with pictographs to cast a spell on the meeting (Point 1967). The following year anti-Catholic sentiments were spread among the Flathead by a group of Euro-Americans, Shawnees, and a Mexican, all of whom were subsequently exiled for raping Flathead women (Point 1967).

Resistance. After being subjected for over four years to Whitman's and his missionaries' teachings, the Cayuse leaders in 1840 were informed by Whitman that they were not Christians. For this the leaders threatened to whip him but smashed mission windows instead (Ruby and Brown 1972). In autumn, 1841, Whitman (1841) wrote to his superior about the frequent physical attacks and verbal threats against him and his family and destruction of the mission by the Cayuse (which occurred after they had asked him for several years to pay for their land upon which Wallatpu mission was established). During the winter of 1842-1843, while Whitman was in New England on a fund-raising tour and then leading an immigrant train back across country to Wallatpu, his wife was threatened by the Cayuse and had to take refuge with the Methodist missionaries at The Dalles. In her absence the Cayuse burned the mission mill (Johansen and Gates 1967).

Summary of Culture Contact Categories (1840-1844)

Dress and Ornamentation. During this interval the vast majority of Columbia Plateau Native Americans were dressed and ornamented in indigenous precontact and syncretic (Plains) styles, although a few of the headmen wore some items of Euro-American attire. The diversity of dress worn by Native American males and females at The Dalles fishery along the Columbia River due to increased Euro-American directed contact in the area caught the attention of Euro-Americans, such as DeSmet in 1843 (Thwaites 1906). Their descriptions are in sharp contrast to the report two years earlier of Wilkes (1845), who described the women and children as nearly naked. During the 1840-1844 period, the Walla Walla males wore blanket coats obtained from the Hudson's Bay Company post, and women were dressed in fringed skin gowns (called wing dresses) ornamented profusely with beads in rows on the chest and with flowers above the belt. The gown was worn over fringed skin leggings (Wilkes 1845). This precontact dress is represented in Plate I (1841 Walla Walla Male Attire), and Plate II (1841 Walla Walla Female Attire). The summer dress of the 1841 Spokane male was a shirt, leggings of deer-skin and moccasins, all ornamented with fringe and beads, a cap or handkerchief on the head, and a blanket; in winter, a buffalo-robe was added (Wilkes 1845). DeSmet (in Thwaites 1906 vol.27:372) described an
Okanogan headman in 1843 in the precontact style much like Ross's (1923) description in the early 1800s (see Chapter X):

The chief who came out to meet us was quite conspicuous, being arrayed in his court dress—a shirt made of horse hair, the hair of which was outside, the mane partly on his chest and back, giving him a truly fantastic and savage appearance.

Point (1967:110) indicated that the early 1840s Columbia Plateau male was ornamented (and encased) in everything that fluttered in the wind: fringed hides, colored ribbons, and especially eagle feathers, one precontact element that was not relinquished for "...a whole world full of useful goods." An idea of 1841 Kutenai male attire worn while on the buffalo hunt is provided in Plate III (1841 Kutenai Male Attire and Technology). Plate III reveals that technology is the first aspect of culture to change during the initial contact period because the only Euro-American adoption is a kettle. Flathead male and female attire, as well as limited adoption of Euro-American dress, are portrayed in Plate IV (1841-1844 Flathead Buffalo Camp). Some evidence of Euro-American assimilation is also evident in Plate IV, specifically in religious items and the chief's dress (hat and coat from the Hudson's Bay Company).

Dwellings and Settlement. An alliance of Cayuse, Nez Perce, and Walla Walla returned from the Grande Ronde to the Fort Walla Walla territory where they had bought 30 lodges constructed of poles, mats, and skins from the Shoshoni (Wilkes 1845). An illustration of a skin lodge is represented in Plate V (1841 Walla Walla skin lodge). In addition, Wilkes (1845) reporting in 1841 on a camp of Spokane, which numbered about 300 and was located at the entrance of a meadow to feed their horses and gather camas roots, indicated that the camp consisted of 20 conical and buffalo-skin lodges. The Okanogan and other populations in the Columbia Plateau lived in 1841 in summer mat lodges that were nearby their winter habitations, and which, according to Wilkes (1845:431), were semi-subterranean pit-houses:

...[They] consisted of two mounds each of which might contain about ten. Both of these were open towards the river the door being a round aperture, eighteen inches in diameter.

The Coeur d'Alene lived in extended and conical mat lodges in 1842 (Point 1967), and are represented in Plate VI (1842-1846 Coeur d' Alene Dwellings). In 1844 there were over 100 families reunited in one village to be converted to Catholicism by Point whose method of instruction was based on visual images, which were much like their own precontact pictographs and petroglyphs (DeSmet 1847 in Thwaites 1906). The Flathead also lived in skin conical lodges and hunted the buffalo during the early 1840s as depicted in Plate IV (1841-1844 Flathead Buffalo Camp).
In general, there was at least one Native American settlement adjacent to the fur-trading posts and missions during this period. However, the majority of settlements were far removed from Euro-American contact, and when salmon fisheries were in the vicinity, for example, at Fort Okanogan, the closest Okanogan settlements were eight miles away (Wilkes 1845). At the major gathering point for all Columbia Plateau groups, The Dalles fishery, the early 1840s resident population lived in huts 15 feet by 25 feet in length, and proportionately wide, and were of a conical shape with the central interior fire smoke escaping through the roof apex (Desmet 1847 in Thwaites 1906 vol 29). Wilkes (1845) described an 1841 Dalles dwelling as 12 feet by 20 feet, constructed with poles, mats and cedar bark, and with forty to fifty individuals residing within (see Plate VII, 1841 The Dalles Fishing Huts). A Yakima camp visited by Wilkes (1845) in 1841 was populated by twenty individuals who resided on the banks of the Yakima River in temporary huts of mats spread on poles.

**Political Structure.** According to Wilkes (1845), early 1840s Columbia Plateau headmen (and women), no matter how influential, had little real authority, and the dignity of the position carried little respect among Native Americans in general. Desmet, a contemporary of Wilkes, suggests a different perspective, that a Flathead chief was given the title by consensus based on experience, exploits, wisdom, courage, and influence displayed in council or battle. He or she did not command, only sought to persuade, yet retained absolute authority (Desmet 1843 in Thwaites 1906: 172):

> I know not of any government where so much personal liberty is united with greater subordination and devotedness.

Wilkes (1845) indicated that the Spokane were not under any general government and were autonomous, yet would join with others for mutual benefit. Plate VIII (1841-1844 Great Council of the Nez Perce) reveals not only their precontact embellished attire but also the fact that the calumet ritual played a central part in the council, an autonomous political meeting place where everyone had an equal say.

**Religion and Altered States of Consciousness.** The early 1840s Columbia Plateau indigenous populations began to confederate in response to the Hudson's Bay Company's influence in the area to supply them with cargo, and intermarriage was commonplace between the various interior populations (Wilkes 1845). It appears that in the early 1840s a Columbia Plateau confederacy was in existence, probably founded on an earlier cargo cult, which was promoted in the late baseline period by Reverend Parker, who promised to satiate their desire for new innovations (and elevated status and prestige). In the early 1840s, various manifestations of cargo cults existed among the indigenous populations. For example, Reverend Eels informed Wilkes (1845:455) in 1841 that the Spokane specifically wanted Euro-Americans to settle among them for earlier access to cargo:
The conclusion they come to is, the more the whites come the more they must receive. They are particularly partial to the Bostons [Americans], and frequently refer back to the time when there was rivalry in the [fur] trade.

Native American burials also exhibited cargo cult elements. For example, while travelling westward through the present day Colville Reservation in 1841-1842, DeSmet (1843 in Thwaites 1906:372) provides the following account of a Native American syncretic burial ground:

...posts erected on the graves, and hung with kettles, wooden plates, guns, bows and arrows.

The 1841 Yakima territory burial ground between The Dalles and Fort Walla Walla also contained syncretic elements of both precontact and Euro-American religion, especially those pertaining to cargo (DeSmet 1843 in Thwaites 1906:372):

The corpses were placed above ground, in their clothing, and then sewed up in a skin or blanket; and the personal property of each deceased individual was placed near the body; over all were laid a few boards of native construction, placed as a kind of shed to protect them from the weather.

The 1843 Columbia Plateau travellers, Johnson and Winters (1846:36-37), provide further evidence for the existence of a cargo cult in the burial rituals of the southern populations:

We saw, while passing down on the north side of the river, a large Indian burying place, where the bones of hundreds were heaped together, in pens about eight feet square, made of thin cedar slabs, hewn and set upon end in the earth, covered with bark, and ornamented with carved images of birds, beasts, skeletons of men and imaginary monsters. Some of these pens had rotted down, and the naked skeletons lay scattered over the ground.

Descriptions of precontact cult rituals also abound during this period. Male and female shamans were active throughout the Columbia Plateau and were considered to hold spiritual powers upon returning from their vision quest trances with Coyote in the mountains. Plate X (1842-1846 Coeur d' Alene Vision Quest) provides pictorial proof that the vision quest was practiced in the late 1840s. Nez Perce shamans were believed to be invincible, and Wilkes (1845:465-466) is cited here to make the case that by the early 1840s the Ghost Dance ideology was believed in the Plateau:
They are looked upon as invulnerable, and it is believed that balls fired at them are flattened against their breasts. If affronted or injured, they predict death to the offender, and the doom is considered inevitable.

Plate IX (1842-1846 Coeur d' Alene Shaman and a Chief's Sons) reveals that shamans painted their faces, wore a headdress of feathers, a bear claw necklace, and fur (probably ermine) on the shoulder, and used bow and arrows, although the arrow tips were sometimes made of iron. The sons of Coeur d' Alene chief Gabriel also wore fur and were embellished with beadwork, as shown in Plate IX.

The early 1840s Spokane Tohua ceremony was performed in the spring to insure a bountiful harvest and hunt (Wilkes 1845). The 1841 Spokane Tohua ceremony contains the same elements as the 1842 Coeur d' Alene medicine lodge ceremony, including shamanistic grabbing up of heated stones with the bare hands, plunging them into the fire, and then extracting them from the water once again using one's bare hands (for purification purposes) (Point 1967). This ritual is depicted in Plate XI (1842-1846 Coeur d' Alene Cult Ritual), which also appears to contain several elements of the later Smohalla Cult, including the use of a tambourine. Another Spokane precontact ceremony practiced during this period, in spite of over a decade or more of exposure to Euro-American religion, was the Huwash, or an out-of-the-body/extreme unction type of ritual (Drury 1976; Wilkes 1845). The Nez Perce practiced the Wawish, or "spirit fatigue" ceremony, which enabled them to endure fatigue through a week long ritual with repetitive daily vomiting induced by inserting through the mouth and down into the stomach several willow sticks at once (Wilkes 1845). The Wawish ceremony was well known to the employees at Fort Walla Walla who related to Wilkes the incident of the Nez Perce who finished the ceremony and then travelled overland on foot from Whitman mission to the forks of the Clearwater river (approximately 100 miles) between morning and sunset (Wilkes 1845). In the early 1840's the Nez Perce who had been exposed to Protestantism sent their headmen to the Coeur d' Alene territory to meet with the Jesuit Point to adopt Catholicism along with the other cults (see Plate VIII, 1841-1844 Great Council of the Nez Perce).

Columbia Plateau Native American ceremonies focused on alliances and treaty confirmation and on secular and sacred rituals, and usually included gambling and smoking. In 1842, DeSmet (1843 in Thwaites 1906) documented the Columbia Plateau Native American passion for gambling:

The Indians of the Columbia carried this passion to an almost inconceivable degree; for after loosing their goods, they would stake their own persons, at first playing for one hand; then for the other; and if the game continued unfavorable to them, they played successively for every one of their limbs, and, lastly
for their head, which, if they lost, they, together with their wives and children, became slaves for life (1906:171).

This description is different from the one given by Kane (Harper 1971) in 1847 in which suicides are rampant due to gambling (see 1845-1849 below). DeSmet (1843 in Thwaites 1906:306-307) also described Native American altered states of consciousness attainment by smoking the calumet, which was a widespread passion:

Experience has taught them that the smoke of the calumet dispels the vapors of the brain, aids them to think and judge with greater accuracy and precision, and excites their courage.... I know that the opinions of the Indians concerning the beneficial effects of smoking the calumet will be sanctioned by few persons, because it is demonstrated from experience that the smoke of the tobacco acts as a powerful narcotic upon the nervous system, and produces soporific and debilitating effects; but it should be remembered that such effects are not produced when the smoke is inhaled into the lungs, as is the universal practice of the Indians.

Point (1967) indicated that among the 1842 Flathead the calumet was the principal instrument of the precontact cult and remained so among Native American leaders to the twentieth century (see Plate VIII).

1845-1849

This was a crisis-laden period, as shown by the 39% increase in crises as compared with the previous and succeeding time periods in Figure 9.24 (see Chapter IX). Native American populations in the Columbia Plateau, primarily in the southern region, witnessed the influx of over 10,000 United States immigrants during this five year interval. This led to an acute shortage of supplies (cargo) and merchandise throughout the Pacific Northwest beginning in 1847. Euro-Americans also brought along with them severe measles and smallpox epidemics, which continued to ravage Native American populations throughout most of the Columbia Plateau. During the winter of 1847-1848, Lewes (1848 in Chance 1973:120), a Hudson's Bay Company employee at Fort Colville, reported a measles epidemic that caused a "bloody flux" followed by death among the Colville population, and which resulted in 123 deaths—nearly all of them children. The measles epidemic ran rampant among the Native American populations throughout the entire region, including the Cayuse, Flathead, Nez Perce, and Yakima (Fahey 1974; Schuster 1982; Teit 1928). The degree of population decimation was considerable. For example, over
15% of the Flathead population perished from the 1847 smallpox epidemic that erupted in the area when ten Euro-American wagon trains stayed the winter (Lothrop 1977). Two years later the Flathead agent, Anderson, reported that an influenza epidemic caused many deaths among the Flathead (Chance 1973).

As a result of this wave of immigration and epidemics, the Cayuse War (1847-1848) was fought, in which a Salishan-and Sahaptin-speaking Native American confederacy fought against United States military and civilian volunteers throughout the southern Columbia Plateau. Protestant missionaries withdrew from the Columbia Plateau, and Spalding only returned to the Christian Lapwai Nez Perce decades later (1870s). When hostilities erupted between the neighboring Walla Walla and Yakima populations in 1849, the governor of Oregon Territory, Lane, sent a letter to Poo Poo Mox Mox, chief of the Walla Walla, to make peace. He also sent several hundred soldiers to keep order. As stated in Chapter VIII, the year 1850 marked the beginning of the United States Military Frontier in the Columbia Plateau. The era of Euro-American directed contact emerged on the scene to challenge the indigenous confederacy on their own soil.

Native American Responses (1845-1849)

Columbia Plateau Native Americans realized that their mazeway, material culture, population size, and natural environment were all being adversely affected by the Euro-American influx. The indigenous populations were also aware that their precontact territories were shrinking. It is suggested that Native American cult headmen and their followers implemented the following alternative strategies to cope with the culturally induced crises that emerged during this time.

Violent Resistance. The Colville fought the Blackfeet while hunting in the Rocky Mountains in 1845 (Harper 1971). Two years later the Colville held a Plains-influenced scalp dance at Fort Colville. The following year an avenging Walla Walla war party (200 warriors) went to Sutter's Fort, California (Harper 1971). In 1847 the Cayuse and other Native American populations confederated to fight a war of self-determination and rose up against the Euro-American population, first at the Protestant Mission Whitman Massacre and then region-wide. The Cayuse War ended the following year with 300 Americans defeating the southern Columbia Plateau populations in battle. Defeat, however, did not dampen the hatred these indigenous populations felt towards Euro-Americans after the Cayuse War, and Euro-American hatred toward Native Americans increased.

Cult Activity. By the end of the period 1845-1849, Protestant missions among the Native Americans had been abandoned, and Catholic missionary efforts had been stymied due to missionary relocation prompted by Native American verbal insults and destruction of mission buildings. It is suggested here that, by the end of the decade, for the Native American confederacy the precontact cults had emerged victorious over the alien religions because the religious cornerstone of the precontact mazeway
remained intact and relatively unpolluted. In 1846 the Delaware prophet, Tom Hill, and two other Delawares persuaded several hundred Nez Perce (100 lodges) to acknowledge Hill as their headman (Palmer 1847).

Northern Columbia Plateau populations who gathered in 1847 at Kettle Falls, the ancestral salmon fishery along the Columbia River, responded to this culturally induced crisis period in a millenarian way by gambling away their lives and by participating in rituals like the scalp dance. The Canadian artist Kane, while touring the region in 1847, remarked that suicide was more common among Native Americans of the Columbia River than in any other part of the continent he visited (Harper 1971). The reason for the high rate of suicide may have been their knowledge of the dreaded and impending southern regional measles epidemic which reached the northern area in the winter of 1847, around the time of Kane's visit. The Native American populations throughout the Columbia Plateau in the late 1840s underwent massive population displacement, out-migration, and a decrease in size due to epidemics that was reminiscent of the earlier decline in the late 18th century from the same cause.

1850-1854

Crisis (1850-1854)

During this period the Native American populations throughout the Columbia Plateau were invaded with an influx of between 30,000 and 35,000 Euro-Americans in the gold rushes in Idaho and Washington Territories and British Columbia. The United States Donation Land Law enacted in 1850 gave Euro-American settlers a choice of land from the public domain and encouraged them not to stay out of Native American territories. President Fillmore signed a bill in 1853 that created Washington Territory. The following year, the newly appointed Governor of Washington Territory, Stevens, led the Pacific Railroad Survey to the Columbia Plateau and began treaty-making with the western neighboring indigenous Northwest Coast populations, then proceeded to the southermost boundary of the region in northern Oregon and made treaties with the resident indigenous populations there. The next stop for Stevens was among the interior Columbia Plateau confederation who were recovering from the epidemics suffered over the past several years. Native Americans were unwilling participants, and they acted immediately by waging a second war of independence against the United States government in 1855 (see responses, below).

An influenza epidemic among the Colville population in 1850 brought about an unknown number of deaths (Ballenden 1852; Chance 1973). During the winter of 1853-1854, a smallpox epidemic ravaged several local Native American populations, including the Colville, Lakes, and Sanpoil, living near the Kettle Falls fishery on the Columbia river (Gibbs 1855; Schoenberg 1962). The epidemic arrived from the nearby Sanpoil population. Due to the high mortality from the epidemic, there was at
least one mass burial of Native Americans at Kettle Falls after the
ground had frozen (Chance 1973). Several burials in this area that
appear to be from this period were excavated in the 1960s by Sprague and
Birkley (1970). Gibbs (1855:413) vividly describes the wrath of
sickness among several Native American populations between Kettle Falls
and Fort Okanogan, a distance of 80 miles:

Several villages had been nearly cut off; and we
saw, in some places, the dead left unburied on
the surface of the ground...they complained
bitterly that the shirts and other articles
given them in exchange were worn out, and
nothing was left them but their new religion.
At Fort Okanogan... [the] mode of disposing the
dead...[was that they were] wrapped in their
blankets, or other clothing, and bound up...[and
placed up a] trunk of a tree sufficient distance
from the ground to preserve them from wild
animals.

Smallpox, syphilis, and whiskey also aided in the depopulation of
the indigenous populations to the south of Fort Colville, including the
Lakes and Wanapums who suffered over a 50% mortality from smallpox and
syphilis, with hundreds dying (Gibbs 1855). During 1853, the Umatilla
were ravaged by a smallpox epidemic via a Euro-American immigration of
3,600 people, hundreds of wagons, and 10,000 livestock (OIA 1853; Gunkel
1978; Phillips 1928). Gibbs (1855:408) reported that the smallpox
epidemic annihilated whole villages along the Yakima river: "...the
whole course of the Yakima is lined with the vestiges of former villages
now vacant."

Native American Responses (1850-1854)

Political Confederation. Early 1850s Columbia Plateau Native American
populations must have realized that Euro-Americans were going to seize
their lands, because rumors of outbreaks of another war were predicted
to occur at any time. The Cayuse, for example, in 1850 met with the
Oregon Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Dart, and expressed their fears
that Euro-Americans would remove them from their region (Ruby and Brown
1972). Following the Cayuse War, a political confederacy emerged,
founded and directed by religious leaders. The majority of the headmen
and chiefs of this revitalized confederation were also shamans, many of
whom held similar positions of power during the earlier Cargo cult
(associated with the fur trade), which had been on the wane since the
late 1840s in the region. Commissioner of Indian Affairs Dart concluded
in his 1851 Annual Report that the confederation was prompted in
response to increasing encroachment by Euro-Americans (OAI 1851). This
revitalized confederation was activated by 1853, the year the Jesuit
missionary, Fr. Pandosy reported that all of the Native American groups
on the left (southern) bank of the Columbia River from the
Blackfeet on top to the Chinooks on the bottom were assembled to make
war on the Euro-Americans for taking their lands. The confederation at this point in time appears to have taken a stand to stop the Euro-American invasion (Gibbs 1855).

Cult Activity. Although Protestant missionaries were removed from the Columbia Plateau in 1847, their few Native American converts stood steadfast in their defence of Christianity, although their visibility diminished during this time. Factionalism was very evident between the Protestant Spokane and Coeur d' Alene Catholics, with the latter calling the former heretics (Gibbs 1855). It appears, however, that the majority of Columbia Plateau Native Americans remained faithful to the precontact cults. It is not suggested here that these cults remained unchanged as a result of long-term non-directed culture contact. Indeed, the precontact cults (e.g., Prophet Dance) had selectively incorporated Euro-American religious elements of ritual and paraphernalia from early contact with Euro-Americans. The incorporated foreign elements did not drastically alter or offend the pre-contact dogma, yet sufficed to convince Euro-Americans of religious assimilation to Christianity. The cultic messages were over-communicated on a daily basis through a wide variety of means (e.g., symbols and signals on dress and architecture).

Summary: The Pre-reservation Period (1840-1854)

I refer the reader to Figure 9.24 in Chapter IX while reading this section. The population data in that figure shows that Columbia Plateau Native American population size increased during the pre-reservation period initial five year period (1840-1844) until regional measles and smallpox epidemics, borne by Euro-American immigrants, decimated the population. In some areas, entire villages were lost during the five-year interval (1845-1849), specifically in 1847, 1849, and again in 1853. The population data indicate that regional population size decreased by approximately 33% during 1845-1849. The exact percentages of out-migration, epidemic mortality, and population displacement which contributed to regional population decrease during the 1845-1849 interval are not known, yet in concert they resulted in a dramatic decrease in population size. The 1850-1854 population size increase was slight (5%), providing a clue to the intensity and adverse impacts suffered from the epidemics, population displacement, and out-migration, and the slow population size recovery that followed. Figure 9.24 reveals that the early 1850s was a time of slight population increase, no doubt due to slow population recovery, and the return to home bases from elsewhere (British Columbia, Plains, or remote Plateau locations), and a time of increasing crises and impending doom (Native Americans were aware that Euro-Americans wanted to seize their lands).

The data on Native American adoption of Euro-American dress, dwellings, and religion for the initial five year interval, also shown in Figure 9.24, suggests that a sizeable minority of Columbia Plateau Native Americans had adopted Euro-American culture during the non-directed contact period. They probably would have continued to increase
their adoption of Euro-American culture had it not been that the following interval was a crisis-laden interval (1845-1849) (increased Euro-American immigration, epidemics, and the Cayuse War), during which time there was an abandonment of Euro-American culture. Native American adoption of Euro-American culture began to rebound in the early 1850s, increasing to a level comparable to the initial five year period (1840-1844). The slight increase in Native American adoption of Euro-American culture during the 1850s is similar in degree to the slow population growth during this period.

The early 1850s was a time of consolidation for the loosely knit Columbia Plateau religious-political confederacy to stem the Euro-American invasion, and a time of daily survival against Euro-American induced epidemics and other culturally-induced crises. The early 1850s not only marks the beginning of directed governmental efforts in the region but also the emergence of Native American nationalism, founded on precontact cult ideology and political self-determination. The Native Americans who became converts to Euro-American Catholicism or Protestantism usually did so in order to enhance their status and prestige among their own people and among the missionaries and as an avenue to obtain cargo and Euro-American status. During the baseline period (1830s), Protestant missionaries promised Native Americans that Euro-Americans would satisfy all of their material wants. During the early and mid-1840s Catholic missionaries promised Native Americans immortality, that is, extreme unction or everlasting life, and informed them that the Euro-American immigrant road, the Oregon Trail, was the "Road to Heaven." By the end of the pre-reservation period a religious-political Native American confederation fought against Euro-American religious assimilation, forcing Protestants to abandon the region and Catholics to become less visible. The confederation also fought against the United States government and its citizens in a short-term and limited war of independence (Cayuse War) in which they were defeated on the military front. However, from defeat grew a stronger anti-government ideology.

The qualitative and quantitative data support the perspective that the majority of Native American society and precontact culture remained intact, although drastically reduced in size throughout the pre-reservation period. There are several reasons why the precontact culture survived during the pre-reservation period, including: a strong majority commitment (confederacy) that insured the longevity of the precontact culture through a religious-political control in direction, and associated over-communication to maintain the commitment to the precontact culture; previous exposure to long-term non-directed culture contact, a period which aided in syncretic interpretations and an "understanding" of how the Euro-American presence was responsible for the epidemics and present conditions; few instances of long-term directed contact with Euro-Americans other than infrequent encounters during warfare, missionization, and fur trading events; and Euro-American population in the region was not as large as the indigenous population and not, therefore, in a position to impose themselves and their culture on the indigenous populations during the pre-reservation
period. The pre-reservation trends suggest that when crises increased, Native American out-migration resulted and the abandonment of Euro-American culture increased. This trend will be shown in the next chapter to have continued throughout the reservation period.
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CHAPTER XII

THE EMERGENCE OF COLUMBIA PLATEAU NATIONALISM:
THE NATIVE AMERICAN RESERVATION PERIOD
(1855-1914)

Introduction

Except where otherwise noted, the information presented in this chapter was compiled by the author from the Office of Indian Affairs Annual Reports by the reservation agents (1855-1914). This primary historical source was critiqued in an earlier chapter and judged to contain accurate information on Native American reservation life.

The 1850s: Indigenous Reaction to the Treaties

The Columbia Plateau Native American reservations, which were the major outcome of the 1855 treaties, artificially grouped and confined once autonomous populations. The 1855 treaties and all other subsequent treaties with Columbia Plateau Native American populations gave Native Americans an avenue for formal political relations with their Euro-American counterparts, which until that time was not available to them (Schuster 1982). One of several problems with the 1855 treaties (and one which led to the 1855-1858 Yakima War) was that many indigenous populations were neither present nor represented at the treaty meetings. Nonetheless, they were considered by Euro-American policy as though they had agreed to the United States government’s terms. This led to some Native American population fragmentation, such as that between the Nez Perce "Progressives" or pro-treaty faction, who were Christian, and the "Non-treaty" or "renegade" faction, who were in the majority and who promoted precontact culture.

The Columbia Plateau religious-political confederacy reacted to the 1855 treaties within weeks after they were signed by waging a second religious-based war of independence with the United States over the next three years (the first was the Cayuse War). The Yakima, under the confederate leader Kamiakin, were the first to rise up against the United States, and they killed six miners and their assigned United States agent, Bolan, in September, 1855, and this touched off the Yakima War. In 1857, because the United States military was constructing a road through the northern region, a confederacy of the Coeur d’Alene, Colville, Palous, Spokane, Yakima, and a portion of the Nez Perce vowed to fight to exterminate Euro-Americans within a five year period (Kipp
The Yakima War ended in 1858 with the indigenous populations again militarily defeated, their food caches and resources depleted, and cascades of Euro-American immigrants, livestock, and alcohol overflowing into the region. Demoralization set in, and alcohol, according to ethnohistorical sources, began to adversely affect Columbia Plateau Native American populations throughout the region. Prior Hudson's Bay Company policy did not permit providing Native Americans with alcohol. The primary choice of foreign altered states of consciousness substance prior to alcohol was tobacco, which was not replaced by alcohol but only supplemented by it. Prior to the introduction of alcohol, ethnohistorical sources do not allude to tobacco having as adverse an effect on the indigenous population as did alcohol, which, from the 1850s to the end of the study period, continued to plague the indigenous populations.

The 1860s: Dreamer Cult Resistance

The contact period fur trade cargo cult among Native Americans was on the wane in the region during the early 1860s and became meshed with old and current millenarian themes that had surfaced after the Cayuse War in the late 1840s. Two wars against Euro-Americans and disillusionment with Euro-American religion, the 1855 treaties, and Euro-American society in general, all instilled widespread relative deprivation and anomic depression among Columbia Plateau Native Americans. Several factions of demoralized Columbia Plateau Native American populations held secret councils in 1860 in order to oppose the Euro-American invasion. The oppositional process was implemented on the religious level through increased cult activity during this time on each of the five Columbia Plateau reservations.

Confederated Native American resistance to Euro-Americans on the reservations didn't involve the taking of Euro-American lives. The more usual strategy, and one which continued throughout the reservation period, was Native American destruction of Euro-American property (cargo). The active and visible Dreamer Cult resistance movement, born out of the disillusionment of the late 1850s Yakima War defeat, became a perceived threat to Euro-Americans during the early 1860s. The Dreamer cult movement contained cargo cult, millenarian cult, and nationalistic elements, the latter two most emphasized. Dreamer cult strategies included shunning reservation living and destroying Euro-American livestock and other possessions. United States government retaliation to Dreamer resistance was swift. United States Army officer Reno (a commander in the later Plains Native American victory battle at the Little Big Horn) hanged two non-resident Umatilla reservation Dreamer cult members in 1860 in front of their own horrified people for killing livestock and as a warning to those populations who remained off reservation. Another United States military skirmish in 1862 with non-treaty Native Americans resulted in the deaths of still other Dreamers. Euro-Americans in the region feared that another widespread war would break out, and their fears were not without basis.
Flathead reservation chiefs, headmen, and shamans felt justified in their acts of violence towards Euro-Americans in 1861 because the United States government provided their enemies, the Blackfeet, with cargo and treaty annuities. Over one-third of the Nez Perce had so little confidence in the United States government's promises that they refused to sign the 1863 treaty prompted by Euro-American immigrants into their region seeking gold, and by 1865 fewer than half the Nez Perce were under the treaty, the remainder having out-migrated to other areas.

Some groups, such as the Flathead, continued to do battle on two fronts: on one front they waged war against their precontact enemy, the Blackfeet, and on the other, they continued their resistance against the Euro-Americans.

At this time several Native Americans from the eastern and southeastern United States fled their homelands because of the American Civil War and entered the Columbia Plateau region. They brought with them, as had previous Native American immigrants, strong nationalistic feelings against the United States. Among the Flathead reservation population in 1864, for example, were inter-married Iroquois, New Mexico Native Americans, Shawnees, and Snakes. This Flathead reservation admixed population participated over the next three years in acts of Euro-American (cargo) property destruction, for which they were recipients of Euro-American retaliation.

A delegation from the northern Columbia plateau populations in 1865 went to the Colville Agency agent and informed him that they would never relinquish their lands. Several populations refused treaty annuities, gave them away, or left them to rot, thereby demonstrating self-determination and allegiance to the growing millenarian Dreamer cult and precontact culture and their rejection of Euro-American culture. By the end of the 1860s most of the directed contact in the Columbia Plateau between Euro-Americans and Native Americans was in the form of conflict that resulted from close spatial contact situations and that was fueled by Euro-American-induced alcohol over-consumption. In 1868, Native American headmen, such as the Flathead Adolph, recognized that their standard of living had deteriorated under the United States Native American policy established in the region with the signing of the 1855 treaties.

The 1870s: The Indigenous Religious War of Resistance

During the 1860s, and increasingly in the 1870s, the ethnohistorical literature (especially agent's reports in the Annual Reports) describes the psychological state of Columbia Plateau non-treaty and reservation Native Americans as one of "constant worry" that their lands would be seized. Native American "complaints were voiced weekly" to the agents over disillusionment with the United States government and with Euro-American settlers encroaching on their lands. They lived under "threats of war" and were "suspicious of whites (Euro-Americans)."
As early as the 1870s, Euro-American settlers throughout the Columbia Plateau fenced up sacred and secular grounds, and this caused Native Americans to react in force. For example, in 1872 Coeur d'Alene, Nez Perce, and Spokane peoples threatened settlers who had fenced up an important camas ground. The army was called in by the agent and the fences came down. In 1872, most of the over 5,000 gallons of whisky and wine brought into the Colville region by Euro-American bootleggers was consumed by the Native American populations (Euro-Americans in the region numbered fewer than 200 adults). Alcohol heightened tensions between Native Americans and Euro-Americans and resulted in several fights between relatives within and between native American populations. One Colville headman pleaded to the reservation agent to stop the flow of alcohol into the region since "we have liquor up to our knees." Columbia Plateau populations along the Columbia River suffered starvation during the mid-1870s due to the establishment of Euro-American canneries at the mouth of the river.

The Dreamer and other cults (for example, the southern Drummers) had continued to grow in popularity among the indigenous populations, and the religious movement spread throughout the entire Columbia Plateau by the early 1870s. For example, by 1870 over two-thirds of the Umatilla reservation population were Dreamer cult members. In the early 1870s, Smohalla's Dreamer band of nationals went from village to village from Priest Rapids to The Dalles, "stirring up trouble" along the way by killing Euro-American livestock and urging other indigenous peoples not to obey United States government agents. Smohalla (southern cult leader of the Priest Rapids region) and his Drummers met in council with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1871, informing him that they would remain on their precontact ancestral land and never obey the orders of the United States government or any of its representatives. Cult activists among the Colville and their allies threatened war against the first settlers in their region, although war never materialized. Nonetheless Euro-American troops remained in the area until the turn of the century. Two years later (1872), the Colville reservation was created by Executive Order, and Native American and Euro-American hostilities in the area increased substantially.

In 1872 Smohalla and Skolaskin (northern cult leader of the Sampoil on the Colville reservation) were warned by Euro-Americans that an earthquake was about to occur, and the prophets then predicted it, in millenarian terms, to several indigenous populations. The earthquake occurred as predicted, and Native Americans thought that the end of the world was at hand. For example, Sampoil and Nespelem people believed that the Great Flood had arrived when a landslide blocked the Columbia River and the backwaters forced them to abandon their precontact semi-subterranean dwellings. Smohalla and Skolaskin interpreted the environmental crisis in precontact moralistic and nationalistic terms, that is, that God was angry with Native Americans for letting Euro-Americans enter the precontact mazeway and occupy the region. Also in 1872, in the central Wenatchee Basin area the Prophet Dreamer Patoi preached to his people the same Dreamer ideology put forth by Skolaksin and Smoholla, and when the earthquake was felt at P'Na village, he and
Moses, Chief of the Columbia, participated in the Washat Dance to ask forgiveness for letting Euro-Americans rape "Mother Earth" and destroy their precontact culture. The popularity of the Dreamer and Drummer cult movement increased among the northern Plateau populations and regionally after this incident and elevated its status to a politically legitimate and activist movement, powerful enough to govern several populations in addition to the Sanoil and Nespelem. Approximately 2,000 non-treaty Nez Perce and Columbia Plateau people arrived at the Warm Springs reservation in Oregon in 1872 to spread the Dreamer cult. The Sanpoil and Nespelem Dreamer population in 1875 were performing "acts of lawlessness", that is, resistance to the growing Euro-American presence in the area, which included stealing their livestock and providing sanctuary for surrounding Dreamer populations "on the run."

During the late 1860s and early 1870s, out-migration was practiced by the indigenous populations as they attempted to continue their migratory hunting, gathering, and fishing activities. This suggests that their actual stay on the reservations was only for brief periods and was seasonal. Most of the reservation populations during this period did not recognize the government-established boundaries or the United States government's right to impose conditions on them. Few of the northern populations actually came into directed contact with Euro-Americans on the reservations due to the large boundaries imposed. Nonetheless, when they moved away from the reservation to more isolated areas, the precontact mazeway was less threatened, and its participants were freer to rejuvenate and strengthen it. In due time, such out-migration would be labeled as "anti-progressive" by United states agents of assimilation, who attempted to prohibit out-migration by issuance of time-limited off-reservation passes. However, what actually prohibited the continuance of hunting, which was a major reason for out-migration, was the decimation of the buffalo.

By the end of the decade (1870s) buffalo hunt out-migration was replaced by out-migration to other reservations for the promotion of nationalism. For example, cult dances were incorporated into the Euro-American holiday of July 4th. The summer season was, even during precontact times, a season for religious and altered states of consciousness attainment (dances, possession trances, gambling, smoking, singing, and drinking). Such secular and sacred rituals promoted nationalism through the display of precontact dress and other behaviors in settings that also included several non-related indigenous populations, and where feelings of ethnicity and commonality were proudly displayed to Euro-American spectators.

The mid-to-late 1870s was a period of increased out-migration and confederation based on the Dreamer cult. While the decade ended in warfare and military defeat, the precontact culture emerged relatively intact. The Columbia Plateau cult confederation during the mid-1870s had ties to Plains populations. Montana newspaper accounts in 1875 reported a Flathead alliance with the Bannocks, Crows, Nez Perce, and Snakes under the Sioux shaman, Sitting Bull, which also included Coeur d'Alene, Colville, Kutenai, Pend d' Orieille, and Spokane. They formed
a contingency of over 600 warriors who were over-equipped for a buffalo hunt and appeared ready for warfare.

The non-treaty Nez Perce Wallowa Valley was opened to settlement in 1875. Joseph and other Dreamer headmen responded to the Euro-American influx by gathering together all of their members on and off the Lapwai Nez Perce reservation. Also in 1875, the presence of Smohalla and over 2,000 followers (mentioned above) continued to annoy settlers in the Priest Rapids region in order to keep Euro-Americans from settling in the region. Smohalla and these non-treaty populations served to remind the demoralized reservation populations that their precontact culture was alive. The news of the Custer defeat (1876) by Plains Native Americans made the Flathead young brag about their own ability to defeat Euro-Americans. Western Montana territorial settlers feared that the Flathead would join the non-treaty Nez Perce and the other Dreamer populations. The Nez Perce focused on influencing reservation populations to join other Plateau and Plains reservations in confederation to wage a religious war against Euro-Americans. The Lapwai reservation agent reported in 1876 that Joseph and his band had "fallen under the influence" of "dreamers (Smohalla)", whose leaders were shamans. In 1877, the religious war for self-determination and independence, led in the Columbia Plateau by the Nez Perce, ended in military defeat after several months of fighting throughout the northeast Columbia Plateau. Many regional Nez Perce Dreamer leaders were rounded up indiscriminately and incarcerated, and their followers were removed by military force to non-familiar reservations. Joseph and his band of Dreamer Nez Perce became religious-political prisoners and were exiled to the Modoc reservation, Quapaw Agency, Indian Territory.

A confederation of Flathead and six non-treaty northern population leaders met in secret in 1877 at Spokane Bridge and discussed their own oppositional strategies to achieve independence from the United States. By the end of the 1870s, the regional confederacy planned to join with Great Basin and Plains populations to fight against the United States. In 1878, Chelan, Columbia, Entiat, Methow, Okanogan, Snakes, Spokane, Walla Walla, Wanapums, Yakima, and others attempted to join in the Great Basin Bannock-Palute War but were prohibited from doing so by a strong United States military presence in the region. Others, such as the pacifist Sanpoil and Nespelem, chose to continue their resistance on the Colville reservation.

Joseph of the exiled non-treaty Nez Perce published in The North American Review his account of events that led up to the 1877 war of independence and his perceptions of the United States Native American policy (Chief Joseph 1879). This article was widely read by Euro-Americans throughout the United States and abroad, and sympathy mounted for the return to Idaho of the exiled Joseph Nez Perce, except in Idaho where settlers were waiting to annihilate the population if they were permitted to return from Oklahoma Native American territory.

Inter-populational factionalism emerged on several Columbia Plateau reservations during the late 1870s to mid-1880s. This ethnic-based
factionalism was initiated by the United States Native American policy of permanent out-migration, i.e., the relocation (and imprisonment) of non-treaty populations, including their religious-political cult leaders. The United States policy of relocation first began in the Columbia Plateau with the creation of most of the reservations in the mid-1850s. The policy of relocation was reactivated in 1877 with the "removal" of the Celillo Falls Dreamer band to the Yakima reservation. This was followed by the exile of Joseph Nez Perce Dreamers to Indian Territory in 1878 and of prisoner of war Piautes to the Yakima reservation in 1879. In the mid-1880s, transplanted Columbia, Joseph Nez Perce, and Umatilla were placed on the Colville reservation.

The 1880s: Retaliation and Indigenous Revitalization

In the early 1880s, Native American populations realized that their reservations indeed did have boundaries and that out-migration sometimes meant "trespassing" across what were once precontact territorial lands. Nonetheless, out-migration continued during this period in the form of a kind of anomie in which several bands left the reservations only to wander around fenced up sacred and secular precontact places, which had become part of frontier settlements. This time period also witnessed continued cult activities on the reservations, in spite of the Dreamer military defeat, imprisonment of several cult leaders, and the exile of populations of political prisoners.

Columbia Plateau Native Americans initially believed that the 1887 Dawes Allotment Act would guarantee them private ownership of their land, provide legal protection against foreign investors and against removal by the United States government, and prevent the termination of the precontact culture and their reservations. However, the majority of Native Americans quickly perceived the Dawes Act as an attempt to break up Native American identity and tribal relations.

Colville Reservation

On the Colville reservation during the early 1880s, less than half of the indigenous populations lived within its boundaries. The Colville reservation agent in 1880 indicated that several non-treaty populations visited the reservation to hunt and fish. It is suggested here that these visits served to strengthen regional nationalism because the visits had a "visible demoralizing effect" on the resident populations, that is, the visits promoted Native American abandonment of Euro-American culture.

Colville reservation populations during the early 1880s were upset about several negative events that affected their daily lives, including: the creation and then quick termination of the neighboring Columbia-Moses reservation; the Homestead Act; increased alcohol consumption; Euro-American religious beliefs (which led to the burning down of the Chelan mission while the Jesuit missionary was absent);
encroachment on the reservation, which caused hostilities including murder; and various United States government actions, including the placing of the unrelated Joseph Nez Perce non-treaty political prisoners in the same vicinity as the Sampoil and Nespelem pacifists (in 1885). However, the contempt the latter had for the former was not as great as both held towards the United States. All Native American populations shared a hatred for Euro-Americans, which was founded on common past and present negative actions directed against them. In addition, reservation populations, exiled populations, and non-treaty (out-migration) populations all shared a religious commonality, which was the precontact cultural cornerstone.

Some 1885 populations, such as the Deep Colony Spokane, were left destitute and without a home because of unratified treaty negotiations. The Deep Colony Spokane were forced to set up a temporary settlement near a burial place of their ancestors, which was owned by the railroad.

In 1886 the Coeur d' Alene voted against allotment because they felt that they were not ready to assimilate with Euro-Americans. The Sampoil, Nespelem, and several other populations still did not recognize the United States government, nor did they receive any assistance from it. During this time, a majority of the Colville reservation populations refused to send their children to reservation schools. They opposed having their male children taken from them to be trained as farmers and viewed it as a governmental plot to seize their lands.

In 1887, some populations such as the Spokane ceded all of their land outside of their reservation boundaries to the United States, while others, such as the Flathead and Kalispel, refused to give up their land. Native Americans throughout the region experienced open hostility by land hungry Euro-Americans during this time. Non-treaty populations, such as the Entiat and Kalispel, were threatened by encroaching Euro-Americans in 1888, and their struggle to stay on their own land was met with violence. As a consequence, troops from Forts Sherman and Spokane were dispatched to the area.

On the Colville reservation in 1889, Skolaskin spread rumors that Euro-American medicine was responsible for the great number of epidemic-related deaths. He also established his own version of the agent's court, police force, and jail. However, Skolaskin was found guilty of several agency "anti-assimilationist crimes," and the cult leader was sentenced to Alcatraz Island in 1889.

In 1889, Euro-Americans married females from the Colville reservation for the sole purpose of acquiring Native American land. There were epidemics of respiratory disease and an increase in alcohol consumption. The government outlawed the precontact position of chief and substituted the Indian court. In response to these distressing events, Native Americans out-migrated or continued their resistance on the reservation. For example, the Joseph Nez Perce and other
populations on the Colville reservation refused to obey the agent's work orders and followed the precontact culture, including spending much of their time gambling.

Flathead Reservation

In 1880, Charlot, headman of the non-treaty Flathead, cited several reasons why Native Americans throughout the Columbia Plateau remained anti-government, including: his signature had been forged on the Garfield Agreement; the United States government did not abide by the 1855 treaty obligations agreed upon; there was Euro-American encroachment and taxation; and Euro-Americans influenced the break up of tribal relations. The Flathead in 1880 had a complete and total lack of confidence in the United States government.

The Flathead opposed the construction of a railroad line through the reservation in 1882 because they believed it was the first sign of more reservation land acquisition by Euro-Americans. In addition, many Flatheads believed that a change to Euro-American lifestyles was injurious to their health (which is supported by various reservation medical reports of the period).

In 1884, the non-treaty and treaty Flathead sent a political delegation of headmen to Washington D.C. During their month-long stay, Charlot refused to be swayed to relinquish the Bitter Root valley. In 1885, after the delegation's return, Flathead people initiated subversive activities against construction of the railroad line. This resulted in the establishment of a reservation police force and court system under the agent. The Flathead reservation court prohibited precontact rituals (including the scalp, sun, and war dances) and the practices of shamans and promoted a host of other violations of Native American civil liberties.

The Flathead were disillusioned with the 1887 Dawes Act because they knew that the remainder of their unclaimed lands would be purchased by Euro-Americans. Euro-American encroachment in the region caused much hostility between Euro-Americans and non-treaty and reservation Native American populations. For example, violence between Kutenai and Euro-Americans included several murders on both sides, attacks on Euro-American supply trains, and the massacre of a Pend d'Oreille chief and his family by Euro-American settlers.

In 1888, Flathead headmen challenged the authority of the court of Indian offenses and the reservation police force. Also in 1888, a band of British Columbia Cree settled on the Flathead reservation. The reservation Flathead wanted them to leave since the Cree were without kin or religious ties to themselves.

The Flathead headmen in 1889 instigated the majority of Flathead to disobey agent-appointed judges and to oppose allotment, and they insisted that the non-treaty chief Charlot regain his authority. The
primary reasons why the Flathead opposed allotment were: their refusal to abandon the precontact culture; their knowledge that unallotted lands would be sold to Euro-Americans (which would fragment the reservation); and the fear that allotment would "...mix the Indians up promiscuously with the whites." In 1889, the Flathead reservation had several alcohol-related deaths (murders) and a severe epidemic that resulted in over 104 deaths, mostly of children and young people.

Nez Perce Reservation

The July 4th, 1880 celebration on the Lapwai Nez Perce reservation was disrupted when Euro-Americans spread rumors that the Christian Nez Perce were getting ready for war. In response, eleven military companies were dispatched to the region. The Christian Nez Perce realized then that they would never be able to become completely assimilated (accepted) into Euro-American society.

In 1882, Lapwai reservation Nez Perce acts of subversion were directed at the construction of a railroad line across the reservation, led by a Christian Nez Perce missionary, Rueben, who was elected by the reservation population. The reservation Nez Perce population also refused to comply with the agent's orders to perform physical labor and to obey his discretionary powers usurped from the headmen.

The Lapwai Nez Perce reservation was visited by several Native American populations from other reservations in 1884, including White Bird's non-treaty band of Nez Perce, who were considered detrimental to the success of assimilation by the agent. In other words, visiting populations (who were out-migrants) continued to promote the Dreamer cult movement and precontact culture throughout the region during this time. The reservation population welcomed them. In response, the Lapwai reservation agent created the court of Indian offenses and dispensed the punishment of cutting off the long hair of males.

The July 4, 1885 holiday marked an important event in Lapwai Nez Perce history, the return of the exiled non-treaty Joseph Dreamer faction. Those faction members who agreed to become Christian were allowed to stay on the Lapwai reservation. Those who did not were exiled to the distant Colville reservation. Religious factionalism increased on the Lapwai Nez Perce reservation after the return of the exiled non-treaty Nez Perce, especially between Protestants and Catholics. Several other reservation populations attended this reunion of non-treaty and treaty populations, having been separated for over seven years. However, the agent prohibited gambling, horse racing, and alcohol.

The 1889 Lapwai reservation population, although opposed to allotment, received allotments only after being assured by the agent that Euro-Americans would not first be awarded the better areas. The 1889 Lapwai Nez Perce agent appointed headmen to judgeships and police duties because he could not control them. By appointing headmen, the
agent diminished some of his problems. That year over two-thirds of the Nez Perce out-migrated to hunt and fish in the mountains, due to a shortage of crops, according to the agent's interpretation. It is suggested here that this out-migration was also in response to allotment, and that removal enabled them to assess this crisis situation.

Umatilla Reservation

Dreamer cult populations on and adjacent to the Umatilla reservation in 1880 continued their acts of sabotage against Euro-American property and livestock. Alcohol consumption during the early 1880s on the Umatilla reservation was a great problem for the indigenous populations and the reservation agent. It was well known to Euro-American settlers in 1883 that the most effective weapon for obtaining Umatilla reservation Native American lands was to provide Native Americans with whisky or some other intoxicant.

In 1883, the Umatilla agent organized a police force, code of laws, and court for the trial and punishment of Native American offenses. The agent's directives caused the reservation headmen to rise up against these challenges to their authority.

The Umatilla reservation population in 1885 rejected allotment. However, in 1887 they approved it primarily because in the interim constant disputes and conflicts occurred over Euro-American encroachment across reservation boundaries.

The Umatilla reservation population opposed the agent's ban on precontact funerals in 1887, especially the potlatch (a Northwest Coast anti-capitalist ritual that involved immense amounts of cargo distribution to the living). During 1887-1889, malaria and scrofula (tuberculosis of the lymph glands) epidemics claimed many Umatilla reservation children and young people as well as three prominent headmen. The Umatilla agent reported an unusual number of alcohol-related offenses in 1887. Alcohol consumption was undoubtedly related to the crises the reservation people were experiencing at that time.

Yakima Reservation

In the early 1880s over half of the Yakima reservation population out-migrated to distant areas including other reservations as Euro-American settlement of the Yakima valley rapidly increased. The non-treaty Yakima in 1883, under Euro-American legal advice, defied the reservation agent police to come to the reservation and continued to live along the Columbia River.

Several of the 1884 Yakima non-treaty (Dreamer Cult) population obtained homesteads, which served as stopping places (islands) among Euro-American settlements, while others continued out-migration to
fisheries and unclaimed precontact villages. The major causes of dissatisfaction shared by the Yakima reservation and non-treaty Yakima regional populations (both were comprised of Dreamer and Drummer cult members) during the mid-1880's included: the impact of the railroad line through the reservation; resistance to Native American homesteading off the reservation (permitted with the passage of the 1884 Homestead act); misapplication of treaty funding; and interference with the domestic life of the Yakima people, including the use of reservation police to take children of Dreamer cult members to reservation schools. However, in 1885 Yakima Dreamer children were able to live with their parents off the reservation where they did not have to attend school, because, due to a court decision, the agent's jurisdiction ended at the reservation's boundaries.

The boundary question was in the forefront during the late 1880s on the Yakima reservation, and several incidents of conflict erupted between Native Americans and Euro-Americans over property boundary lines and water rights issues. The Yakima population in the late 1880s focused on attempts to gain access to the Tum Tum Water sacred and secular fishery, which was owned and boarded up by a Euro-American who only provided fishing access to other Euro-Americans and who refused to comply with court orders ruling in favor of the Yakima. Alcohol consumption on the Yakima reservation in the late 1880s was rampant, and several chiefs and headmen died from overdoses of extract of lemon.

The 1890s: The Emergence of Regional Nationalism

The Great Medicine Council in Wenatchee Flat (non-treaty region) was held in August, 1890. The Great Medicine Council was a confederacy of all of the British Columbia and Columbia River treaty and non-treaty populations, as well as Nez perce, Spokane, and (presumably) Sioux. It is suggested here that the Great Medicine Council promoted the Dreamer Cult and the Ghost (Messiah) and Prophet Dances and revitalized the religious foundation of the confederacy. During the early 1890's, the Northwest indigenous Shaker religion, a syncretic precontact-Christian cult with abstinence as its primary tenet, was introduced to the Yakima reservation (Barnett 1957). The Shaker religion had members on most of the reservations throughout the Columbia Plateau by 1932 (Schultz 1968). The last reservation it was established on was the Colville reservation in 1940 during a crisis-laden period (Schultz 1968).

Colville Reservation

Cult members on the Colville reservation in 1891 were under surveillance by the reservation police, and shamans were forbidden to practice. The Nespelem and several other populations openly opposed the proposed treaty to relinquish the northern half of the reservation. They also threatened out-migration if their children were forced to attend schools. On the Colville reservation the populations danced the precontact mid-winter Chinook Dances to ward off smallpox. Native
Americans throughout the region in 1891 were upset with the hanging by Euro-Americans of a 15 year old male and held numerous dances. The militia were called in to stop the dancing on the Colville reservation. Sixteen Okanogan males went to the Dakota region during the winter of 1891 to participate in the "Messiah Craze." Several Plains indigenous populations danced the Messiah Dance and vowed resistance against the United States government. It is suggested here that the Messiah Ghost Dance/Dreamer cult dances were also performed during this time by Plateau populations. Kay (1933) provides a photograph of a Spokane shirt that bullets cannot pierce, which was a symbol of the Ghost Dance.

The northern half of the Colville reservation was opened to settlement in 1891, and most Native Americans opposed the agreement. The agreement was then modified, but only by the government and without the consent of the Native American people. This event caused much loss of confidence in the United States government by the Colville reservation Native American populations.

During the early 1890s on the Colville reservation grippe (influenza) and smallpox epidemics struck in force. Alcohol increased in usage among the reservation populations, as did alcohol-related murders between relatives. Moses, chief of the Columbia, was by then an alcoholic.

Skolaskin returned from imprisonment in 1892 to the Colville reservation and immediately urged resistance to Euro-American settlement of the northern half of the reservation. He also urged keeping children away from school.

Most of the Columbia Plateau reservation populations during this time opposed allotment. The Coeur d' Alene population, however, in 1893 became the richest community in Idaho State (worth $500,000) due to reservation land sales, yet they suffered just as severely as the others from smallpox and tuberculosis. The majority of the 1893 Colville reservation populations were continuously drunk, having been supplied with alcohol by eager Euro-Americans who wanted them to sign over their land.

The period 1895-1899 witnessed the Colville reservation populations under siege, that is, overrun by Euro-American prospectors. The Colville reservation agent wondered in 1897 how the reservation populations managed to survive in spite of Euro-American encroachment, scarcity of game, almost total unemployment, and at most only having cultivated a few bushels of grain. Several non-treaty populations, such as the Kalispel, continued to live in their unallotted and remote precontact territory.

When the southern half of the Colville reservation was opened to mineral entry in 1898, Euro-Americans took Native American cattle, raped Native American females, and took advantage of Native Americans' drunkenness to gain ownership of their land. The Sampoil, Nespelem, and
several other populations in the region continued to refuse to recognize the United States government and promoted self-determination. However, the reservation agent believed that additional curtailment of their human rights would straighten them out and put them in line with the assimilation program.

Chief Moses, Dreamer cult leader of the anti-government Columbia population, died in 1899 on the Colville reservation. During that year several Spokane populations migrated off their reservation to Spokane Falls City to drink and gamble and put up camps far removed from Euro-American settlements. Other non-treaty populations, such as the Wenatchee, continued to live in precontact undisturbed regions.

Flathead Reservation

The Flathead reservation population in December, 1890 defied the agent's ban on their access to warehouse cargo until cult dancing, gambling and drinking stopped. Flathead headmen, judges, and police realized that their relatives were not treated the same under the law as Euro-Americans and began opposition to allotment.

The starved and poverty-stricken non-treaty Chariot Flathead left the Bitter Root valley in 1891 and relocated on the Jocko Flathead reservation. Their arrival increased the visibility of the precontact culture already present on the reservation.

In 1892-1893, Flathead reservation headmen and the majority of the population opposed the police, the gradual break up of tribal relations (including the prohibition of religious freedom), the usurping of the headmen's authority, and the allotment policy. They also opposed the sending of their children to school, where their long hair was cut short, they were taught English, and they were dressed in Euro-American attire and boarded in nice houses. The attempt was to indoctrinate them into "loving the whites better." Another important dissatisfaction during this period among the Flathead was Euro-American land grabbing which caused the Kutenai to threaten to use force against Euro-Americans to remove them from the disputed boundary areas.

Allotment continued to be actively opposed by the Flathead population in 1895. The agent withheld rations from Chariot's band that year and told them they had to work for their food. Political factionalism erupted between the headmen of five different populations on the Flathead reservation. Chariot's people and some Nez Perce on the reservation at that time openly opposed the reservation police by performing cult dances until the police stopped them (arrested many cult members).

Flathead males were forced in 1896 to work for a period of one year on agency road work, and they resented and opposed such human rights abuses. The Flathead met with a United States commission in 1897 and expressed a strong aversion to allotment and the sale of reservation...
surplus lands. There existed little friction between the old headmen and judges who sided against allotment on the Flathead reservation that year. The majority of Flathead resented government attempts to break up tribal relations. They set fires that destroyed a government building and warehouse in 1897. That year large numbers left the reservation without the agent's permission or their passes and went to Missoula, Montana in a defiant mood (clearly expressing nationalistic behavior).

The Flathead refused to give up over 25% of their land to a United States commission in 1898. The performance of the police force in 1899, according to the Flathead reservation agent, was very unsatisfactory. This suggests that, at the turn of the century, the reservation police force, which was always made up of Native Americans, was not enforcing Euro-American policy.

Nez Perce Reservation

The Lapwai Nez Perce reservation population in 1890 was made up of more "blanket" (cult) Native Americans than the newly appointed agent anticipated. However, he felt assimilation among Nez Perce reservation children was making some inroads. For example, on Decoration Day, 1890 uniformed Nez Perce school children were directed to place flowers on the graves of the soldiers who killed their fathers and relatives in the Dreamer cult war of 1877.

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs banned "heathen elements" in 1891 from participating in July 4th celebrations on all United States reservations. The Commissioner believed that the ceremonials promoted the precontact religion. This ban did not prohibit the non-treaty Nez Perce population from participating in the July 4 celebration in 1891.

Although a majority of the Nez Perce were dissatisfied with the allotment process (for example, corner boundary markers were not properly established), the more assimilated Christian faction approved the 1893 surplus land sale of over 500,000 acres because it was not necessary for their homesteading. Congress ratified the Nez Perce surplus land sale in 1894. Nez Perce allotment assignments were also completed that year, and the Nez Perce received their first semi-annual treaty payment and became the wealthiest community in Idaho State. The Nez Perce did not develop the land. Instead, they leased over 90% of it to Euro-Americans. However, over a third of the Lapwai Nez Perce reservation population in 1897 refused to accept their allotments.

The Nez Perce Lapwai reservation itself was fragmented when trust patents were issued to Euro-Americans for the surplus lands in 1895. The scene was described as a second Oklahoma land rush. The Nez Perce Lapwai reservation population in 1896 received two payments (the first of several) in the amount of hundreds of thousands of dollars from the land sale.
The 1896 July 4th celebration consisted of two separate celebrations, one Christian and the other non-treaty. The agent remarked in 1897 that little progress towards "civilization" (assimilation) had been made and that the precontact culture was quite visible. Shamans were openly active in 1898 on the Christian Lapwai just as they were on the other Columbia Plateau reservations. Religious freedom was permitted on the reservation in Idaho State and other states after the United States government abolished the court of Indian offenses in the mid-1890's. The abolishment of the court also terminated the agent's authority to curtail cult movement activities and thereby insured reservation population religious freedom, because Native Americans were protected under Idaho State civil tribunals.

Umatilla Reservation

The authority of Umatilla reservation headmen was disposed of by the reservation agent in 1891. The Umatilla headmen then opposed allotment because they realized that private ownership meant diminished authority to them, since each male would become his own chief. Also that year, measles and flu epidemics occurred on the Umatilla reservation with much loss of life. A few years later a number of deaths occurred on the Umatilla reservation from tuberculosis.

Influential Smohalla Dreamer headmen on the Umatilla reservation in 1892 urged anti-American opposition on all levels. In 1894, the reservation agent jailed Umatilla population shamans and considered chiefs a nuisance, a "fertile source of trouble."

Alcohol consumption was rampant in 1893 among the Umatilla reservation population. One contributing factor was the 30 saloons bordering the reservation on all sides. Once the Umatilla court of Indian offenses was abolished in 1895 and sanctions against alcohol consumption on the reservation were lifted, the roads to the saloons were then lined with many inebriated reservation people. The Court of Indian offenses was re-instituted in 1897 on the Umatilla reservation to preserve order. Police also removed children from parents and took them to schools.

The vast majority (90%) of Umatilla in 1894 leased their lands to Euro-Americans who farmed them. Without their lands, they probably joined several non-treaty populations who had out-migrated to the mountains during this period. In 1897 leasing of allotments to Euro-Americans continued to be practiced by the majority of the Umatilla reservation population, which left them free to pursue their precontact ways. One major inequity in the allotment lease system was that females and children received nothing. To make matters worse, some Native American male's sole ambition was to collect the lease rent, out-migrate, leave their spouses and children with little or nothing, and binge on alcohol and practice conspicuous consumption in neighboring Euro-American towns. Once Euro-Americans farmed the land they then squatted on it and attempted to claim it as their own. Umatilla
reservation populations were still contending with Euro-American squatters in 1898 who settled on the land and cut timber stands for which the Native Americans never received payment.

**Yakima Reservation**

The early 1890s Yakima reservation populations had lost all faith in the United States courts as they believed they had been treated unjustly by the judicial system in regards to their rightful ownership and accessibility to their fisheries, especially Tum Tum Water. The Yakima reservation population in 1893-1894 had several councils urging the United States to restore their fisheries at Tum Tum Water and Wishram. They were also bitter about the disputed boundary lines. In addition, they recognized the toll alcohol had taken on their people and headmen. For example, chiefs Cayuse Jack and Zalzatan both died from an overdose of extract of lemon.

The Yakima reservation populations in 1895 were opposed to allotments and some refused them. However, the majority of the people were forced to receive them due to the repressive allotment enforcement policy of withholding rations.

The courts ruled in 1896 on the Tum Tum Water fishery case that the Yakima Native American reservation populations had no right to enter fenced property owned by Euro-Americans. When they heard the news they became enraged because they had lost their sacred fishing site guaranteed them by the 1855 treaty. To make matters worse, in 1896 the funds the agent acquired from the sale of the Wenatchee fisheries a few years earlier (which caused great and continuous indigenous protest) were diverted by the agent without indigenous approval or input to build an irrigation ditch. This further angered the reservation population because they perceived it as only benefiting Euro-Americans in the region. Although the scheme never materialized, over $20,000 was lost, and it was suspected that the agent had embezzled the funds.

The Yakima reservation population had little confidence in the courts in 1897-1898 and purposefully delayed a United States commission's directed objective to purchase all or part of their 600,000 acres of surplus land until their lost territory (of over 200,000 acres due to misaligned boundary lines) was restored to them. The Yakima focused on the boundary line question in 1899 and became increasingly agitated that no resolution was on the horizon.

**The 1900s: Indigenous Self-Determination**

The Dreamer Cult and several other variants (Feather, Pom Pom, Shakers) were active throughout the early 1900s in the Columbia Plateau. It is suggested here that Native American cult expression (nationalism) was evident in several other regions throughout the United States at the turn of the century. In fact, indigenous religious expression had drawn
the attention of the 1902 Commissioner of Indian Affairs who led a campaign to eradicate the precontact culture from every United States reservation.

**Colville Reservation**

The Colville valley was populated with Dreamers and Drummers in the early 1900s. The Joseph Nez Perce band refused, along with other populations, to send their children to school. In response, the agent cut their food rations.

Two northern Columbia Plateau headmen, chiefs Lot and Seltice, died in 1902. Two years later, Chief Joseph of the exiled Nez Perce died on the Colville reservation, hundreds of miles from his Wallowa valley (Idaho) homeland. Several smallpox epidemics occurred on the Colville reservation during this time and resulted in loss of life.

Colville reservation Native Americans continued to be taken advantage of by the Euro-American prospectors during the early 1900s. Alcohol consumption on the Colville reservation continued to be the source of greatest trouble among Native American populations and between Native American and Euro-American populations. However, this was not the case for all Native Americans in the Colville region since alcohol consumption decreased on the Coeur d' Alene reservation in 1906.

In 1906, the Colville valley was opened to Euro-American settlement, and Native American holdings in the region were acquired by Euro-Americans through violence, terrorism, and inebriation. The reservation populations opposed the permit lease system because it did not allow them to lease their allotments to Euro-Americans until they had worked their land.

Several of the Colville reservation populations continued to oppose the United States government and refused to recognize it. The reservation headmen in 1906 openly condemned the entire United States Native American policy. In fact, reservation wide opposition to the United States government continued far beyond the late 1900's.

Non-treaty populations during the late 1900s were islands surrounded by Euro-Americans, such as the self-sufficient agricultural Kalispel and Spokane of Chewelah, Washington. The Spokane population in 1909 was almost totally independent of United States governmental assistance. From 1910 to 1914 several non-treaty populations (e.g., Kalispel and Wenatchee) continued to live off the Colville reservation while many resident populations (Nespelem, Nez Perce, Sampoil, etc.) adhered to their precontact cultures and opposed the United States government.
Flathead Reservation

A severe smallpox epidemic struck the Flathead Jocko reservation population in 1901 and resulted in over 30 deaths. The epidemic was introduced by the non-treaty British Columbia Cree. Tuberculosis resulted in over 55 deaths in 1906 among the Flathead reservation population.

Alcohol consumption dramatically increased in 1904 among the Flathead reservation population, which the agent attributed to concern over impending surplus land sales to Euro-Americans. Nearly all of the crimes committed on the Flathead reservation in 1905 involved alcohol.

Flathead chiefs and headmen in 1905 opposed the opening of the reservation to Euro-American settlement because they would then be without authority. A Flathead delegation of over 500 met with Secretary of the Interior Garfield in 1907 and expressed their opposition to the opening of the reservation to Euro-American settlement. Another Flathead delegation went to Washington D.C. to protest allotment and the opening of the reservation to settlement and expressed open antagonism to the bureaucrats who were present. There was also much opposition on the Flathead reservation at the turn of the century to an imposed grazing tax.

Chief Charlot of the non-treaty Flathead died in 1910. In that year, six out of every seven Flathead Native American allotments were operated by Euro-Americans, and the majority of Flathead were again following their precontact subsistence pattern of hunting and gathering.

A fraction of the precontact territory of the non-treaty Kalispel was set aside as a reservation for them by Executive Order in 1914. The Kalispel reservation was the last reservation created in the Columbia Plateau. However, isolated pockets of non-treaty Native American populations continued to live in the precontact way in 1914.

Nez Perce Reservation

The Lapwai reservation in 1900 was a place of constant friction between Native Americans and Euro-Americans regarding fences, roads, and the usual disputed issues. Nez Perce cattlemen had so many of their cattle and horses stolen by Euro-Americans in 1901 that the majority sold their interests and attempted agricultural pursuits.

At the turn of the century the majority of Nez Perce, who were considered by the agent as "once industrious," were considered idle and shiftless as a result of their receipt of surplus land capita payments. The last payment was received in 1900. Most of the Lapwai Nez Perce reservation population were also categorized by the agent in 1900 as alcoholics, that is, they had an inordinate appetite for alcohol with no limit. Alcohol consumption through 1904 was rampant on the Nez Perce reservation, even though bootlegging was made a major crime in 1902 and
was responsible for several violent deaths. Alcohol consumption, bootlegging, and leasing all increased on the Lapwai reservation in 1905, and by 1906 alcohol had become, according to the agent, "the curse of the tribe."

Tuberculosis and other diseases thrived on the Nez Perce reservation in 1902. During the late 1900s over 75% of Nez Perce were infected with tuberculosis.

The leasing system was in effect in 1903-1904 on the Lapwai reservation, and a Nez Perce Lapwai Native American male, like his counterpart on other reservations, only received permission to lease his allotment to Euro-Americans after he demonstrated a serious attempt at farming. Most of the allotments were leased to Euro-Americans in 1904, and the Nez Perce reservation populations depended entirely upon the rent monies for their subsistence. Virtually all of the allotments on the Nez Perce reservation were leased in 1911.

It is suggested that a proud ethnic identity was evident on the Lapwai reservation in 1905 as the indigenous population did not want to be called by the Euro-American term, Nez Perce or Pierced Noses, but instead by their precontact name, Nu-Me-Poos. In addition, the Nez Perce believed that Euro-Americans should work for them because agricultural work was beneath their dignity, and the capita received from rent was enough for their wants.

Umatilla Reservation

Umatilla elders opposed allotment as did the majority of the reservation populations in 1900. As on the other reservations at this time they refused to provide census information to government census employees.

The last chief of the Cayuse, Young Chief, died in 1900 from tuberculosis. Several among the Umatilla population existed in an alcoholic stupor in 1901. In fact, Peo, chief of the Umatilla, had been diagnosed as having brain damage from alcohol that year. The greatest number of deaths in 1901 on the Umatilla reservation were from a flu epidemic and tuberculosis. The agent reported that the number of deaths in 1901 was greater than in any other single year for the past eight years.

Leasing land to Euro-Americans was popular among Umatilla reservation people in the mid-1900s. This continued into the latter part of the 1900s.

The Umatilla reservation population in 1906 was dissatisfied over allotment issuances and charged the allotting agents with corruption and dishonesty. The reservation headmen then refused to approve any more allotments. The Umatilla population political structure during the late 1900s was disorganized and unstable because they were without a chief,
and each faction wanted to control affairs and set policy when dealing with the government. This resulted in no agreements being negotiated on any issue.

Yakima Reservation

The majority of allotments made in 1900 on the Yakima reservation were on sagebrush desert void of hydrological sources. Leasing continued on the Yakima reservations in 1903-1904. Because all of the reservation land suitable for agriculture had been leased to Euro-Americans, the Yakima reservation population continued out-migration after the turn of the century in order to work picking hops and at other day labor. This enabled them to pursue gathering activities and receive payment from their leases.

The Yakima reservation population purchased alcohol from Euro-Americans along railroad lines and towns. This led to a great source of annoyance and trouble for the agent during the early 1900s. When the Yakima reservation court of Indian offenses was abolished in 1905, alcohol consumption among the population increased, as did alcohol-related crime and deaths.

Over half of the Yakima reservation populations were adherents of the precontact culture in 1902, and half had migrated off the reservation to live along the Columbia River. Several non-treaty populations during the 1900s continued to live in remote areas off of the Yakima reservation in the precontact ways.

Euro-American lawyers met regularly with Yakima Native American populations over the boundary line dispute in 1904. However, there were so many factions, chiefs, and headmen that no agreement on any proposal was reached. And at the end of the 1900s the Yakima population was still not satisfied with the boundary line settlement. Yakima Native American subversive tactics in 1904 included piling ties on railroad tracks to wreck the trains.

The Yakima continued to be denied access to their precontact fisheries by homesteading Euro-Americans in 1905. Their plight was the topic of the 1905 Commissioner of Indian Affairs Report. The United States Supreme Court ruled in 1906 in favor of Yakima fishing rights along the Columbia River. However, the Yakima were fearful of the threats from Euro-Americans if they came to fish.

Summary

A religious-based confederacy emerged among the Columbia Plateau Native Americans right after the 1855 treaties were signed with the United States government. The treaty stipulations confined them to reserves and severely diminished their human rights. In addition, vast areas of their territories were seized from them with broken promises
and lies. The 1880s and early 1890s were periods of intensified Euro-
American repression against the indigenous populations as punishment for
their rebellion during the 1870s. Government policy was aimed at
breaking indigenous ethnic identity. The continuous indigenous
resistance to Euro-American assimilation in the Columbia Plateau
included both violence and non-violence.
CHAPTER XIII
TURN OF THE CENTURY COLUMBIA PLATEAU NATIONALISM:
SELECTED EXAMPLES
(1895-1904)

Introduction

This chapter focuses on the identification of nationalism in the pictorial and written data, as represented by examples of abandonment of Euro-American culture (the study categories of dress, dwellings and religion), population out-migration, and indigenous cult activity. This discussion is an interpretive chronology of events that reflect nationalism on the five Columbia Plateau reservations after the crisis-laden late 1880s and early 1890s. If the null hypothesis (the unilineal assimilation model) had been supported by the data, the period that followed the two intervals of greatest directed contact, 1885-1889 and 1890-1894, should have shown an increasingly high percentage of assimilation among Native Americans through the end of the study period. Instead, the pictorial and written data support the alternative hypothesis: the post-1890 era was a revitalization period of widespread abandonment of Euro-American culture and increased retention of precontact dress, dwellings, and religion, which are considered to be visibility markers of nationalism and self-determination.

As in the preceding chapter, except where noted, most of the reservation data, including that for the study categories in this chapter, also comes from the Office of Indian Affairs Annual Reports by the reservation agents (OIA 1895-1904). This primary historical source was critiqued in an earlier chapter and judged to contain accurate information on Native American reservation life. Several pictorial plates are included here in support of the presence of Native American nationalism in the Columbia Plateau at the turn of the century.

1895-1899

Colville Reservation

In 1896 the Colville reservation was made up of over ten distinct Native American populations. Several of these Colville reservation populations did not belong to any Euro-American church during this time, including the Columbia, Nespelem, Nez Perce, and Sampoil. Instead they practiced various cult religions. Cult membership was high even among
converted Catholic and Protestant populations on the Colville reservation. A majority of the Colville reservation population was opposed to the United States government, and this sentiment was expressed in various ways, including, for example, avoidance of enumeration in the reservation agent’s annual census. In 1896, agent Newman (House Executive Document #3489 1896) described Colville reservation Native American assimilation as being very slow and gradual. The Joseph Nez Perce on the Colville reservation during this time (1896) occupied extended mat lodges, belonged to the Dreamer cult, performed "war dances" or signature songs, and their shamans openly challenged the agency physician. Agents ethnocentrically perceived the Nez Perce and several other reservation populations as "heathens" possessing "no religion, no creed, and low morality." In 1897, the Colville agent mistakenly stated that the only "blanket" Native Americans on the reservation were the Nez Perce. The blanket. Had become a symbolic expression of nationalism for Native Americans, and one that had diffused in all directions far beyond the Columbia Plateau.

Several non-treaty populations (e.g., Kalispel, Wenatchee) continued to live off the Colville reservation during this time in the precontact ways, as depicted in Plate XII (1897-1900 Non-Treaty Entiat-Wenatchee Settlement). The picture was somewhat different for many populations on the Colville reservation during the late 1890s. Several populations were beginning to adopt some Euro-American ways in 1899, including Euro-American dwellings. However, several of these populations (Columbia, Colville, Lakes, Nespelem, Okanogan, and Sanpoil) continued to live in conical and extended mat, canvas, and skin lodges.

**Flathead Reservation**

There were five distinct Native American populations on the Flathead reservation in 1896 (Flathead, Kalispel, Kootenai, Pend d’Oreille, and Spokane) who intermarried and migrated at will, on and off the reservation. By 1899 over half of the Flathead reservation population was admixed. The non-treaty Flathead and Kootenai lived in the precontact way during this period, as did some of the members of the other Flathead reservation populations.

Precontact dress was worn during precontact and syncretic secular and sacred events, especially when Euro-Americans were present, to demonstrate ethnicity, self-determination, and nationalism. A large percentage of the 1896 Flathead reservation population had adopted "citizen’s dress" but only in limited fashion. According to the agent’s reasoning this was because they did not have the money to buy Euro-American attire (Executive House document #4389 1896). In 1897, the older generation adopted the Euro-American shirt but just substituted thin Euro-American machine-made cloth for animal skins in other clothing made in the precontact dress style. A year later the Flathead reservation agent concluded that the older generations were not assimilated because they were unable to abandon the precontact culture,
following instead "...the pursuits and costumes of their forefathers" (Executive House Document #3757 1898:190). In 1898, the Missoulian reported on a Flathead out-migration annual hunting party reminiscent of the baseline and pre-reservation period Flathead culture (except for the addition of a few Euro-American material items) (Fahey 1974:271):

A party of Indians going on their annual hunt passed through the city today and attracted considerable attention by their splendor. The horses were good ones and the saddles...were covered with miniature bells which tinkled as the party passed. The bucks were all fixed up in new blankets, etc., but it was the squaws that attracted attention. They were fixed up in the height of Indian fashion, too, but a feature of their toilets were parasols...carried with as much grace as possible.

Most of the Flathead reservation population lived in skin and mat lodges during out-migration. The allotment period reservation framed dwellings were badly lighted and poorly ventilated wooden cabins that contributed to respiratory problems among the Native American inhabitants. The Flathead reservation agent remarked in 1897 that there was only slight progress towards "civilization" (assimilation) that year, and that this occurred only among some of the younger generation. Some lived in houses with fenced property in the winter and in lodges in the summer. However, the majority of people who were led by the elder headmen showed little assimilation, choosing instead to live in precontact camp settlements. In 1898, after more than fifty years of Catholicism and even though a majority of Flathead were nominally members of the Catholic church, there was open performance of the precontact Bluejay ceremony (Fahey 1974).

Nez Perce Reservation

Over half of the Christian Nez Perce Lapwai reservation population in 1895 did not belong to Euro-American churches. The Christian Lapwai Nez Perce reservation population in 1898 was not "progressing to civilization" (assimilating) because of the large sums of money the Nez Perce received from land treaty sales. Money enabled the Christian Nez Perce reservation population the freedom to choose to "work" under the precontact definition, rather than under the directed Euro-American Native American Policy, as well as the ability to purchase abundant foods and wear "fancy clothes" (interpreted here to mean Native American attire). Indeed, there was much more time for the precontact culture, self-determination, and nationalistic expression during this period because of the economic freedom the Nez Perce possessed, as evidenced by the reservation agent's remarks (House Executive document #3641 1897:132-133):
...[there is] a marked increase in the devotion of time to pastimes and amusements. Sham war-dances, of purely an innocent nature, and feasts of varied kinds, are frequently indulged in, and although much has been done to discourage this over-indulgence, little progress has been made toward that end.

The Lapwai reservation population in 1898 was opposed to allotment and, like the populations of several other reservations during this period, refused to provide the agent with census information. In 1899, the Lapwai population was categorized by the agent as only "gradually dropping" their precontact ways and becoming assimilated. This is interpreted here to mean that a majority were expressing nationalistic behavior, as evidenced in Plate XIII (Circa 1900 Lapwai Nez Perce Camp on the Snake River), where the precontact culture is quite apparent.

**Umatilla Reservation**

Unlike the Nez Perce reservation, which was occupied only by the Nez Perce, the Umatilla reservation was occupied by three distinct tribal populations (Cayuse, Umatilla, and Walla Walla). Nationalistic expression, as measured by the abandonment of Euro-American culture, was evident on the Umatilla reservation at the end of the nineteenth century. Most of the marriages in 1895 on the Umatilla reservation were performed in a precontact ritual, the majority of the reservation populations lived along rivers and streams in precontact lodges, following the pattern of their ancestors, and most dressed in precontact style attire, "...'in the good old fashion' as in the days of yore [House Executive Document #3382 1895: 272]."

The majority of the Umatilla reservation population in 1898 had not adopted Euro-American culture to any great extent. Rather, they ornamented their faces and clothing with various precontact symbols and accessories, wore blankets, and were participatory cult members. Reservation females on all of the reservations at this time wore on the head a brilliant kerchief called the *tonnosh*, a nationalistic style. Even though many Umatilla reservation populations had wood frame houses erected for them, which they pointed out as trophies, in 1898 the majority lived in precontact style mat and canvas conical and extended lodges:

They evidently value their houses as ornaments or curios to show to visitors, and do not wish to despoil them by dwelling therein [House Executive Document #3753 1898:262].

Young Native American females on the Umatilla reservation in 1899 performed many of the same tasks as their grandmothers and great-grandmothers did, cooking, hunting for roots and berries, tanning, bringing in firewood, doing bead work, making grass bags and baskets,
and sewing, including on Euro-American sewing machines (House Executive Document #3915 1899). The agent concluded his report in 1899 with the observation that only a few of the families on the Umatilla reservation were attempting to assimilate.

Yakima Reservation

The Yakima reservation consisted of over ten distinct Native American populations 1896. Cult behavior flourished on the Yakima reservation as on the other reservations during this period (1895-1899). Members of Dreamer and Drummer cults were quite vocal in their anti-allotment stand. The Pum-Pum cult (Feather Cult of the Washani religion, DuBois 1938), contained elements from the precontact root and salmon rituals and was quite visible on the Yakima reservation in 1897. Yet according to the agent, the Pum-Pum cult had been on the wane for years. However, by his own calculations for that year (1897), over 75% of the population were not Euro-American church members (House Executive Document #3641 1897). Only some "advancement" toward civilization (assimilation) was noted in 1898 on the Yakima reservation, specifically, in learning English and in the adoption of Euro-American dress.

Several non-treaty populations remained off the Yakima reservation during the 1895-1899 period, including the Palous, who had been relatively undisturbed for decades, and various bands of Dreamers, who camped in their precontact villages up and down the Columbia River. The Yakima reservation populations continued to promote the precontact culture during this period.

1900-1904

At the turn of the century, the presence of precontact dress, an expression of nationalism among Native American populations, was visible on all the Columbia Plateau reservations. Shamans, both male and female, were also visible on all the reservations at this time, although there were also a number of nominal Catholics and some Protestants.

The pictorial data reveal that Native Americans selected only certain Euro-American items to wear; for example, a vest, shirt, or dress, which was only added to the precontact style but did not replace it. Commonly, Euro-American fabric was used to replace precontact materials (usually skins or hemp), which had been either depleted or off limits since years before the turn of the century. Adoption of Euro-American fabric served to keep the precontact style in vogue, since the only alternative was to wear Euro-American-manufactured "citizen's dress".

Several small, isolated indigenous non-treaty populations continued to live off the reservations in the precontact way far from Euro-Americans, as depicted in Plate XII (1897-1900 Non-Treaty Entiat-Wenatchee Settlement). The Wenatchee out-migrated to the mountains to
gather berries and to fish from August to September, 1900, then went to
the Yakima region to pick hops for another month and returned to the
mountains to hunt until winter storms stopped them, at which time they
returned to their precontact territory (OIA 1900). For other Wenatchee
and non-treaty populations who attempted to settle in the vicinity of
Euro-American towns, the United States marshall would "direct" them to
move on to a reservation, as depicted in Plate XIV (1902-1912 Non-Treaty
Wenatchee Camp outside Wenatchee, Washington).

The precontact gathering economy was reintroduced among several
Columbia Plateau populations at the turn of the century in the Yakima
region, although on a much smaller scale than occurred during the fur
trade frontier. The Yakima valley had large hops fields, and as in
gathering days past, Native Americans from all over the Pacific
Northwest (Colville, New Perce, Umatilla, Warm Springs, Yakima, etc.)
converged to work and play.

Colville Reservation

Several Native American populations (Columbia, Nespelem, Nez Perce,
Sanpoil and others) continued to oppose the authority and not recognize
the existence of the United States government. The original inhabitants
of the Nespelem Valley, the Nespelem and Sanpoil, were very conservative
and staunchly anti-government pacifists and Dreamers. Plate XV (1901-
1905 Nespelem Male and Palous Female) portrays two people of the
Nespelem Valley dressed in the precontact style at the turn of the
century.

Non-treaty Nez Perce as well as several other populations on the
Colville reservation chose to put their time and effort into promoting
the precontact culture, as depicted in Plate XVI (1900 Non-Treaty Nez
Perce Females, Colville Reservation). The females are members of Chief
David Williams' family, and they are posed in front of the reservation
agency physician-amateur photographer's house in their precontact style
wing dresses (Gidley 1979). The ermine worn by the women, as well as
the stars and moons and other symbols, are cult visibility markers. The
Native American people on the Colville reservation expressed themselves
in the photographs by displaying various material items made in the
precontact (traditional) ways:

...in the showing off of well-executed beading,
the making of corn husk baskets, a cradle board
prepared in the old manner... they were more
than merely bits and pieces of material culture:
they inevitably carried a symbolic meaning
[Gidley 1979:56-57].

Only one Nez Perce family out of the entire Joseph Nez Perce
population on the Colville reservation in 1901 occupied a Euro-American
frame house, even though several were built by the government for them.
The Colville reservation non-treaty Nez Perce and other reservation
populations (Lapwai Nez Perce, Umatilla and Yakima) chose instead to live in the precontact extended mat lodges, as depicted in Plate XVII (1901 Non-treaty Nez Perce Extended Mat Lodge) or in conical mat and canvas lodges (depicted in several other plates in this chapter). The 1901 non-treaty Nez Perce also buried their dead in the precontact burial manner: headstones of poles were stuck into the earth above the grave, with bells or feathers ornamenting the tops (Gidley 1979).

The Colville reservation at the turn of the century had many Dreamers from the Columbia, Nespelem, Nez Perce, Okanogan, Sanpoil and other populations, most residing in the vicinity of Nespelem (Gidley 1979). The Nespelem Valley was removed from the reservation agency headquarters, and it was there that celebrations displaying the precontact and syncretic elements of Native American nationalism were held each Independence Day by the reservation populations at the turn of the century. They continue to be held there today. In the Plateau the July 4 holiday had been known to Native Americans since the 1840s as the Euro-Americans favorite holiday. After the Custer fight (1876), Plains Native Americans began their celebrations on Independence Day (Seymour 1941). There is no reason to believe that the syncretic national holiday was not celebrated in the Columbia Plateau around that time, especially after the 1877 Dreamer Nez Perce War. Evidence of Native American nationalism on the Colville reservation at the turn of the century is provided in Plate XVIII (1901 July 4th Independence Ceremonial). Other reservations during this time, including the Lapwai Nez Perce and Umatilla reservations, also held July 4th ceremonials.

Shamans were active and visible on the Colville reservation at this time, and their presence continued until the end of the study period (1914). Plate XIX (1903 Columbia Moses Shaman) portrays a male relative of Chief Moses dressed in ritualistic attire, including the precontact sacred staff, ermine status symbol, a syncretic medicine blanket, and syncretic adoption of Euro-American attire and cloth. Plate XX (1903-1911 Okanogan Female Shaman and Three Males) depicts a female shaman with ermine on her shoulders who is holding a clock, two males (on each end) who wear syncretic attire, and a male to the left of the female shaman who is dressed in the precontact style. The dwelling behind them is a Euro-American log cabin, which may have belonged to one of the males, who was a rancher, and may have been a government-constructed allotment house. The rare photograph in Plate XXI (1901 Nez Perce Ritual Dance, Colville Reservation) portrays turn of the century Colville reservation Joseph Nez Perce "Medicine Dance" Dreamer cult ritual being performed in front of a burial vault-like shed (from the baseline period), which is located inside a ring of conical canvas lodges. Euro-American spectators are also present.

Colville reservation populations were making "reasonable progress" towards assimilation in 1903, that is, they were self-supporting and improving their homes. However, some populations, such as the Nespelem, non-treaty Nez Perce, Sanpoil, and Spokane, were only slowly improving their condition (House Executive Document #4645 1903).
Flathead Reservation

The Flathead reservation population in 1900 was reported as having a level of assimilation that was surprisingly lower than the agent had expected. At the turn of the century, most Flathead males wore Euro-American dress (vests, trousers, shirts, moccasins) but wrapped themselves in blankets during winter weather, and the women were attired in the precontact "wing dress" style (Fahey 1974). The middle-aged and seniors clung to the precontact culture, as evidenced in Plate XXII (1900 Flathead Chief), which is a portrait of a senior male in precontact style dress. Around his neck there appears to be a bird-bone whistle, one of the marks of a shaman.

Nez Perce Reservation

Plate XXIII (1895-1899 Lapwai Nez Perce Male) is a posed studio photograph of a male in precontact style attire at the turn of the century. Turn of the century Nez Perce were a wealthy population because they continued to receive money due them from the government. They chose to spend their money on precontact "fancy" clothes rather than on Euro-American dress. The population, once categorized by the agent as "industrious," drifted into "idleness and shiftlessness," and many became alcohol-dependent and were in a state of anomic depression. A majority of the Lapwai population also abandoned enforced agricultural pursuits, having become discouraged with the negative results from that imposed livelihood (House Executive Document #4101 1900).

During this period there were five Protestant churches and one Catholic church that served the Lapwai Nez Perce reservation, yet the agent's own figures reveal that only 46% of the reservation population were Euro-American church members. These data appear to be supported by Walker's (1968) data on Catholic baptisms and Presbyterian church communicants during this time. The ministers of the latter denomination were all Nez Perce who went to other reservations during the summer months to spread the gospel.

Assimilation was at a low level in 1901 among the Christian Nez Perce Lapwai population due to the economic liberty they had enjoyed for over five years. In fact, the agent warned his superiors not to expect much "advancement" in the way of immediate assimilation (House Executive Document #4290 1901). The Lapwai Nez Perce agent suggested that the only way in which to "...raise them from semi-savagery to desired citizenship" was through a long-term commitment to their "mental, industrial, and religious education" (House Executive Document #4290 1901:216).

Umatilla Reservation

A majority of the Umatilla reservation population at the turn of the century adhered to the precontact culture. Evidence of "progress
toward civilization" (assimilation) noted by the agent in 1901 on the Umatilla reservation included: some increase among the Native Americans in speaking English; adoption of Euro-American dress; and the introduction of Euro-American furniture into a few homes. The number of Native Americans adopting Euro-American culture among the Umatilla reservation population remained a minority in 1902: "...these people are making advancement slowly but noticeably" (House Executive Document #4458 1902:322). One reason for the slow assimilation rate at the turn of the century among the Umatilla populations was that the senior and middle-aged sets, who were staunch in their allegiance to the precontact ways, struggled to keep the younger population from forced participation in directed Euro-American education efforts. They kept them from school and ridiculed them for adoption of Euro-American culture. Plate XXIV (1900 Cayuse Women and Children) portrays precontact dress and ornamentation present on the Umatilla reservation at the turn of the century.

Adoption of Euro-American dwellings and other aspects of Euro-American culture increased in 1903 among a few of the younger Umatilla reservation Native Americans as they attempted to imitate Euro-Americans. The Umatilla reservation populations were considered by Euro-Americans as excellent workers, and they were in demand in 1903 not as farmers but as laborers in the hops and berry fields, an activity much more akin to their precontact subsistence activities. There was a strong adherence to the precontact religion in 1904 among the Umatilla populations as based on the agent's count of the number of Native Americans who belonged to Euro-American churches. Approximately 35% of the Umatilla reservation population were Euro-American church members, but many more belonged to the various cults in the region.

Yakima Reservation

The majority of Native Americans on the Yakima reservation in 1900 did not live on their allotments or in permanent dwellings. The majority also did not call on the agency physician for medical help, instead relying on their shamans. At that time the majority of the reservation population also belonged to precontact and syncretic cults and continued the precontact practice of murdering shamans whose patients died. A Yakima female shaman was murdered on the reservation in 1903 because she failed to cure a patient.

In 1901, the Yakima agent reported that the reservation populations he had knowledge of were self-supporting but had only made fair progress towards "civilization" (assimilation). Plate XXV (1901 Yakima Male and Female) portrays a Yakima couple posed in precontact dress. Due to the immense size and large population (nearly 4,000) of the Yakima reservation, the agent was unable to obtained data on the level of assimilation of many people who were living in remote areas (both on and off the reservation) and who had not seen outsiders for over a year. In addition, inter-marriages between Yakima reservation populations and other reservation populations in 1901 were so numerous that many smaller
populations lost their identity to the Yakima nation (House Executive Document #4290 1901).

The 1902 Yakima reservation population assimilation level was in all "stages of advancement," yet fewer than half the Yakima reservation population actually resided on the reservation in that year. The non-reservation populations were living in the precontact way along the Columbia River and at other ancestral camps. To these people their existence was a much better life because their assigned allotments on the reservation were all in desert areas, the most productive lands having gone to Euro-Americans. The Yakima reservation populations in 1903 evidenced only a slight "advancement toward civilization" (assimilation), and hundreds remained off the reservation as their ancestors had, along the rivers and in the mountains.

The Yakima reservation populations in 1904 were without recognized chiefs. Instead, leaders vied to be the representatives to deal with the United State’s policies. This resulted in no representation or consensus being reached and agreements and policies were postponed.
CHAPTER XIV

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Conclusions

This study documents an ethnohistory of Columbia Plateau nationalism during the mid-nineteenth to early twentieth centuries through an analysis of qualitative and quantitative pictorial and written data. The interpretation presented here supports an alternative hypothesis to unilinear assimilation: several oppositional strategies were activated by Columbia Plateau Native Americans to preserve their precontact culture in response to Euro-American directed contact (assimilation policy). The oppositional goal was not so much to keep the precontact culture "alive" since it was already very much alive, given that a majority of Columbia Plateau Native Americans adhered to their precontact culture. Rather, the goal was (and still is) that of gaining the United States government's recognition, respect, and non-interference in the self-determination that Native American people had always enjoyed prior to the Euro-American invasion. When the directed controls that the government and its citizens imposed on Native American populations became unmanageable to them, Native Americans opposed the controls. A pattern emerged whereby the greater the adverse influences on Native American populations, the greater was their anti-American resentment and their abandonment of Euro-American culture. Native Americans responded to culturally induced crises at all levels of their culture, with religious response being the most visible. Opposition to Euro-American culturally induced crises strengthened ethnic identity and nationalistic feeling, and even assimilated Native Americans abandoned Euro-American culture. For example, when the turn of the century Lapwai Nez Perce reservation population's economic conditions enabled them to become independent again, they increasingly expressed themselves in their precontact culture.

Nineteenth century Columbia Plateau Native American nationalism first appeared in the form of a religious-economic confederacy in pursuit of cargo during the fur trade frontier. This confederacy was founded on cargo and millenarian movements (Ghost and Prophet cults) and was the result of prior non-directed and limited directed Euro-American contact. The fur trade frontier waned during the early 1840s and the economic ties of the confederacy followed suit. The economic focus of the fragmented confederacy was then replaced with a religious-political focus, in response to missionary competition with precontact cults and Euro-American immigration into the region. During the late 1840s this
loosely knit confederacy consolidated to wage warfare against the Euro-
American invasion. The Cayuse War was the first of several Columbia
Plateau Native American religious wars fought against Euro-Americans,
and it included persistent low level violent and non-violent resistance
to the United States government, which continued throughout the entire
study period. The common denominator among the Columbia Plateau
populations was (is) their desire for self-determination and religious
freedom.

Ray (1960) describes two politically based Columbia Plateau Native
American confederacies during the pre-reservation and reservation
periods, the Columbia and Yakima confederacies, which were made up of
neighboring populations and which developed through political
organization and intermarriage. Issue is taken here with Ray’s
conclusion that these confederacies had fragmented by the end of the
19th century because their leaders had died and non-reservation
populations had taken homesteads or been forcibly removed to the
reservations. Instead, it is proposed here that a regional confederacy
was alive and well at the turn of the century and, in fact, had evolved
by that time into a regional nationalistic movement. This proposal is
based on the pictorial and written data presented in previous chapters,
because both data sets reveal the directed reservation period to be a
time of religious cult activity. Native American society was founded on
religion, and it was an integral part of their daily lives. To Native
Americans the Euro-American invasion was a religious cause, and the
disappearance of the invaders was one of the major ideological tenets of
the millenarian cults during the latter half of the 19th century. Many
reservation population headmen and chiefs throughout the reservation
period were also cult shamans and prophets. From the signing of the
1855 treaties, these religious-political leaders and their populations
employed precontact and syncretic religious-political oppositional
strategies that emphasized self-determination of precontact culture and
opposition to the United States government.

When Native American populations were placed on reservations they
retained their cults, precontact culture, and anti-assimilationist
stance. Except for the Nez Perce, who alone occupied their own
reservation, Columbia Plateau Native Americans were settled on the
reservations in groups of mixed ethnicity, although they shared the same
political and religious backgrounds and other cultural elements as well.
As a result of this pattern of reservation settlement, a regional ethnic
identity quickly emerged, promoted and directed by religious cults and
politic-religious leaders through visibility of the precontact culture
(which was overcommunicated after periods of culturally induced stress
as an insurance measure). In reaction to continued culturally induced
crises, this regional ethnic identity was transformed into nationalism.
Throughout the reservation period, confederated cults were on the
offensive, conducting various anti-assimilationist strategies to retain
their self-determination and precontact culture and to express their
nationalistic feelings. These strategies included out-migration (which
further strengthened regional nationalism), civil disobedience (both
non-violent and violent), political councils and delegations,
abandonment of Euro-American culture, and the same non-recognition of the United States government that afforded the government them. In Washington D.C. and on the reservation both, confederated reservation religious-political leaders expressed their people's anti-assimilationist stand, in turn the result of human rights abuses induced by government policy and citizen hatred. They also demanded recognition of their right to self-determination.

Assimilation among Columbia Plateau Native Americans remained low despite the directed governmental controls and enforcement efforts that were imposed on them, sometimes with military intervention. Assimilation failed for several reasons: populations were isolated and widely dispersed both on and off the reservation (when crises mounted up, out-migration was the result); the majority of Native Americans at the turn of the century believed that the precontact world was superior to their present conditions and, in fact, that they themselves and their culture were superior to the Euro-Americans and Euro-American culture; and assimilationist goals of government Native American policy were far greater than could be achieved with the funding for their implementation.

By the end of the study period (1910-1914), alcohol-dependency (self-abuse), which had continuously increased since alcohol was introduced into the region in the mid-nineteenth century, was at staggering levels among the Columbia Plateau Native American populations. Alcoholism turned out to be one of the deadliest weapons in the Euro-American assimilationist arsenal because it disarmed many Native Americans of their land. Alcohol was utilized as an anesthetic by the disillusioned and depressed Native Americans and, once addicted (which may have happened in a short period of time), Euro-American supplied alcohol kept them in a daily altered state of consciousness, even between holidays, rituals, and other activities that were binge periods. To a point, alcohol consumption helped them to endure the loss of civil liberties and human rights violations that many were ascribed at birth under the directed control of the United States government. At the end of the study period Columbia Plateau Native Americans also continued precontact altered states of consciousness attainment through vision quest rituals, sweat lodge ceremonies, gambling, smoking, dances, and other secular and sacred rituals.

Population size reductions evident during the pre-reservation and reservation periods occurred around crisis-laden times, due both to out-migration and to epidemics. Out-migration apparently had the goal of abandonment of Euro-American culture, preservation of the precontact culture, and escape from the ravages of epidemics. Native American population size at the end of the study period (1910-1914) was approximately the same that it was at the beginning of the pre-reservation period (1840-1844). In addition, both crises and assimilation begin and end at approximately the same levels. The projected rate of assimilation suggested by the unilinear assimilation model for the end of the study period is complete (100%) adoption of Euro-American culture. When this projected level is compared with the
actual level of assimilation (33%) at that time, a wide discrepancy is apparent (see Figure 9.24). The conclusion reached here is that by the end of the study period, Native Americans had abandoned Euro-American culture and identified with the precontact culture and were continuing to promote their right to self-determination.

It is apparent that at the turn of century Columbia Plateau people were exploiting the avenue of photography as a means of overcommunication of the precontact culture. In the early 1900s, Matsura, the Japanese photographer at Okanogan, Washington, had Native American patrons seeking to be photographed in embellished precontact, syncretic, and Euro-American dress (Roe 1981). Latham, physician and amateur photographer on the Colville reservation, noted at the turn of the century that when it came to posing in front of the camera, "...all of the old material culture was worn and displayed" (Gidley 1979:62). Many Columbia Plateau Native Americans consciously decided to abandon Euro-American culture and instead visibly promoted the precontact culture by posing dressed and embellished in precontact Native American attire or even in Euro-American-manufactured "genuine" Native American attire. Native Americans could just as easily have posed in Euro-American attire and undoubtedly would have if they were adherents to assimilation, but the majority did not. Clearly, then, nationalism was strongly present in the Columbia Plateau at the turn of the century.

In short, the pictorial and written data demonstrate that a regional revitalization movement was the indigenous response to mounting Euro-American culturally-induced crises and was activated during the late 1880s. The revitalization movement was the foundation from which emerged Columbia Plateau Native American nationalism at the turn of the century on the Colville (including the Coeur d' Alene, Columbia, and Spokane), Flathead, Nez Perce, Umatilla, and Yakima reservations. A key characteristic of this nationalism was the adherence to the precontact concept of self-determination, as reflected by the abandonment of Euro-American culture, the overcommunication of the precontact culture (dress, dwellings, language, kinship, marriage, and religion) and their longstanding refusal to acknowledge the existence of and have faith in the United States government. Columbia Plateau populations confederated in the nineteenth and early twentieth century to fight a continuous religious war against the United States government on the individual and group level for recognition of their independence and right to self-determination.

Implications for Future Research

The methods, theories, and interpretations presented in this study should serve as a template for similar studies in other culture areas in North America as well as on other continents, indeed wherever Euro-American and European-directed contact policies (colonialism) have been imposed on indigenous peoples. The only requirement is the existence of similar kinds of ethnohistorical written and pictorial data. The results of analysis of the two data sets (pictorial and written) dealing
with crises, population trends, and the abandonment of Euro-American culture in the Columbia Plateau should be tested against data from other Native American culture areas. It is likely that many parallel trends would emerge, supporting similar non-assimilationist hypotheses.

Columbia Plateau Pictorial Record

Pictorial data were shown here to provide a fuller picture of the persistence of indigenous self-determination throughout culturally-induced crisis-laden periods in the Columbia Plateau. This successful use of pictorial data suggests that the pictorial record is an important data base with which to explore indigenous behavior and culture change in culture contact situations. If pictures are available, they should be used with written and oral data whenever possible. However, the author joins Ewers (1976) in bemoaning the need for better documentation of pictorial collections. What is required is a centralized and comprehensive pictorial library on the Columbia Plateau culture area in a Pacific Northwest institution. Such a library should include a diversity of pictorial data on as many indigenous populations as possible, from early contact to the present, as well as information on the photographers. At the very least, there should exist a comprehensive directory of locations that list collections by indigenous group and date.

The 25 pictorial plates that are included in previous chapters (eleven from the pre-reservation period, 1840-1844; and fourteen from in the reservation period, 1895-1904) comprise only 6% of the entire pictorial sample that was analyzed quantitatively in this study. The complete sample of 405 illustrations, paintings, and photographs is the largest collection of Columbia Plateau Native American pictures for the period 1840 to 1914 and contains a wealth of untapped cultural and environmental information. Future research plans include publication of a pictorial history of Columbia Plateau populations, which would include the best 300 pictures from the study sample, coupled with an additional hundred to supplement those decades that are less well represented. The goal of such an endeavor is to establish for the Columbia Plateau culture area a pictorial baseline that future researchers could utilize and expand upon.

Historical Archaeology

Archaeologists interested in the contact period might wish to consider their research from a revitalization movement perspective, which may be applicable to the entire archaeological record. This perspective is analogous to the biological evolutionary theory of punctuated equilibrium, in which crisis-laden periods punctuate long periods of stasis and act as the stimuli for dramatic adaptive response. The significance Native Americans place on religion suggests that the documentation and sampling (testing) of sacred sites should be a first priority for reservation research, but only undertaken with the full
permission and co-operation of Native American people. Sacred sites include but are not limited to pictographs, petroglyphs, paint sources, sweat bath locations, burial grounds, and vision quest stations. Vision quest sites should be dated using a regionally established lichen growth rate chronology on lichens growing on rock pilings that were constructed over the nights spent prior to receipt of a vision or guardian spirit. Subsurface testing should also be carried out for supportive data. If enough dates are secured, patterns might emerge that reveal clusters of vision quests occurring during crisis periods. These dates could also be matched with other dates, those secured from pipe resins, for example, which might support the interpretation promoted in this study that widespread altered states of consciousness attainment (gambling, smoking, vision quest) were practiced during crisis-laden periods. In addition, study of identifiable and known sites of cult meetings would increase our knowledge of the Dreamers. Millenarian and cargo cult-related artifacts, including some that were purposefully broken, exist throughout the contact period and may be identified in collections, primary historical documents, and the pictorial record. The deaccessioning of sacred artifacts from museums after research will be championed by this researcher and should also be championed by other researchers.

A Colville reservation-wide ethnohistorical and archaeological survey of sacred sites is planned, to be followed by a survey of their ancestral territory. Pictographs, petroglyphs, vision quest sites, cult meeting places, and burial areas will be sought with Colville tribal permission and involvement (including tribal employment) and on their behalf (to strengthen their protection under P.L. 95-341, The Native American Religious Freedom Act of 1978, and P.L. 96-95, The Archaeological Resources Protection Act of 1979). Also included in this research will be analysis of resins found in prehistoric, protohistoric, and historic period pipes to determine whether the chemical content was Apocynum Cannabis and whether altered states of consciousness attainment was achieved from the smoking matter.

The pictorial, historical archaeological, and ethnographic records would be useful in reconstructing and broadening our understanding of the interrelationship that the various cult symbols had in terms of regional or local acceptability and display. The historic archaeological record could also be used in conjunction with pictorial data to test settlement pattern locations using cartographic analysis of the photographs. Paintings, too, would shed light on settlement pattern locations, because they show background topographic features such as mountains and streams and the proximity of settlements to streams.

Finally, there is need for ethnohistorical research on the contact period that focuses on the links between the Northwest Coast and Columbia Plateau as well as between the latter and the Plains culture area. Knowledge of inter-regional interaction between the various culture areas may reveal deeper cultural connections between them and broaden our understanding of Native American nationalism during the contact period. In addition, there is a need for research on the
northern Canadian Columbia Plateau in order to identify the interrelationships with their kindred bordering on all directions.

**Ethnography**

After the analysis of the potential of the ethnographic record in Chapter II, it was concluded that sole reliance should not be placed on this source to construct an accurate baseline precontact prehistoric and historic indigenous culture. The record needs to be coupled with the historical archaeological and pictorial records and primary historical sources.

It is suggested here that the potential of the ethnographic record lies beyond its primary function in ethnohistory, which is the reconstruction of the baseline. The record should also be examined from a nationalistic perspective; that is, ethnographies should be considered as testimonials of nationalism transcribed by late nineteenth and early twentieth century anthropologists, in which Native Americans interpreted the current state of their precontact culture. The ethnographies can provide insights into contemporary Native American nationalism at the time the anthropologists conducted their fieldwork. This is especially so since it appears that the anthropologists themselves were unaware of the existence of this nationalism during their brief time in the field; they were therefore unattuned to the overcommunication of precontact culture on the part of their informants, to many syncretic elements, and to informants’ attempts to glorify the past. As a consequence, they tried faithfully to record what they thought were the legitimate if dying elements of precontact culture. There are several boxes of old fieldnotes waiting to be examined from a nationalistic perspective, especially volumes not used by Spier when he edited Cline’s et al. (1938) Southern Okanagan ethnography.

**Post-Study Period Research**

The more recent periods of indigenous Columbia Plateau nationalism are also in need of research, which may be accomplished using the same format as the present study. The late 1930s was the greatest crisis-laden period in the region in the twentieth century, as the Columbia Plateau Native Americans major source of both spiritual life and livelihood, salmon, was removed from their culture almost overnight with the construction of the Grand Coulee Dam (the Dam did not have fish ladders built into it). The impact on the Native American culture was devastating. Several relevant data sources are available for this period, including 16 mm films such as Ball’s *Echoes of Yesterday* (1939), which documents exhumations of indigenous populations, settlements dating back to the precontact period, and Native American ceremonies that marked the pool raise of the Grand Coulee Dam (the pool raise of the dam inundated many secular and sacred sites). Related crises were felt by other indigenous populations as an expanded hydroelectric dam system was constructed throughout the region. Other pertinent data for
the 1930s include governmental and Native American reservation archives. To begin the study in 1989, which is the 50th anniversary of the construction of the Grand Coulee Dam, would be most fitting.
APPENDIX A

Sources
Columbia Plateau Crises
(1840-1914)

See Chapter VIII for other sources pertaining to specific area/reservation and/or for entire region during five year intervals.

1. OIA is an abbreviation for Office of Indian Affairs Annual Reports.

Pre-Reservation Period: 1840-1854

(1840-1844)

(1845-1849)
Regional: Schuster 1982:22; Teit 1928.

(1850-1854)
Regional: OIA 1851: 6-06; Schuster 1982:30.
Flathead: Gibbs 1855:150; Stevens 1901 vol. II.:34-65.
Nez Perce: Gibbs 1855; Stevens 1901 vol. II: 34-65.
Umatilla: OIA 1853:10; Phillips 1928 no. 2:212,213; Gunkel 1978:374;

Reservation Period: 1855-1914

(1855-1859)
Regional: Kip 1859, 1897; Johansen and Gates 1967:257; Stevens 1901 vol. II.
Colville: Chance 1973:34; Kip 1897, 1859:87,88; Ruby and Brown 1970:
92,93, 1972:256-258; Wilson 1865:293.
Flathead: See Chapter VIII.
Nez Perce: Gibbs 1855; Kip 1859.
Umatilla: Kinney 1937:121-122; Kip 1859; National Archives Oregon
Superintendancy 1855: Roll 5 vol. D:195; Roll 6 vol. E: January 8, 1856;
OIA 1859: September, 1857:320; Phillips 1932 no.18:8,9; Ruby and Brown
Yakima: National Archives Oregon Superintendancy 1855 Roll 13 no. 2: no.
65, 1856 Roll 13 no. 29, 1858 Roll 16 letters no. 10:January 1 to
December 30; OIA 1856:193-195, 1857:17,18,184-190,210,211; Ruby and

(1860-1864)
Regional: OIA 1860:184-185 no. 77), 1861:153 no. 57, 1862: 397; United
6,145; Wilson 1865:293,294.
1182:572-574; OIA 1861:156 no. 57, 1862:394.
no. 61,395-397,567; Oliphant 1968:58,59 fn. 40.
Archives Oregon Superintendancy Roll 19 no. 2, no. 9, 1863 Roll 20 no.
15,; OIA 1860:208-210 no. 85, 1861:164-165 no. 60, 1862:259 no. 55:269,

(1865-1869)
Regional: See Chapter VIII.
Colville: Chalfont and Bischoff 1974:209,210; H. Ex. Doc. 1248:177,
267,268,269, 1366:557-558; OIA 1866:73 no.6: 200,201, no.79, 1867:56
no.10, 1869 152 no.14; Royce 1899: 846-847.
1866:38-39, 193-194 no.75, 1867:248 no.73, 248-251 no. 74, 1869:25, no.73.

(1870-1874)

(1875-1879)

(1880-1884)


(1885-1889)

Regional: See Chapter VIII.


(1890-1894)


(1894-1899)
Regional: See Chapter VIII.

(1900-1904)

(1905-1909)
Regional: See Chapter VIII.
(1910-1914)
Regional: See Chapter VIII.
Umatilla: See Chapter VIII.
Yakima: Mc Whorter 1913; Schuster 1982:70.
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