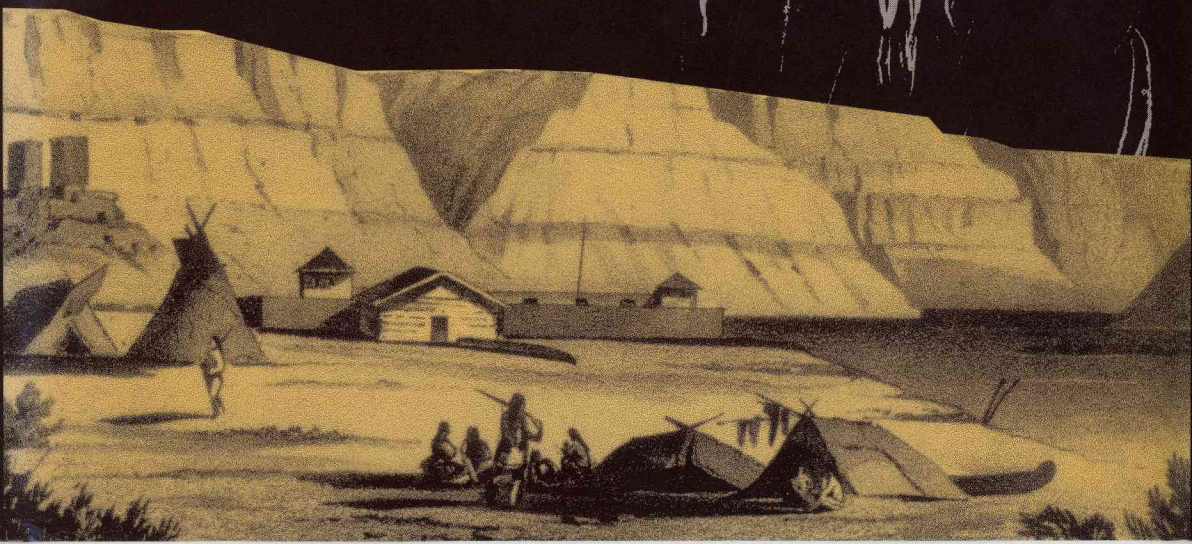
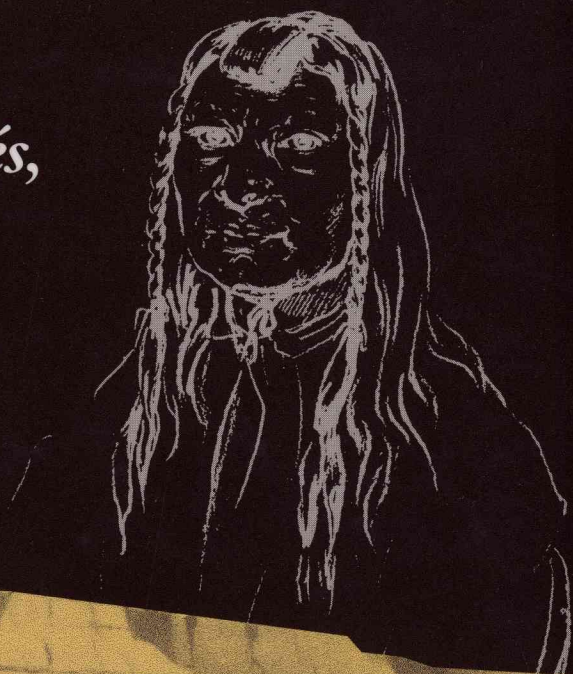


CHIEFS & CHIEF TRADERS

*Indian Relations
at Fort Nez Percés,
1818-1855*

Volume 1

Theodore Stern



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STERN



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CHIEFS & CHIEF TRADERS

A ground-breaking study of the relations between the fur traders of Fort Nez Percés and the Indians of the region, primarily Cayuse, Wallawalla, Umatilla, and Nez Perce. Existing literature on this region has focused on the white explorers, the fur traders, and the settlers; *Chiefs and Chief Traders* offers a new perspective, exploring both white and Indian cultures and their interactions.

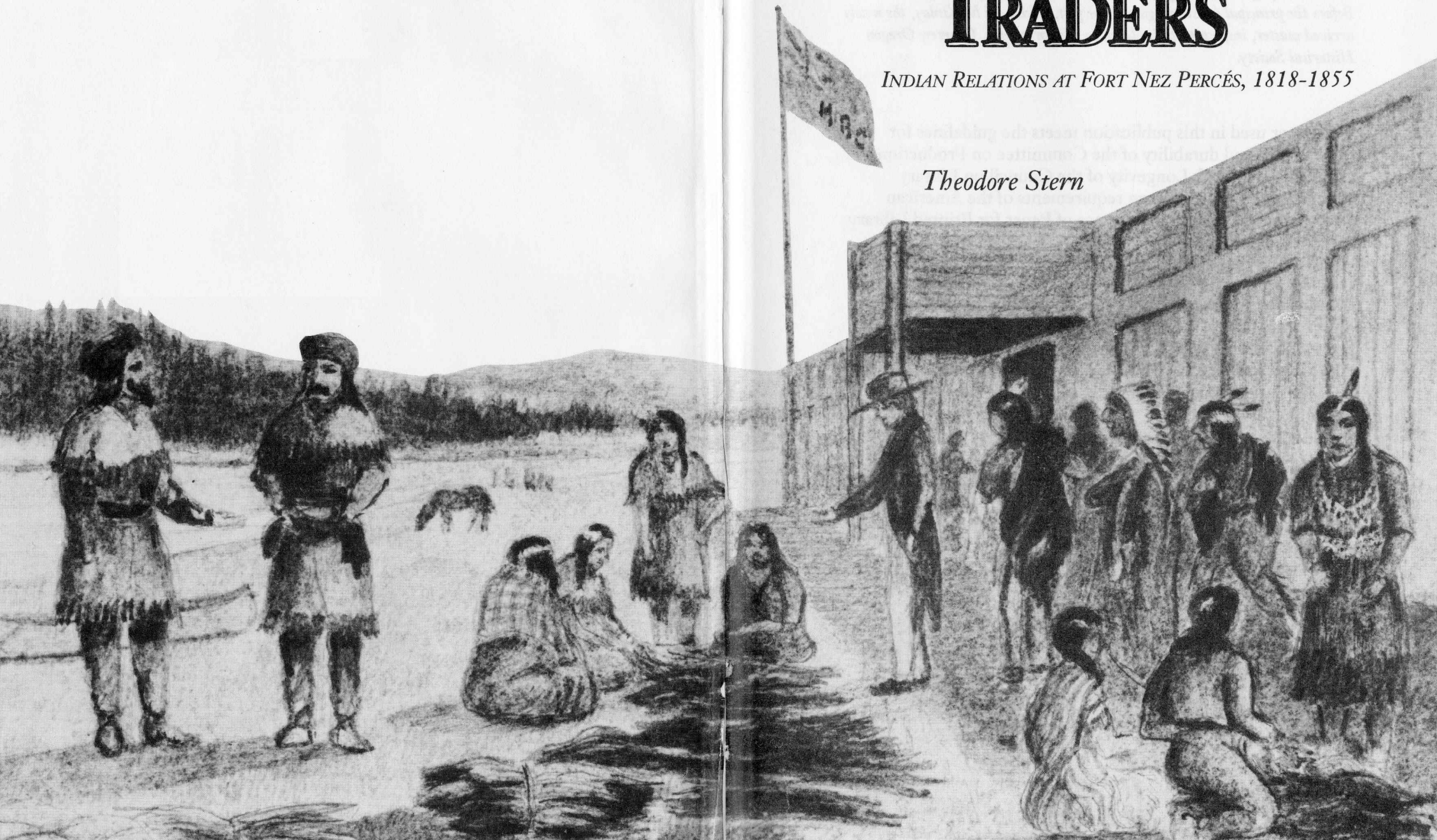
Chiefs and Chief Traders represents the culmination of 25 years of research, utilizing an extensive variety of primary sources—some used here for the first time—as well as oral interviews conducted in the course of ethnographic research on the Umatilla Indian Reservation. Stern weaves together anthropology and history in a way that few are qualified to do. He brings important new information to the story of the relations between Indians and whites in the Pacific Northwest.

**CHIEFS
& CHIEF
TRADERS**

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INDIAN RELATIONS AT FORT NEZ PERCÉS, 1818-1855

Theodore Stern



Art on title page: "Fur Trappers, Walla Walla," by Joseph Drayton [1841]. Before the principal (western) gate of the post, Archibald McKinlay, the newly arrived master, inspects pelts displayed by Indian women. Courtesy Oregon Historical Society.

The paper used in this publication meets the guidelines for permanence and durability of the Committee on Production Guidelines for Book Longevity of the Council on Library Resources and the minimum requirements of the American National Standard for Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Stern, Theodore, 1917-
Chiefs and chief traders : Indian relations at Fort Nez Percés,
1818-1855 / Theodore Stern.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-87071-368-X

1. Indians of North America--Columbia River Valley--Commerce. 2. Fort Nez Percés (Wash.) 3. Fur trade--Columbia River Valley--History. 4. Columbia River Valley--Ethnic relations--History. I. Title.

E78.C64S74 1992

92-31671

979.7'00497--dc20

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*To those who were Totah and Eetzah to me,
and to their peoples*



Preface



In 1957, Otis Halfmoon, my Nez Perce friend and teacher, recalled the stranger band in these words:

In my father's father's time, about two hundred years ago, his band, the *pikúnenma*, were camped by the mouth of Wolf Creek [on the Snake upstream from the mouth of the Salmon]. . . where they wintered. Suddenly, they saw about five or six people coming out of the rocks on the other side, dressed in mountain sheep hides with the horns on their heads. "What is that?" they said. At first they thought it was mountain sheep, but they saw they had a dog with them, and they saw they weren't animals. They sent a message to White Bird country, *lamáta*, . . . that some strange people had gone up the river. The runners went on. . . , watching the strangers as they went on up the river on the ice. They didn't want to talk to them; they had a reason to be going some place, and they wanted to see where they were going.

Suddenly, one old man making arrowheads on the bank saw the water moving and shouted to them. The strangers started moving; the ice broke up and the water took most of them. Only two of the fastest made it to shore. They all came back with them, and one of the two men lived among the *pikúnenma*. They couldn't understand his language, but finally he learned to speak Nez Perce. They never did find out where they came from. He married and there is one family still living that comes from that man.

How often it is that another people, seen through the medium of senses and understanding steeped in our own culture, appear at first bizarre, and even inhuman. And as with the *pikúnenma* in the preceding story, often it takes a crisis before we receive them as humans, like ourselves.

Just so, it has been usual, in dealing with Indian-White relationships, to let the focus be set by the documents and those who generated them, with the result that the reasonings and actions on the Indian side, arising from a matrix of diverse Indian cultures, are likely to be ignored or glossed over as arising from a unifying

“primitivity.” In treating the events at the small, but strategic, fur-trading post variously known as Fort Nez Percés or Fort Walla Walla, I have sought instead, through the continuity of records from the fort, to follow through time the fortunes and deeds of a handful of Indian leaders, principally of Cayuse, Wallawalla, Umatilla, and Nez Perce affiliation. In this, I have been aided by genealogies supplied me by Indian consultants from among those peoples in the course of ethnographic research on the Umatilla Indian Reservation, near Pendleton, Oregon, between the years 1953 and 1968. In turn, the genealogies have enabled me to identify many leading individuals in the records of the Hudson’s Bay Company, and other sources, and thus to trace them through time.

We cannot, it is true, recover the thoughts and motivations of these individuals in their encounters with the Whites, but we can at least draw the rough outlines of the cultural background out of which their personal decisions arose. In this way, we can strive toward a more balanced historical perspective.

The records, however, deal chiefly with the public range of Indian life. The role of women, for example, is scarcely noted, although, as we shall see, Indian women played an important part in the life of a fur post. Again, the sober-sided presentations of Indian life give little hint of the wealth of humor in Indian culture, that can be traced back to the traditional tales of Coyote in myth times and that is still evident in the course of daily life on a reservation. One man graphically described his son’s compact car as “a little sweat-house kind of car,” a characterization strikingly apt to anyone who has backed into the sudatory hut on hands and knees. It is only in the transcriptions—and those in translation—of the dialogues during the Walla Walla council that we have a record of the speech of the Indians themselves, and their use of irony must be inferred from the context. But if the record is incomplete, it nonetheless permits us to posit expectations which arose, for example, out of the aboriginal trading network, and with which White fur traders found, to their consternation, they were expected to comply.

During the time of my research, the view of Plateau relationships has undergone change, from the initial static descriptiveness of Wissler, through a recognition of interareal influences in the writings of Verne Ray, to the latter-day dynamism of Anastasio,

Garth, Walker, Hunn, and others. From all of these viewpoints I have profited. My own experience with the ethnohistory of the Chickahominy, in Virginia, and that of the Klamath, in southern Oregon, has better prepared me to deal with the present study.

I have chosen to employ a simpler, old-fashioned terminology, employing "Indian" where now we speak often of "Native American," using "tribe" as a nontechnical equivalent for "ethnic group," and so on. I trust neither offense nor confusion will thereby be generated.

Acknowledgments



My basic indebtedness is, of course, to those persons on the reservation who, recognizing a value in preserving the history of their peoples, have permitted me to intrude upon their lives to learn from them. I only regret that the task has taken so long that many of them have passed on before this study could be completed. I trust it will be of value to their descendants and will be useful to those now themselves dealing with the same historical record. The list of those consultants is as follows, listed by the primary culture described, with date of birth given for those born before 1900.

Cayuse: Louise Blackelk, b. ca. 1870; Johnson Chapman, b. ca. 1883; Anna Wannasay, b. ca. 1887; Mary Halfmoon and Amy Webb (sisters); Lucien and Gertrude Williams; Philip Guyer; Rosy Thompson.

Umatilla: Toy Toy, b. ca. 1874; Tom Joe, b. ca. 1878; Vera Jones, b. ca. 1890, and Elsie Conner, b. ca. 1900 (sisters); Andrew Barnhart, b. ca. 1883; Louis and Ruby McFarland.

Wallawalla: Tom Johnson, b. ca. 1890; Richard and Winnie Burke; Carrie Sampson; Ike and Ada Patrick.

Nez Perce: Gilbert Conner, b. ca. 1898; Otis Halfmoon, b. ca. 1878; Sol Webb.

General Reservation life and culture, together with details of past historic events: Sam Kash Kash; David S. Hall; Alphonse and Florence Halfmoon; Joseph Johnson; William Minthorn; Art Motanic; Joseph Sheoships; George and Maude Spino.

To members of the Halfmoon family I owe a special, and highly personal, debt. During the summers of 1957 and 1961, Otis and Mary Halfmoon made room for me in their home, thus opening to me aspects of reservation life that I might not otherwise have gained. Later, Alphonse and Florence Halfmoon, in turn, found room for me in 1963 and 1968, with similar beneficial results.

My understandings have also been broadened through the research of students. In the course of my studies, I have twice conducted field schools on the Umatilla Indian Reservation under the auspices of the University of Oregon. In preparation for

the first one in 1952, I sent Hiroto Zakoji, who had worked with me on the Klamath Indian Reservation, to conduct a pilot study at Umatilla, joining him toward the end of the summer to meet the people he had met and learn what he had found. The next summer, I returned with five students, for the field school. They operated with the understanding that they would leave their field journals, or copies of them, with me to be drawn upon for the growing project. The students, several of whom have gone on to win prominence elsewhere, were Ann Chowning, Donald Hogg, Michael Horowitz, Robert Oller, and Andrea Wilcox. Several of the consultants listed above worked principally with them.

Again, in 1968, as part of an NIH training program at the University of Oregon, five students participated under my supervision in a survey of the modern reservation. They were James Boggs, Jose de la Isla III, Nancy Owens, Sue C. Walker, and H. Lloyd Walker, Jr. At the end of the session, we drew up a general report of our findings for the Board of Trustees of the Confederated Tribes of the Reservation.

Individual students have also contributed to my understanding. When in 1963 Bruce Rigsby studied the Umatilla language and sought to trace out the last vestiges of Cayuse, ostensibly under my supervision, our relationship was that of collegiality.

I have drawn on several archival collections for this research. They include most prominently those of the Hudson's Bay Company, in the Provincial Archives, Winnipeg. To the then Keeper of those Archives, Mrs. Shirlee Anne Smith, I owe particular thanks for her many constructive suggestions in interpreting data. The files of the Oregon Historical Society have provided a wealth of materials. I have drawn extensively upon the Special Collections of the Knight Library, here at the University of Oregon, and remember with particular warmth the counsel of its late curator, Dr. Martin Schmitt. Materials have also come from the archives of the National Museum, Smithsonian Institution; the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University Library; Collins Memorial Library, University of Puget Sound; Eells Northwest Collections, Whitman College Library, whose curator, Lawrence Dodd, was particularly helpful; and the Bancroft Library. To these I express my deep gratitude.

Illustrations have been drawn from materials in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, those of the Oregon Historical Society,

the Washington State Historical Society, and the Special Collections of the Knight Library, University of Oregon, together with field photographs from my research. I am grateful for permission to use those drawn from these several sources and am appreciative of those tribal members who permitted me to photograph them in the course of my studies.

Financial support for the fieldwork phase of this work has come from the Faculty Research Fund of the University of Oregon and the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund, grants 1591 and 2244). The Wenner-Gren Foundation (Grant N. 3121) enabled me to visit the Hudson's Bay Company Archives in Winnipeg. To all these I offer thanks.

In the slow evolution of this manuscript, I have been aided at many points by discussions with colleagues at this and other campuses. Among them I count David and Katherine French, Bruce Rigsby and James A. Clifton, Verne F. Ray, and Eugene Hunn; and, locally, Edwin R. Bingham, Robert W. Smith, Earl Pomeroy, and Verne F. Dorjahn. My colleague Don E. Dumond read the first part of the manuscript while, at the Oregon Historical Society, Priscilla Knuth read through and commented upon the entire work. If they, and all the others, for whose help I am most thankful, have not prevented me from making errors, they have immeasurably improved what they had first found.

In the production of this volume, Jo Alexander, Managing Editor of the OSU Press, exercised a tactful generalship in tugging the manuscript into shape and overseeing the various distinct functions that coalesce in the printed page. Dr. William Loy provided counsel in my preparation of the initial maps, from which David Imus drew those that appear here. At the Press, Elizabeth Kingslein and Nancy Rees produced the final charts and tables accompanying some of the maps. Dr. Katherine Toepel made the index. I thank them all for their product.

A NOTE ON SPELLING CONVENTIONS

Several Indian terms, principally from the Nez Perce language, with a few from Umatilla or Cayuse, appear in italics in the text. They are written in phonetic script, in at least approximate rendition. Indian names in the text, on the other hand, may be rendered as Lewis and Clark or those who came later spelled them. Where I have confirmed the names from Indian speakers, I have rendered them in the text in a simplified English spelling—foregoing glottalized stops, for example—adding only a principal accent in the Index as an aid to pronunciation.

Terms written phonetically may contain a few symbols unfamiliar to English speakers. Those that may cause the most pause are given below, followed by the nontechnical rendition when they occur in the text in Indian names, and with some indication of its sound.

<i>phonetic</i>	<i>nontechnical</i>	<i>as in</i>
c	ts	spots
č	ch	<u>ch</u> urch
š	sh	<u>sh</u> ort
x	kh	lo <u>ch</u> (Scotch), a <u>ch</u> (German)
k'	†	buck <u>le</u> †
t'	†	bot <u>tle</u> †
ł	lh	phil <u>h</u> armonic
†	ô	<u>a</u> we

† Not rendered

‡ Glottalized: that is, k or t is formed while the column of air in the throat is blocked by closure of the glottis.

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ONE

The Fort



In the first third of the nineteenth century, the Oregon Country, drained by the fabled River of the West, extended from the crest of the Rockies westward to the South Sea, the Pacific. From Spanish California at latitude 42° it reached indefinitely northward to the southernmost limits of territory claimed by the Russian American Company, at 54° 40'. Possession of the Oregon Country was contested by Great Britain and the United States; by the Convention of 1818 it lay under the condominium, or joint rule, of both countries, at first for a period of ten years, but successively renewed until in 1846 an international boundary was drawn between the Oregon Country and British North America.

In the struggle among nations for control of the western country, the first efforts had been maritime: Spanish voyages of discovery northward from Latin America, the Russians in the north, and the British. Captain James Cook, in his third voyage of discovery, 1776-80, drew attention to the possibilities of a rich trade in fur, above all that of the sea otter, which brought high returns in China. Thereafter, American vessels, mostly out of New England, contested the coastal trade with the Spanish and British, in a triangular trade: to the Northwest Coast for furs; to Canton to trade furs for tea and other goods; then back to Boston and New York. In 1792, an American trader, Captain Robert Gray, crossed the perilous entrance of the River of the West and named it after his vessel, the *Columbia Rediviva*.

Thomas Jefferson, bringing to the presidency of the United States a trained practical and scientific interest, had long sought to promote an expedition of exploration of the western lands. With the purchase in 1802 of the Louisiana Territory, comprising the lands drained by the Mississippi-Missouri system, he sent forth that expedition, led by his secretary, Captain Meriwether Lewis, and Captain William Clark. They were directed to explore not only the Missouri River but also those waters leading to the Pacific

Ocean, for "the most direct and practicable water communication across this continent, and for the purposes of commerce."^{*} They were to study geography, resources, animal, mineral, and vegetable, the peoples and their customs. They were also to secure the good will of those peoples and to induce them toward favorable trade relations with the United States. Finally, they were to ascertain "whether the furs of those parts may not be collected as advantageously at the head of the Missouri (convenient as is supposed to the waters of the Colorado & Oregon or Columbia) as at Nootka Sound or any other point of that coast."¹

In the aftermath of their successful exploration, 1804-06, there were a number of attempts to extend trapping into the upper Missouri drainage. In 1808, Manuel Lisa's Missouri Fur Company, operating out of St. Louis, and employing several veterans of the Lewis and Clark expedition, sent several trapping parties to the sources of the Missouri. Two years later, one of them, led by Andrew Henry, was driven by the Blackfeet across the Continental Divide, where they wintered on the north fork of the Snake River, a major tributary of the Columbia.

Meanwhile, in New York, the German-American merchant, John Jacob Astor, with vessels already in the China trade, vexed at having to purchase his furs from merchants in Montreal, sought to further Jefferson's vision. His plan was to send an overland party to the Columbia, locating sites for trading posts along the way, while a vessel brought goods to the Pacific coast, not only to supply a post on the Columbia, but to trade above it on the Northwest Coast and, by agreement, supply the Russian American Company at Archangel. At first, he attempted to work with the North West Company, a Montreal firm founded in 1783, largely by Scottish merchants. The Nor'Westers were not interested, for some of their leaders, Alexander Mackenzie and Simon Fraser among them, had already explored the Pacific slope; so instead Astor drew into partnership several former Nor'Westers, together with Americans, to form his Pacific Fur Company. In 1810, he dispatched the *Tonquin*, under Jonathan Thorn, a naval officer on leave, with several partners, men, and a cargo of supplies for the coast and for the Indian

^{*}All direct quotations are given with the original spelling and punctuation, except where noted. We have chosen not to encumber them with the frequent addition of "[sic]."

trade. Promptly, Simon McGillivray, London agent of the North West Company, wrote the British prime minister, advising him of the departure of the *Tonquin*, and suggesting that a British ship be dispatched to anticipate the Americans in taking possession of and settling the Columbia.² The British did not act on his suggestion.

The *Tonquin*, having rounded the Horn and visited Hawaii, arrived on the Columbia in March 1811; soon thereafter those who disembarked with part of the supplies constructed Fort Astoria on the south bank of the river, not far from its mouth. Then Thorn, who had quarrelled with the partners almost from the outset, sailed north to trade with the Indians, with many of the trading goods still aboard. Through mismanagement, he permitted his vessel to be captured by Indians on the northern tip of Vancouver Island, and it was blown up with all on board. Meanwhile, the overland party, led by Wilson Price Hunt, met with great difficulties en route, straggling into Astoria in small groups, the last arriving in May 1812. In the meantime, Astor had dispatched a second ship, the *Beaver*, with supplies and reinforcements for Astoria.³

Nor'Westers, Astorians, and Indians

Within the region already explored by the Nor'Westers, David Thompson, a geographer, was surveying the Columbia, trading as he advanced. Starting in 1806, he moved across the Rockies and into the headwaters of the Columbia, building posts for the North West Company—Kootenay House, Kullyspell House, Saleesh House—along the way. In 1811, completing his reconnaissance of the Columbia, which the Nor'Westers thought a likely route of supply to their interior posts, Thompson reached its mouth, where he encountered, and startled, the Astorians, then four months into establishing their post and trade on the lower river.

During his descent, Thompson had paused briefly at the "Forks" (i.e., the confluence) of the Snake River to broach the construction of a trading post to a leader he denominates the "Chief of all the Shawpatin Tribes." That individual, who bore a Jeffersonian medal and a small American flag, trophies from Lewis and Clark's "chief making" of some six years earlier, has been variously identified as the Wallawalla leader, Yellepit, or the Cayuse war chief, Alokwat. The terms in which he responded to Thompson's over-

tures do not confirm Chittenden's view that it was the lure of mere trinkets that drew Indians generally into the fur trade.⁴ Indeed, this individual favored a trade in "Arms, arrowshods of iron, axes, knives and many other things which you have." While he conceded that the women were delighted with the prospect of acquiring kettles, axes, awls, needles, and blue beads and rings, it was the need for weapons that the chief stressed. Lately, he observed, his people had been displaced from the southern part of their country (i.e., in the Blue Mountains or the region of the Grande Ronde) by the Snake Indians of the Straw Tent tribe (Northern Paiute or Bannock); but with proper arms they could win back their territory.⁵

Thompson erected a flagstaff and banner at that spot, together with a note claiming the land for Great Britain. It was discovered, with some chagrin, a short while later, by a party of Astorians proceeding into the interior.

A post, however, would not be built there for seven years. The Astorians, although Thompson had induced the Indians to bar them from the upper Columbia, found in conference that leaders of the Cayuse, Wallawalla, and Nez Perces were willing to see him outbidden. In these negotiations, they made first acquaintance with the Wallawalla leader, Tamatappam, who strongly befriended them.⁶ With this clearance, the Astorians moved upriver to erect competing posts near those of the Nor'Westers.

The Astorians, however, had more trading rivals than only the Nor'Westers. Passage up the Columbia from Fort Astoria was impeded first at the Cascades, and above it at the Narrows, or Dalles. At both places, portages had often to be made, at which times the crews and cargo were highly vulnerable to Indian attack. As we shall see, the Chinookan Cascades, Hood River, White Salmon, Wishram, and Wasco peoples, together with the Sahaptin-speaking Skin, Tenino, and Wayampam above them, were at the center of an aboriginal trading network, and resented efforts of the Astorians to bypass them. Hence they repeatedly sought to bar the way, to threaten attack, to plunder goods, or at the least to extract tribute for passage. The tribes of the upper country, on the other hand, welcomed the Astorian attempt to trade directly with them.

Relationships at the Forks, however, soon deteriorated. In 1813 Astorian John Clarke injudiciously hanged a Palus Indian for a

petty theft, and Tamatappam warned him that kinsmen of the man were hot for vengeance.⁷ At almost the same time, members of the North West Company, having learned of the outbreak of the War of 1812, arrived at Fort Astoria to negotiate the purchase of the effects of the Pacific Fur Company. Fearing that the establishment otherwise faced imminent capture as a prize of war by British naval vessels, the Astorians acceded, and a number of men—some of whom had been Nor'Westers before being hired by Astor—now passed into the service of the North West Company. They presently found themselves the heirs of the ill will resulting from Clarke's act. Clarke and others of the summer inland brigade bringing goods and supplies to the interior posts were warned by Tamatappam of a planned attack at the Forks by a force of some two thousand Indians and 174 canoes. Heavily armed with a cannon, hand grenades, and sky rockets, which they displayed, the Nor'Westers proved too formidable, and the would-be attackers came in peace.⁸ Another inland brigade, later that fall, was able to buy horses from the Wallawalla and heard more warnings. Cox, a member of that party, on his way north with horses, was pursued by Palus until he reached Spokane territory.⁹

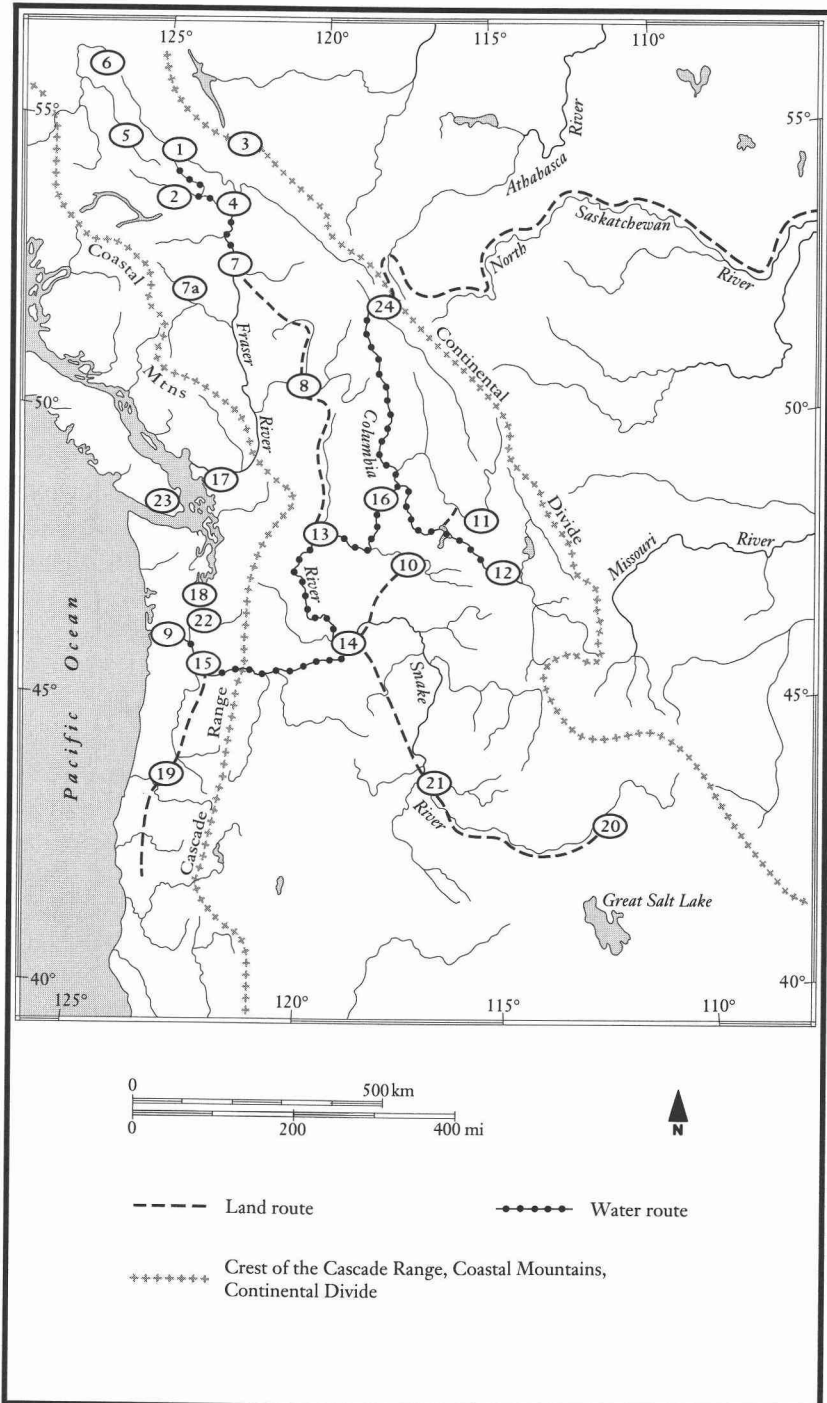
The troubles soon mounted. In the spring of 1814, Alexander Ross, travelling from his post at Okanagan to buy horses at a large intertribal gathering in the Yakima Valley, at which Cayuses and Nez Perces were prominent, was roughly treated, and only with difficulty made his purchases and extricated his party.¹⁰ It was probably in the same year that the express from Okanagan to Fort George (as Fort Astoria had been renamed) was stopped in the shallow water near the Forks by a mounted party of Cayuses and Nez Perces, who hauled the vessels ashore and levied tobacco from the crew before they would release them.¹¹ Then the inland brigade was attacked between the mouth of the Walla Walla and the Forks either at about the same time (as reported by Cox) or in the spring of 1815 (as reported by Ross). The attackers, says Cox, who was present, were a body of Chamnapam, Yakima, Sokulks (Wanapam), and Wallawalla, Tamatappam being absent. Canoemen, backed by warriors both mounted and on foot, attempted to levy tobacco tribute, and, when refused, attempted to seize it. Fighting broke out, in which two Indians were killed and another wounded, and the Nor'Westers were forced to take refuge on an island. In subsequent parleys, the Indians at first

COLUMBIA DEPARTMENT POSTS TO 1846
(including New Caledonia, but exclusive of the Coast)

Post		1805	1815	1825	1835	1845
NEW CALEDONIA	1. Ft. St. James	.....			
	2. Ft. Fraser	.....			
	3. Ft. McLeod	.....			
	4. Ft. George		.....		
	5. Ft. Babine					
	6. Ft. Connolly					
	7. Ft. Alexandria					
	7a. Ft. Chilcotin					
	8. Ft. Thompson/ Kamloops		.....		
	9. Ft. Astoria/George		xxx			
	10. Spokane House	.....			
	11. Kootenay House		.....		
	12. Flathead House		.....		
	13. Ft. Okanagan		.....		
	14. Ft. Nez Percés					
	15. Ft. Vancouver					
	16. Ft. Colville					
	17. Ft. Langley					
	18. Ft. Nisqually					
	19. Ft. Umpqua					
	20. Ft. Hall					
	21. Ft. Boise					
	22. Cowlitz Farm					
	23. Ft. Victoria					
	24. (Boat Encampment)					

Coalition in 1821

North West Co.	.....
Pacific Fur Co.	xxxxxx
Wyeth	.....
Hudson's Bay Co.	-----



COLUMBIA DEPARTMENT POSTS

demanded that two Whites be handed over to be slain for the spirits of the departed. This demand was refused. Matters were only calmed by the late appearance of a young Wallawalla war leader, one Morning Star, and a small party of followers, who reminded the Indians that, since the coming of the traders and the arms and ammunition they brought, they had been able to defend themselves against their old foe, the Snakes. Thereafter a reconciliation was effected, the Nor'Westers giving payment to atone for the deaths and wounds suffered by the Indians.¹²

Affairs continued turbulent, with intermittent lulls. In 1817, an inland brigade bought horses from a mixed party of Cayuse and Wallawalla who followed them upriver along the Columbia and camped with them. When they paused at the mouth of the Walla Walla, Tamatappam visited them and sold them several horses.¹³ Yet in the summer of the same year, an inland brigade encountered attempts to levy tribute all the way from the Dalles past the Forks of the Snake;¹⁴ and in the very year the post was finally begun, a party including Peter Skene Ogden was attacked from canoes off the mouth of the Walla Walla River and driven to take refuge on an island.¹⁵

For a number of reasons, the Council of Fort William, the governing body of the North West Company, was inclined to build a post on the Columbia near the mouth of the Walla Walla River. It was the point at which the component segments of the inland brigade took their leave of each other as they departed for their separate posts and missions, and it would thus be a convenient location for a depot for the interior—far more so than Spokane House, which then served that purpose, though it was inconveniently located on a northern tributary of the Columbia.¹⁶ Indeed, since the Treaty of Ghent had brought a formal end to hostilities between Great Britain and the United States, John Jacob Astor was pressing for the return of Fort George, asserting that in effect it had been a prize of war. Since the Council of Fort William was uncertain whether the British government would yield, they envisaged the possibility that the new interior post might need to serve as a general depot for the entire region.¹⁷

In its decision to build the post, the council recognized the views of Donald McKenzie, a cousin of Alexander Mackenzie. A veteran Nor'Wester who had first seen the interior as a member of the overland Astor party led by Wilson Price Hunt in 1811, he had learned the uses of the horse in that rugged terrain. When he

rejoined the Nor'Westers after the purchase of the Pacific Fur Company's assets, he brought with him extensive experience with the Indians of the region.

The best site for the new post, he was convinced, lay near the spot called by the Indians Walula, "little river."¹⁸ It was strategically located, lying on the shelving shore of the east bank of the Columbia, some half a dozen miles below the heavily populated Forks and half a mile above the mouth of the Walla Walla River. Here the Columbia could be crossed to the village of Yellepit and to the Chamnapam settlements on the lower Yakima River. Well downriver, on the north bank of the Columbia, ran a war trail of the Cayuse and Nez Perces that reached via the Kalama River to the Chinook villages across from the mouth of the Willamette. On the east bank, the "buffalo road" angled up to strike the Touchet, tributary to the Walla Walla from the north, continuing eastward to reach the Nez Perce settlements on the Snake, and thence to the buffalo country. It was this route that Lewis and Clark had followed on their return.¹⁹ Southern tributaries to the Walla Walla River, such as Pine Creek, gave access to the Cayuse pasture lands near Wild Horse Creek, to a trail leading downriver through the Umatilla villages along the south shore of the Columbia, and southward to the fur-rich country of the Blue Mountains and the Snake country beyond. Closer at hand, a fish weir about a mile up the Walla Walla, tended by the men of several nearby lodges, provided local tribesmen with seasonal plenty of whitefish and salmon.²⁰ At this favored spot, large intertribal gatherings met in late summer,²¹ where a trader might find customers.

Above all, this was pronounced "the most hostile spot on the whole line of communication,"²² and one that therefore must be brought under control. McKenzie, a past master at grasping the nettle firmly, was the man for the job; and it was doubtless he, with his previous experience with the most numerous and powerful tribe in the vicinity, who named it Fort Nez Percés. In time, because it lay within the territory of the Wallawalla, not far from the river that gave them their name, it came also to be known as Fort Walla Walla.*²³

*Hereinafter the fort and district is referred to, except in quotations, only by its original name. We retain the accent from the French in the name of the fort, though contemporary usage omits it in the name of the tribe.

The location lay in impressive surroundings. As Ross described it,

On the west is a spacious view of our noble stream [the Columbia] in all its grandeur, resembling a lake rather than a river, and confined on the opposite shore by verdant hills of moderate height. On the north and east the sight is fatigued by the uniformity and wide expanse of boundless plains. On the south the prospect is romantic, being abruptly checked by a striking contrast of wild hills and rugged bluffs on either side of the water, and rendered more picturesque by two singular towering rocks, similar in color, shape, and height, called by the natives "The Twins," situated on the east side. These are skirted in the distance by a chain of the Blue Mountains, lying in the direction of east and west.²⁴

Governor-in-chief of the Hudson's Bay Company, George Simpson, saw it with a less romantic eye.

A more dismal situation than that of this post can hardly be imagined. The fort is surrounded by a sandy desert, which produces nothing but wormwood, excepting that the horses and cattle find a little pasturage on the hills. As not a single tree grows within several miles in any direction, the buildings are constructed entirely of drift-wood, about which many a skirmish has taken place with the Indians, just as anxious, perhaps, to secure the treasure as ourselves. This district of country is subject to very high winds [rushing through the Walula Gap just downriver on the Columbia] which, sweeping over the sands, raise such a cloud of dust as renders it dangerous, or even impossible, to leave the house during the continuance of the gale. The climate is dry and hot, very little rain falling at any season.²⁵

Not for nothing had the Wallawalla Indians located here the mythic Hatis, whose flapping ears had been the source of all winds, until Coyote, in his travels, had forced him to abate his actions.

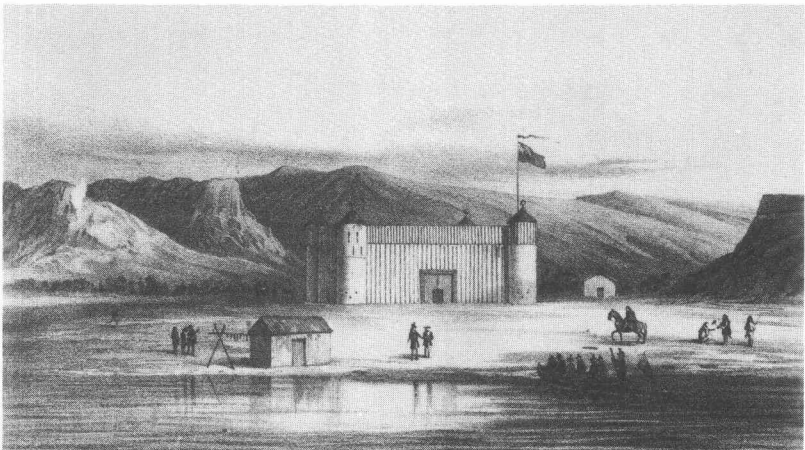
Building the Fort

On its sandy, shelving base, the post stood on a peninsula during low water, which became an island in flood spate.²⁶ In midsummer, the unpalatably warm waters of the Snake ran close to shore, not yet intermingled with the cooler flow of the Columbia, so that it was necessary to send a canoe out into midstream to fetch drinking

water.²⁷ The spring floods of 1831, on the other hand, rose to undercut the palisade on the western wall of the fort. Lack of appropriate soil nearby made it necessary to locate the first farm tracts inland some seven miles up the Walla Walla River,²⁸ although subsequently Pierre Pambrun developed a garden closer to the fort. In order to prevent the horses of the establishment from intermingling with those of the Indians and to provide them with suitable grazing, they were pastured on the lower Pine Creek,²⁹ some sixteen miles east of the fort.

When McKenzie, seconded by Clerk Alexander Ross, and with a strong force of ninety-five men, commenced construction of the post in 1818, the Wallawallas held aloof, the local headman directing the people to have nothing to do with the strangers until they made them gifts. As the Nor'Westers set to building, cutting trees and hauling them a hundred miles by water to that barren spot, other tribes began to gather, insisting, says Ross,³⁰ on payment for the timber cut, and forbidding the party to hunt or fish. When Whites agreed to trade for necessities, the Indians set their prices high; and they insulted individuals they encountered alone.

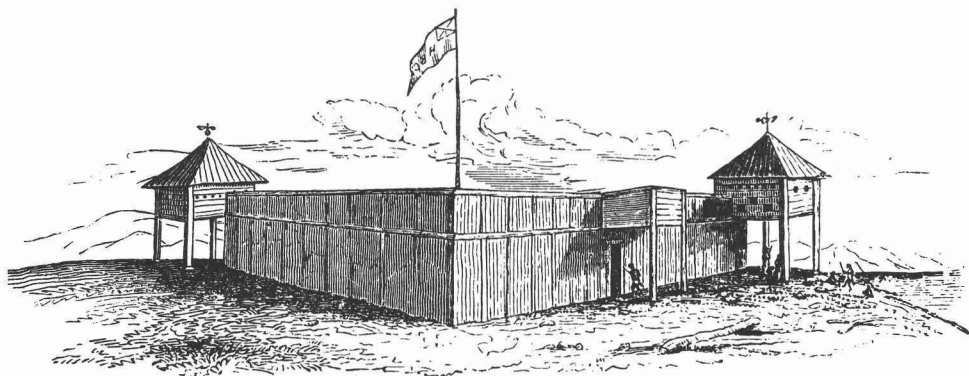
At length, McKenzie halted work and, standing his men to arms, by firmness finally effected an accommodation with the chiefs. Building was then resumed, yet McKenzie felt it necessary to



*The 1818 fort, view east from the Columbia. (Ross, *Fur Hunters of the Far West*, 1855.) A critic writes, "The walls would actually be about half the height shown, and the bastions square" (Clark 1954). Courtesy Special Collections, Knight Library.*

broach the subject of gaining passage to trade with the Shoshoneans to the south. This matter could not be resolved before the return of Tamatappam, who presently arrived with a war party of 480 men, fresh from a victorious campaign against those foes. Tamatappam, since his encounter with Lewis and Clark, had been a friend of the traders, had received them hospitably, had traded horses, and, after hostilities had mounted, had repeatedly warned them of impending danger. In the present circumstance, however, Ross found him "uncommonly selfish," urging the traders to be liberal with his followers. He objected to giving up war with the Shoshoneans, and Quahat, a Cayuse war chief, asked whether the Whites planned to trade arms to their foe. Finally, they agreed to let McKenzie build his trading post.³¹

Erected under these conditions, the post was built to be strong, "the Gibraltar of Columbia," as Ross pronounced it when done.³² Garth, who excavated later phases of the structure, estimates that the original fort cannot have been more than 100 feet across the front.³³ In contemporary pictures and descriptions, it has a bastion at each corner, an outer stockade of sawn planks six inches thick, thirty inches wide, and twenty feet long, set into the soil. About the inner perimeter of the stockade ran a gallery five feet wide, protected by a wall four feet high surmounting the stockade, from which defenders might fire upon an attacking force. At the bastions, water was stored for extinguishing fires, together with

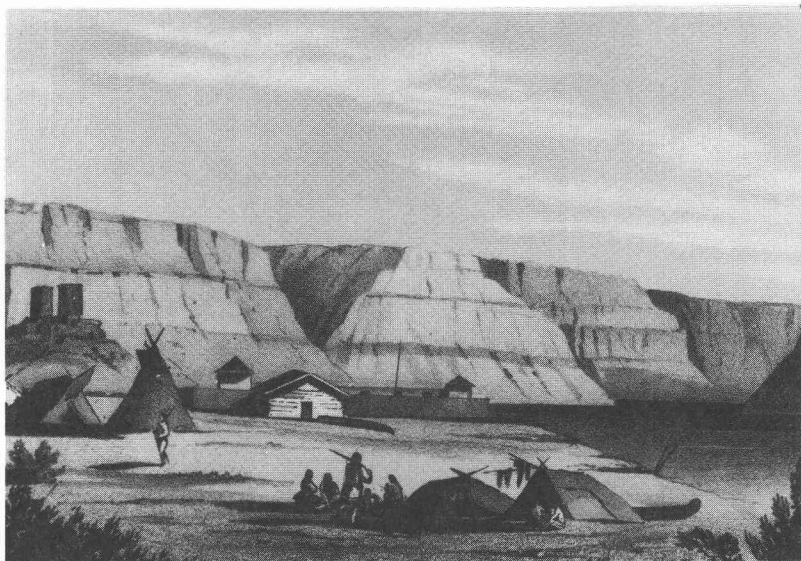


The fort as drawn in 1841 by Joseph Drayton, viewed from the northwest (Wilkes 1845, 4: 391). Courtesy Special Collections, Knight Library.

cannons. There were also ten swivel guns and a mortar, the latter mounted over the main gate, which faced the Columbia. Inside were ranges of storehouses and dwelling houses for the men and officers. An inner plank stockade twelve feet high separated them from the inner yard, with portholes for defense and slip doors giving access to the yard. The outer gate could be opened and shut by pulley from a protected place, and two double doors secured the entrance.³⁴ It was not, however, the original fort but a successive stage, provisionally identified with the fort from 1831 to 1841, that Garth excavated; this had a stockade measuring 210 feet on a side, with only two bastions, on the northeast and southwest corners, though the gates still gave on the eastern and western faces. The eastern half of the area of that second phase was given over to a horse corral, while the buildings formed three sides of a rectangle facing the western gate. Although Garth was unable to locate traces of the original 1818 fort,³⁵ it was continuous at least in part with that of 1831, for the master of the post at that time, Simon McGillivray, Jr., remarked that the pickets (palisades) on the east side of the fort dated from the first year of construction, while the master's house had been "untouched since Ross built it."³⁶

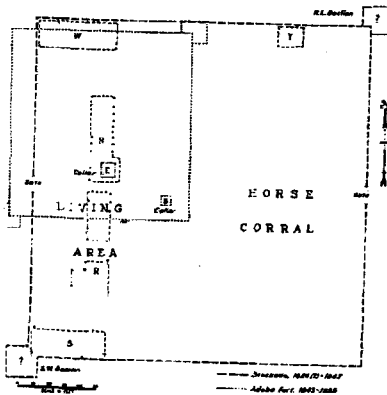
The 1831 fort as rebuilt by McGillivray—with possible modifications by his successor—was that visited by the Wilkes party, shortly before it was destroyed by fire in 1841.³⁷ We have considerable detail on this phase of the fort from a sketch in Wilkes, a description of repairs given by McGillivray, and Garth's excavations. The north and south ranges of buildings seem to have comprised a storehouse, a trading store, and dwellings for the men. On the east side of the square was the master's house, a kitchen, a powder magazine, and a large Indian hall. According to the missionary, Henry H. Spalding, the master's house and the Indian hall were floored, and each contained a small window.³⁸ The location of the Indian hall is evidenced by McGillivray's remark that it could be covered by fire from blunderbusses on the point gallery—the projection over the western gate shown in Wilkes—which faced the Indian hall and commanded the interior of the fort.³⁹

When the second fort was destroyed by fire in 1841, a third was built of adobes, the master of the time, Archibald McKinlay, drawing for this material upon the advice and example of the



The adobe fort built in 1842-43, view east, as depicted in 1853 by John Mix Stanley. Courtesy Oregon Historical Society.

missionaries at the Whitman station.⁴⁰ The new structure was about half the size of its predecessor, the outer walls being but 113 feet on a side and twelve feet high. Evidently, no horse corral was now included. There were two bastions located as before on the southwest and the northeast corners, and the gates still opened on the east and west walls. Within the walls, two buildings on the north range housed the men and stores, while facing them on the south was another storehouse. In the center, with its cellar coincident with that of its predecessor, stood the master's house. Adjoining it seems to have been a trading store, a magazine, and a smaller dwelling. There may have been a kitchen and a mess-hall adjacent. No Indian hall is evident. However, scenes of the fort by John Mix Stanley⁴¹ and Paul Kane⁴² show a large gabled building outside the north wall of the fort which may have served that purpose. When McKinlay had completed its construction in 1843, he observed, "I may without much boast say that my Fort is the most compact in the Columbia."⁴³ His post survived in Company hands until it was sacked and burned in 1855. Garth traces its subsequent history.⁴⁴



General plan of the second (i.e., 1841) and adobe forts, from excavations in 1949-50. Stockade of the former, 210 feet on a side (Garth 1952, Fig. 1). Courtesy Pacific Northwest Quarterly.

The Larger Context

This then was the post, as a configuration of structures. As such, it had significance from several perspectives. The North West Company had been the last of a series of opponents—at first French, then, later, colonial—of the Hudson's Bay Company, a joint-stock company granted a royal charter in 1670 for a monopoly of the produce of those lands the waters of which drained into Hudson's Bay. The rivalry between the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company had led finally to bloodshed. Parliamentary action in 1821 brought about a coalition of the two rivals, the resulting firm continuing the name of the Hudson's Bay Company, with personnel and operating principles drawn from both predecessors. British fur-trading interests were thus united under one head. The Company exercised quasi-governmental control over its employees and sought as well to extend some measure of responsive rule among the sometimes turbulent Indian tribes of the region. Wrote the governor and committee of the Company soon after coalition to George Simpson, governor in charge of the operations,

in the meantime we wish our former instructions to be attended to, and that every exertion should be used to obtain the good will of the natives in all countries to the West of the Rocky Mountains particularly on the Columbia. Every assurance should be given them that our object is confined to carrying on a Trade which must be beneficial to them, and that we have no desire to possess or cultivate their lands beyond the little gardens at the Trading houses.⁴⁵

Thus, Fort Nez Percés was a member of a chain of trading posts along the Columbia and on adjacent streams. It was the only post, and the administrative seat, of the Nez Percés District, where some twelve thousand Indians lived in an area roughly fifty thousand square miles in extent. Samuel Black, master of the fort in 1827, thus described the bounds of its domain: "From Priests Rapid to the Chutes [i.e. Celilo Falls at the Dalles] along the Chutes [Deschutes] River to its sources and along the Sources of John Days River to Grand Round from thence to Nez Perces and Louis [i.e., Snake] River."⁴⁶

If the operations of the Company were undisputed within Great Britain, it nonetheless was operating within a territory, the Oregon Country, to which the United States had equal access. In the aftermath of the War of 1812, four American companies had emerged, operating westward out of St. Louis. They were the French Fur Company, a reorganized Missouri Fur Company, the Columbia Fur Company—comprising former Nor'Westers who had become surplus with the coalition with the Hudson's Bay Company—and the partnership of General William Ashley and Andrew Henry. Behind them all loomed Astor's American Fur Company, eager for a place. Together, with the aid of Senator Thomas Hart Benton, they lobbied for an end to the factory system, a network of government trading houses established to buffer trading relations with the Indians.⁴⁷ In 1822, the year after the creation of the new Hudson's Bay Company, the American companies secured the abolition of the factory system, and entered into a *laissez-faire* rivalry among themselves. It was inevitable, however, with the patriotic issues of the Oregon Country at stake, and with the memory of the role the North West Company had played in the recent hostilities between Britain and the United States, that the Hudson's Bay Company and its American opposition, both coastal and inland, would compete fiercely.

Yet there was another dimension, beyond colonial rivalries. As an intrusion into Indian country, Fort Nez Percés, and the system of which it was a part, overlaid a native trading network of considerable vitality, from which the Indians brought expectations which sometimes clashed with those of the Company. Similarly, the master of the post and those who served under him made accommodations to life amidst Indian societies even then undergoing considerable change.

Black in 1829 enumerated the principal tribes of the district as follows: speaking related languages were the Nez Perces, with some five to six hundred fighting men; the Palus, with about sixty or seventy men; the Wallawalla—including under this rubric riverine peoples dwelling along the Columbia in scattered bands from Priest Rapids down to the Deschutes, where some fifty fighting men could be mustered—totalling three hundred warriors; the Yakima, north of the Columbia, of whom some hundred and fifty men fished toward the fort (the others tending instead to trade below at Fort Vancouver). Lastly, with their own distinctive tongue, there were the Cayuse, who could raise but fifty to fifty-four fighting men, but still retaining considerable influence. Black estimated the total Indian population of the region to be between six thousand and eight thousand persons, somewhat below more recent estimates for that time.⁴⁸

Seen at closer range, the post formed the setting for the daily and seasonal rounds of life, the home of families, the context, at intervals, for seasonal trading, which reached its peak in the fall with the ceremonial “clothing of chiefs.” It constituted an element in the plans of individuals, White and Indian, and of struggles for power among their leaders.

To staff this post, the Company, for reasons of economy, maintained as small a force as was compatible with safety and efficiency. Black had just seven men under him in 1827;⁴⁹ in 1831, Simon McGillivray had seven men and two boys;⁵⁰ while McKinlay, in the midst of rebuilding the fort in 1842 wrote that he was doing so with a force of six men.⁵¹ In 1829, the entire Columbia Department, exclusive of its northern district, comprised but 224 men, in addition to a handful of officers.⁵²

In order the better to understand the post, we shall first examine the Indian setting in which it had been established.

Two

The Columbian Trading Network



In the Columbia Department, the Hudson's Bay establishments overlay an aboriginal trading network; with this network, however well or ill they comprehended it, the Company contended or made adaptation.¹ The Columbian network extended along the drainage system of the Columbia, ranging northward and southward along the coast; in the interior it penetrated the Thompson-Fraser drainage of the Northern Plateau, and it reached across the Rockies into the Missouri system of the Northern Plains. Its most striking feature was its interregional nature, involving therefore traffic in the products of distinct natural and cultural areas; but a flourishing exchange also took place within regions, on tribal* and village levels.

Within the basin of the Columbia River, the lower course, below the Dalles, was populated by Chinookan-speaking peoples, in contact on the north primarily with coastal Salish speakers, and beyond them with the Makah, Nootka, and others. The entire region west of the Cascades lay within the cultural province of the Northwest Coast, extending from southern Alaska to northwestern California. Above the Dalles lay the Columbian Intermontane Plateau, extending to the Rockies. We shall be concerned primarily with the Southern Plateau, occupied in the middle course of the river by Sahaptian speakers and in its upper course by the interior Salish.

Nothing better introduces us to the major entities within the Columbian trading network than the observations of Lewis and Clark. As the two captains described the system they saw, five

An expanded version of this chapter appears as an article, "The Columbian Trading Network," forthcoming in the Plateau volume of the *Handbook of North American Indians*.

*The term "tribal," unless otherwise noted, will be used simply, in an older sense, to denote a distinctive ethnic group, without judgment as to its formal political organization. See Helm 1968 for discussion.

regionally distinct groups participated in the exchange. Four were Indian. There were those dwelling where the river cuts through the Cascade Mountains, who dominated portages around falls and thus controlled passage, and those on the lower river and coast, who traded with them; from the upper country, two groups came down to trade, hailing respectively from the western Plateau and from the mountainous country east of them to the Rockies.

The fifth group comprised coastal traders, largely American. In the opinion of the explorers their seasonal visits “form[s] the soul of this trade”; but, despite their growing importance, they cannot have been responsible for giving rise to the network: they had only breached into a traffic already in existence.²

Structure of the Trade

At the center of the network lay those villages situated along the Columbia between Celilo Falls, just above the Dalles, and the Cascades, downstream a distance of roughly fifty miles.* Upriver were the villages of the Chinookan-speaking White Salmon and Wasco-Wishram and the Western Columbia Sahaptins.³ Not only did these villages dominate passage along the river, but they had come to specialize in the production of salmon pemmican, both for their own use and for the trade. Yearly, they dried and pulverized salmon, packing it in baskets lined with salmon skin, each holding some hundred pounds apiece. Stored in stacks of twelve, they provided for Lewis and Clark and subsequent scholars the basis for calculation of the total amount consigned each year to trade, which Griswold has estimated to have been a million pounds.⁴ This delicacy, still recalled with pleasure by elderly Indians, was traded in several directions. It was highly prized on the lower river and coast, for the fresh-run salmon caught there were too fat, and the weather too rainy, to produce a satisfactory pemmican. Above the Dalles to the mouth of the Snake, where other conditions were favorable, the dearth of firewood, said the captains, made it often necessary to burn salmon for fuel, and not enough was left over for pemmican. Klamath, trading northward from their well-stocked lakes and marshes, found the pemmican so admirable that they seem to have duplicated it using local white fish.⁵ Finally, even Plains tribes at times seem to have traded for it.

*For location of tribal entities mentioned, see the map on page 35.

This was but a single item in a complex exchange of products. Diverse plants and animals flourished in different local environments and entered into the stream of trade. Examples include wappato root from the lower valley, berries from numerous localities, and from the coast sea fish, olachen oil, and whale oil and blubber. Shells and a large range of manufactures were also traded, as well as the raw materials that entered into their fabrication. The trading network not only had the consequence of enlarging local diets but, through disseminating articles, at once encouraged local specialization in their production and diminished the cultural distinctiveness of participant peoples.⁶

Within the network, there were those who served as middlemen, entrepreneurs who traded to their own advantage, serving as carriers, rather than primary producers. The Chinookan-speaking Skilloot, who dwelt about the mouth of the Cowlitz, for example, performed this role on the lower river. They bore goods between the Falls and the lower tribes, as well as to the American trading ships at the mouth of the Columbia. For those ships that traded into Puget Sound, the Salishan Chehalis, among others, served similarly as intermediaries to the lower Columbia. In the Plateau, it was the Sahaptian Klickitat and Salishan Spokane who played a corresponding role. In what was to be the Fort Nez Percés District, the Spokane carried goods down to the mouth of the Snake—it was from them that the Wallawalla, in their largely treeless region, secured their dugout canoes⁷—and almost annually descended to the Dalles; later, they would make their way to Fort Vancouver.

The routinization of practice of such traders is illustrated by the account of one man whom Lewis and Clark encountered at the Cascades as he was returning upriver. This man, an Eloot (Wishram?), stated that, on trading trips to the lower Columbia, his party left its canoes at the head of the Narrows, a difficult and dangerous passage, portaging their goods to the foot of that obstacle, where they rented or borrowed craft from local villagers to continue their journey. On their return, they reversed the procedure.⁸ The Klickitats, those inveterate traders, also made imbricated baskets for the trade. These they exchanged with the Nez Percés for buffalo robes, then traded the latter with the Wishram for salmon pemmican.⁹

Many peoples within the network thus traded not only their own products but surplus stocks of items they had received in exchange from others. The Chinook proper, at the mouth of the river, sought to dominate all trade with the coastal traders. Their trading parties made their way north to the Makah, at Cape Flattery, through whom they acquired both Makah products and items traded south from the Nootka, of Vancouver Island, notably dentalium shells, slaves, and Nootka—miscalled “Chinook”—canoes, widely sought on the lower Columbia.

For the peoples of the Plateau, as well as such tribes in the south as the Klamath, the Dalles was the great rendezvous; here they congregated in great numbers in the springtime, bringing with them their trading goods.¹⁰ Lewis and Clark observed that those from the western Plateau brought skins, mats, silk grass, and chapelle (root) bread, which they exchanged for wappato, horses, beads, and other items of foreign manufacture. Those from the eastern sector, such as the Nez Perces and other mountain tribes, brought bear-grass, horses, and camas root, as well as buffalo robes and other skins that they had secured either by hunting or through barter with the Flathead. These they traded for wappato, salmon pemmican, and trade beads.¹¹

From the south, in later times, came the Klamath, who, together with the related Modoc, raided the Achumawi and Atsugewi of the Pit River region in northern California, carrying off women and children, bows, and water-tight baskets. These the Klamath brought northward, along with such local products as *wokas* (pond lily seeds), to trade with the Clackamas Chinook below the falls of the Willamette or, making their way to the Tygh (Western Sahaptin) villages on the middle Deschutes, to trade with the Wasco for horses, parfleches, and salmon pemmican. Slaves were a commodity much sought on the lower Columbia, as well as along the northern reaches of the Northwest Coast. To secure them, the Chinook raided south along the Oregon coast.¹² In turn, among the tribes thus raided, small-scale hostilities also ended in the enslavement of women and children.

Within the network, it was commonplace for items to change hands repeatedly. When a whale washed up on the Tillamook coast, below the mouth of the Columbia, Clark met parties of Chinook and Clatsop from the lower river trading with the

COLUMBIAN TRADING NETWORK

*Trading regions**Major products*

NORTHWEST COAST

1. Cascades to the Dalles

Salmon pemmican, salmon oil

2. Lower Columbia seacoast

Sea fish, whale meat, and wappato roots, shells, berries, acorns, elkskin armor

2a. Vancouver Island and coast northward

Dentalium shells, canoes

EUROPE AND AMERICA

3. Coastal traders

Guns and ammunition, knives, axes, kettles, beads, sailors' clothing

PLATEAU

4. Western Plateau

Skins, furs, mats, silkgrass, rushes, chapellet (root) bread

5. Eastern Plateau

Bear-grass, horses, camas, buffalo robes, other skins

PLAINS AND BASIN

6a. Grande Ronde

Roots, tipis, elk and buffalo meat, buffalo robes

PLAINS

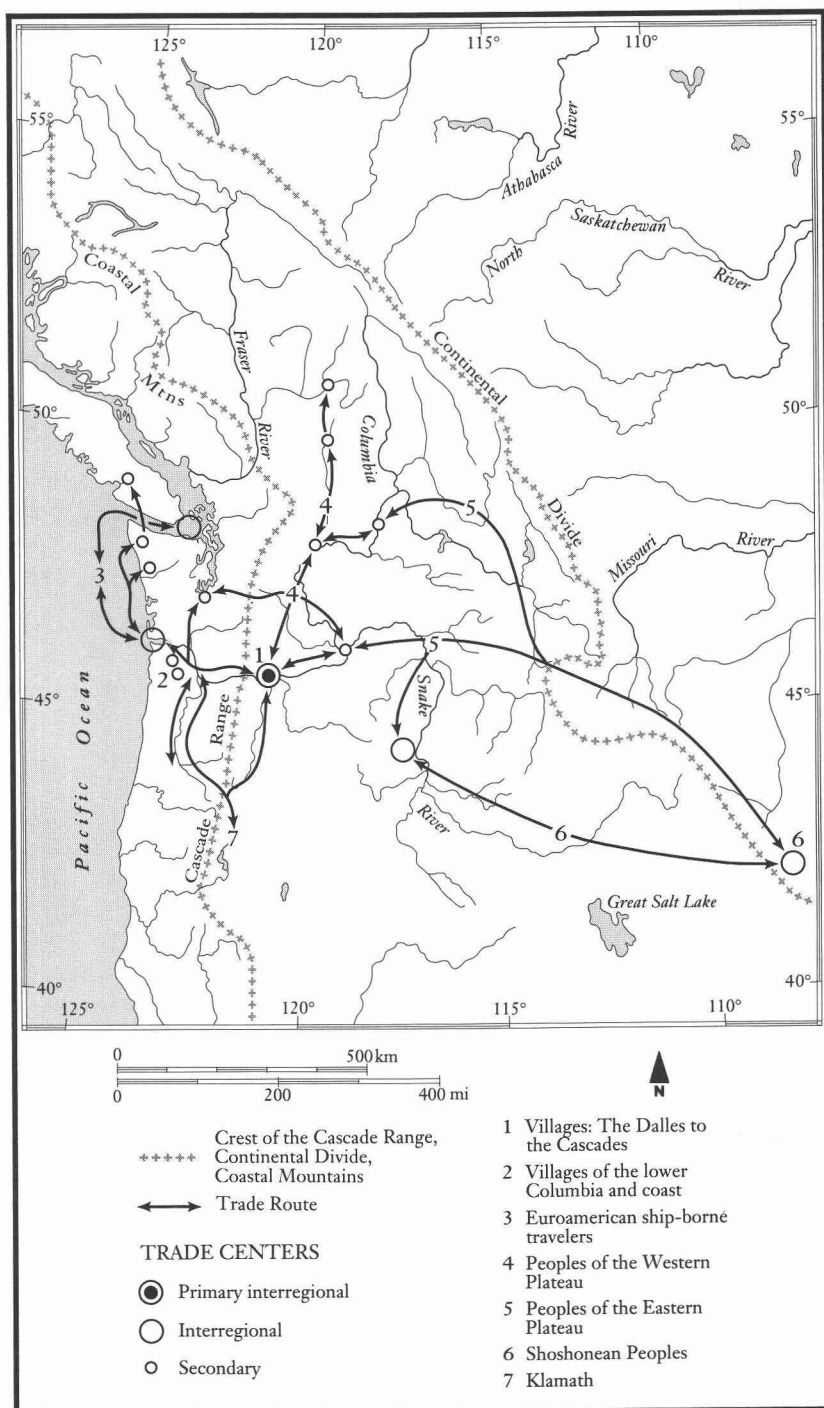
6b. Plains proper

Tipis, headdresses, par fleches, etc.

CALIFORNIA-BASIN

7. Klamath-Modoc

Slaves, Pit River bows, water-tight baskets, *wokas* (pond-lily seeds), whitefish pemmican



COLUMBIAN TRADING NETWORK

Tillamook for oil and blubber. In turn, the Clatsop received a party of Cathlamet, from above them on the river, who bartered wappato for at least part of their stock of the whale. "In this manner," wrote Lewis, "there is a trade continually carried on by the natives of the river each trading some article or other with their neighbours above and below them; and thus articles which are vended by the whites at the entrance of this river, find their way to the most distant nations enhabiting it's waters."¹³

In similar manner, many of the items originating from the Plains, secured at first through the Shoshone and later traded directly from other tribes of the Northern Plains, entered the network through Plateau tribes. At the Grande Ronde, says Wilkes, Cayuses exchanged salmon and horses for Shoshone roots, tipis, and elk and buffalo meat.¹⁴ Much they retained for themselves, trading a part once more, along with their own products. In traffic with such Plains tribes as the Crow, Cayuses and Nez Perces exchanged roots, horses, and horn bows for Plains clothing, tipis, parfleches, women's saddles, and other accoutrements. The Crow were noted for their ornamented buffalo robes, says Teit, and the Sioux for their feather bonnets.¹⁵ Thus, manufactured goods from the Plains entered the trading network. The Crow also sold European trade items which they had secured from the agricultural villages of the Mandan and Hidatsa of the middle Missouri drainage. The Nez Perces secured their first guns from that source.¹⁶

Dentalium shells from the Nootka constituted a medium of exchange in the lower river, the horn-shaped shells being sorted and strung by size in fathom lengths, with forty shells of the largest grade to the string. Griswold asserts that beyond the Dalles dentalia were no longer a medium of exchange but were valued as articles of wealth and adornment,¹⁷ entering widely then into Plateau and Plains costume. By contrast, abalone (mother-of-pearl), though widely sought for ornament, was never taken as a medium of exchange within the trade, perhaps because of its irregular size and shape. Dentalia were highly valued and standardized among such peoples as the Yurok of northwestern California; and it was from the south that the Klamath received them.¹⁸ In the early days of this century, recall Indians on the Umatilla Reservation, they journeyed south to the Klamath to trade for dentalia and clam-shell wampum. No doubt this was necessary because of the near-extinction of the Chinookans of the lower river, their former source.

The White traders off the coast seem to have mounted a challenge to dentalium as a medium of exchange. Lewis and Clark found on the lower river that blue or white trade beads from China were the most highly sought commodity. They

are strung on strands by the yard or the length of both arms [i.e., treated like dentalium]; of these, blue beads, which are called *tia commashuck*, or chief beads, hold the first rank in their ideas of relative value; the most inferior kind are esteemed beyond the finest wampum. . . . These beads are . . . at once beautiful ornaments for the person and the great circulating medium of trade with all the nations on the Columbia.¹⁹

Perhaps because the coastal traders subsequently flooded the market with trade beads, they failed in the end to displace dentalia as a medium of exchange. Instead, at the time the Pacific Fur Company founded Astoria, in 1811, the Chinook asked the value of trade goods in either of two standards, the dentalium fathom or the medium established by the newcomers, the beaver skin.²⁰ Upriver, and nearly two decades later, Samuel Black, manager of Fort Nez Percés, reported that the native standard was the double fathom of dentalia, worth a prime beaver pelt. Articles he traded from the tribes of the district included furs, horses, dentalia, dressed deerskins, buffalo robes, salmon pemmican, and dried salmon. Many of these items were bartered in the Indian store of the post for beads, ammunition, and tobacco, among other items. Black priced various items in beaver skins: thus, a large deerskin was worth one beaver; a buffalo robe, four; a good horse, fifteen—surely an understatement, as we shall see—and a set of garments, between ten and forty skins, “according to the garnish^d work about it.”²¹ As this last remark illustrates, in the Indian trade articles must often have been evaluated individually, rather than simply as members of a category, with such qualities as rarity, the quality of the work, condition, and personal appeal being weighed in.

The Social Context of Trading

An intertribal exchange such as the Columbian network would clearly benefit from an interlingual means of communication. One did in fact come into being in the lower drainage and along the coast: this was Chinook Jargon, a pidgin language, as it is now termed, simple in its grammar, with a small vocabulary, requiring

gesticulation to supplement its oral message.²² Judging by the Indian component of its vocabulary, which is largely Chinookan, with some Nootka and Chehalis, it must have sprung up in the coastal trade with the north, possibly among peoples often engaged in the trade as middlemen.²³ As it is known historically, it includes large amounts of vocabulary from English and French, leading some authorities to conclude that it originated only in post-contact days, and in White-Indian exchanges. There are, however, grounds for believing that it had aboriginal roots, and they have been conveniently summarized by Hymes.²⁴

Among the Kalapuya of the Willamette Valley the Chinook Jargon came to replace a sign language that had previously been in use.²⁵ At least among the Salishan speakers of the Plateau, an early local sign language was replaced by one imported from the Northern Plains, learned particularly through the Crow.²⁶ Among Sahaptian speakers only the latter, to my knowledge, is attested. What is clear is that Chinook Jargon was late in coming to the Plateau, and among the Salishan tribes did not replace bilingualism in French as a medium of communication in the trading posts. Thus, above the Dalles signing, rather than the Jargon, facilitated trade.

Exchange was deeply embedded in social relationships. Something of its complex nature can be seen in the career of Kammach, son of a headman and himself in time to become a headman of the Tualatin Kalapuya, dwelling above the falls of the Willamette. Trade such as his brought to the Kalapuya exotic articles including Klickitat baskets, woven mountain goat wool blankets from the Salish of the western Plateau, and buffalo robes from the Plains. Kammach early aligned himself with the interests of the prominent Clackamas Chinook leader, Cassino. When he thereafter married the daughter of a Chinook headman—either Clackamas or Wishram-Wasco—his father paid over a bride price of twenty slaves and ten rifles. Annually thereafter, Kammach visited friends—in all likelihood trading partners—among the Luckiamute and Mary's River bands of Kalapuya in the middle valley, as well as the Alsea on the coast, in trips that might last six months. He brought them horses and money dentalia, together with rifles, blankets, coats, tobacco, and gunpowder. From them he received in return slaves, beaver skins, buckskins, and other hides. These he handed over to his father-in-law, perhaps as a supplement to the

bride price, but surely as something more: for his father-in-law was probably the source of his trading goods, and in turn traded the beaver pelts and the hides at Fort Vancouver, while trading the slaves within the native network.²⁷

A model of native exchange suggested by Sahlins²⁸ offers some insight into the social dimensions of trading. A Cayuse among his or her own kin and friends, and to a lesser extent among other fellow villagers, might expect to participate in what Sahlins terms a "generalized reciprocity." This is a relatively uncalculating generosity—so long as the donors themselves were not in need—in the expectation that at some time in the future each would, if possible, return the favor. Among more distant members of the tribe, and with friendly Plateau neighbors to whom he or she was not related, the Cayuse might expect exchange to follow the lines of "balanced reciprocity," with a fair, but somewhat impersonal, calculation of values. In trade—often, but not necessarily, in an interregional setting, marked by linguistic and cultural differences—with peoples with whom one does not usually marry, but instead may wage intermittent warfare, trading relationships become volatile, to say the least, at times taking on the character of trickery, bluff, and force, which Sahlins denominates "negative reciprocity." For where goods that are traded may alternatively be seized as loot, exchange may take on a myriad of colorations.

Let us look at each of these three categories on the ground. Within the Southern Plateau, so frequently did tribes, or segments thereof, participate together in various activities that Anastasio has characterized the entire area as a social entity, unified by consensus and reciprocal interaction.²⁹ By way of example, Cayuses associated most intimately with the bands of the Lower Nez Perces and with elements of the Wallawalla and Umatilla. Combined parties from among these peoples sometimes camped together at fishing stations in Cayuse country in the Grande Ronde or in Nez Perces country on the Wallowa. From among them joint war parties went forth against the Shoshonean tribes to the south; joint parties, along with others, journeyed to the buffalo country of the upper Yellowstone. Together they made part of large intertribal encampments numbering several thousands, with the Yakima in their country in the spring and in the Walla Walla Valley in late summer. Aside from engaging, when seasonally appropriate, in fishing or root digging, they celebrated together the thanksgiving

ceremonies for first fruits, discussed political concerns, renewed friendships, and courted; as well, they traded, raced horses, and gambled. At such friendly gatherings, there seems to have been an informal ranking of leaders from the participant groups.³⁰ Such was the permeability of ethnic boundaries that villages on the borders of adjacent amicable groups often had a composite population drawn from both.³¹ Notwithstanding such fusing, the retention of distinctive dialects and characteristic local cultural traditions testify to the persistence of a sense of ethnic identity. Even today, in such contests as horse racing and gambling, betting tends to be with one's home contestant, an expression of tribal solidarity; or, when it is Sahaptian against Salishan, of linguistic loyalty.³²

Within the context of such relationships, trading might well take place at the local level, often characterized by informal bartering. As Teit notes of the Okanogan, on the upper river, trading was commonplace between families within the same band, or comrades, or neighbors. They bartered for such staple commodities as Indian hemp (*Apocynum* sp.), twined or in its raw state, and for dressed deerskins. In exchange for these staples, he observes, all other goods could be purchased.³³ Of the Flathead, the Salish proper, Turney-High notes that men exchanged with each other, women with women, the latter in foods and feminine garments. The verb for "trading" implies, he says, "coaxing, as if one were being kind, respectful, and suave towards the other party of the trade with intent of drawing him out."³⁴

The role of women in the trade generally should not be minimized. Among the Sinkaietk (Southern Okanogan), when men visited their trading partners, they often travelled in large groups, the women going along to carry burdens and care for the food. Much of the trade goods was the property of the women, who carried on their trading while the men gambled, the young men going along for the adventure and to meet girls.³⁵

Relations between the Flathead and Nez Perces are instructive. The Flathead valued the water-tight bags and tasty roots of the Nez Perces, who in turn found superior the dried meat and dressed deerskins of the Flathead. When the Nez Perces visited the Salish, they were warmly received. If they were not well acquainted, they haggled. "A man," Turney-High quotes a Flathead, "'bartered with the Shahaptin [Nez Perces] for as much as he could get.'" But if the two were long friends, they became in essence trading

partners. The visitor entered the Flathead's lodge and placed his goods on the floor as a gift; upon his departure, his partner made his return prestation.³⁶

The trading partnership is an institution frequently encountered between two peoples. In the early days of the Umatilla Reservation, such a connection was formed between a Cayuse cattleman and a Umatilla fisherman, who periodically, when a beef had been slaughtered or the salmon were running, would bring each other gifts of meat or fish. The two men called each other "Brother" throughout their lifetime; and after the death of the Cayuse, his children continued to address the Umatilla as "Uncle."³⁷

The gift exchange exists today on Northwestern reservations in the form called "trading." The nominal kinswomen and friends of a bride and groom mark the wedding by holding exchange feasts. A member of each group is paired with a member of the other for



A Umatilla woman displays the buckskin dress, twined bags of roots, and commercial cooking ware she had recently received from her trading partner, a member of the bride's "side." Photo by the author.

the trade. While pots, dishes, and tableware are exchanged, the chief items traded are symbolic of the roles of the bride and groom. Typically, a woman on the groom's side gives her partner a parfleche holding a blanket, shawl, dress materials, and perhaps moccasins and other items, reflecting the man's ability to provide. At the return feast, her trading partner may return cornhusk bags of roots, a beaded buckskin dress, and strings of shell beads, betokening the bride's industry and skill. One Umatilla woman expressed satisfaction that the "bride's bundle" she had presented—she was on the groom's side—had been so well appreciated that her partner had made an even more generous return. A ceremonial gift exchange of this kind in conjunction with reciprocal feasting may perhaps be seen as a weak reflection of the Chinookan potlatch—the term is at home in the Jargon of the lower river, but derived from Nootkan—which itself was only generically related to the elaborate ceremonial exchanges of the central and northern Northwest Coast.³⁸

Trading conducted across interregional boundaries provides some of the most dramatic examples of "negative reciprocity." Ross was struck by the turbulence of the trading scene at the Dalles. Some hundred Wayampam in their village at Celilo Falls were virtually swamped during the spring salmon run by the arrival of three thousand members of diverse Plateau tribes for the good times and the trading. "Now all these ["trading"] articles," declared Ross, "generally change hands through gambling, which alone draws so many vagabonds together at this place because they are always sure to live well here . . . the long narrows, therefore, is the great emporium or mart of the Columbia, and the general theatre of gambling and roguery." Murdock, however, provides another piece of the picture, telling us that "the visitors"—doubtless their womenfolk—"went from house to house, bartering with the local women."³⁹ Trading partners, to be sure, somewhat formalized exchange and lessened friction; they were also more necessary because of the infrequency of the visits and the negative reciprocity that often characterized them.

In the interregional trade of the Northern Plains and Great Basin, formality and control were greater, in part as an expression of Plains ceremonialism. Recalled one man of Palus-Nez Perce ancestry, when the Plateau party arrived, "the Crow chief would indicate to us the place where our people were to pitch their



The hand game, as played at the Umatilla Root Feast in 1958. The visitors, at the right, had hidden the two pairs of cylindrical bone dice, and the local team, having failed to guess the pattern of their final order, are forfeiting stick counters. Photo by the author.

separate camp circle. Each man had a trading partner who put by goods to trade" against the time they came together. When Salishan parties encountered erstwhile foes on the prairies, leaders of the two sides might smoke together, then announce a trading truce for a set period. During that time, then, members of the two parties danced, gambled, and traded together. Often, less than a day after the groups had separated, members on either side might already be engaged in trying to cut off stragglers or run off horses from the other group.⁴⁰ The ambivalence of negative reciprocity also characterized the activities of some of those middlemen whose course necessarily took them through the territory of alien peoples. The Spokane, for example, whose trading parties travelled down the Columbia to the Dalles, sometimes raided along the way; so that the Yakima came to term them "robbers."⁴¹

Euroamericans in the Network

In some measure, the White coastal traders, though strangers, supplemented the Columbian network, bringing many new and desirable articles and creating new markets. They soon intervened as middlemen. Spanish ships brought abalone shell from Monterey Bay.⁴² When the lower Columbia and the coast had been depleted of sea otter, American traders began to buy elkskin armor from the Chinook for resale to the Nootka, Haida, and others to the north; and they also took up the trade in olachen oil and slaves.⁴³ From the Nootka, they brought dentalium shells into their trade, partially supplanting Indian carriers. Later, the Hudson's Bay Company would occasionally deal in this commodity.

Significantly, it was while they were ascending the river, homeward bound, and had reached the Dalles, that Lewis and Clark encountered their most hostile haggling. While Chinookan women had been conspicuous in trading on the lower river, here they were not in view—evidence of a not very friendly posture. In their efforts to purchase food and horses, the captains were repeatedly frustrated by demands that were exorbitant; by an offer of a good horse only on condition that they also buy two useless animals at the same price; by sales that were reopened after a price had been accepted, with a demand for a higher figure; and with outright cancellation of a trade.⁴⁴ Yet in their bargaining, the villagers acted separately: when a Wishram leader dropped out of the bidding, other villagers stepped in to try their hand.

Control of the flow of trade, which those villages had long maintained, had become of critical importance with the introduction of European arms. Alexander Henry, eight years after Lewis and Clark passed through the region, remarked that the Chinookans at the Cascades sought to acquire firearms to use against their foes of the upper country, and that they wanted revenge upon those traders who had gone upriver and traded weapons to their enemies.⁴⁵

For their part, the Nez Perces and Cayuse resented the throttlehold of the villagers from the Dalles to the Cascades upon the passage of European goods coming up from the coast. As Thompson had been told at the Forks of the Snake, the Cayuse and Nez Perces were feeling pressure from the Shoshoneans to the south—Lewis and Clark had remarked that most of their fishing villages were sited on the north side of the Columbia as protection against Snake raids⁴⁶—and from the Blackfeet of the

Plains. Now well mounted, with great mobility and striking power, and with the experience of organization and warfare hard won in the field, the two allies sought to open up the constriction of trade. As Henry noted in 1814, "the Nez Perces and Scietogas [Cayuse] have been to war on the tribes at the Falls, killing a great many, and carried off a number of slaves, which has caused the natives to abandon their villages and fly to the woods in a panic."⁴⁷ Over two decades later, the missionaries, Lee and Frost, provided other details:

From The Dalles Indians the Kinse [Cayuse] used formerly to take an annual tribute of salmon, alleging that the fishery belonged to them. Whether or not their claims were well founded, their superior power in war kept their tributaries in abject submission. These exactions were formerly more rigorous than now; at present they are concealed under the show of traffic. They buy at their own price, compelling them to sell even their own stock of provisions, so as to have little left to subsist on themselves.⁴⁸

Within the Plateau, it was not the coming of British and American traders alone that gave fresh impetus to exchange. Speaking of the upper Columbia in terms broadly applicable to the Plateau as a whole, Teit remarks that in those days when trade was conducted either afoot or by canoe, the articles exchanged had been of necessity light and of high value, while trading parties were small and infrequent. All this was changed with the advent of the horse: in those latter days, both the volume and variety of goods carried increased, being extended to include raw and semiprocessed materials. Routes became more direct and led overland, while parties grew in size and trading ventures in frequency.⁴⁹

Thus, in a manner largely unacknowledged by Euroamerican traders, they operated alongside, and sometimes in competition with, a native trading network, whose participants brought native expectations into their dealings with these foreign newcomers. It is not enough, however, to compare their systems as distinct entities: further features lie in the interaction of tribe with tribe in juxtaposition with the interaction of tribe and traders. Thus, it is to the peoples of the Nez Percés District that we next turn. The three chapters that follow provide a summary overview of those peoples and their cultures, and of their leaders.

THREE

Tribes of the District: Introduction



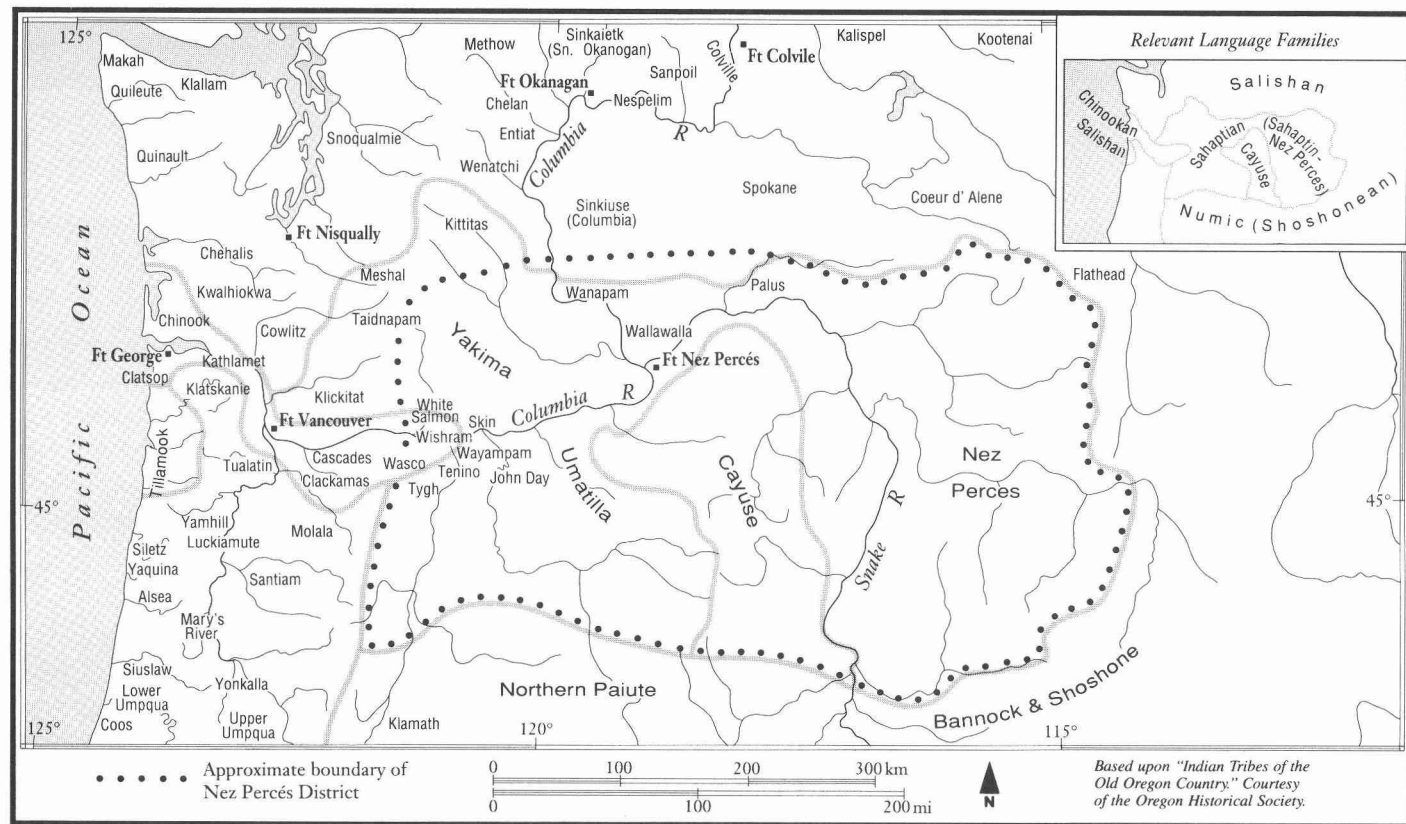
It is time to look more closely at the peoples of the Nez Percés District. Alexander Ross, *bourgeois* (master) of the fort in its early days, lists the tribes “attached” to it, and their locations are shown on a map he drew in 1821. In what follows, the entities he names are identified with the historic tribes of which they form a part.

On the “main north branch”—that is, the Columbia above the Forks of the Snake—are the Wanapam¹ and the Yakima.² On the “south branch”—the Snake—are the Nez Percés³ and Palus.⁴ On the main course of the Columbia, beginning at the Dalles, are the Klickitat,⁵ Wascopam,⁶ Wishram,⁷ Wayampam and John Day band,⁸ Lohim, and Umatilla.⁹ Finally, above the fort—that is, upstream on the Walla Walla—are the Cayuse and Wallawalla.¹⁰

With the exception of the Chinookan-speaking Wasco and Wishram, the Cayuse, and possibly the Lohim, all the other entities were members of the Sahaptin-Nez Perce (Sahaptian) linguistic family.¹¹ Matters of language were of consequence to the traders at the fort. As Samuel Black, a successor to Ross, wrote:

The above 4 tribes [Nez Percés, Palus, Wallawalla, and Yakima] Speak a dialect of the Same Language but do not Know which is the Root, the Walla Walla is perhaps. The Nez Percés the most different not understanding them, yet its the easiest smoothest & finest Language & become the general Language of the Natives in this quarter when assembled, it has one great advantage Naming or having only one Name for One Article & since whereas the Walla Walla Yackamas & Palous have several changing Names at diff^t places which makes it hard to learn & the Whites as yet have only been able to pick up enough to Trade & settle Comⁿ Occurrences about the Fort.¹²

As for the Cayuse, their language was once thought to bear a special affinity to that of the Molala, who lived in the Cascades; and thus scholars had posited an ancestral home in or near that



TRIBES OF THE NEZ PERCÉS DISTRICT

range and a subsequent Cayuse migration eastward to bring them into their historic position, on the upper reaches of the Umatilla, Walla Walla, and on the Tucannon. That special linguistic link has now been disproven,¹³ while both Wallawalla and Cayuse myths support the view that they have long been identified with their historic territory.¹⁴ Much intermarried with the Nez Perces, they commonly spoke that language, even among themselves; and Lewis and Clark listed them as a band of that tribe.¹⁵

The terrain occupied by the five tribes of Black's accounting is an austere one, a landscape of basaltic cliffs and mesas sculptured by erosion, an arid land lightly clad in vegetation save in the mountains. Along the middle Columbia, the terrain of the Wanapam, Wallawalla, and Umatilla was sagebrush desert, while, within the bend formed at Wallula Gap, the folded ridges of the Yakima drainage were clad in bunchgrass prairies. Along the southern shore of the Columbia, Umatilla country—the locus of permanent settlements—lay upon a low plain of sand and gravel, cut by tributary streams with occasional copses of willow and cottonwood along their banks. Inland to the south, a plateau rises steadily to the Blue Mountains, a range running northeast to southwest, forested in lodgepole and ponderosa pine. To the west, both the John Day and the Deschutes rivers rise far to the south—the former well beyond the Blues—and run through Western Sahaptin country, a plateau furrowed by tributary streams. East of the Blues, the Snake flows northward in its deep canyon through Nez Perce country, embracing the Wallowa Mountains; between that range and the Blues lies the prairie called the Grande Ronde, drained by the river of the same name, shared by Cayuse and Nez Perces. East of the Snake rise the Clearwater Mountains, clad in a varied coniferous forest, the center of the Upper Nez Perces.

Among peoples of the Southern Plateau, it is evident that a riverine tradition had been established by about the time of Christ and that, stimulated in part by influences moving upriver from the lower Columbia, they were then living in sizable villages along the waters, supporting themselves through a combination of fishing, hunting, and gathering.¹⁶ It seems likely that they included the ancestors of the historic peoples encountered there.

Meanwhile, far to the south, within the arid Great Basin of present-day eastern California, Nevada, and Utah, another people were emerging. The northern Numic branch of the Uto-Aztecans

linguistic stock within the last millennium spread northward in three radiations from a center in the vicinity of Death Valley. These migrations carried the Northern Paiute into the salmon-bearing drainages of the upper Deschutes and John Day, the Shoshone into that of the upper Snake, and the Ute into Utah and the Great Plains.¹⁷ Lewis and Clark saw a "Shoshonean" occupation "in Winter and fall on the Multnomah [Willamette] river. Southerly of the S. W. Mountains, and in Spring and Summer on the heads of the *To-war-ne-bi-ooks* [Deschutes], *La Page* [John Day], *You-ma-tol-am* [Umatilla], and *Wal-lar-wa-ler* rivers, and more abundantly at the falls of the Towarnehiooks, for the purpose of fishing."¹⁸ The distribution thus given is overly extensive; it has been suggested that the occupation of the upper Willamette was rather by the Molala,¹⁹ and other demurrers have been entered. But there is no doubt that the Shoshoneans were in endemic enmity with the riverine Sahaptins, who called them "Snakes"; the Umatilla word is literally "Rattlesnakes."* The people whom Ross called the Lohim were, according to Mooney, also a Shoshonean people, the last remnants of an earlier Shoshonean occupation of the south side of the Columbia, an identification and view roundly contested by Ray.²⁰ For their part, the Wallawalla averred that they and the Nez Percés warred against the Snakes because the latter resented their hunting the black-tailed deer in their territory, in retaliation for which they resisted Shoshonean efforts to move down their rivers to the rich fisheries on the Columbia.²¹

The Seasonal Round

Over many centuries, the life of the peoples of the Southern Plateau was marked by a seasonal round much like that of the Umatilla and Wallawalla. Winter found these two groups in their permanent villages along the Columbia or its tributaries, often on the north shore, where the rays of the wan winter sun could reach them. Here they dwelt in long, mat-covered, multifamily lodges, with associated subterranean pit houses, which served both to store dried fish and roots and as a dwelling for widows and for young girls undergoing instruction. During the winter months, men

* See note 20 for a discussion of the origin of the term "Snake," often considered derogatory. Hereinafter it is used, for simplicity's sake, without quotation marks.



The riverine life: Dipnetting for salmon at Celilo Falls, on the Columbia beneath Wayam village. Photo by author in 1956. Shortly thereafter, the waters rising behind The Dalles Dam inundated this ancient fishery.

caught steelhead and jacklighted from canoes for whitefish. In February, they eagerly celebrated the return of wild celery, and soon, in April, of the couse root, as women and children gladly fanned out up the streams that flow from the Blue Mountains. Their menfolk, nearby, repaired fish weirs on these streams and kept a watch for Snake raiders. On the Columbia itself, and on islands within it, men reerected fishing platforms and set to work taking spring Chinook salmon with bident harpoon and dipnet. The mat lodges were dismantled and families moved into flat-roofed salmon-drying sheds. While elderly men made and repaired the fishing gear of their active juniors, women cleaned and dried the catch. Many Columbia fishermen continued to fish through the year for following runs of salmon, and for sturgeon and other fish, often from dugout canoes, with seine, leister, and fish-spear. In their treeless terrain, the Umatilla retrieved driftwood logs from which to make their dugout canoes, while the Wallawalla are said to have purchased theirs from the Spokane.

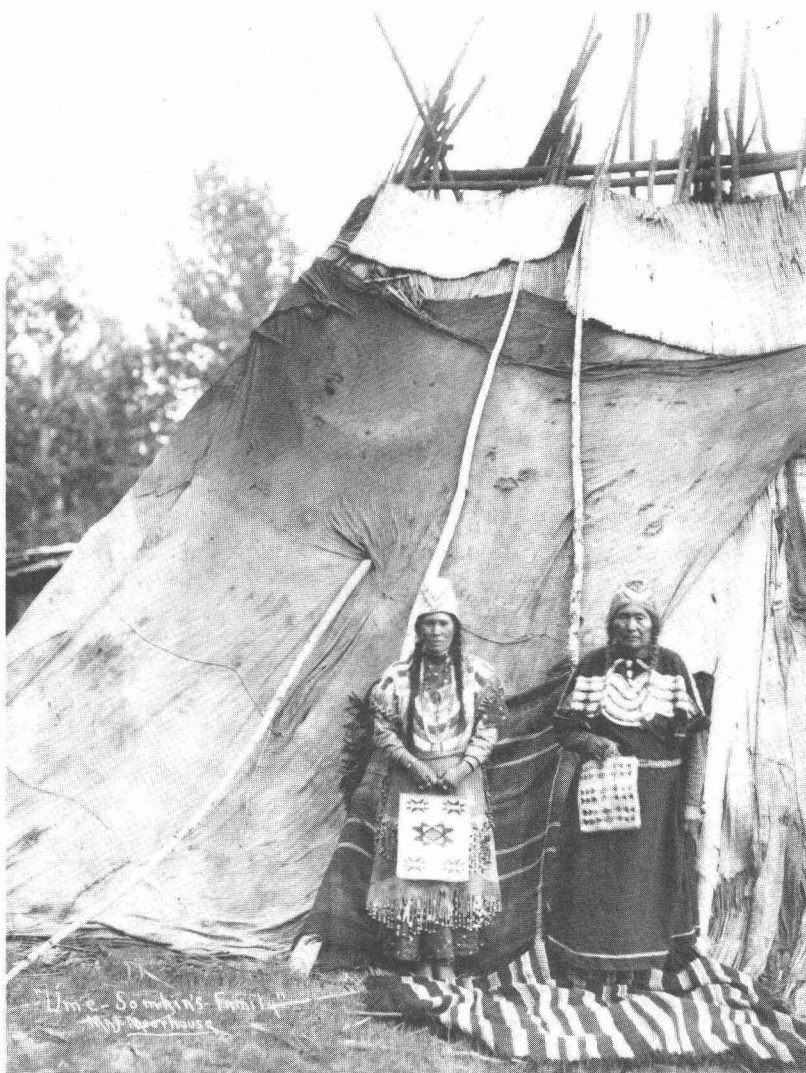
David Thompson, the geographer for the North West Company, found the riverine technology little developed. Writing when among the Wallawalla, in comments applied to the peoples he had thus far encountered in his descent of the Columbia, he remarked:

Through the whole of these Tribes I have seen no weapons of war, rarely a Bow and Arrows, and those fit only for small Deer; not a single stone axe, and small sharp stones for knives without handles, they certainly have no turn for mechanics, an Esquimaux with their means would soon have stone tools and Kettles to hold water and boil their fish and meat; whereas all these Tribes do not appear to have anything better than a weak small basket of Rushes for these necessary purposes.²²

Simple as it was, their material solution to survival was more than adequate in normal years, and included a number of ingenious devices, such as the release on the dipnet that caused the net to bag and thus prevent the escape of a fish. Other devices, such as the single-piece stone fist adze, continued in use long after the introduction of iron tools: it is said that it was more easily controlled in hollowing out a canoe. On the other hand, the Indians readily accepted the use of mast and blanket-sail for propelling their canoes, after the example of the fur-trade craft.

While many of the able-bodied Umatillas moved into and across the Blue Mountains to gather camas and to fish for salmon in the Grande Ronde in the company of Cayuses and Nez Perces, others remained at the fishing stations on the Columbia. In terrain that was baked by the summer sun, they were tormented by sand and debris whirled aloft by the winds that blew through the gorge—conditions that, wrote one observer, cost the sight of an eye to one Indian in ten.²³ A groundcover of sagebrush and greasewood provided habitat for no mammals larger than a jackrabbit. Those dwelling at the Columbia fisheries supplemented their diet in season by driving jackrabbits, sage hens, and prairie chickens into net enclosures in communal hunts. The poor of the Wallawalla villages, so it was said by those accustomed to bigger game, had to make do with rabbitskin clothing.²⁴

Meanwhile, for those who had journeyed inland, the ripening fruits and fat game of fall drew them into the mountains, where the men hunted deer, elk, and bear—often in drives—and the women picked and dried huckleberries and other fruits, cut up



Members of a Cayuse household standing before their mat-covered longhouse, further draped with canvas tipi covers. Photo by Major Lee Moorhouse about the turn of the century. Courtesy Special Collections, Knight Library.

and dried the flesh of game, and processed the skins. When the warning snows began to fall—by the fifth snow, as a modern Nez Perce ritually puts it—they made their way back to the riverside, there to rejoin the others, rebuild their mat longhouses, and make themselves snug for the winter.

This was the round of the riverine peoples. The cultures of the Cayuse and Nez Percés seem to have been, up to the first quarter of the eighteenth century, a variant of the seasonal rotation practiced by the Wallawalla and Umatilla, with, however, greater emphasis upon the hunting of large game and with the use of dogs as pack-animals in overland travel. Yet, like the riverine tribes, they also emulated the Chinookan peoples downriver: leading families of both Cayuse and Nez Percés are reported by early observers to have practiced cranial flattening for infant girls; the Nez Percés interred their dead in funeral vaults; and both peoples possessed concepts and practices reflecting a social stratification based on wealth.²⁵

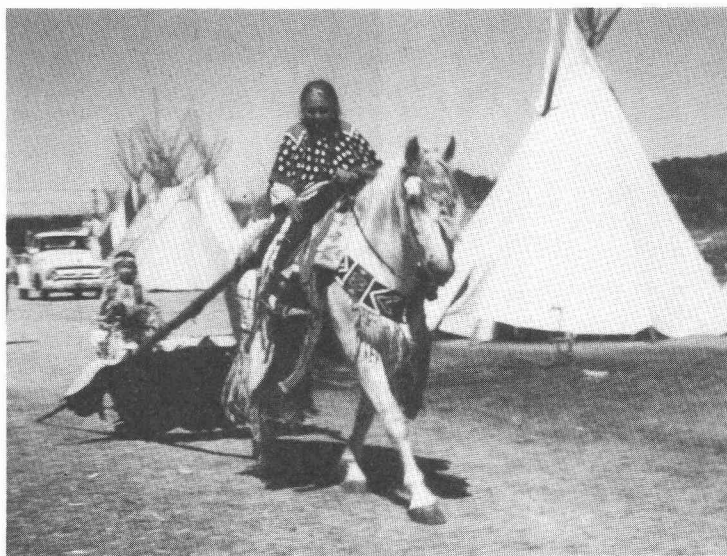
The Coming of the Horse

A change came into the lives of the Cayuse and Nez Percés, and subsequently of their neighbors, when, according to Cayuse tradition, a joint war party of Cayuses and Umatillas, under the leader Oc-oc-tuin, encountered a group of Shoshones in the valley of either the Powder or Burnt River, below the Grande Ronde. They saw to their surprise that the Shoshones were astride an unfamiliar animal. The war party returned, amassed as much property as they could, and came back to barter with their erstwhile foe for a stallion and a mare.

At first the creatures were accorded an almost ceremonial status, akin to that of the first horses in the vicinity of the Dalles, which “were looked upon as great pets. They were led about in festive processions, and were present at all dances and fetes.”²⁶ Along with the horse, the Plateau tribes acquired knowledge of accoutrements and methods of handling the mounts: one elderly Nez Perce recounted the first ginger efforts at riding, with one man leading the beast and the rider maintaining his balance with a long staff in either hand. From these animals sprang the nucleus of their herds, nourished on such bunchgrass prairies as gave name to the Horse Heaven Hills that form a watershed between the

Columbia below Wallula Gap and the Yakima River to the north. These herds were further augmented by raids against the Shoshone and the allied Bannock—those Northern Paiute who had acquired horses and often associated with the Shoshone²⁷—for additional stock. The Nez Percés, who may have acquired their first horses from the Cayuse, likewise built up large herds; and wherever there was adequate grazing the two peoples took on the attributes of horse pastoralism. Soon they had discontinued the use of dogs for traction. Indeed, one of them may have been responsible for inventing the practice of gaffing salmon from a horse ridden into midstream!

The horse brought with it a revolution in perspective. It constituted a new form of wealth, as well as providing transportation for a more lavish array of possessions. No longer were households restricted in their travels to what a woman could carry, or a dog could draw. With the horse came new methods of hunting, including the mounted surround in the winter snows, rendering obsolescent the individual stalk with animal-head disguise; it may also have contributed to the decline of game shamans. Greater



The equestrian life. During the National Indian Encampment at Pendleton, Oregon, a Wallawalla woman rides a horse drawing a travois. Photo by the author.

ease of transportation knit settlements closer together, fostering social and political interaction. At the same time, mounted war parties greatly extended the range and effectiveness of their striking power. How impressive was the transformation in lifestyle caused by the introduction of the horse can be seen in the way Lewis and Clark modified their comments on the Pishquitpah (Umatilla), whom they had first seen, during their descent of the river, at their fishing stations on the Columbia in October 1805, and whom they observed once more the following April, now augmented by their equestrian contingent.²⁸

The most salient change in culture came with the expansion of the mounted Plateau peoples east of the Rockies into the buffalo (bison) prairies of the upper Missouri. Even before the advent of the horse, the Kutenai extended on the east across the Rockies upon the Plains of present-day Montana and southern Alberta. On the northern Plains, the Blackfeet, allied with Crees armed with guns traded from the fur posts to the north, drove the Kutenai back across the Great Divide. When David Thompson, of the Nor'Westers, came seeking a route across the Rockies to the Columbia, the Blackfeet, who had previously received him well, sought to bar his way, lest he establish posts and arm their enemies of the Plateau. Long since, however, even without firearms, those peoples had already been venturing across to the buffalo country. Within two generations of their acquisition of the horse, some of the Nez Perces—and probably the closely allied Cayuse—had become acculturated to Plains life through their association with the Flathead, neighbors of the Kutenai and early venturers upon the Plains. In 1780, a bare half-century after acquiring their first horses, the Nez Perces had so well adjusted to life on the buffalo prairies that an encampment of them, wintering east of the Rockies, were caught by the smallpox epidemic of that year and wiped out.²⁹

In sojourning upon the Plains, the Plateau tribes travelled in composite groups, under collective leadership, in sufficient strength to withstand attacks by those Plains tribes who considered them trespassers upon their hunting grounds. In these parties there was usually a veteran core of Kutenai or Flathead, together with other Salishan allies of the Flathead, Nez Perces, Cayuse, and occasional members of other Sahaptin peoples. Even tribes that elsewhere might be at enmity made common cause for safety on the Plains. Thus Franchère, a clerk at Astoria in the years 1811-

14, writes of parties comprising Shoshone, Nez Perces, Flathead, and others moving to the buffalo grounds in cavalcades of nearly two thousand horses.³⁰ Now provided with firearms, as Anastasio points out, they were confidently challenging the Blackfeet.³¹

Such "moving camps," as one modern Indian termed them, provided constant challenges to leadership, and demanded intertribal mediation and decisive collective action. The situation called for other characteristics, he said, than those exhibited by that sterling Nez Perce raider, Cloud Piler. In 1844, the Wallawalla leader, Piupiumaksmaks referred to an intertribal convention, doubtless arrived at in the context of such camps. Six tribes that dwelt in amity, he said—referring in similar terms elsewhere to the Spokane, Pend d'Oreilles, Nez Perces, Wallawalla, Cayuse, and Shoshone—agreed that when a member of one stole a horse from a person from an allied tribe, the animal was to be restored to its owner. Only when a horse had first been stolen by a common foe, such as a Blackfoot, and was later recaptured by an ally could the latter legitimately retain it.³² Piupiumaksmaks saw this agreement as a precedent for dealing with a similar situation that confronted his party and some Whites in California.

These experiences, together with exposure to the more complex organization of the Plains tribes, imparted to the Plateau sojourners a warlike effectiveness that they soon displayed against their neighbors to the west and south. About the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Cayuse and their allies began to carry on winter hunts in the Cascades and to penetrate beyond into the Willamette Valley. Thus, when in 1814 an Algonkian hunter employed by the Nor'Westers at Fort George—formerly Astoria—encountered ten horsemen, Alexander Henry at first presumed them to be "Scietogas [Cayuses], who dwell W. of the Shahaptins." They did not want the Whites to ascend the river, they told the hunter, lest they scare off the deer. Subsequently, three of them came in, who proved to be of the "Wallawalla, Shatasla, and Halhwyfum" peoples. The first term may refer generically to one of the riverine Sahaptin peoples, rather than to the Wallawalla proper; the second has been identified only as another Sahaptin tribe; while the third denotes the Klickitat, who were soon to move in numbers into the valley.³³

Such expansion was resisted, as shown by an episode recounted in the 1840s as having taken place "many years ago." A party of

Cayuses returning from a deer hunt in the Willamette country was waylaid by Chinookans from between the Cascades and the Dalles and nearly wiped out; the attack brought swift and decisive reprisals.³⁴ Those instances mentioned in Chapter Two of Cayuse and Nez Perce attacks upon the Chinookans at the Dalles provide yet other evidence of their forays toward the west.

Further to the south, Cayuse raiding parties on occasion crossed the Cascades at Minto Pass. One such group, after taking slaves among the Kalapuya, attacked the Molala settlements, killing several persons, both men and women, and carrying off a woman. The Molala say that, led by the uncle of one of the men killed, they overtook the raiders at the pass and challenged them to fight. After protracted skirmishing, in which the Cayuses lost nine men, while the Molala went unscathed, the Cayuses called for an end to hostilities and paid the compensation demanded for those they



Three Plateau raiders steal horses from an enemy camp. Foot- and hoof-prints, and the dual appearance of the prized horse tell the tale. From Cayuse-Nez Perce sketchbook: See Stern, Schmitt, and Halfmoon. Courtesy Special Collections, Knight Library, and Oregon Historical Society.

had slain. Thereafter, it is said, they acknowledged the Molala to be "men." Nonetheless, adds a pioneer historian, the Molala subsequently challenged the Cayuse again, this time with disastrous results; and Minto Pass became so hazardous a route that it fell into disuse among the Indians.³⁵

Meanwhile, at about the same time, the Wallawalla leader, Tamatappam, was leading intertribal parties south into Spanish California in quest of horses. Indeed, as we have seen, in 1818, negotiations over building Fort Nez Percés were only resolved upon his return from a campaign against the Shoshoneans, with a war party 480 strong.³⁶ Finally, in 1826, when Peter Skene Ogden, of the Hudson's Bay Company, led his Snake Country brigade into the Klamath settlements far to the south, a headman expressed regret that he had found the way, since Cayuse and Nez Percés parties, who had been searching for the Klamath, would now have a path to follow.³⁷

Thus, in the first third of the nineteenth century, the tribes of the southwestern Plateau had reached what was to prove the zenith of their wealth and power, drawing upon their own heritage, the influence of the Chinookans, their interactions with Plains tribes and the Plains experience, and the goods and ideas brought by the fur traders. Among the tribes of the district, Ross pronounced the Nez Percés and Cayuse "by far the most powerful and warlike," who "regulate all the movements of the others in peace and war, and as they stand well or ill disposed toward their traders, so do the others."³⁸

It has frequently been assumed that the Plateau peoples were incurious about the lands and peoples far to the east of them. That there were, in fact, at least occasional early forays beyond the Plains, and therefore a measure of experience to bring to bear upon later contacts with Euroamericans in their homelands, is suggested by the testimony of Hahatstusti, "Bear Stands High," a Nez Percé leader known to Whites as Salmon River Billy.

High Bear is known to have travelled eastward to St. Louis with a party of Whites in about 1835, returning and bringing with him elements of Catholic doctrine and ritual, which he imparted to his followers.³⁹ He was a signatory to the treaties of 1855 and 1863, surviving into the 1890s, when the late Otis Halfmoon, then a child, saw him in the vicinity of Culdesac, Idaho, "an old man, all

hunched up and shrivelled up, a little man, walking around with a cane and saying, 'Go to Confession! Go to Confession!'"

When High Bear was on his deathbed, Otis Halfmoon's father helped the old man's son, Luke Billy, take care of him. At that time, High Bear recounted to them his early travels, which, he asserted, had taken place well before his journey to St. Louis and were inspired by those of still earlier predecessors. Tentatively, they may be placed within the first decades of the nineteenth century. Here is his narrative, as given me, with parenthetical remarks, by Otis Halfmoon:

When I was young, I just wondered where the sun was coming from. How foolish my mind was then! So I started out. The Indians where I went by, they asked me what I was doing. I made the sign I was just going that ways, and they laughed at me, thought I wasn't worth killing, and they let me go on. Then I came to a great river and went on to a big place where there was a bunch of people living in a village. Some people wore hairs on their face, and some spat juice like grasshoppers, and some were eating fire. Some had blue eyes. Some of them were bad people, some real nice people. Some people kept me, I stayed with them for a winter. I asked them what they called the town, and they told me *sisinéte*. [It must have been Cincinnati.]

The sun was still rising in the hills, but I turned south down to the forks, and down to the mouth of the big river. I saw different people down in there. That water, clear over as far as I could see, was just like *k'alón* [a large blue trade bead], and the sun was still coming from beyond it. So I struck off down to the right and I come to another people, the Big Hats and Little Blankets. [I take it to be Mexico.] I stayed there a long time; I got some children there.

[He turned to his son and added] You've got some brothers and sisters down there.

I got lonesome after a while, hadn't seen my people for twenty winters, so I came north. I come to the big river, to the West. I was so glad I got there at *wéck'úpúpe* ["Sticking on the Sides," i.e. eels or villages—the Dalles] and followed the river [like Coyote] and came home here.

High Bear's return was greeted with a celebration, at which, among other things, he taught them two dances, a Spanish dance

and the "marriage" or "coup stick" dance, called *tukéewa*, the latter subsequently associated with the teachings of the Washani leader, Red Shirt.⁴⁰

From this overview of the tribes of the Nez Percés District seen in relationship to the land and to their neighbors, we turn next to consider their internal relationships, in their society and their polity, and to examine their sense of dependency within a cosmic order.

FOUR

Indian Society, Polity, and Religion



Let us begin by putting face and form upon the Indians of the Nez Percés District, as seen by Alexander Ross in mid-August 1811, when, in a party of Astorians travelling up the Columbia, he reached the intertribal rendezvous at the mouth of the Walla Walla River. Here they were met by the Indians in ceremonial array:

. . . [W]e perceived a great body of men issuing from the camp, all armed and painted, and preceded by three chiefs. The whole array came moving on in solemn and regular order till within twenty yards of our tent. Here the three chiefs harangued us, each in his turn; all the rest giving, every now and then, a vociferous shout of approbation when the speaker happened to utter some emphatical expression. . . . [A]s soon as the chiefs had finished, they all sat down on the grass in a large circle, when the great calumet of peace was produced and the smoking began. Soon after, the women, decked in their best attire and painted, arrived, when the dancing and singing commenced, the usual symbols of peace and friendship; and in this pleasing and harmonious mood they passed the whole day.

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. Their voices were strong and masculine, and their language differed from any we had heard before. The women wore garments of well-dressed deerskin down to their heels, many of them richly garnished with beads, *biguas* [dentalia], and other trinkets, leggings and shoes similar to those of the men. Their faces were painted red.

An expanded version of this chapter appears as an article, "Cayuse, Wallawalla, and Umatilla," forthcoming in the Plateau volume of the *Handbook of North American Indians*.

Here were gathered some fifteen hundred members of three tribes: the Wallawalla, Nez Perces ("Shaw Hapten"), and Cayuse, under their chiefs, respectively Tamatappam, Quis-quills-tuck-a-pesten, and Alokwat.¹ Such gatherings were, of course, exceptional, for much of ordinary social life throughout the year was lived in villages of relatively small size. The missionary Asa B. Smith, having made a census of the Cayuse and Nez Perces in 1840, characterized them as living along rivers and small streams in bands which normally ranged in size from ten upward to 150 persons, the largest band numbering 235 persons.² For the Nez Perces, Walker and Leonhardy suggest a median village size of about 35 persons, comprising two extended families.³

It is difficult to match these figures with early statements of village size, often expressed in a number of lodges of unspecified size. Thus, a joint winter encampment of Cayuse and Nez Perces ("Tuschepas") encountered by the Hunt party in 1811 in the valley of the Umatilla River comprised thirty-four mat lodges, while a summer village of the Cayuse leader, Tawatoy, seen in 1834 on the same river, numbered some twelve to fifteen lodges, that of the leader being a longhouse sixty feet by fifteen in ground measure.⁴ If all lodges were habitations, they imply village sizes exceeding the Nez Perces median suggested by Walker and Leonhardy; yet these instances were of exceptional composition and might be expected to exceed it.

This must surely also be true of the settlement numbering between five and seven hundred inhabitants in fifty-one (according to Lewis) or fifty-two (according to Clark) mat lodges that Lewis and Clark encountered among the Umatilla ("Pishquitpah") on the north bank of the Columbia in April 1806. Their map shows forty-four "large mat lodges" (i.e., longhouses), but they are grouped in clusters of seventeen, twelve, three, and five, with another seven on an island. A notation stated that they were even then catching and drying what must have been the spring run of chinook salmon. The settlement seems, in effect, to have been composed of several villages side by side. Boyd has suggested that some of the villages may have been those of Yakima down for the fishing, a view that gains a measure of support from Lewis and Clark's notation that the Pishquitpah wintered within the drainage of the Yakima River. But Lewis and Clark, as we have noted, ascribed the increase in the spring population along the river to the return from the hunt of the equestrian segment of the tribe.⁵

What was the composition of a typical village? As modern Indians recall, the winter village comprised one or more mat-covered longhouses, each with up to ten fireplaces ranged beneath the ridgeline smoke vent, each fireplace serving one or more families. Adjacent to the longhouse was a subterranean pithouse, with a notched log as ladder; this was both a storehouse and a residence for widows. In one or more of the pithouses, young girls were sequestered with their tutors, women of probity who instructed them in the arts of life. Among the Nez Percés, there was a corresponding pithouse-school for training young boys.

The families occupying the longhouse, perhaps up to fifty people in number, were linked through a nucleus of persons related through either parent, forming a local kindred, to which were sometimes added families admitted through friendship with nuclear members. Family heads, ordinarily males, represented their family interests in collective lodge decisions, and one among them was informally chosen to serve as spokesman for them in village affairs.

Between the sexes there was a clear-cut division of labor. Men were the hunters, fishermen, warriors, woodworkers, toolmakers, and political leaders. Women raised the young children and older girls, gathered vegetable foods, and processed the fish, meat, and hides furnished by their menfolk; they brought in the firewood; they made and decorated clothing, basketry, and matting; pecked out their stone mortars and pestles;⁶ and, when moving camp, they struck the lodges and loaded the horses, while the men sat, smoking and chatting together.⁷ Women were understandably proud of their abilities and industry; and one recalled with pleasure how, while riding back from fall hunting camp in the Blue Mountains, she improved the hour by flexing freshly tanned hides on the saddle horn before her.

When related families moved out together in small hunting parties, living then in individual mat- or skin-covered tipis, the men elected a headman to regulate their affairs, while the women chose their own leader—to be sure, she was often the wife of the headman. As one man recalls, young boys were careful to stay out of the hunting camp, beyond the reach of some imperious matron, who might pounce upon them and put them to work; for the camp was the domain of the women.

Within the village, the community constituted a moral order, characterized by face-to-face relationships and a sensitivity to the ever-present voice of gossip. Although obligations to share fish and game lay first between kin and lodgemates, even the indigent and infirm were fed. When fishermen brought their collective catch from behind a weir, any bystander might claim a fish in the distribution. Yet making a proper return was valued for self-esteem: even today, when a compassionate man chops firewood for a solitary old woman, she strives to repay his kindness by tanning hides for him. Travellers sought out first the dwellings of relatives or friends, although courtesy dictated that the woman of the house offer food even to a visiting stranger. Once admitted to the lodge, even a foe who came in peace was under his host's protection.⁸ Travellers did not always accept foods, perhaps because of the belief that, if given grudgingly, they might render the guest ill. Thus Black observed, "an Indian having a Bag of Roots tied to his Saddle stands in little Want of hospitality altho when he enters a Tent they will offer him to eat, he will most probably Roll himself in his Robe & sleep where his Horse is feeding[.]"⁹

Black found the Indians

Mild & forebearing, except when agitated in quarrel. . . . Kind to their families faithful to their Tribe & Friend . . . in general Cheerfull rather Calm but Subject to lowness of Spirits by some Occurance Wounding their feelings which amongst themselves appears tender because they seldom speak ill to one another.¹⁰ Their Vices are inordinate love of property. Not alway very fairly obtained, selfishness, selling & buying their Wives. taking poor Girls the satisfaction of a Month or a Year & abandoning them to celibacy, Some few of incest, & instances of Sodomy (Not of beastiallity I believe) which the others do Not think well of:—only Mother & daughter Sister or very Near Relation in their Ideas is incest they Marry two Sisters as Wives at same time. . . . Some Lie & Thievishly inclined particularly amongst the Poor—¹¹

Of the paucity of children among the Indians, despite the practice of polygamy, Black observed,

Some of the Women have a Character of geting rid of their Children, but I think this is only applicable to abandoned Women besides their Occupations of Leading & Riding Horses subject them to Accidents of this Nature, there are a good Many

*A Short Vocabulary of the Languages
Spoken by the Indians who frequent the Mouths
of Willa Wulla in Fort Nez Percés*

English	Willa Wulla	Sahaptin Nez Percés	Wayletan Cayouse
Spring	Wawacham	Wawach	Hea ting calim
Summer	Shat tim a Teram	Tam	Teram Mamé
Fall	Tersham	Chachum	Teng
Winter	Pai pa	Pau hui	West ari
Days	Talpas a		
Head, Capot	Tal pa a	Sham ach	Talth pats
Leggings	Sout a tes	Tou chon	Mayak
Shoes	Elch am	Lapt cat	Ty th lou
Head, Capot or Turban	Tacham alth	Tacham alth	Takam alth
Neck loave	wa hat tie	wow loach	Dic alth
Ear lobes	weam shiaz	Elkey wert	epitakchay
Amplous in Hair	Teap ses	Wap to	Post
Feathers all	Tatus	Pel last	Pechl Koutu
Nettle, Bousk	Teng	Ketsu	Talnik
Grass Nettle	Tach mi	walme trik	Thlepuns Not
Acars	Wou so k	wa wi anas	Young Guziner
Amies	Ha bileh mer	Walt	Thi Kshikt
Awls	isti	Asht	Chief K's
Bedkins	Tapups	Kupisham asta	Paple churchs
Mudlas	isti Takhuni	Pellhni Ast	Chiefters Songa
Bridges	Ban Kus	ypou kas	youken asu
Mudlets	Pettat las	Talarp l	appit o har
Quins	Tuempis, chanis	Temuni	Elu was
Bows	Mim, Tuempis	Temuni	if a etat on
Arrows	weach and tut	Tape	Lalth or Lax
Gun - Collet	Toux	Wad s	Furn ael
Pt		Chapla Kivan ak In	
Beam, Prop, Torax		Tapo papa kas	Furn ael
Drags	nipter wiste	Ta Kas	He house
Hotels	Tow we cas	Tow we cas	Talaps Thous
Home, Nuts	tha och	Willah K I Takus	
Spean	Tach I	Laf I	Part
Hook	Hay a	Walla	Tastick sm Takh
Line	Per is	Tautis	Exack Hals

*Pai Taux alth a Winter in the Language of the Nez Percés in the
One Language & appears and deduced from the Four Four Second Pair*

The first page of the trilingual Indian vocabulary that concludes Samuel Black's 1829 report on the Indians and natural history of the Nez Percés District. Courtesy Hudson's Bay Company Archives.

abandoned Women, this is Not so often Occasioned by the frailty of the Sex as the practice of Trading & buying Women as their Wives & after putting them away but not privileged to take another Husband without the Consent of the first Master which from Some Cause or Other, Not often Obtained¹²

—perhaps because the bridewealth could not be returned.

Children born deformed, Black noted, were few. Those so born were “Softly Treated & Objects of Curiosity & Sport amongst the youngsters particularly when the deformed Object has any Talents for Buffoonery they become favorites in the Camp.”¹³ In general, he found the fort Indians acute in their perceptions and far from impassive. Indeed, several observers—notably missionaries, for whom the act may have been a conventional token of sincerity—have mentioned Cayuse leaders (e.g. Waptashtakmahl, Tawatoy, and Five Ravens) breaking into tears, sometimes publicly. Wrote Black, “Suicide & their attempts at it is pretty Common amongst both Sexes young & Old from Wounded feelings Contradiction in Some favorite point &c[.]”¹⁴

Community Life

Villages among the riverine peoples were largely autonomous. A Umatilla community of fifty to a hundred inhabitants, for example, might be loosely linked with offshoot hamlets located on the same stream or, on the Columbia, on adjacent islands, like the somewhat closer-knit bands of the Cayuse and Nez Percés. These local groups, it is said, owned their winter settlement sites and held use-rights to fishing sites, root grounds, berry patches, and hunting tracts, though it was customary to extend the courtesy of use to allied peoples.¹⁵ Of the Cayuse and Nez Percés, the missionary, Asa B. Smith, wrote,

By common consent or perhaps by fear of each other, each band has control over the land belonging to it & this is the hunting or fishing ground of that Band. It is not common that one infringes on the rights of another. They are usually careful especially at the hunting season, not to hunt on another's ground. Still however there are places where they assemble for particular purposes on the lands of others. This is the case with regard to the *kamosh* [camas] ground & other places of roots. Many of the bands have no roots on their own lands. Hence they go to the

lands of others where they dig roots, or obtain them in exchange for fish.¹⁶

In the mutual exploitation of resources is to be found an expression of that social and political flexibility in Plateau relationships that conditioned the exclusiveness of band and tribal membership.¹⁷ Since a married couple might claim affiliation through the parents of either spouse, and through friends as well, they had several options in their choice of association. Thus the Cayuse leader, Tawatoy, whose home lay on the Umatilla River, also camped near Whitman's mission, on the middle Walla Walla, where "by his wife, he had right to the land" of the Cayuse band there.¹⁸

Local social standards, which had formerly reflected those of the Chinookans at the Dalles, had been radically altered by the opening to the Plains. Exposure to life there seems to have been a fascinating experience for those who "went to buffalo"; and they set themselves apart by special expressions. They referred to themselves as "Prairie Indians," as against the stay-at-homes, and spoke obliquely of the buffalo as the "prairie animal." When they travelled to the Plains, they "went just for a day" if they were to remain only during the summer, but "stayed all night" if they wintered there as well.¹⁹ They used month names reflective of seasonal changes on the prairies in place of local terms. The passion for the tokens of that new, glamorous life spread even to those who, for one reason or another, did not venture into it; and they bartered for buffalo robes, parfleches, and tipis with the Shoshone in the Grande Ronde.

At the nucleus of the "Prairie Indians" among the fort tribes were the Cayuse and Nez Percés. Of the former, Black wrote,

This Tribe are the fewest about 50-54 Men but have great influence over the others excelling in bravery hunting & athletic exercise & the first who procured Arms (Guns) & Ammunition for their Beaver & Horses They are fond of domineering & [there are] troublesome characters amongst them.²⁰

Not all of the Nez Percés had made the shift. Some were too poor. One old man is reported to have said, "When I was a young man, my grandmother and I had only one horse. How could we go to the Plains on that?" Two bands dwelling in the rugged Salmon River country had no place suitable for raising horses,

and so by default continued to maintain many of the old, canoe ways.²¹ Among the Wallawalla and Umatilla, while leading segments had turned to the new life, a majority of the people continued the old riverine life, modified by the use of horses on inland excursions to the Blue Mountains and the Grande Ronde.

Wealth and Status

Within the village, and indeed in intertribal society, members placed individuals and families upon a social scale reflecting the wealth and respectability of family. In the new order, the standard of wealth was, first and foremost, equine. To be considered well-to-do, a person, it is said, must have at least a hundred head of horses. A Cayuse, averred Farnham, was thought poor who had no more than fifteen or twenty head, while at the other extreme one old man owned in excess of two thousand animals.²² Most of these horses roamed in a natural state (the traders referred to them by the French term, *maron*, "mustang")²³ and only those needed were broken to use. Among the latter, men valued most highly a racer or a buffalo horse, with which they would scarcely part. On his return eastward, the Astorian, Robert Stuart, with difficulty managed to purchase a horse from a Wallawalla, who had stolen it from the Shoshone. When later Stuart passed through Shoshone country, the original owner visited the animal longingly and ended by stealing it back.²⁴

Other wealth was measured in Plains clothing, tipis, parfleches, Crow saddles, and other such gear, as well as an abundance of food. Such wealth, accumulated through manufacture, exchange, and war, provided the wherewithal both to expand one's material lifestyle and, through an open-handed generosity, to secure the gratitude of kin, the loyalty of young, impecunious followers, the admiration of one's peers, and—not least—the vexation of rivals. Property became an essential adjunct to the public observation of significant events in the life of an individual. When a boy or girl was given the name formerly borne by an ancestor, relatives pooled property to be redistributed among those attending the event. A similar act attended the performance of a novice shaman. A young warrior, returning with horses from a successful raid against an enemy, might give away one or two of them. A man called upon to recite a war deed customarily gave away a horse after his recital.

Even today, at the memorial for the dead, the spokesman announces, item by item, the assignment of the personal property of the deceased to his or her friends, as determined by the natal family.

A wealthy man had several wives, who by their industry enhanced the status of the family: to retain a following and indeed to manifest a liberal hospitality required their efforts in acquiring and cooking food. In the longhouse of the Cayuse leader, Tawatoy—who, as a Catholic, had however but one wife—the naturalist, John Townsend, saw some twenty women “all busy as usual; some pounding Kamas, others making leathern dresses, moccasins, &c.”²⁵ The food supplies were under the control of the women. Any surplus roots they dug could be traded at the Dalles for such delicacies as salmon pemmican and acorns.

Received opinion had it that rich men had accumulated their wealth through hard work, although Black found them—aside from the pursuits of hunting and fishing, in which they were assiduous—“indolent . . . independent Gentlemen, Gaming, Horse Racing . . . dressing, lounging, smoking, chating, and c.” A good hunter might have a change of clothing three times a year, and that richly decorated, while the poor man had but one garment, of rabbit- or wolf-skin, usually tattered and grimy, which he wore until it fell off his back.²⁶ Some of the poor were, indeed, seen by public opinion as dogged by misfortune; but in the main their betters ascribed their condition to their own mismanagement and lack of drive.

At the bottom of the social scale were the slaves. They were relatively few in number, often women or children of other tribes who had been seized and carried off. For tribes of the Nez Percés District, they were frequently Snakes whom they had themselves captured; but there were others, principally Shastas and, it is said, Modocs,²⁷ purchased at the Dalles.

One consultant recalled that a widowed great-great-aunt of his among the Nez Percés, who had only daughters, needed a boy to care for the family livestock. Accordingly, she went down to the Dalles and, for ten mares and other property, secured a likely lad. (This was an exceptionally high price, since slaves commonly were to be had for no more than two horses at that time.) The boy was reared as a member of the family, and later travelled freely with other Nez Percés, living for a time with the Crows. Though free,

he came back often to visit the family. In his old age, now settled on an allotment on the Umatilla Reservation, he recalled to my friend his youthful capture, somewhere in the vicinity of the Klamath, while he and other children were gathering eggs among the tules.

This instance is representative of the relatively easy lot of slaves among fort tribes, particularly by comparison with their treatment by Chinookan masters and mistresses, and their independence once they had reached their majority. A woman enslaved might be taken to wife; but she then might have to endure the spite of the womenfolk of her husband's family. One such woman was recalled who spoke only her native tongue. The other women never told her when or where the camp was to be moved, so that she could only trail belatedly behind everyone else. All slaves and their descendants continued to bear a stigma which, even today, may be voiced in the heat of serious argument.²⁸

In the network of associated peoples, the phrasing of social hierarchy, ranging from the Prairie elite to the riverine conservatives and poor, was often stated in simple tribal terms. The Nez Perces told the missionary, Samuel Parker, that the Wallawalla were the descendants of their slaves; Narcissa Whitman declared the Wallawalla a poor people, oppressed by the Cayuse; while Dr. Gairdner heard at the fort that the Cayuse deemed it degrading to marry Wallawalla women, although Wallawalla men might marry Cayuse women.²⁹ To be sure, a Nez Perce recalled hearing a report from his grandfather that Qematspelu, noted Cayuse leader of the upper Umatilla band in the first half of the nineteenth century, had denied to him that his people ever lorded it over the Umatilla and Wallawalla. The evidence of inequality finds reflection, nonetheless, in an entry in the fort Journal to the effect that a party of Nez Perces visiting the fort would not "degrade themselves" by joining Wallawallas engaged in their Sunday dance near the bastion of the fort, although they later relented and did so.³⁰ A modern Cayuse descendant continues to affirm the ethnic inequality, adding that the Umatilla and Wallawalla were graced with Cayuse chiefs—a statement to which instances to be considered below lend some color.

The Cayuse were, indeed, both proud and somewhat secretive about their ethnic heritage. Of their distinctive language, Black wrote that it was "understood by none but themselves or are they

fond of others attaining it.”³¹ For formal communication in council, then, the leader spoke Cayuse, which the herald rendered into Nez Perce, a language in which many Cayuse were bilingual, and one often familiar to in-marrying men.³² The Cayuse had intermarried with the Nez Percés to the degree that they were sometimes taken to be a subdivision of that people. The sparsity of their manpower, no doubt through losses in war and perhaps through the new diseases, recommended a policy of recruitment by permitting outside men to marry Cayuse women and thus to gain membership in the tribe. Such a policy may account for the second part of Gairdner’s statement referred to above. Thus, after the Cayuse War, Major Benjamin Alvord was to write that about half the ranks of Cayuse warriors now comprised “slaves” of Shasta and Wallawalla origin.³³

The first part of Gairdner’s statement, however—that the Cayuse considered it degrading to marry Wallawalla women—is contraverted by genealogies from leading Cayuse families, who could find peers among the Prairie elite of riverine tribes, and who sought to create alliances in this way for political ends. Two instances may be cited. Wilewmutkin the elder, the premier Cayuse leader of the late eighteenth century, contracted four marriages, to a Nez Perce woman, then a Wallawalla, and then in turn to two Cayuse women. Istikats, a headman destined to become prominent at the time of the Whitman mission, married in turn a Wayampam, a Nez Perce, a Wallawalla, and lastly two Cayuse sisters.³⁴

Headmen and Chiefs

Ranking, however, was not solely in ethnic terms, since within each group there was a personal assessment according to worth and wealth. Thus, when at the summer rendezvous at Walula which greeted the Astorians in 1811, Nez Perce and Cayuse leaders took precedence over Tamatappam, the Wallawalla leader, their relative status must have summarized several factors, personal as well as ethnic.³⁵

Intermarriage among the families of wealthy leaders provides instances in which Cayuses became leaders in the tribes into which they had married. Thus, the daughter of Tamatappam insisted that her father, though a leader of the Wallawalla, had been of

Cayuse origin.³⁶ Wailaptulikt, whose career we shall review later, became a war leader of the Tygh band of Western Sahaptin.³⁷ In both instances, it seems likely that intermarriage preceded the assumption of office. An interesting instance is that of Twitekis, the son of Wilewmutkin and his Nez Perce wife. The couple separated and she returned to her people, taking her son with her, subsequently marrying a Nez Perce man of notable family from the Wallowa region. Twitekis became spokesman for the leader of that band, and when, as it is recalled, the son of that leader withdrew from consideration to succeed his father on the grounds of his quarrelsome nature, Twitekis was chosen as headman. His foreign origin was recalled among the Nez Percés by the nickname given his group, "the Wilewmutkin band."³⁸

Political leadership finds its model in the village headman, the term for the office being generally extended to higher orders of leader.³⁹ It was from among the influential men of the village that the council of lodge spokesmen selected a headman, seeking first among the close kinsmen of the past headman. They looked for the qualities of probity, good judgment, patience, and public concern, in a man endowed with sufficient means to provide for visitors during a council or ceremony, which was ordinarily held in his lodge, and one with the support of a strong and devoted local kindred. Headmen have often gained collateral note as shaman, prophet, or warrior, but their duties were those of peace and the village: a headman of ordinary fighting prowess went to war as a common warrior.

In everyday life the headman wore no distinctive dress, but each morning and evening he lectured the people upon proper behavior. In session with the council and with other responsible men, he coordinated activities of the general village, for example deciding upon the time for moving camp and appointing a man to oversee the operation; and in this setting he arbitrated disputes between villagers. Samuel Black reports that headmen did not administer justice in his day. "Each Man or party redress their own wrongs[,] the Chiefs some times interfering with their advice[.]" And he details the restraints in this respect

Revening the death of the Murdered or making the Murderer & his Relations pay well. often much, many having in Such Case a bad heart (to use their own expression) & requires to be relieved by a present, this latter method of Settlement is most

frequent Since the Whites came amongst them. They have . . . a Correct Idea of right & Wrong Good & bad or Crime According to their own Ideas & Customs following which Crime is not easily defined for they Murder Doctors &c, & Women, Pillage Robb &c & not accounted to them as Crimes, but when they Miss in bravado or without a Cause or even petty Crime, they are looked on as bad by the others & subject themselves in quarrel to be taken up by some one i e that he would not do so to him &c, that he was Strong & such lik[e] taunts; such is his Situation even should he escape punishment from the Relations of the Murdered, however in this district as well as in many others a Murderer is dreaded & with Spirit & courage often pass unpunished & only Some Such Character as himself or Some independent Spirited fellow may take him up.⁴⁰

In regional affairs, the headman represented his village; and it is reflective of the virtual autonomy of the village among riverine Sahaptins that a Umatilla headman who dissented from a decision reached in an inter-village council could not be compelled to follow it.

Among the Cayuse and Nez Perces, centralization had proceeded somewhat further, as the use of the horse speeded communication among village-clusters, as wealth distinctions increased, and as the experience of sojourning upon the Plains heightened the value placed on leadership. Thus, among village headmen, some emerged as first among equals, and those that became supporters of such leaders carried their villagers with them. Among the Nez Perces, there were several regional groupings of bands, each of which often acted as a unit. These included the Kamiah and the Lapwai-Lewiston regional groupings, respectively on the upper and lower Clearwater; the grouping on the Salmon and Wallowa rivers; and that on the lower Snake, below the mouth of the Clearwater.⁴¹ Of the nine bands recalled by modern Cayuse descendants, one, which had disappeared, lay on Willow Creek, five were in the Umatilla drainage, and three in that of the middle and upper Walla Walla River.⁴²

How did leaders reach out beyond the village and band to achieve a larger following? Emergent chiefs, like headmen—and they were headmen themselves, at root—although attended by a herald to broadcast what they said, and by an entourage of young men, had to rely upon their powers of persuasion, for they wielded no other power. The missionary, Asa B. Smith, saw three classes

of chief among Cayuse and Nez Perces: those who had gained distinction in war; the mush chiefs, who feasted the people and thus won note for their liberality; and the tobacco chiefs, who were given tobacco at the fort to redistribute among their tribesmen. He added, "The power of the chiefs amounts to very little & the people do that which is right in their eyes."⁴³ A chief, wrote Samuel Black, might help himself to a fish from those caught by a follower, and he might send someone—doubtless one of his entourage—on an errand, but his powers to command were otherwise limited.⁴⁴ The influential Wallawalla leader, Yellepit, whom Lewis and Clark pronounced "of much influence not only in his own nation but also among neighboring tribes and nations," invited the returning explorers to his village. He then exhorted his fellow villagers to provide them with provisions and fuel, setting the example himself; but they brought forward only firewood from their supplies, and the captains had to purchase dogs to feed their party.⁴⁵

The response from fellow-tribesmen to the requests of a local leader was probably graduated. Those with few reciprocal ties to him might exercise the relative freedom of families to move to another community if they were displeased with this one. Those tribesmen, however, who had accepted favors from the leader—for example, the "young men" who formed his entourage—thereby assumed the moral obligation of responding to his demands.

It is probably the latter relationship that Indian Agent T.W. Davenport took as the norm when he described the situation in the early days (1862) of the Umatilla Indian Reservation as comprising "a modified feudalism, in which the chiefs, coming to their office by dint of personal prowess, take the part of the hereditary landlord, while all others are mere retainers." Indian men, he wrote, were then still identified as followers of this or that headman, and the latter resented the efforts of those who were beginning to strive for independence. One such man, openly critical of his leader, the benign old Cayuse head chief, Howlishwanpum, ended by meeting an ambiguous death.⁴⁶

The still tenuous character of a chieftaincy extending beyond the regional groupings of bands is reflected in the words of the Nez Perce leader, Looking Glass, to Governor Stevens, as the latter returned to confront the Indian war of 1855-58. Here was a man, at once shaman, buffalo hunter, and war leader, a man of intertribal influence, who had nevertheless been passed over three

times by his fellow-tribesmen in his quest for the government-sponsored office of head chief. Looking, figuratively speaking, across at his critic, Spotted Eagle, from the Kamiah regional grouping—Looking Glass, who came from the Asotin band, was affiliated with the Salmon-Wallowa grouping—he told Stevens,

the Spotted Eagle said to me, “you depend too much upon your word among the people (the Nez Perces) my people are above yours on Clearwater.” When he told me his people were above, I answered him I did not think it was only a little place I had to talk in,—A chief must talk to all the people . . . I am merely telling what he said—that they would not listen to my talk. But I must be listened to. He told me, I am a man and a Chief; and I said, If I am a Chief, why will not all my people look on me as a Chief, all my people? They will do it. When he talked to me in that way I had but one heart. It was to call a few of my people and go along and see when they would meet and kill me with a club. . . . I look upon a chief to be a chief among all people who come into his country, or about it and not be hemmed up in a little place. A chief is a chief every where.⁴⁷

The Spiritual Realm

Significantly, when the Indians of the district conceptualized the universe of which they formed part, they saw that it had been brought into order by an Old Chief “somewhere about the Sea,” in nature good and asking nothing from them. When he had established the spring to make the roots sprout, the summer so that the salmon might run, and the winter for snow to reveal the tracks of game, he had removed himself from communication. Other mythic beings, some in animal form, included one who would seem to be Coyote, in his role as destroyer or transformer of dangerous creatures, and who, upon his departure, had instructed those beings to remain here on earth, probably in transformed condition.⁴⁸

In native thought, earthly success was dependent upon preternatural assistance; and it was the beings of mythic time, in their historic form, that constituted the Powers from whom the Cayuse and their neighbors sought the help that was indispensable for a distinguished life. The Power (*wéyekin*, “tutelary spirit”) might appear unbidden, but it was usual for boys, and sometimes girls, to be sent out on a vision quest from the age of about ten, under

the instruction of a mentor, who directed the child to an isolated questing place. He carried an object which he was to leave as evidence that he had indeed been there. He was to remain, fasting and piling up stones, until he had a vision or, failing that, until at least five days had passed. In pity, the Power might appear, often at dawn, first taking human form to announce the special ability it was bestowing, then reverting to its natural form, as animal, plant, heavenly body, ghost, or human artifact. Usually the epiphany was visual, but sometimes it came by sound alone. Thus, one quester, who was purifying himself by the sweat lodge, suddenly became aware that the hissing of the steam on the stones was his vision, and that Grandfather Sweatlodge was his Power. He knew this, because suddenly, above the hissing, he heard his Power song in the trees above. The song was a central part of the vision. On his return, the successful seeker underwent purification, followed by a period of latency, in which his Power absented itself from the youthful quester. Then, perhaps after the passage of several years, when he was mature, while he was attending the winter spirit dances, he heard others sing their song, taught them by his tutelary, and fell into trance. When shamans revived him, he rose, singing the song that had been given him.

The powers thus conferred were specialized and restricted. Men were commonly granted fighting prowess, invulnerability, skill in stealing (enemy horses, for example), fleetness of foot, hunting prowess, ability to amass wealth, attractiveness to women, or gambling skill. Women gained a special aptitude to dig roots, or to find roots, berries, and medicines. Both sexes were granted the power to cure specific wounds or afflictions. Rattlesnake and Spider conferred a power to kill others, often used in sorcery.

Among the Nez Percés and, perhaps derivatively, among the Cayuse, tutelary beings were grouped into about a dozen classes; one class, by way of example, included Bears, Snakes, Chipmunks, Squirrels, Porcupine, and Badger.⁴⁹ However, even those who shared the same tutelary were not affiliated into religious societies. For one thing, the bond between the individual and his Power was confidential and was only revealed at the time the aid of the tutelary was invoked. For another, different manifestations of a tutelary might give to two individuals distinct powers. Thus, Grizzly conferred fighting prowess on one man, the curing of war wounds to another, while a female Grizzly gave root-digging skills

to a woman. Conversely, both Elk or Deer, the hunted, and Wolf, the hunter, might impart hunting skills.

There were techniques sometimes used to transmit one's Power to a son or protégé; and there were also ways to rid oneself of an unwelcome tutelary. The tutelary Power came only when invoked, and even then not if it had become displeased with its votary. Often the invocation involved an amulet. In first appearing to the individual in his vision, Bear might have said, "When you need me, chew on a huckleberry and I will come." That individual had then ordinarily to refrain from eating those berries, but instead carried a few, dried, in a bag kept on his person against the time of his need.

Some individuals with special aptitudes went on to acquire additional Powers, including some of special character; and among these persons there were those that became shamans. The powers granted—and a shaman might combine several tutelaries—included curing specific ailments, attracting game animals, controlling weather, divining, or causing illness and death. Sometimes the call came unbidden. "I didn't start out to become a shaman," the noted Nez Perce leader, Mitat Weptis, "Three Feathers," is recalled as saying, "but someone asked me to try to cure a sick relative, and when I found I was able to do it, I just continued in that way." Novice shamans "came out" some five years after acquiring their Powers, in a public demonstration held in association with the winter spirit dances; after they had performed free cures, their relatives distributed gifts to those assembled.

When called to cure, a shaman first diagnosed the source of the illness, to ascertain whether it lay within the proper scope of his Power. If it was, he invoked the Power by recalling his vision and then attempted a cure. If the soul had strayed, it must be retrieved. If a sorcerer had caused the vitality of the body to sicken, perhaps by an evil wish or by shooting his special Projectile into him, the Projectile had to be extracted—the Umatilla did this by biting, the Cayuse by hand—after which, advised by spectators, the shaman either threw it off into the mountains or into the fire. In the former instance, the sorcerer would have to search long for it; if the latter, the sorcerer, wherever he was, would plunge into the fire and die. Concluding a successful cure, the shaman recounted the manner in which the patient had contracted the illness.

If the patient showed no signs of improvement, the upright—and prudent—shaman returned the fee, and another shaman was called. A lingering illness brought suspicion on the shaman himself, and death often brought bloody revenge from enraged relatives. As Samuel Black wrote, “they Kill 2 or 3 of their Doctors every year. . . . In the Case of Death the Doctor is roughly handle[d] often Sacrificed More over any one at a distance dying[,] the . . . death is laid to the Charge of Some Doctor or other[,] to use their own expression Eating people.”⁵⁰

Among shamans, the *waptipásin*, who were both game shamans and sometimes curers of certain ailments, may have formed a religious society, at least to the extent that during the winter spirit dances they danced competitively together, exhibiting their ability to handle hot rocks and to withstand the heat of fire. Another type of shaman, the *ixúipin*, was rare. An individual, man or woman, might seek to assimilate the Power of a deceased shaman of this type. It was a dangerous undertaking, for that Power caused the seeker to slash his or her own arms and shoulders, and in the end might bring death; but it was said that if the seeker could bear up till the autumn, he or she would end successfully. Such individuals, usually elderly, were said to be moody and dangerous. Even the spiritual forces emanating from them might strike down unwary children. Yet they possessed powers of divination, and could cure the bloody flux.⁵¹

The tribes expressed their sense of dependence upon the bounty bestowed upon them by a succession of thanksgiving feasts welcoming the seasonal return of foods. At such feasts today, five categories of foods are honored together: water, salmon (product of the rivers), venison (product of the land), roots, and berries. Of the latter, the huckleberry, the last to ripen, is esteemed most highly. Because the first salmon must be ritually treated before it can be secularly eaten—and this is true of the other ritual foods, save water—Indians of the district, in common with others on the lower Columbia, did not sell the fish to Whites until the proper rituals had been performed. This would seem to lie behind McGillivray’s notation that the Wallawalla Salmon Chief—the ritualist in charge—had brought him the first salmon of the (secular) season.⁵²

Religion was no closed matter for the Indians. The strange appearance of the Whites and their no less curious and wonderful

culture suggested their association with Powers beyond those known to the Indians, who sought in new religious movements to incorporate these novelties in a larger view of the cosmos. When Lewis and Clark were descending the Columbia in 1805, villagers across from Umatilla Rapids were terrified by the sudden appearance of Clark, whom they at first took to have dropped from the clouds. Only by great effort could he persuade them that he was human. The next year, ascending the river, the captains encountered a prophet at Walula, a shaman who said he had foretold their coming and consulted his Power ("his God"), the Moon, to see if they were telling the truth.⁵³

That there had been at least the elements of prophetic religious movements in aboriginal times was proposed by Leslie Spier over half a century ago. In the Pacific Northwest, volcanic activity, earthquakes, and falling stars were widely taken to portend the destruction of the world. Prophets, communicating with divinity in dreams or recovering from the brink of death, brought back a message from the hereafter, and preached the better life, the imminence of doomsday, and the return of the dead that would occur at that time: these features formed the core of such movements. Among the ceremonies were a circle dance and first-fruit thanksgiving feasts.⁵⁴

A Sinkaietk, or Southern Okanagon, myth, although much altered by Christian influences by the time it was recorded, permits us to recover the aboriginal doctrine of one such movement.

Old-One, Chief, made the earth out of a woman, the Mother of all people. From her flesh he made the mythic beings, some of whom hunted people. [Here the narrator recounted the story of the Garden of Eden and the fall of man. The Chief then sent his son, Jesus, to set matters right, but he simply talked, and did not teach the people the arts nor did he destroy evil monsters. In the end, Jesus was killed by bad people.]

Now Old-One sent Coyote to accomplish his purposes. Coyote travelled the earth, destroying the powers of monsters and evil beings. He transformed the good ancients into Indians, divided them into pairs and settled them, giving them name and language. He taught them how to eat, wear clothes, make houses, hunt, and fish. To be sure, he did not finish everything properly, for he also played tricks and was himself duped.

Chief now came down and travelled as a poor old man. Meeting Coyote, he sent him to a home prepared for him. From that time, Chief will send messages to earth by the souls of those who reach him but are not yet destined for death. Coyote and Chief will not be seen again until Earth-Mother is very old. Then—Coyote first—they will return to change the earth. When Chief returns, all the spirits of the dead will accompany him; after that there will be no spirit-world. All the people will live together, and Earth-Mother will take on her original form and live as a mother among them, and there will be much happiness.

Earth-Mother is now very old, her bones [the rocks] crumbling away. So soon the earth will be transformed again, and the spirits of the dead will return. The Chief has sent messages.

The Indians have learned to be good, to speak of good, to pray and dance properly, and this will hasten the return of Coyote.⁵⁵

The mythic statement concerning Old Chief, with which we began the discussion of religion among the fort tribes, if incomplete, is, with the exception of Earth-Woman, compatible with the Sinkaietk myth. Spier estimated that the doctrine of what he termed the Prophet Dance had taken form in the Plateau by the 1820s, and Black's account seems to bear him out.

Nor was this movement the only one. Among the Nez Percés, Walker has found report of the early *tulim* cult, with evident Christian elements, as reflected in belief in a book, of a creator God and angels, of maintenance of the Sabbath, etc. Some of its features, but not all, suggest a historic link in turn with the prophecy of the Flathead shaman, Shining Shirt.⁵⁶

The advent of the Whites had its indirect, as well as direct, impact upon Indian religion. Several changes may be noted in early days. The coming of both the horse and the gun may have contributed to the decline of game shamans, by rendering the success of the hunt more certain; and it may be that the teachings of Company officials had the same result. The son of the Cayuse headman, Itstikats, recalled having accompanied his father when the latter went to observe game shamans trying to relieve a winter famine along the Umatilla River; and how the Umatilla shaman, Elk Leg-Bones, succeeded when his Powers, the Wolves, drove in a band of elk to feed the people. This event had taken place, it is said, before the advent of the missionary, Marcus Whitman; and already the hunting shamans were said to have been in decline.

Even then, said the son, his own father, who was to become a firm follower of Whitman, had been skeptical of their powers. (Ironically, the son was later to become a noted shaman in his own day.)

A second type of change is suggested in the reaction to the advent of firearms, which may have evoked a new Power. At the Dalles, reported the naturalist John Townsend, an Indian, called Skookum, "Strong," had gained prominence by cutting off patches of skin from his body and by shooting himself with a gun and recovering. Both the "immunity" he had thus demonstrated and the fame thus won proved fleeting, for six weeks later a rival shot him, and this time with fatal effect.⁵⁷ In 1843, Whitman recounted the instance of a young man, probably Cayuse, who had come into the mission station all the way from the Grande Ronde after having deliberately shot himself through the body, and this for the second time, "in order to convince his countrymen of the strength of his supernatural & protecting agent. . . . He will now be able to make himself revered & thought to be a strong mystery or medicin man[.]"⁵⁸

Yet a third change involves the importation of belief, through the indirect agency of the fur trade. Some modern Indians among those I consulted maintain that formerly their ancestors believed in an afterworld located somewhere upon the earth, although not part of it. The prevailing native opinion, however—confirmed by dream for some persons—is that the souls of the dead travel along the Milky Way, the "Ghosts' Road," to its forking, where the souls of sinners find it easy to travel the broad road on the left which leads to Hell, while those of the good must with difficulty follow the faint trail on the right to reach Heaven. The latter concept seems to have reached the fort Indians by way of Catholic Iroquois from Caughnawaga, who in the first decades of the nineteenth century had intermarried among the Flathead, and who were employed as trappers by the fur companies.⁵⁹

The picture presented by the Indian tribes at the threshold of their direct encounter with the Whites is of peoples dynamically engaged with their world, far from unreflective about its meaning for them, already aware of distant rumors of the new race, their very existence already shaken by the inroads of fierce new diseases and transformed by the acquisition of the horse. In this chapter we have given tribal entities face and form; in the next we shall meet some of the individuals who were to become their protagonists in the coming encounter.

FIVE

A Register of Noted Men



“This is the month,” wrote the Reverend Henry W. K. Perkins in December 1843, from Wascopam, the Methodist mission station at the Dalles,

when the Kaius, Walla Walla & Nez-Perces make their yearly gathering here to pass the winter. The former of these are the elite of the country. They are few in number but exert a very great influence. They are a brave & enterprising people & command a great deal of respect from the surrounding tribes. The Nez-perces through the *indefatigable labors of Mr. & Mrs. Spalding*, are ahead of them in learning, & are more cultivated in their manners, but have less of a spirit of independence & a fewer number of noted men.¹

Who were the noted men of the Cayuse of that day? Some were shamans, some wealthy individuals with large herds, but most who are recalled today as having been eminent combined leadership in war with the position of village headman or band chief. At Fort Nez Percés, the journal of events which survives from the year 1831-32, kept by the master in charge, Simon McGillivray, Jr., is peopled with the names or nicknames of Indians. From among them there emerge a number of individuals worthy of note, and these, placed in the setting provided by Indian genealogical tradition, permit us to recognize some of the leaders in the first half of the nineteenth century. It is significant for the role of kinship in consolidating leadership among the Cayuse that McGillivray acknowledged the family linkages between leaders.

The Wilewmutkin Line

The most prominent early name recalled by modern Indians is that of the Cayuse Wilewmutkin, “Hair Tied Up on Top,” who lived late in the eighteenth century at a time of the expansion toward the Plains, and who may have won distinction there, although

he is remembered principally for the lines he engendered among several tribes. Lewis and Clark, who met few Cayuse and thought them a subdivision of the Nez Perces, do not mention him; and he is not to be confounded with his near-namesake, the Nez Perce leader, Wilewmutnin, "The Twisted Hair," who appears in their journals. More curiously still, neither Wilewmutkin nor his son and successor, who bore the same name, can be recognized in the extant accounts of any of the fur traders before McGillivray. In recording the death of "the Great Cayouse Chief Willam[u]tke," McGillivray probably conflated him with his father in eulogizing him as having been "a great friend of the Whites & Fort, and restrained the turbulent dispositions of his tribe from committing violence and depredations on the Fort."² That the position of "Great Chief" involved paramountcy and was not solely a creation of the Company appears clear from the sequel. For McGillivray attests that the succession was a matter of Cayuse custom, and that the position was claimed by Hiyumtipin, an inveterate foe of the fort.

The limited numbers of the Cayuse may have been a factor in the development of paramountcy among them, for the entire population numbered no more than some five hundred persons. Among the Nez Perces, with similar institutions but approximately five times as many people, Lewis and Clark recognized four major leaders. That the position shared characteristics with the village headmanship and band chieftaincy is seen by the nature of succession involved. McGillivray, in one place referring to the younger Wilewmutkin as "the late Young Chief," uses a title by which Whites came to designate the individual, usually a son and potential successor, being trained in the office by an incumbent chief.³

The older Wilewmutkin left behind him a web of kinsmen which was to prove resilient. There were a number of notable sons and at least one daughter. The oldest son, Twitekis, was born from a union with a Nez Perce woman late in the eighteenth century. The couple separated, and the woman returned to her people in the Wallowa country. As a youth, Twitekis visited his father in the Umatilla valley, where he spent a season with his half-brothers.⁴ By the time covered in the McGillivray Journal, he was already on the rise to prominence among his mother's people. Baptized "Joseph" by the American missionary, Henry H. Spalding, he is usually termed "Old Joseph" in the historical records to distinguish



*Twitekis at the Walla Walla council of 1855, drawn by Gustav Solon.
Courtesy Washington State Historical Society.*

him from his more famous son of the 1877 war. As we have already seen, when Twitekis became leader of the Wallowa band, the Nez Percés recalled his Cayuse affinity by terming it the Wilewmutkin band.⁵

The offspring from Wilewmutkin's marriage with a Wallawalla wife and one of his two Cayuse wives are uncertainly recalled today. From the remaining, and enduring, Cayuse marriage were born three sons and a daughter, all probably born around the end of the eighteenth century. The oldest of the sons, as we have seen, was trained by his father as headman-chief, received his name, and succeeded him both in office and in prominence. On his death in 1831, the younger Wilewmutkin left behind him two adult



*Five Ravens in 1855, drawn by Sobon.
We lack a likeness of Tawatoy, who had
died a few years earlier. Courtesy Oregon
Historical Society.*

brothers, Tawatoy, “Night Attack,” then about thirty, and Pakhat Qôqô, “Five Ravens” (usually rendered “Five Crows” in histories).⁶ Tawatoy, whom McGillivray pronounced “a fine young man,” is sometimes designated by him “the Young Chief,” suggesting that he in his turn had assisted his older brother. McGillivray had less regard for Five Ravens, whom he termed “a sully and black Hearted Dog,” in alluding to his sojourn with John Work.⁷ A year earlier, according to Work’s field journal, his Snake Country brigade had been joined for several days by a party of four Cayuses travelling in the same direction. One of them—undoubtedly this was Five Ravens—had been accompanied by a slave girl, who persisted in following him, though he repeatedly sent her back. Finally, in exasperation, he shot and wounded her. Wrote Work, “This is the way of treating disobedience. I made him to understand that the whites did not suffer such occurrences among them.”⁸ It is known that the two brothers long resided together in a winter village on the Umatilla River, near the present site of Mission, some five miles east of Pendleton.

We must draw upon more indirect evidence to bind to this line the Cayuse war leader who bore the Sahaptin name Alokwat, “Frog.”⁹ Cayuse custom in the inheritance of names provides a clue, for formal names frequently passed along descent lines, a

boy receiving a name borne by one of his father's relatives—usually, but not necessarily, the name of a person already deceased—a daughter receiving the name of either a paternal or a maternal relative. Some individuals in recorded genealogies had received and relinquished a succession of such formal names.

Thus it was for the name borne by the first recorded Alokwat, a long-lived individual. Lewis and Clark called him "Ar-lo-quat"¹⁰ and identified him as a Nez Perce. They gave the noted war leader a medal and, according to Wilkes, also an American flag as a token of peace, which he and some Wallawallas bore to the Grande Ronde in overtures toward the Shoshoneans. Often associated with the Wallawalla chief, Tamatappam—Ross met the two of them at an intertribal gathering on the Walla Walla River in 1811—he may have been consistent in his endeavor for a reasoned peace. The Cayuse leader, Quahat, associated with Tamatappam in his discussions with McKenzie over construction of the fort, is sometimes said to have been the same individual, under a garbled version of his name.¹¹ And, while no name is mentioned, it was probably Alokwat who participated in the lengthy negotiations for peace with the Snakes described by Ross and others. At some point before the McGillivray Journal opens in 1831 he had retired, presenting the flag to the younger Wilewmutkin. He lived on to meet Joel Palmer in 1845 ("Aliquot") and reprove him for playing cards on the Sabbath,¹² and to meet him again in 1848. There are sufficient grounds to reject Palmer's latter-day identification of him with Tamsucky, one of the principals in the Whitman slayings.¹³

The inheritance of names ties Alokwat to the Wilewmutkin line, perhaps as a brother of its head. To Josephy's consultants, and some of mine, the younger Wilewmutkin was known as Alokwat, and he almost certainly bore that name at some time.¹⁴ On the other hand, it is another individual, perhaps the son whom Palmer met with the old leader in 1845, who was the "young Allikat" whom Black in 1826 pronounced "mad" over the daughter of Tamatappam.¹⁵ Best known of the bearers of the name was Ollokot, son of Old Joseph, younger brother of Chief Joseph, who died at the battle of the Bear Paws in 1877.¹⁶

The external alliances of the Wilewmutkin line lay along the Umatilla River, on the upper reaches of which lived Qematspelu, "Three Times Around Striking," successor of Alokwat as a leader

in war and tentatively identified with the "War Chief" of McGillivray's Journal. They also extended intertribally, in the marriage of Tamatappam's son and successor, Piupiumaksmaks, "Yellow Swan," with the Cayuse daughter of the elder Wilewmutkin.

This was the web of kinship and alliance that the old Cayuse had woven; and upon which his sons were to find support.

The Line of Hiyumtipin

Along the middle and upper Walla Walla River lay a second prominent line, that of Hiyumtipin ("Umtippe"), "Grizzly Bites Him," also called "The Split Lip" (rendered in the Journal in French, *The Babine Fendue*). Hiyumtipin's relationship to Wilewmutkin, upon which his claim to succession to paramountcy was based, is uncertain today, but it was seemingly unquestioned at the time. His opposition to the Company and the fort is set forth in other chapters.

A son, who married among the Palus, was later to achieve prominence among that people as "Chief" Bones.¹⁷ Leader of the main band within the Walla Walla drainage, Hiyumtipin was supported by his three brothers, who were influential in their own right. Two are known in the Journal by French sobriquets, *Capot Rouge*, "Red Cloak," and *Le Maître de Cendré*, "Master of the Roan (Horse)"; the third was *The Prince*. The first two are known elsewhere by their Indian names—although *The Prince* continued to be known by that sobriquet—but the assignment between the two individuals is in doubt. Jean Toupin, sometime interpreter at the fort, identified *Red Cloak* as *Waptashtakhmalin*, "Wearing a Feather Cap," although he did so in garbled fashion.¹⁸ If this is correct, the *Master of the Roan* must be *Yikhyikhkeshkesh*, "Speckled Hawk."¹⁹

Lest it be forgotten that genealogical relationships entail more than abstract diagrams of affinity, it is well to consider a prominent instance of a Wallawalla line that failed, to learn how profoundly paternal love and hope bound together fathers and sons in Plateau society. Among the Wallawalla, Yellepit, a man of about thirty years when Lewis and Clark extolled his prominence, seemed dogged by a malign destiny. In a volume published anonymously, Peter Skene Ogden gave an eye-witness account of the

fate of a chief he names "Eagle," who seems to have been this individual.²⁰ The event took place in 1825, when Yellepit would have been about fifty, when John Dease was yet master at the Fort, and when two other officers, McLoughlin and Black, were present. The Eagle, owner of more than a hundred horses, within the space of a few months had been stricken in succession by the death, first of a younger, then of his elder son. A wife and two married daughters survived, but he had no more sons nor the hopes of any. When the funeral for the latter son was held, the chief invited Dease to be present and the other officers came along. The body having been lowered into the grave, the chief himself delivered the funeral oration, rather than employing the customary speaker who functions today. Then, unexpectedly stepping into the grave, he laid himself on the corpse of his son and ordered his relatives to fill the grave; nor could he be dissuaded. When his friends, counselling together, reluctantly agreed to comply, he directed the disposal of his goods, dividing his horses among his relations, ten of the best being set aside for Dease, of whom he requested that he have a flag erected at his grave. Then the grave was filled in.²¹

Tamatappam of the Wallawalla

The dominant line remaining among the Wallawalla was that of Tamatappam. On the testimony of Se-cho-wa, his daughter, he was of Cayuse origin²² and had apparently married into the Wallawalla tribe, where he had distinguished himself in war as well as peace. Although his daughter stated that his name celebrated the cure of his rheumatic knee by Lewis and Clark at Wallula (thus, *tú'ma*, "thigh," "knee"), he appears earlier in their journals under that name, rendered "To-mar-lar-pom Grand Chief Wal lar war lar N[ation]."²³ Perhaps in consequence of his cure, he remained an abiding friend of the Whites, though he is not to be confused with the Umatilla, Yekatappam, that "good old man" who in 1811 succored John Day and Ramsay Crooks, of the Hunt party, after they had been stripped bare by the John Day band of Sahaptins.²⁴ Tamatappam made extensive forays to the south; about the beginning of the nineteenth century, he was making sweeps into northern California, a distance of about four hundred miles each way, raiding for horses, taking along his young son.²⁵

When Ross first encountered Tamatappam in 1811, at an intertribal gathering on the Walla Walla River, he found in council that his associates, the Cayuse, Alokwa, and the Nez Perce, Quils-quils-tuck-a-pesten, took precedence over him in all matters of importance, though whether the ranking was tribal or personal is debatable.²⁶ In 1818, when the construction of the fort was held up by a dispute with the Indians, all awaited the return of Tamatappam, who, although already somewhat aged, was returning from a successful expedition against the Snakes, at the head of a party of 480 men.²⁷ Thereafter, his somewhat proprietary championship of the fort was only once shaken, in the first years of its existence, when a Snake raid resulted in the capture of three Wallawallas, including his "sister,"* and led to his accusation that fort trade had armed the Shoshoneans.²⁸

At the time of the Journal, the aged Tamatappam still survived, as did a brother, who appears under the sobriquet, Le Tranquil. Two sons are also in evidence. The elder, Piupiumaksmaks, "Yellow Swan"—sometimes miscalled "Yellow Serpent," perhaps because of the sinuous neck of the bird—came to succeed and surpass his father.²⁹ Married to a daughter of the older Wilewmutkin, he was a frequent companion and powerful ally of his brother-in-law Tawatoy. A second son is known in the Journal only as Le Borgne, "The One-Eyed."³⁰

Political Divisions of the Cayuse

These, then, were the principal lines involved in the coming struggle for recognition as high chief of the Cayuse. Hiyumtipin was the acknowledged leader of the Cayuse bands in the Walla Walla valley, as was Tawatoy on the Umatilla, perhaps by acknowledgment of local councils. In their subsequent careers, Tawatoy and his brother Five Ravens alike seem to have been moved to emulate the achievement of their father and elder brother, the two Wilewmutkins. Yet both were, in different ways, flawed. Tawatoy was possessed of a character that Indians and many Whites found admirable. He was, for example, moved by idealism: twice in his later career he was to sacrifice personal ambition in the cause

*In Sahaptin kinship terminology, the term for sister is also extended to cousin; rhetorically, it may be applied even beyond traceable kinship.

of regaining Cayuse unity. Yet he lacked firmness as high chief. As for Five Ravens, a certain preoccupation with women and an inconstancy in course damaged him in the eyes of his fellow tribal members.

Farnham, who visited the post almost a decade after McGillivray, presents a view of the decline of Cayuse influence when Tawatoy had become paramount. The Cayuse, he declared,

is the imperial tribe of Oregon. They formerly claimed a prescriptive right to exercise jurisdiction over the country down the Columbia to its mouth, and up the North [Columbia] and South [Snake] Forks to their sources. In the reign of the late High Chief, the brother of him who now holds that station, this claim was acceded to by all the tribes within those districts. The Wallawallas and Upper Chenooks are the only tribes that continue to recognize the Skyuse supremacy.³¹

Although Farnham considerably exaggerates the former influence of the Cayuse, contemporary observers quoted in earlier chapters saw them, in company with the Nez Percés, as domineering in their relations with the Chinookans, despite the resistance of the latter.³² Their relationship with the Columbia River Sahaptins was, on the whole, on quite another footing, being mediated by trading partnerships and intermarriage.

The cleavage between the two segments of the Cayuse was to prove persistent. Writing of the situation at the time of the destruction of the Whitman mission in 1847, Rev. J.B.A. Brouillet saw the Cayuses

divided into three camps, entirely distinct from each other, each camp having its own chief, who governs his young people as he pleases; each one of the chiefs is independent of the others; and these three camps form, as it were, three independent states of a small federal republic, each of them administering their own private affairs as they please without interference from the others.³³

The Umatilla River segment of Cayuse comprised two camps, the band clusters of the brothers Tawatoy and Five Ravens, on the middle river, and that of their ally, Qematspelu, upriver from them. The Walla Walla River segment comprised the third camp, that of Teloukaikt, successor to Hiyumtipin, and his allies, including Hiyumtipin's brothers. Both Tawatoy and Qematspelu, it might be added, were linked through marriage with Teloukaikt.



*The Looking Glass in 1855, drawn by Sobon.
Courtesy Oregon Historical Society.*

Nez Perce Leaders

Beyond the Cayuse and the Wallawalla, various Nez Perce leaders are prominent in McGillivray's Journal. Two of the four major leaders whom Lewis and Clark had met still ride through its pages: Hahatsilpilp, "Red Grizzly," who dwelt on the Salmon River near the mouth of Whitebird Creek, and Neesh-ne-park-ke-ook, "Old Cut Nose," from the Clearwater at the mouth of Potlatch Creek.³⁴ Apashwyakaikt, "Agate Necklace," known to the Whites as Looking Glass the older, is evidently Le Miroir of the Journal. From his home on the Snake near Asotin, he appears often in the company of one Bouton, "Button," who resided on a creek tributary to the Clearwater, near Lapwai.³⁵ Highly influential in Company affairs was the leader designated in the Journal as Charlie, who dwelt on the Snake just below the mouth of the Clearwater, perhaps below Alpowa Creek.³⁶ In the decade of the Whitman mission, 1836-47, two prominent leaders came from this vicinity,

those named as Luke and Timothy (Tamootsin);³⁷ but Charlie cannot be identified at present with either of these.

Other Nez Percés of the Journal may be more briefly noted. The influential Towishwa—John Work's Tawenshewa³⁸—cannot presently be identified with a known Nez Percé. The first element of the name is reminiscent of that of Tuvish Ssimnen, "Sparkling Horn," the name given Ellis, grandson of Red Grizzly; perhaps it was then borne by an elder relative of that young scholar. Two other persons appear who were later to figure in mission accounts. One, the leader, Capot Bleu, "Blue Cloak," was to figure in a whipping incident with the missionary, Henry H. Spalding.³⁹ Another, Le Chapeau, was the ill-fated Hat, whose abandonment by William Gray to certain death at the hands of Sioux warriors was to bring Indian opprobrium upon Gray and to turn them critical of his fellow missionaries.⁴⁰

Others

These, then, were prominent Indians among the peoples who frequented the post. At a greater remove, and thus only occasional visitors, were the Palus leader, Talatouche, and his son.⁴¹ Others are mentioned only by title; they include the Old Chief of Umatilla (Umatilla) River, the Chief of John Day's River, and the little Chief of the Chutes (i.e., Deschutes). Of greater prominence, because of his role in forwarding messages, was Watilkay, Chief of the Dalles, to whom may be added Yess, the messenger, later to emerge as a leader of the John Day band, although his name appears as signatory for the Dog River Wasco in the 1855 treaty with the tribes of Middle Oregon. Among other Sahaptins, Yakima and the Nahayams of the lower Snake⁴² are infrequent visitors, as are the Big (i.e., Blalock) Island Indians, Umatilla from the Columbia well downriver from the fort. There are also references to Salishan tribes, usually with regard to communication along the upper river, toward Fort Colville: thus to the helpful Priest and the big Young Man of Isle de Pierre, and to Prince, the Spokane's son. It is a rare occurrence, and thus a matter of notice, when a Salish-speaker comes south to Fort Nez Percés to trade, as does one Pend d'Oreilles, though conversely some Nez Percés had freely traded with John Work at Spokane House.

Testifying to the particularism of trading relationships is the frequent reference by name to a host of Indians, with one exception men, whose mention in the Journal was expected to have significance for Company superiors and successors. Those that can be so placed are listed below by tribe, while for others we lack this information. Sobriquets, which have been rendered from the French originals, may in some instances be translations from Indian names, both formal and informal; in others they may have been nicknames given by Whites. Note especially the use of terms of relationship to principals already well known.

Cayuse: Old Alokwat's Brother, Wide Mouth and Wide Mouth's Son, The Berdache and The Berdache's Brother, Medicine Man, Big Head, The Son of the Good Old Man, Trap-Stealer's Son, Plante's Comrade (Plante was a trapper).

Wallawalla: The Salmon Chief, The Little One-Eyed, Patqui, The Little Hunter, The Little Whistler (or Marmot), the Jealous, Hare-Skin, Kiyowapap, Catherine.

Nez Perces: The Little Doctor, Longhair, Cut-Thumb's Brother, Old Wiped Snout.

Local, though of uncertain tribal affiliation: The Sharpshooter, Son of the Old Babbler, Copcopel, Palataite (is this the Cayuse, Teloukaikt?), Colloquoy, Kill-Kay.

Downriver: Sapokass' Son.

Upriver: Plassis's Brother-in-law (Plassis was a trapper), a Pend d'Oreilles.

A number of prominent Indians we have reviewed are never mentioned by name in the Journal, but only by relationship. Tawatoy, for example, is "Willamutki's Brother," or "the Eldest Brother of the late Young Chief," while Five Ravens is "Willamutki's 2d Brother," and Twitekis is "Willamtki's Brother (Commonly called Nez Perces)." Piupiumaksmaks appears principally as "Tomatapum's Son;" only in one entry (27 October, 1831) is "Serpent Jaune" identified further as "Tomatapum's Eldest Son—or Walla Walla Chief."

The paucity of references to women as individuals in McGillivray's Journal reflects in part its official character as a journal of events of concern to the Company. There is no reference in its pages to his own family, resident with him at the fort. The bulk of trading in the Indian store, routinely conducted by the

master himself, was in peltries, largely the property of men; and it was doubtless men, accompanied by their silent but watchful wives, with whom he conducted his business. Yet when "country products," such as the Indian garments mentioned by Black, which were made by women, were purchased by the store, the woman herself may have been the bargainer, despite the pressure of Indian convention, which regarded it as improper for a woman to engage a White man in conversation. Unfortunately, the Journal records no instances of such transactions.

This does not mean that Indian women are absent from McGillivray's pages. They appear there, often as the wives of men of the post; but by the same principles of reference mentioned earlier, they and their relatives are simply designated as the wife, the father-in-law, or brother-in-law of that named individual. The Wallawalla woman, Catherine, the sole Indian woman mentioned by name, was under McGillivray's protection, probably as the spouse of an *engagé* absent on Company business. She spoke both her native tongue and French.

SIX

Bourgeois



Set down among tribes enjoying an expansive moment in their history, and itself an agent of that change, Fort Nez Percés marked the presence of a rationalized, heirarchical commercial order. Under the Hudson's Bay Company of the coalition, the ultimate authority lay in the hands of the governor and committee sitting in London. Subordinate to that body, in Canada, were the councils of the Northern and Southern departments—and subsequently of the Montreal Department—under their separate governors, soon reduced to one man, George Simpson, at first sole governor *de facto*, but from 1839 to his retirement in 1860 in formal status. The councils, which met annually, were drawn from the senior field officers who comprised twenty-five chief factors and twenty-eight chief traders, each of whom according to rank received a set portion of the Company profits.¹ It was the councils which were responsible for promulgating rules and regulations, for addressing personnel matters and the staffing and performance of each of the posts, subject to approval by the London committee.

The domain of the trading activities was divided into departments and they in turn into districts. For several years, the Columbia and New Caledonia departments—the latter, to the north, comprising roughly the drainage of the Fraser River—were administered together, until in 1828 New Caledonia was reduced to a district of its southern neighbor. In 1826, the annual council assigned to Chief Factor John McLoughlin six chief traders and twelve clerks for the seven posts and diverse field operations of the Columbia Department, together with a naval officer for the coastal trade.² Writing to Simpson for the same fiscal year, McLoughlin set forth his staffing needs, aside from officers.³ His reasoning may provide some insight into the manner in which Company officers made logistical calculations.

A couple of years earlier, Simpson had installed McLoughlin as administrator of the Columbia Department, and had chosen the

*Governor George Simpson.
Courtesy Oregon Historical
Society.*



site for Fort Vancouver, on the north shore of the Columbia opposite the mouth of the Willamette, as the main depot, replacing Fort George (Astoria). The governor had toured the department at that time in a critical mood—"Everything appears to me . . . on too extended a scale," he confided to his journal, "*except the Trade*"³—and he had pondered economies. To staff four posts and the Snake Country brigade, aside from officers, the department was employing 136 men, a number which he proposed to reduce to seventy-two.⁴ In the intervening years, there had been recalculations, and McLoughlin, the person directly responsible for the performance of the department, apparently had concluded that some economies that seemed good on paper might well prove impractical on the ground. He had ninety-four men on hand, and proceeded to justify retaining that number. Some of his figures involve both the New Caledonia and Columbia departments.

For Fort Vancouver, McLoughlin saw a need for a year-round contingent of twenty able-bodied men. In the interior, thirty-three men were needed for six interior posts and outposts during the winter, reduced to eleven men during the summer months. They were thus distributed: Fort Nez Percés⁵ (five); Fort Okanagan, now reduced to a way station en route to New Caledonia (two); Fort Colville—replacing Spokane House—(four);

and its outposts to the east, Flathead (eight) and Kootenay (four), and, in the Thompson's River District, Fort Kamloops (ten).

In addition, he needed men for the fur brigade which, beginning in early spring, passed downriver from New Caledonia, collecting the year's catch of furs from each post and bringing them into Vancouver. In the fall, it reversed its course, bringing upriver to each post in turn its "outfit" (supplies) for the next fiscal year. McLoughlin calculated that the "outfits" for the New Caledonia posts totalled between 114 and 130 "pieces"—parcels each weighing some ninety pounds—while those for the interior Columbia posts made about two hundred more. The total load, he estimated, would require nine boats and fifty-four men.⁶ Twenty-four men could come from New Caledonia; another twenty-two could be found in the men from the interior posts freed for other service in the summer, leaving eight still to be found. In correspondence, Simpson had suggested that the complement could be made up from those serving at Fort Vancouver. To this McLoughlin was heartily opposed, for, as he maintained, the summertime was precisely when the men were most needed. He pronounced it "out of all possibility . . . that we can in any way attend to the farming or even send to [the] Indians" if this were done. Vancouver must retain a constant force of men throughout the year.

There were additional needs. Seven men were needed for the express, which left each spring for York Factory, the main depot on Hudson's Bay, bearing official correspondence, officers bound for the annual council, and retiring personnel, to return in the fall with answering letters and instructions and with fresh replacements. Expansion on Fraser River, where Fort Langley was then under construction, required an additional twenty-one men. Finally, for the coasting trade, to oppose American vessels, sixteen men should be found. McLoughlin did not mention the Snake Country brigade, perhaps because many of the men at the time were not employees, but freemen, persons not under contract but paid for the furs they collected.

He had the men for all these purposes at hand, wrote McLoughlin. At Fort Vancouver and with Clerk Alexander McLeod—then trapping furs in the lower country to the south—there were sixty-eight men, to which should be added the twenty-two men from the interior posts. Lastly, for the coastal

trade, he had four sailors from England. The ninety-four men, he insisted, were all needed, and that was "without making allowance of a single Man for casualty or disease."⁷

Masters of the Post

It is within such a large, integrated, and complex extractive enterprise that Fort Nez Percés is to be viewed. The post was administered by a manager, sometimes termed its factor, often its master; former Nor'Westers tended to prefer the term *bourgeois*. Usually of the rank of chief trader, though occasionally a clerk, the master performed most of the record keeping and maintained a daily journal of events which formed part of the permanent papers of the post. He was the trader in the Indian store. In addition, he held firm authority over the half-dozen employees under his command. Although he was subject to instructions that came down the line of command, and McLoughlin kept close touch with local events through correspondence and direct inspection, it was both necessary and expected that, in view of the slowness of communication, the master would display initiative in the exercise of his duties.

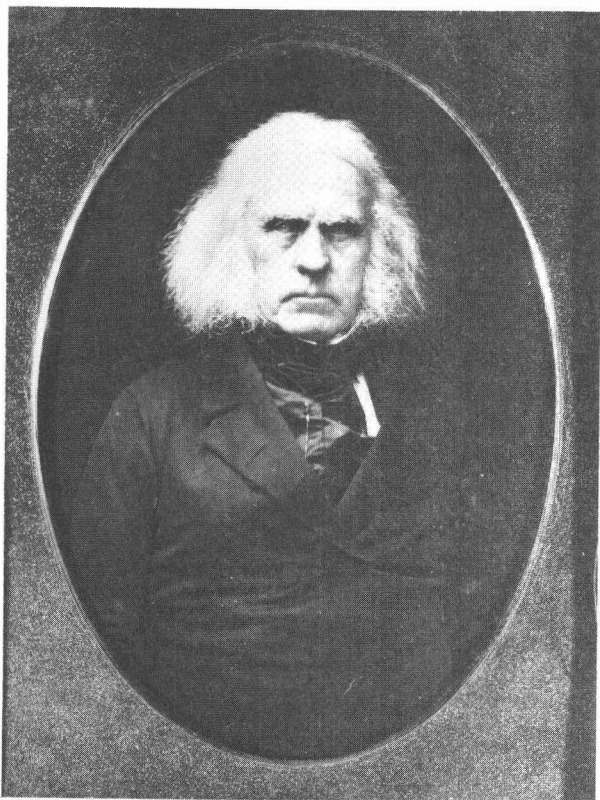
The succession of those who served as master of Fort Nez Percés is shown in Table 1. Several observations may be made from this table. All masters of Fort Nez Percés down to and including McGillivray were of Nor'West background. This reflects a condition to which Williams has made allusion, namely, the preponderance of persons from the former opposition within the ranks of Company officers after coalition.⁹ Furthermore, of the first five, Ross, Black, and Barnston were born in Scotland and Dease in Canada of Scottish parents, only McGillivray being what was termed an "English halfbreed." Of the latter five, McKinlay was of Scottish origin, Pierre Pambrun was born near Quebec of French-Canadian parentage; the other three—McBean, Andrew Pambrun, and Sinclair—were all of part Indian descent (i.e. *métis*).¹⁰ Andrew Pambrun, Sinclair, and probably McBean were the sons of Company officers.

The increase in the number of persons of "country" origin reflects in part the efforts of Company officers to advance their sons in the Company, and the willingness of other officers to find a place for those among them who were properly qualified. There

MASTERS OF FORT NEZ PERCÉS

<u>Name</u>	<u>Company</u> ^a	<u>Rank</u>	<u>Age on Assuming Charge</u>	<u>Tenure</u>	<u>Transfer to</u>
Alexander Ross	P, N, H	Clerk	35	1818-23	Snake Country brigade
John W. Dease	N, H	Chief Trader	39	1823-25	Spokane House
Samuel Black	N, H	Chief Trader	46	1825-30	Thompsons River
George Barnston	N, H	Clerk	31	1830-31	Retired, then rehired
Simon McGillivray, Jr.	N, H	Chief Trader	42	1831-32	Fort Colville
Pierre C. Pambrun	H	Clerk & Chief Trader	40	1832-41	Accidental death
Archibald McKinlay	H	Clerk	30	1841-46	Oregon City Store
William McBean	H	Clerk	39	1846-51	Retired to local farm
Andrew D. Pambrun	H	Clerk	31	1852-55	Retired to local farm
James D. Sinclair	H	Chief Trader?	49	1855	Killed in Indian attack at The Cascades ⁸

^a P = Pacific Fur Company; N = North West Company; H = Hudson's Bay Company. The company in bold type is that under which the officer served as master of Fort Nez Percés.



Chief Factor John McLoughlin. Courtesy Oregon Historical Society.

was, however, more than this. As we shall see, both the younger Pambrun and Sinclair were rebels against the Company and, in accepting the position at the fort, made arrangements of convenience only. By the 1850s, the post had diminished in importance, since by that time it lay within what had become foreign territory; and Simpson may have found it difficult to find candidates willing to assume its administration.

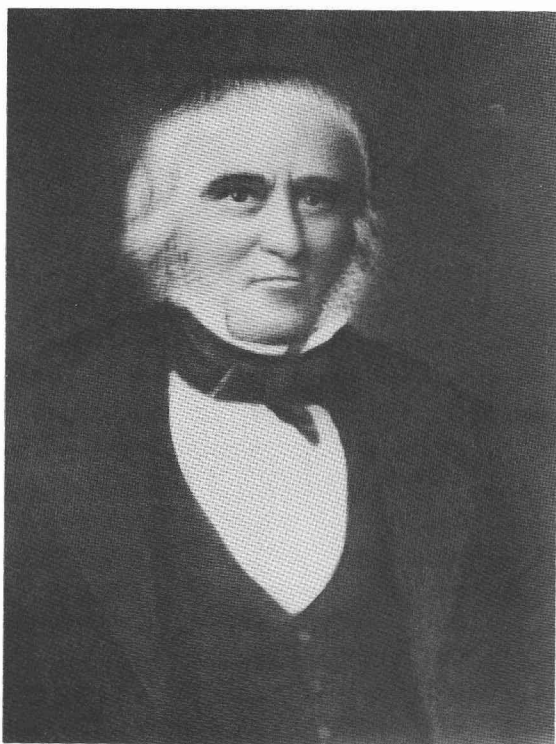
That former Nor'Westers should occupy the early commands of the post is, in a way, not surprising, for the Columbia Department had been theirs and they were most familiar with it. However, it was when the London committee was considering the department as a buffer against American competition that three men in particular from the former opposition were moved into place. They were McLoughlin, who was placed in charge of the department



Alexander Ross, from his Fur Hunters of the Far West (1855). Courtesy Special Collections, Knight Library.

(and of New Caledonia as well); Black at Fort Nez Percés; and Ogden in the Snake Country brigade.¹¹ Black and Ogden had at first been deemed unacceptable within the ranks of the reorganized Company because of the violence with which they had conducted themselves in the period of rivalry.

It was not only the American opposition, however, that demanded a strong hand, for trapping in the Snake Country, which extended east to the Rockies and south to the Spanish border, was highly hazardous, and was necessitated, as McLoughlin wrote to the governor and committee, by the circumstance that "The Furs hunted on the South Side [of the Columbia] are killed at such a distance from the River that hardly any of the Natives would come so far to trade with us."¹² Fort Nez Percés was closely connected with the Snake Country expeditions. Alexander Ross, the first master, had held the fort as a base while Donald McKenzie, his superior, made his first ventures into the Snake Country. After coalition, when McKenzie chose to go out of the trade, Finan McDonald was sent in 1823 to replace him, returning from that profitable, though grueling, tour with his celebrated remark, "when that Cuntre will see me agane the Beaver will have Gould Skin."¹³ Ross was therefore sent in his place and Dease was appointed master at Fort Nez Percés.



*Peter Skene Ogden.
Search has not yet
uncovered likenesses of
Simon McGillivray,
Jr., or Samuel Black.
This portrait courtesy
Oregon Historical
Society.*

Simpson, on his reconnaissance of the department, was displeased with the results. Ross, in his view, had been incautious in dealing with the American, Jedediah Smith, who had followed him into the Flathead outpost and thus had been able to observe Company operations at first hand. The governor ended by offering Ross only employment as schoolmaster in the Red River settlement. As for Dease, he had been living in comparative luxury, showed suspicious symptoms of being a secret drinker, and had relaxed his guard at the fort to a dangerous degree. Simpson therefore willingly agreed to his request for a transfer.¹⁴

It was under these circumstances that Simpson decided upon Ogden for the Snake Country brigade and Black as master of Fort Nez Percés. In the secret assessment of his Character Book, written in the winter of 1831-32, Simpson saw Ogden as,

A keen, sharp off hand fellow of superior abilities to most of his colleagues, very hardy and active and not sparing in his personal

labour. . . . Has been very Wild & thoughtless and is still fond of coarse practical jokes, but . . . is a very cool calculating fellow who is capable of doing any thing to gain his own ends. . . . In fact, I consider him one of the most unprincipled Men in the Indian Country.¹⁵

Of Black, Simpson had highly personal recollections. "The strangest man I ever knew. . . . A Don Quixote in appearance Ghastly, raw boned and lanthorn jawed, yet strong vigorous and active. Has not the talent of conciliating Indians by whom he is disliked, but who are ever in dread of him, and well they may be so."¹⁶

As a Nor'Wester in the heated rivalry in the Athabasca District, Black had been one of the scourges of the Hudson's Bay Company. Perhaps the worst episode in his career of menace and intimidation occurred in 1818, when the former Nor'Wester and now Hudson's Bay man, Colin Robertson, was sent by the Company to Fort Wedderburn to oppose the Nor'Westers. Black and his associate, Simon McGillivray, Jr., instead succeeded in seizing Robertson, whom their factor, J.G. Haldane, held captive for some time in the privy at Fort Chipewyan. In 1820, Simpson, sent in turn to Fort Wedderburn managed to turn the tables and arrest McGillivray, who was held prisoner until he made his escape disguised in his wife's dress.¹⁷

McGillivray, the principal author of the Fort Nez Percés journal that remains, succeeded Black after the brief intervening service of Barnston. His appointment thus marked a continuation of the policy of setting rough-and-ready ex-Nor'Westers on the American frontier. As the *métis* son of William McGillivray and namesake of his uncle, Simon, he was connected with the two principal Montreal partners of the North West Company. Born of a "country" union with an Indian woman in 1790, he and his twin brother, Joseph, were acknowledged with their father's surname, sent to boarding school, and in 1808 enrolled as apprentice clerks in the North West Company. After service in the *chasseurs* (light troops) organized among Nor'Westers by William McGillivray for the defense of Canada in the war of 1812, Joseph returned to the interior, while Simon, now ill, went home with his father and his stepsisters, for William had taken a White wife. Sent in 1815 to serve as Simon Fraser's clerk in the Athabasca District, he was soon plunged, with Sam Black, into the struggle with the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1820, Simpson accused him of the murder of

an Indian at Bas de la Rivière, at the mouth of the Winnipeg River, far outside the Athabasca District.¹⁸

By the time of coalition, both Simon and Joseph were “wintering partners” in the North West Company and became chief traders in the reformed organization. Given furlough for ill health, Simon travelled to London, where his father now lived, to spend the winter with him. Wrote William to Simon McTavish in 1823, “Both his uncle & myself have had some serious talk with him regarding his quarrel with Mr. Simpson and we have had some trouble to drive *savage ideas* from him.”¹⁹ On his return, young Simon was first assigned to the Rainy Lake District, under Chief Factor John McLoughlin, where for three years he was engaged in trade against vigorous American competition. He was then appointed head of the Severn District, where he remained from 1825 to 1827. While he was there, in 1826, Simpson, in view of the reverses suffered by Ogden in an encounter with Americans in his first Snake Country venture, conceived a scheme for sending out a party of Red River *métis* under the principal leadership of McGillivray and Patrick Small to make a two-year hunting sweep in and about the Rockies, finally to emerge at Fort Vancouver in 1829.²⁰ The plan was cast aside when Ogden’s second year proved successful; and McGillivray was sent instead to Great Slave Lake, where he served at Fort Resolution until 1830.²¹ His next assignment, in a “disposable” (stand-by) status, was to the Columbia Department, once more under McLoughlin, who wrote Barnston at Fort Nez Percés, advising him that McGillivray, who was to succeed him, “proposes to pass the remainder of this winter as your guest in order to get initiated into the routine of the business of the place.”²²

Barnston’s tenure as master of the post had been brief. The young clerk, only thirty-one at the time, had had his troubles with the Indians. As Ballantyne recounts the episode, which he heard from Barnston when the latter was master at Tadoussac on the St. Lawrence, an Indian had sold him a horse, which was subsequently stolen. In the spring a party of Indians came in—Ballantyne makes them Blackfeet, but they were probably from one of the principal local tribes, and likely Cayuses—and about a dozen were admitted, after being disarmed at the gate. The master traded their furs and examined their horses, in the process finding the one stolen

from him. Seizing a gun from one of his men, Barnston shot the horse; whereupon the Indian sprang at him. The young clerk pummelled him out of the fort and into the Indian camp; but there the Indian found reinforcements, and Barnston in turn was downed and knocked unconscious with a rock. Only a sortie by his men rescued him.²³ Barnston apparently resigned, effective at the end of the year, and McGillivray was sent to succeed him. Barnston was reengaged the following season, as Simpson wrote, "lest he might connect himself with the Americans and give us trouble or do worse in a fit of desperation."²⁴

McGillivray at Nez Percés

"The *bourgeois*," reflected Alexander Ross in sunny recollection,

lives in comfort. He rambles at pleasure, enjoys the merry dance, or the pastime of some pleasing game; his morning ride, his fishing rod, his gun, and his dog, or a jaunt to pleasure to the environs in his gay canoe, occupy his time. In short, no desires remain unfulfilled. He is the greatest man in the land. The buildings belonging to the Company are both neat and commodious.²⁵

This was far from the prospect that greeted McGillivray upon his arrival. Barnston's set-to with the Indians, together with a survey of the condition of the fort, much of it untouched since Ross had built it and now desperately in need of repair, discouraged him. On 13 March, shortly before he was due to take charge, he wrote the governor-in-chief and council, requesting that he be granted furlough for the following year. Since leaves were granted in rotation and he had already received one several years earlier, his request was denied.²⁶ The Journal, which is often sour in its perspective, may have been colored by his disappointment.

In his Character Book, Simpson sketched a portrait of McGillivray for his own eyes alone. The events described in McGillivray's Journal may have influenced this evaluation, since it was written during the winter of 1831-32, the very period covered by the Journal. However, the dating of McLoughlin's letter to Simpson detailing the climax of events at Fort Nez Percés,²⁷ Williams's estimate of the time of completion of the fair copy of the manuscript,²⁸ and the place of the sketch of McGillivray in

Simpson's Character Book all suggest that the assessment had been made before the news of those events came in. Simpson wrote of his subordinate and former rival,

About 45 Years of Age. Possesses a good deal of superficial cleverness and is very active but conceited, self sufficient and ridiculously high minded. Very Tyrannical among his people which he calls "discipline" and more feared than respected by Men & Indians who are constantly in terror either from his Club or his Dirk: Would be a very dignified overbearing man if he was in power; fond of little *convivial* parties and would soon fall into intemperate habits if he had an opportunity of indulging in that way. Has a good deal of the Indian in disposition as well as in blood and appearance, and if promoted would be likely to ride on the top of his commission and assume more than it is either fit or proper he should have an opportunity of doing; in short I think he would make a bad use of the influence he would acquire by promotion, and be a very troublesome man.²⁹

This evaluation gains support from the correspondence of Colin Robertson, although his remarks are doubtless colored by his animus toward his former rival and captor. Robertson found in young McGillivray "a *fac simile* of the portrait we have of Tipo Saib"—the ruler of Mysore, ally of the French, slain by British East Indian forces in 1799. Like that swarthy potentate, McGillivray "had . . . high notions of his own importance." Elsewhere, Robertson termed him a "pompous little gentleman."³⁰ These remarks come from letters of 1821 and 1822, in the immediate aftermath of coalition; some were addressed to John McLoughlin.

That McGillivray named his second surviving son Napoleon Bonaparte suggests one of his own models. His rank of chief trader placed him among the gentlemen of the Company, and his father in his will had bequeathed to Joseph and Simon all his property in the Ottawa Valley.³¹ Although his mother, Susan, was either a Plains Cree or herself the product of intermarriage, McGillivray's rearing was as a Scottish Canadian. His Indian heritage seems to have figured little in his perception of himself. The local Indians, he wrote at one point, were of the opinion that the intermittent fever, then raging on the lower Columbia, had its source in American settlers in the Willamette Valley, and Company servants—among them the interpreter—had confirmed them in this view. "The thoughtless Scamps (Canadians)," he expostulated,

"they are not aware should any mischief arise, owing to this sickness, that the Natives will not discriminate their vengeance from the Americans to them. We are Whites equally."³²

The son of Pierre Pambrun, McGillivray's successor, a man who in his turn was himself to be *bourgeois* of the post, presents an interesting contrast. André (later Andrew) Dominique Pambrun was born in 1821, and was thus but eleven years old when his father succeeded McGillivray; but he spent another ten years at the fort before his father's untimely death. His father, born near Quebec in 1792, had joined the Company in 1815, and held office at the fort for eight years in the rank of clerk before he was promoted chief trader in 1839. Simpson judged Pierre "An active, steady dapper little fellow, is anxious to be useful but is wanting in judgement and deficient in Education: Full of 'pluck,' has a very good opinion of himself and is quite a 'Petit Maitre'."³³

McLoughlin valued him more highly. About 1819, Pambrun had taken to wife Catherine Humphreville, a *métisse*; Andrew was their eldest son. Several of their eight surviving children—one died in infancy—married into Scottish or English families: thus one son, Alexander, took to wife a daughter of Samuel Black³⁴ and a daughter, Marie, married Forbes Barclay, physician at Fort Vancouver.

Andrew Pambrun, a *métis* who himself took an Indian wife, settled first on land on the Walla Walla allocated to him by the local Cayuse. He became an American citizen, and through the chiefs was later granted an allotment on the Umatilla Reservation. His retrospective of the Company he served is that of the servant, ill-fed, maltreated, and overworked. His recollection of Simon McGillivray and his brother gives them little quarter. While Simon and Joseph were "good looking half breeds," they were "inhuman devils incarnate." About 1827, as Pambrun recalls—a year when his father was stationed at Moose Lake, in Norway District—he had studied under Simon, "who neglected me altogether—I might have one or two lessons during the whole winter."³⁵ Joseph is painted in darker colors, as one who wantonly had cut off a man's ear and who, because his child's crying disturbed his sleep, thrust it into a hot stove and so burned it to death.³⁶ These comments are rendered suspect by the circumstance that Simon had been posted in another district in 1827, and so might have been unavailable as teacher, and that in recounting Joseph's death by

drowning Pambrun has evidently confused him with the clerk named William McGillivray.

The masters who in turn governed the fort were confronted with a succession of problems. The first six—Ross through Pambrun—faced an expanding opposition, as American parties breached the Rockies and probed into the drainage of the Snake. During the tenure of McKinlay and his successors, the seemingly endless flow of overland American immigration commenced. Finally, McBean and those who followed him had to cope with an often hostile American administration and with two Indian wars.

Despite their diversity, these men—with the exception of Sinclair—were alike the product of a system embodying careful selection, training through performance, and promotion largely on merit. At Fort Nez Percés, they remained subject to the same review. Several of them were transferred because they did not measure up to standards in this demanding post, while Black was promoted to chief factor and Pierre Pambrun to chief trader, in part on the strength of their performance there. Barnston, who was permitted to resign, then subsequently rehired, eventually rose to the position of chief factor at other posts.

One cannot review the correspondence of John McLoughlin with these men, up to the time of his forced retirement in 1846, without being impressed afresh with the essential humanity of the man who served as their superior. Though endowed with an imperious will and on occasion shaken by violent temper, in his letters to his subordinates he manifests a courtesy and understanding that elevate both recipient and author. Often, instead of orders, the chief factor imparts suggestions that give room for the man on the spot to exercise his own initiative. To such flexibility the Columbia Department owed much of its success over a period of two decades.

SEVEN

The Fort as a Social System



Although the trading posts existed to further economic ends, the men who worked and lived there created for themselves what was often their only real home. In the days of the Nor'Westers, opposition to moving the interior depot to Fort Nez Percés sprang primarily from attachment to Spokane House, the center of conviviality, with its ballroom and fine race course, remote from hostile Indians.¹ In its turn, Fort Nez Percés developed ways of life that George Simpson, governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, found unprofitable to the Company's interests when he visited the fort in 1824-25. Chief Trader John Dease's complement of ten men, he advised, should be pared to eight, four to be employed in the summer in the brigade between Nez Percés and the main depot downriver—soon to be Fort Vancouver—and the remaining four to assist "the Gentleman in charge," who need not visit the depot, as other masters annually did, since his services were required in his district. Moreover, the importation of luxuries and European provisions, which took up valuable cargo space, was condemned: instead, the fort, like other posts, must become reliant upon salmon from the river and such crops as the inhabitants could grow.²

There were, as Simpson recognized, social obstacles to introducing "economy and regularity with the necessary spirit of enterprize and a disregard to little domestic comforts." Officers were likely to heed the entreaties of their Indian mates, those "petty coat politicians" who were to win for the Company from her latter-day foe, the American ex-missionary, William H. Gray, the label, "a squawtoocracy of skin traders."³ Apparently, too, men had hitherto been assured, when they were engaged, of assignment to a specified post or master. Before his tour was over, Simpson had set forth the new terms: engagement was to be for general service, with assignment to be by the Company; and, further, the Company was not to maintain the families of men or officers.⁴ In this

way, Simpson hoped to discourage the practice of importing families from the East, or of maintaining Indian wives and children. As one who had his own "country" wife and who was soon to bring out a wife from England, Simpson himself exemplified the vanity of these hopes.

Gentlemen and Servants

The formal relationships among the men of the Company exemplified both the class structure of nineteenth-century England and a quasi-military ordering of relationships. Gentlemen and servants formed two classes, one set above the other and kept distinct on the pages of Company ledgers. Among those considered "gentlemen" were the twenty-five chief factors, each of whom received 0.94 percent of one share of the profits of the Company, and the twenty-eight chief traders, each of whom received half as much in incentive pay.⁵ Through the system of councils, already noted, these senior officers had formal legislative as well as administrative roles in the governance of the Company's field operations.

Marginal to the status of gentleman were the clerks, who were salaried, like the servants, and listed among them,⁶ but who came from much the same background as the gentlemen and might ultimately rise to the highest rank. As Ballantyne put it, an apprentice clerk, after service for five years at an annual salary rising from an initial £20 to £50, might then be promoted to clerk. Another thirteen to twenty years of service in that capacity, at a salary finally reaching £150 a year, might see him reach the rank of chief trader. After a few more years, he might finally attain the status of chief factor.⁷ However, mobility was not that easy, since the number of positions was fixed; and the slowness with which vacancies appeared was a source of discouragement to the aspiring.

The servants, or *engagés*, on the other hand, could rarely be advanced beyond their class. At the bottom were the laborers and apprenticed laborers. The middle ranks of servants were the *voyageurs*, or watermen. The lowest ranked of the *voyageurs* were the *milieux*, the midshipmen in company canoes and boats, who in the Columbia Department in 1824 received wages of £17 per year. Above them were the more skilled *voyageurs*: the *boutes*, bowsmen and steersmen, who received £22 each; mechanics (for major

depots), receiving the same wages; guides, with wages of £27; and interpreters, who received £25. Senior among *engagés* was the postmaster, a veteran entrusted with command of an outpost.⁸

Servants enlisted for a term of five years. They were subject to strict Company discipline, the chief officers holding the power of magistrate over Company personnel with the power to send fugitives or those accused of crimes to Canada for trial. By terms of their contract, they might be called upon by the Company for military duty.⁹ Andrew D. Pambrun, from his *métis* background, recalled in later life the inequity of the servant's lot. A clerk in charge of a post, as his own father had been, received annually a hundred pounds of flour, a keg of sugar, "tea in proportion to coffee," two gallons each of brandy, sherry, madeira, and port wine, together with ten gallons of spirits for casualties. By contrast, a *voyageur* received, and paid for, a loaf of sugar, a pound of tea, and a "carrot" of tobacco, 5 pounds in weight. He underwent hard labor with frequent beatings. Should he wish to take a wife, he must get permission of the master.¹⁰ Should he desert, Indians were instructed to capture and return him.¹¹ Although Pambrun's comparison of the lot of clerk and servant is overdrawn—all persons, and not merely servants, had to receive permission to take a wife, for example—it remains on the whole valid.

The social features of the Company were a legacy from the two bodies that had come together to form it. As Brown has shown in a study dealing with the marital histories of officers of those two organizations, by the end of the eighteenth century, the formal, masculine structure of the Hudson's Bay Company evinced far more social mobility than did its rival. It was largely served by officers of English and Lowland Scot derivation and by servants brought out as apprentices, at first of similar, though poorer, origins, then increasingly from the Orkney Islands. Between some officers and servants there developed patron-client relationships that might provide an avenue for advancement. In those days, despite the disfavor with which the London committee viewed the practice, a handful of officers entered into informal "country" unions with Indian women—so called because they were sanctioned by Indian custom *au façon du pays*. These men, solicitous for the offspring of their families, welcomed the union—still informal—between a daughter and a protégé. Particularly, then, because of the ethnic similarity shared by officer and servant—a

similarity heightened by their isolation in the wilds—there was a fair degree of mobility, both in occupational advancement and in social bonding.

The Nor'Westers embodied a higher degree of social and ethnic complexity. Operating out of Montreal, the agents and officers—the latter including the “wintering partners” in the field—were predominantly Highland Scots, some of them Loyalists who had withdrawn from New York, linked often by horizontal ties of kinship, reinforced by long friendly association. Beneath them, a legacy from the French fur traders who had preceded them, were the *Canadien* (French-Canadian) *voyageurs*. These intrepid and hardy canoemen were the descendants of those bold *coureurs du bois*, the free traders fighting the licensing monopolies of New France, who had taken Indian wives and through them and their relatives had learned the skills of the wilderness. Supplementing them were diverse Indians, including Iroquois, and Hawaiians. By virtue of their background, servants did not move into the ranks of officers, although a literate Frenchman from the provinces of French Canada might be taken on as clerk, and thus aspire to advancement within the ranks of higher officers. All of these persons might take “country” wives from among the local Indians, although the officers were likely to seek out the *métisse* daughters of such unions.¹²

In the post-coalition Company, then, it was the Nor'Westers in particular who had introduced an ethnic stratification. The upper echelons continued to be recruited from English, Orkney, and Scottish stock, with an occasional Irishman, like John Work, and a few of French descent, such as Pierre Pambrun. The ranks of servants were drawn mainly from the *Canadiens* and their *métis* offspring—who came defiantly to apply to themselves the term others had first coined in scorn: *bois brûlés*, “burnt-woods.”

The Engagés of the Post

When Simon McGillivray, Jr., took charge of Fort Nez Percés, he listed the names of his men. They formed almost a microcosm of the ethnic inventory of the Columbia Department. His interpreter, François Charpentier, alias Quinze Sous, and three of his seven *milioux*, Pierre Martineau, Lefevre, and LaRocquebrune, all bore French surnames. Three more, Richard Cook, John Favell,

and Thomas Smith, bore surnames long identified with the "English half-breeds," descendants of Company officers in "country" unions, who, if uneducated, were likely to serve the Company in a menial status. The seventh man, Tappago Regnui, was a Hawaiian, of a stock sometimes recruited in the islands to replace deserting seamen, and tried out on the Columbia as rivermen.¹³ With replacements through the year came several Iroquois, or Iroquois *métis*, some of whom had drifted west from the Catholic community of Caughnawaga, near Montreal, intermarried with the Flathead, and been employed, largely as freemen or free trappers, since the days when the North West Company was dominant. One, Joe Gray by name, although he was later to prove troublesome to the missionary, Marcus Whitman, rendered McGillivray good service.¹⁴

In addition to these seven men, McGillivray lists two boys, serving perhaps under apprenticeship. Baptiste Dorion, aged eighteen, came of historic stock. His grandfather, Pierre, had accompanied Lewis and Clark on part of their expedition. His father, also named Pierre, had served with the overland Astoria party as interpreter, together with his Iowa Indian wife and their two children; in 1813, he had been slain by Snakes on the Boise River, along with other members of an Astorian party. His widow made her escape with her children, wintering in the Blue Mountains, then made her way to the Wallawalla settlements, where she was taken in.¹⁵ In 1824, at Fort Nez Percés, she had married one Jean Toupin, the interpreter there. Young Baptiste was fluent in Cayuse; he was the informant in that language for the naturalist, John Townsend, during a brief tour of the Blue Mountains in 1834, and he later married a Cayuse woman.¹⁶

About the second lad, one Martial LaValle, aged twelve, less is known. In 1828, one Louis LaValle, a trapper under Ogden in the Snake Country brigade, had been killed by Blackfeet, leaving a wife and three children.¹⁷ The youth may well have been a son of this unfortunate, possibly under the guardianship of the master of the post.

Despite the ethnic stratification of the Company, there was not much discrimination on racial grounds in the first third of the nineteenth century; it began when George Simpson and his circle made it a consideration in policy decisions.¹⁸ Emphasis upon performance countered such thinking: one of the talents of the

Company lay in its ability to knit together the soundest qualities of the diverse strains of which it was composed.

The relationship of the classes was that of Europe of its day, imported into the fur trade. Alexander Ross, who had found much that was appealing in the relatively egalitarian order of Astor's Pacific Fur Company, was critical of the punctilio observed in the Nor'West messing, with individuals seated by precedence, and three qualities of tea and as many sugars along the board for the different ranks.¹⁹ The Hudson's Bay Company after coalition was equally insistent on "draw[ing] a line of distinction between Guides Interpreters and the Gentlemen in the service" by forbidding the former categories to mess together with commissioned gentlemen or clerks in charge of posts, doubtless in the interests of preserving discipline.²⁰ Servants of those superior ranks, in turn, received an extra allowance of foodstuffs above the ordinary rations of *engagés* at their post.

Sumptuary distinctions between classes were present even at the small, dusty post at the mouth of the Walla Walla, though necessarily in far lesser degree than at the ruling depot of Fort Vancouver. Fort Nez Percé's complement of a master, an interpreter, and seven *milieux* had quite distinctive lifestyles. The master dwelt apart with his family in a large house—that rebuilt by McKinlay after the fire of 1841 measured 40 by 26 feet in plan—while the seven men and such families as they had lived together in a structure measuring 45 by 18 feet.²¹ In the rebuilding that McGillivray had reported a decade earlier are further details. The master's house had a bedroom 16 by 10 feet, a sitting room, a window with glass panes, and a front porch. A second house, some 20 feet square, also with a window, was apparently that of the interpreter. Both these buildings were floored; not so, apparently, the men's houses. Garth's excavations detail the chinaware²²—including Spode—glassware, and other items from the master's quarters, which have no counterpart either in the men's house or in the dwelling that may have been occupied by the interpreter. In all likelihood, the master dined apart with his family in his quarters. There was a separate mess hall for the men and perhaps their families.

The year covered by the Journal was marked by a large turnover among the servants; by the end of the year all the *milieux* of the original complement had been replaced. Both the express,

carrying communications between posts, and the brigades, conveying supplies, bore off men by written order, sometimes leaving others in their place. McGillivray had listed his original complement of men on 29 March. By 3 April, LaRocquebrune and the Hawaiian had been sent north to Fort Colville and we hear no more of them. Nine days later, Paul Guilbeau had arrived, and by 26 April one LaRoque.

On 18 July, Chief Trader John Work arrived with the main body of his brigade, fresh from trapping in the Snake Country. When he departed five days later in three boats with most of his trappers to take their furs downriver to Fort Vancouver, he left behind in Snake Hall at Fort Nez Percés the families of the trappers, together with three men, Rondeau, Groslin, and Bercier, to herd the brigade horses. On 30 August, Work and his party returned with a letter from McLoughlin,²³ directing McGillivray to release Martineau, Cook, Favell, and Guilbeau to Work, and to receive in their place three men who had been sent along with the letter: Nicholas Auger, Thomas Tehonwasse, and Joe Gray—the latter two Iroquois. The brigade had departed once again for the Snake Country by 9 September; Work left behind three persons who were ill, perhaps of the intermittent fever then ravaging the lower country.²⁴ Two of them were trappers, Rondeau and Houle, while the third was Work's slave, an Indian lad then aged about fifteen,²⁵ whose name is variously rendered Sasty or Nasty. Rondeau soon recovered and rode off to rejoin the brigade.

By the end of December, the only members of McGillivray's original work force remaining were the interpreter and the two boys. The two Iroquois and a third, identified only as Jacques, were still at the fort, together with Houle, the young Sasty, and another man, one Brunette, who en route to Colville had fallen ill and remained over. Late in February, when Houle was sent on business to Fort Vancouver, he was retained there and a replacement, one Laframboise, termed a "pork-eater," or novice, was sent in his place.

Although only the master and his interpreter remained at the post throughout the year, serving with a relatively fluid complement of *milieux*, the similarity of social setting at whatever post a man might serve fostered the maintenance of a stable system. Whether at Fort Vancouver or at Kamloops, an officer or servant found himself within a recognizable environment; often he encountered individuals with whom he had previously served.

At Fort Nez Percés, McGillivray, to judge by his Journal, was the unquestioned master of his men. In addition to their normal duties connected with the trade and securing subsistence, they had to undertake a major rebuilding of the post, but they seem to have given general satisfaction. Although he has much to say of their individual deficiencies, only once does the Journal register a general reproof, and that for lying too late in bed.²⁶ Yet life at the post was not consistently harmonious.

Some of the friction seems to have arisen from the character of the interpreter. His office required not merely that he be conversant in at least one local Indian tongue and that he know Indian customs, but also that he serve as second in command at this small post. Charpentier, although of long experience in the country, seems to have lacked standing in the eyes of the men. This situation may have had its source in 1819, when, soon after the post had been built, the Wallawallas, stung by a Snake raid, had gathered about it in the hundreds to accuse the Nor'Westers of having sold firearms to their foes. Alexander Ross, then master, reports that Quinze Sous (i.e., Charpentier) became so agitated that Ross feared his panic might spread; so, rapping him several times on the head with his own ramrod to bring him to his senses, he locked him in a storeroom until the danger was over.²⁷ In McGillivray's time, Charpentier was not entirely satisfactory, even in rendering Indian languages. Although he had served under Black, at a time when Black was extolling the virtues of the Nez Perce tongue as a *lingua franca* for the region,²⁸ McGillivray reported that a couple of Nez Percés visiting on a day when Charpentier was in the fort could not be wholly understood, since they could not speak Wallawalla—seemingly the only Indian language Charpentier could translate.²⁹

More seriously, however, the interpreter was the butt of recurrent gossip, particularly from Martineau. Wrote McLoughlin to Barnston, Black's successor, in a letter marked "private and confidential," "Men raise tales about the Linguist. J. S. Laroque said the interpreter had embezzled Co. property—and that Martineau knew the particulars. The latter said the Interpreter bought a gun with Co. beads and ammunition, traded the gun for a horse, and traded the horse to the Company. I told the Linguist this."³⁰ Subsequently he wrote once more to announce his satisfaction that Charpentier had been able to clear himself, adding,

"the discovery we made of Martineau's dishonesty led me to suspect his assertion."³¹

Nonetheless, even the Indians joined in the sport of gossip about the interpreter. When some Wallawallas returned from accompanying a party down to Fort Vancouver for cattle, a Wallawalla headman, The Petit Borgne, "The Little One-Eyed," relayed a message passed along via the Indian courier, Yess, through the chief of the John Day band. He said that McLoughlin had given Charpentier a sound beating for selling plain three-point blankets for five large beavers; furthermore, he alleged, the chief factor had withheld news from the interpreter which he had entrusted to a Wallawalla, Petit Chasseur, "Little Hunter."³²

Even after McGillivray had departed the post, McLoughlin continued to be troubled with irregularities concerning the interpreter. Writing to McGillivray at Colville concerning the accounts of the Nez Percés District, he asked him to account for credit extended Charpentier for £5 of extras. To Pambrun, McGillivray's successor, he wrote, "how did Charpentier become possessed of this Horse? as no servant has a right to purchase a horse from indians, & it is expressly prohibited by a Resolve of Council[.]" Again, he voiced his dissatisfaction, writing, "you have not yet given me an account of the reasons Charpentier gave you for not forwarding Mr. Work's & your letters from the Dalles as you directed— . . . besides, by coming the route he did, he reduced the horses so much, that they are unable to work this winter." A general letter to the officers in charge of posts in the department implies that Charpentier had secured the horse from one of them.³³ Evidently, this was a man who seemed to attract trouble.

But if the interpreter sometimes stumbled, men like Martineau took delight in thrusting a foot in his path. McLoughlin had noted Martineau's "dishonesty" and McGillivray suspected him of the theft of tobacco from the stores, and might have pressed the matter, except that there were other suspects, Cook and the young Dorion also being light-fingered.³⁴ Sent out in a party of men to bring in wood from the mouth of the Yakima River, Martineau got into a quarrel with Guilbeau and, throwing a stone at his leg, temporarily put him out of commission.³⁵ Even in marital matters, there are grounds to believe that Martineau was aggressive, for McGillivray remarks that Martineau's Indian father-in-law had previously been Charpentier's.³⁶ Had Martineau taken away the

interpreter's wife? There are other interpretations, but it seems possible.

Freemen

Although not formally part of the complement of the post, the trappers temporarily left there by the Snake Country brigade became the master's responsibility during their stay. Usually they were freemen, and those who were *engagés* often seem through association to have taken on a similar independence of spirit. For freemen had not entered into a contract of service with the Company, as had the regular employees. They had received an advance of supplies and equipment and were under agreement to sell their furs to the Company, their credited advances being recovered at that time. The Company had initially pinched the freemen hard, with a relatively high markup for the supplies advanced and a correspondingly low price for the furs they brought in. But after Ogden, on his first trip into Snake Country in 1824-25, saw many of his freemen desert to the rival American party, the system had been amended. Servants who went out as trappers with such parties received their supplies at the regular servant's markup, but received less than did the freemen for the furs they brought in.

Trappers fitted in poorly with the discipline of the post. Thus, when McGillivray ordered one named Depot—like himself a *métis*—to take care of the Snake brigade horses, the trapper refused, on the grounds that he had no horses among them and was a freeman in every sense of the word. McGillivray tried to restrain him but he broke loose and ran out of the door; only when he was ordered back did he agree to take charge of the horses.³⁷ Repelled by the dried salmon that was current fare at the post—and which McGillivray admits had turned bad—some of the freemen clandestinely offered high prices for fresh salmon brought in for sale by Indians. Since the master, in the name of the Company, exercised a strict trading monopoly with the Indians, McGillivray put an end to this trade, suggesting instead that the freemen go with the interpreter to the fishing station to trade for salmon. All agreed, save one Augustine Finlay, who had been foremost among the secret traders. McGillivray retorted that “we are not obliged to cart his food for him” and curtailed his rations.³⁸ In another incident, freemen herders lost thirty head of the Snake

brigade horses, and spent a day in recovering them. Nor was this the only occasion; when the horses were recovered, there seems to have been back-talk, for McGillivray remarks, "These freemen are very independant in speech & actions."³⁹

Indian Wives at the Post

A feature of post life upon which McGillivray's Journal is largely silent is the domestic sphere. George Simpson's view was that women were by and large a hindrance to the conduct of Company business. On his visit to Fort Nez Percés during his 1824-25 reconnaissance of the Columbia Department, he called for reforms reducing the fort's dependence on imported provisions, adding,

it must however, be understood that to effect this change we have no petty coat politicians, that is, that Chief Factors and Chief Traders do not allow themselves be influenced by the Sapient councils of their *Squaws* or neglect their business merely to administer to their comforts and guard against certain indiscretions which these frail brown ones are so apt to indulge in. . . the Hon^{ble} Committee would scarcely believe that their business is frequently a matter of secondary consideration compared to little family affairs and domestic arrangement, that their people and Craft are employed in transporting Women & Children with their baggage Po[t]s Pans Kettles & Bags of Moss [probably diapering material for cradleboards] and that if these Women and Families were not appendages to the brigades there would not be so many extra men employed in the Columbia and the Services of Commissioned Gentlemen would be turned to better account.⁴⁰

Two out of three chief traders in the Columbia Department, Simpson opined, were so much under the influence of their wives that the word of the women was law, and so suspicious were their mates of their chastity that they hovered about them to the detriment of business. He urged an end to the practice of officers bringing their wives and children west with them.⁴¹ Yet, as we shall see, he was not averse to a marriage for diplomatic ends.

A year after Simpson's return from the Columbia, the council passed a resolution prohibiting those going west of the Rockies from encumbering themselves with either family or excessive baggage.⁴² Faced after coalition with the burden of the families and

orphans of former employees, the council in 1822 had recommended their removal to the Red River settlement where they could be supervised by appointed officials,⁴³ and two years later had stipulated that no officer or servant be permitted to take a woman as spouse without binding himself to her support, and that of their children, during the term of his engagement and after his departure.⁴⁴

As a result, the many "country" unions, although not solemnized by the church, were a commonly accepted part of Company life. Simpson, writing to Benjamin Harrison, a member of the London committee, on the selection of a missionary to the Indians, cautioned that he should be a person sufficiently discreet not to denounce "the custom of the country whereby the various gentlemen have families by the native women. Marriage is not practiced and few would want to bind themselves legally to the native women."⁴⁵

Some of these "country" unions united promising junior officers and the daughters of their senior patrons, in the fashion mentioned by Brown⁴⁶ for the precoalition Hudson's Bay Company. The 1840 union of Clerk Archibald McKinlay with Sarah, the young daughter of Peter Skene Ogden, in a civil ceremony performed by Dr. McLoughlin, may have been of this type. After her marriage, the bride was able for the first time in her life to attend the school kept at Fort Vancouver by Mrs. Griffin, the wife of an American missionary; she attended classes for two months while her husband was away. On his return, the two were sent, in July 1841, to take over Fort Nez Percés, the master of which, Pierre Pambrun, had just died.⁴⁷

Simon McGillivray was himself married to one Thérèse Roy, a *métisse* and likely a relative of that Roy, a Nor'West servant, named with McGillivray and Black in Robertson's London deposition.⁴⁸ In 1819, they already had a young son,⁴⁹ and they were to have four sons and five daughters by the time of McGillivray's death in 1840,⁵⁰ so that in 1831 there must already have been a substantial family to occupy the master's house at the fort. In addition, no fewer than five of his men are mentioned as having local wives: the interpreter, Charpentier, who, as already mentioned, occupied separate quarters, and the *milieux*, LaRocquebrune, Martineau, Guilbeau, and Cook. The latter, with their families, lived with the unmarried men in quarters that lacked formal partitions. The

married contingent, it may be added, was an increase from the days of Samuel Black, who in 1827 listed the complement of the fort as one officer, seven men, two women, and five children.⁵¹

That the master of the post had responsibilities and powers over the families of his men is without question. McGillivray issued rations to each family, who may have messed with the men in that common hall. Whether the men were then billed for the support of their families is not clear. In 1822, at the time of the council at York Factory, a number of the officers, including McLoughlin and Donald McKenzie, had addressed to Simpson a mild protest concerning several acts of the Company, among them a proposal that servants pay for the maintenance of their families. The women, argued the petitioners, rendered services of sufficient value to the Company to pay for their provisions.⁵² Reporting to the committee the following year, after the council had reconsidered the matter, Simpson suggested that the matter be delayed until the number of women and children at the posts had been further reduced by removal to Red River.⁵³ The following year, the council specified merely that separate accounts were to be maintained of the rations issued to families of officers and men "in order that the same may be forthcoming when required."⁵⁴

At least at Fort Vancouver that policy may long have continued in force. For when in 1838 Herbert Beaver, the Anglican chaplain at that place, mounted attacks upon the absent John McLoughlin, in part for the number of unattached women supported at Company expense, James Douglas, temporarily in charge, was able to specify firmly to the governor and committee that rations were issued only to the wives of five servants. One was a ward of the Company, regularly married, another a widow with several orphaned children, while the remaining three were the common-law wives of old servants, all Catholics. A ration for a week, he continued, included 4 quarts of peas, half a pound of tallow, 9 pounds of salmon, and 3 pounds of either bread or potatoes. The total expense per week amounted to 3 shillings 2 pence a person. Considering only the three "country" wives, who, wrote Douglas, comprised the "proscribed class" to which Beaver objected, their weekly support thus totalled 9s. 6d. Since, however, every women receiving rations was obligated to work when required, he estimated that the amount must be decreased by the estimated 3 shillings they earned weekly, so that the net gratuity

was 6 shillings 6 pence per week. No allowance of any other kind was made them.⁵⁵

By 1867, if not earlier, the Company had acceded to the petitioners of 1822, for Cowie recalls that at that time each woman of a post received half the ration of a man, each child one-quarter. In return, the women scrubbed the homes they occupied, as well as the "big house," which at that post contained the Indian Hall, office, and master's quarters. They also kept the yard clean, made moccasins, and planted and harvested potatoes.⁵⁶

At Fort Nez Percés, whether or not the women were then maintained by the Company, McGillivray could call on them to gather firewood and to help in such chores as erecting salmon-storage racks. When he hired women to string beads in trading lengths, he paid them, both fort women and those from the neighboring village;⁵⁷ and when he put the women of the post to work in the garden alongside their husbands, he reported, "I . . . thought proper to deliver rations to one of the women until the work is completed."⁵⁸ This implies that, in local Indian fashion, the women were separately organized, with one of them in charge.

The authority of the master over the men and their families extended further. In a codification of standing rules and regulations promulgated in 1828, but gathering together items repeatedly specified by earlier councils, were several directed at promoting moral and religious improvement. To this end, divine service was to be read once or twice each Sunday, at which every resident of the post, man, woman, and child, was required to be present, together with such Indians as were at hand and might be invited. Furthermore, during the week women and children were to be assigned regular work suitable to individual age and capacity "and best calculated to suppress vicious and promote virtuous habits." Both mother and children should be addressed in the language—English or French—of the father, who should be encouraged "to devote part of his leisure hours to teach the children their A.B.C. Catechism, together with such further elementary instruction as time and other circumstances may permit."⁵⁹

Far from the lofty council, McGillivray had to temper his discipline in the knowledge that the women of the fort were Indians, often with relatives and friends in the neighborhood. While Guilbeau's wife might go afield into the mountains with

several Cayuses, without receiving a recorded admonition,⁶⁰ it was another matter when she climbed into the canoe in which her husband was detailed in a work party for the mouth of the Yakima River. McGillivray promptly ordered her out, remarking to his Journal, "These married men cannot go a day's march from the House, without having their Wives dangling at their sides."⁶¹ Yet, as Indians, these women could own horses, which their husbands were forbidden to possess; McGillivray traded a mare for the Company from Martineau's wife.⁶²

The master exerted some authority even over the wives of free-men, and while at the fort they and their families seem to have received rations, like the families of employees. When he surprised two women from the horse guard of the Snake brigade bringing away horsemeat from the nearby Wallawalla camp, he suspected them of illicit trading and ordered them back into the yard of the fort. There the spokeswoman asserted that the flesh was in fact a gift to her from the son of the late Cayuse chief, Wilewmutkin, whom she claimed as a relative. Since she was an Okanogan, and thus of a tribe that did not ordinarily intermarry with the Cayuse, McGillivray doubted her tale. In the end, she and her companion agreed to forego their rations, rather than have their meat confiscated.⁶³

Rondeau, a trapper, and his wife had a young Hawaiian boy as slave, whom they frequently beat. "I told him," reported McGillivray, "he must take him off the premises before beating him and offered to buy him at the purchase price. Rondeau's wife took small stones, and threw them at the Boy, and ordered him out of the Tent, seeing this I seized a stick of wood, and threatened to chastize her, if she dared touch the Slave before me." The previous summer, she had horsewhipped the lad for half an hour and stirred the entire Wallawalla camp into an uproar. Now, apparently, she subsided.⁶⁴

This, then was the establishment, the officers and men ordered in a quasi-military hierarchy—in Pambrun's time, indeed, McLoughlin's letters were addressed to "Lieutenant Pambrun"⁶⁵—to which their families were also, in part, subject. Even freemen, while resident at the post, came within that order—albeit reluctantly. The master exercised the monopoly of trade with the Indians on behalf of the Company, and none under his charge was

permitted to infringe on this right. Through the Indian wives of the men, the fort maintained social ties with Indians settled near the post, who were termed its Home Guard, or *Gardins*. To those relations we turn.

EIGHT

Gardins, Tribes, and Company



Although Company policy was directed toward the tribesmen who furnished horses and furs in trade, a somewhat more intimate relationship was maintained with those Indians within whose territory the post had been built, and particularly with those who lived throughout the year in the vicinity of the fort—the Home Guard, the *Gardins*, of the post. Among them were those who worked for the Company and those who gave their daughters in marriage to Company employees.

Indian Wives and the Company

Indian wives were indispensable on the trapping expeditions of the Snake Country brigades. Wrote Ogden in his journal, “it is a pleasure to observe the Ladys of the Camp vieing with each other who will produce . . . the cleanest and best dress’d Beaver.”¹ His daughter, Sarah MacKinlay, recalled her mother.

[Her] name was Julia her native name I do not remember She came from Montana her father being the Great Chief of the Flatheads.² . . . she was thought of a great deal with her people and had great influence among them as she was rela[ted] to all the great Chiefs of that country both on her father and mother side and thus made it safe for my father to travel among enemys as her people was a protection to him, even with the Crow nation as her father was half Crow. At one time near Salt Lake, early in morning the war hoop was called (there was no men in the camp) Mother ran out in the prairie for the band of horses to get them to the Camp but when she got to the horses who she should meet but the Crow Chief. “Oh he said is it you my sister that is camped here Let your horses eat and do not trouble them. . . . We thought it was some other parties that was camp here we was going to drive them away[”] and so saved the camp[.] she always kept the Indians from going to trade with the American traders many a time just because she told not go but bring the fur

to my father. . . . My Mother was a hard working woman not that she was oblige to do the work but it was in her nature not to be idle. While traveling in the spring the rivers would be very high to cross with horses, they would make a raft. my Mother would swim across the river rope round her so they would pull the raft across so my father and I would be on the raft—and would cross the river My Mother was a good swimmer she once swam across the snake river for a goose that was shot it was very cold water early in the spring[.] when she got back, round her neck was frozen the part that was out the water. I was to young to notice many of those thing. . . . I was only about six year old when we left that part of the country My Mother would be telling me about travelling in the Montana Country.³

Intermarriage, in Simpson's view, was a necessary evil for the Company, though at times it was a diplomatic advantage. On his reconnaissance to the Columbia Department in 1824-25, he had expressed his dissatisfaction with the institution at Fort Nez Percés in words we have already reviewed. Later, however, when he visited Fort George, on the lower Columbia, he was struck with the trading arrangements among the Chinook, the leading men of the several tribes being in the custom of sending their wives home periodically with goods to trade with their tribesmen.⁴ Upon his return to Fort Nez Percés, as he reported in a letter to McLoughlin, he had found some two to three hundred Wallawallas, Cayuses, and Nez Percés about the establishment, and learned from Dease that they were disaffected. The governor accordingly entered into a council with nine of the principal chiefs and restored them to good humor.⁵ As Simpson then added,

The War Chief of the Cai Use Tribe [this may have been Alokwa] had his Daughter at Walla Walla for the purpose of being disposed of as we suggested to Mr. Dease and seemed disappointed that we could not provide for her; it is desirable that Mr. Work should take her as he is likely to be employed on the communication for some time to come.—This connexion will be a protection to a certain degree to our Brigades and the Lady ought to be a passenger every Trip, you will therefore be so good as settle it with Mr. Work that he discharges his Chenook and take this damsel to Wife the expense to be defrayed by the Coy; it must be understood that he treats her well and winks at any little indiscretions she may be guilty of at first going off as

the contrary might get us into trouble with those powerful and dangerous Indians.⁶

Whether McLoughlin pressed the matter is uncertain. The union was not joined; instead, the following year, John Work took for "country" wife Josette, the *métisse* daughter of Pierre Legace.⁷

Among lower ranks, intermarriage also served diplomatic ends. When Wyeth's party was being carried down the Columbia from Fort Nez Percés in Company boats in 1832, the leader of the brigade stopped at one village downriver to administer medicine and bleed a chief; and by the time they had reached the John Day River, Wyeth was duly impressed. "[O]ur conductor," he noted in his journal, "appears to have a wife at each stopping place 4 already and how many more sable beauties god only knows."⁸ Michel LaFramboise, that experienced postmaster, reported Wilkes, "has travelled in all parts of the country, and says that he has a wife of high rank in every tribe, by which means he has insured his safety."⁹

Marriage with the women of the Home Guard was less prestigious, because their families ordinarily stood low in native esteem. Of the five men with local Indian wives at the fort, La Roque was married to the sister of the headman, Patqui, but gained no privilege from that circumstance.

Whether for good or ill, marital concerns were likely, as Simpson realized, to interfere with the smooth course of Company trade, and this was true even when Company servants were not directly involved. McGillivray learned that two Snake slaves were planning to steal Company horses in order to make their way back to their people. One of them was disconsolate because his wife had run off with a trapper. The latter had sent the husband goods in part payment for his loss and promised to send more the next summer; but this did not reconcile the Indian to the affair.¹⁰

Of greater concern was the action of one *engagé*, Fallardeau by name. Wrote McGillivray,

Was informed today that the Ci-devant Mrs Fallardeau married herself with the Guette's Platte's [Wide Mouth's] Son. It appears that Fallardeau left his wife in charge of the Babine Fendue [Hiyumtipin], with strict orders not to allow her to come into the Fort, or allow her to be married, and when he shall have returned from his trip of York Factory, this Autumn, he was to

pay the Babine Fendu, a handsome lot of Goods. It is rather Strange, that he did not leave his Wife with her Father & Mother, who are here—rather than with the Babine Fendu—It shew his mean spirit—& compromises the respectability of the Fort.

The young man with whom she had taken up was a nephew of Hiyumtipin; and more was to come of this incident.¹¹

Marital affairs also complicated the life of Clerk Francis Ermatinger, who had been posted to Fort Colville in 1831-32. As McLoughlin set forth the affair in a letter to Simpson:

Mr. Ermatinger's woman ran away with an Indian last Spring and he sent Lolo the interpreter after her and desired him to punish the Indian by cutting the tip of his ear which he did . . . and though in the civilized World such an act will appear harsh and on that account it would be preferable that he had resorted to some other mode of punishment. Still, if the Indian had not been punished it would have lowered the Whites in their Estimation as among themselves they never allow such an offense to pass unpunished. However, to prevent any further difficulty on this subject I kept Mr. Ermatinger here.¹²

Ermatinger's peccadillo had wider consequences. As William Kittson summed up matters in a letter, "Mr Black was transferred to Thompson's River district in lieu of Mr Ermatinger who was kept at Vancouver for mismanagement of the affairs of that station, Mr Barnston succeeded Mr. Black at Walla Walla."¹³

Status of the Gardins

While the Indian wives of the Company servants lived with their husbands within the fort, their kinfolk dwelt in the vicinity, on the Walla Walla River.¹⁴ Townsend, the naturalist who visited the post with Wyeth in 1834, while he was impressed with the bearing of the roving Indians, viewed this client community with scant esteem. "There is a considerable number of Indians resident here," he noted while at the post,

Kayouse's and a collateral band of the same tribe, called Walla-wallas. They live along the bank of the river in shantys or wigwams of drift wood, covered with buffalo or deer skins. They are a miserable, squalid looking people, are constantly lolling

around and in the fort, and annoy visitors by the importunate manner in which they endeavor to force them into some petty trade for a pipe, a hare, or a grouse. All the industrious and enterprising men of this tribe are away trading salmon, kamas root, &c. to the mountain companies."¹⁵

Yet he added that they were said to be honest in their dealings and morally upright.

Among the *Gardins* were a core of Wallawallas under the headmen, Patqui and Le Petite Borgne, who seem to have remained at their fishing stations through much of the year. Wilkes's party, visiting the post in July, observed the Indians taking salmon at a weir across the Walla Walla River—probably the same one, a mile up from the mouth, where Lewis and Clark had seen the Wallawalla taking mullet in late April. Meanwhile, says Wilkes, other Indians were off in the Grande Ronde trading with the Shoshone.¹⁶

While, from the Indian point of view, a legitimate marriage needed only to be accepted by the parents of the bride and consolidated by an exchange of property with the groom's side, their tribal peers tended to see the *Gardin* women as entering too readily into marriage with Company men; and envy may well have intimated that they did so for the sake of the Company goods they received from their husbands. Black found in general of the fort tribes that they valued feminine chastity, and he reported that there were no *métis* offspring among them, since those that had been born—in all probability illegitimates—had been done away with by the women.¹⁷

Additional ground for the general disesteem in which their fellow tribesmen held the *Gardins* was the conduct of their men, often the fathers and brothers of those wives of Company servants, whom they saw as having forfeited their independence, and they likened them to slaves, at the beck and call of the Whites. Not that the tribesmen did not on occasion themselves perform tasks for the Company. When a stallion badly gelded by a *Gardin* horse-herd became infected and had to be killed and used for food, McGillivray hired two Cayuses, the brother of Old Berdache and Capot Rouge—the latter of sufficient status to be "clothed" as a chief—to geld eleven animals. Other Indians were occasionally hired to search for strays, to carry messages along the communication, and to assist in herding horses being sent upriver to Colville or down to Fort Vancouver.

But it was the *Gardins* who were commonly called upon for labor. It was undoubtedly men from that group who were sent to bring clay in canoes to rebuild post buildings and were hired to perform other chores about the establishment. When all the hands at the fort were insufficient to erect the scaffolding in the salmon house, McGillivray as a matter of course called in the nearby Indians to help. Patqui, one of their headmen, was sent to escort two men with letters for Fort Vancouver; on another occasion he was sent with another missive to the Dalles, where it was relayed by the local headman to McLoughlin. In similar manner, Charpentier's father-in-law was sent to escort a messenger bearing a dispatch downriver, and was sent to the Falls to assemble the Indians for the Grand Feast and Dance.

The most common employment for the *Gardins* was as horseherd, in which capacity Patqui served and also the brothers-in-law of Guilbeau and Lefevre, together with three young brothers, Petitsom, Wawam, and Kakouse. To work for the fort, however, exposed a young Indian to disciplining by the master. McGillivray found trouble with Patatiss, Dick Cook's young brother-in-law, and with the incorrigible Petitsom. On one occasion, Petitsom chased the wife of La Roque into the thickets by the Walla Walla River and sought to rape her, and was only prevented when her brother, Patqui, came to her rescue. The next day, along with Patatiss and two other lads—perhaps his brothers—he set out with nine horses, hiding them along the way so that they might pretend that they had gone in search of them. Along the way they killed someone's *maron* for food and set off for the Blue Mountains. When Petitsom returned, McGillivray gave him thirty lashes with a horsewhip and threatened to brand him with a hot iron if he transgressed again. Patatiss came straggling in three days later, and was beaten so thoroughly by his mother that he took to bed.¹⁸

Patatiss, as it proved, was the lesser scamp, and appeased the master by trading him a young mare. Later, however, while McGillivray was absent and William Kittson was taking his place, Patatiss reverted and took a horse. Martineau and Dick Cook were sent in pursuit and soon brought in the animal, Patatiss following them at a wary distance, since the exasperated Cook threatened to give him a drubbing. On arrival, Kittson turned him out of the fort in disgrace. When McGillivray returned, a

chastened Patatiss brought in a fine horse to trade as a peace offering. He had not really stolen the horse, he claimed, but had merely taken it to ride; and he promised not to do so again.¹⁹

Petitsom proved a harder case. McGillivray sent his younger brother, Wawam, out as a herder, while Petitsom, together with one of the men of the fort and another Indian, were detailed to work in the cornfield. About a week later, he had apparently had enough: borrowing a horse, he set out to gather roots and berries in the mountains. On his return, McGillivray gave him a thrashing, and when Patatiss spoke up, perhaps in his defense, he also received a few blows.

That night, smarting at his treatment, Petitsom ran off with another horse. In the morning, the trader spotted him moving away from the Wallawalla camp carrying a borrowed gun. Summoned, the youth refused to obey and galloped off defiantly as far as the horse guard, where he left his mount and went off on foot. His brother, Wawam, did not reveal his whereabouts. When Petitsom returned in the afternoon, McGillivray picked up his gun and, going out, fired at him, striking him in the head. "Fortunately for him," says the master, young Dorion had borrowed the gun to hunt birds and it was loaded with small pistol balls instead of a heavy load. Petitsom took flight and hid himself in an Indian lodge. That night, Charlie, the Nez Perce chief, called on McGillivray to convey a challenge from Petitsom to fight with guns the next day. "As this was too long a time to wait," wrote the wrathful trader, "I directed Charlie to lead me where he was. Favell and [Dorion] followed—all well armed. In getting into the Lodge, the rascal had fled, and as some of the Indians had evidently screened him—I knocked two down with the butt end of my Gun."²⁰

To put an end to matters, McGillivray sent two men to sleep at the horse guard, with instructions to truss up the culprit and bring him in if he should appear. Petitsom however, kept his distance for some months, only reappearing after the New Year's ceremonies to take part in the Sunday dances of the Indians. Shortly thereafter, the trader was embroiled in deeper trouble, in which Petitsom was but a bystander; and their differences were overshadowed by those concerns.

The Gardins on the Cusp of Change

The Home Guard, perhaps more than other Indians, vexed McGillivray with their importunities and their lack of gratitude. When an Indian of the Home Guard caught a sturgeon on codhooks given him out of Company stores, he offered none of the flesh in return.²¹ *Gardins* were forever begging the trader for salmon pemmican, a delicacy, and for tobacco. Their headman, Patqui, spurned a gift of leaf tobacco: he wanted twist. Indian women, wrote McGillivray, were as inveterate beggars as their menfolk, importuning for beads and rags, and besides passing along idle gossip. He failed to see behind these importunities the expectations arising out of intermarriage.

When the run of salmon failed locally, McGillivray had to send parties to other fishing stations to trade for them. The failure of the salmon hit the *Gardins* hard. A watch was set on the Company cornfield to protect the ripening crop, but when it came time to dig the potatoes, the men found that the Indians had already taken almost the entire crop. In the fall, the Indians also stole driftwood that the Whites had dragged ashore for firewood. By mid-December, McGillivray was writing, "The Walla Walla's have commenced begging for Something to Eat. this is their custom but they have begun earlier than usual, and before the Winter is over, many of them, will be reduced to mere Skin & Bone—the generality of them are an improvident Set."²²

Yet it was the Home Guard alone among Indians who were recognized by a *regale* at a special ceremony on New Year's Day. The day began with the discharge of three cannon as the Indians gathered before the gate. Their headmen, Patqui and Le Petit Borgne, entered and McGillivray presented them with two *taureaux* (hide bags holding about fifty pounds apiece) of salmon pemmican, thirty dried salmon, and three fathoms of twist tobacco. Standing at the fort gate, the leaders then distributed these gifts among their followers.

In some ways, the Home Guard had maintained a traditional lifeway: they were in their own territory upon their ancestral fishing stations. To be sure, their existence was regarded as inferior by the equestrian segments of their own and other tribes in the region. The juxtaposition of the post, moreover, had drawn them into somewhat closer and subordinate relationship with the trading establishment, and to that degree—though they did not forego

their tribal associations—they resembled the semi-acculturated hangers-on of many a frontier post and town. Out of the flux of influences, some were to improvise new cultural solutions: for example, they acquired such a taste for the potatoes purloined from the post gardens that, along with some of their tribal brethren, they began to develop small gardens of their own. In working for the Company, they were to learn new skills. These matters, however, lay in the future, one which McGillivray, beset with daily cares, could not penetrate.

NINE

Routines



Trading activities at Fort Nez Percés were conducted within the context of the comings and goings of the Indian year. Early in April, the Wallawalla were catching sturgeon in the Columbia; by the end of the month the Cayuse and some Wallawallas were off to the Blue Mountains to gather the early ripening couse root. By the end of May, the Chinook salmon were beginning to run in numbers up the Columbia, and the Umatillas and Wallawallas in particular, who had been repairing their weirs on tributary streams, were at work catching and drying them. Many Cayuses and Lower Nez Percés joined the Yakima in their spring camp. The latter half of June saw the Cayuse and the equestrian Wallawallas moving off across the Blue Mountains some sixty miles to the Grande Ronde to dig camas and catch salmon. Some passed through, riding eastward to join the Nez Percés in their rendezvous in the Bitterroot Valley with the Flathead and their allies for the journey across the Great Divide to the buffalo country. Those who paused in the Grande Ronde returned to their village sites toward the end of July to store their dried roots and fish; as a favor, some Cayuses were permitted to deposit roots for safekeeping in empty apartments and bays of the fort.

In August, the air was filled with smoke, as Indians set fires to burn the underbrush in the Blue Mountains preparatory to hunting, and set the prairies ablaze to get rid of the old, tough bunchgrass and promote fresh growth for their herds. It was at the time of fall hunting for elk, deer, and bear in September and October that some Cayuses also hunted beaver, despite the inferior quality of the fur at this time; for, as McGillivray remarked, Indians would not hunt beaver in the winter time.¹ In the hunting camps, women picked and dried ripe berries, and processed the game their menfolk brought in, tanning the hides and drying the meat to be stored in the folded rawhide envelopes the *Canadiens* called *parfleches*. The hunters, recalls one man of Nez Perce-Cayuse descent, remained

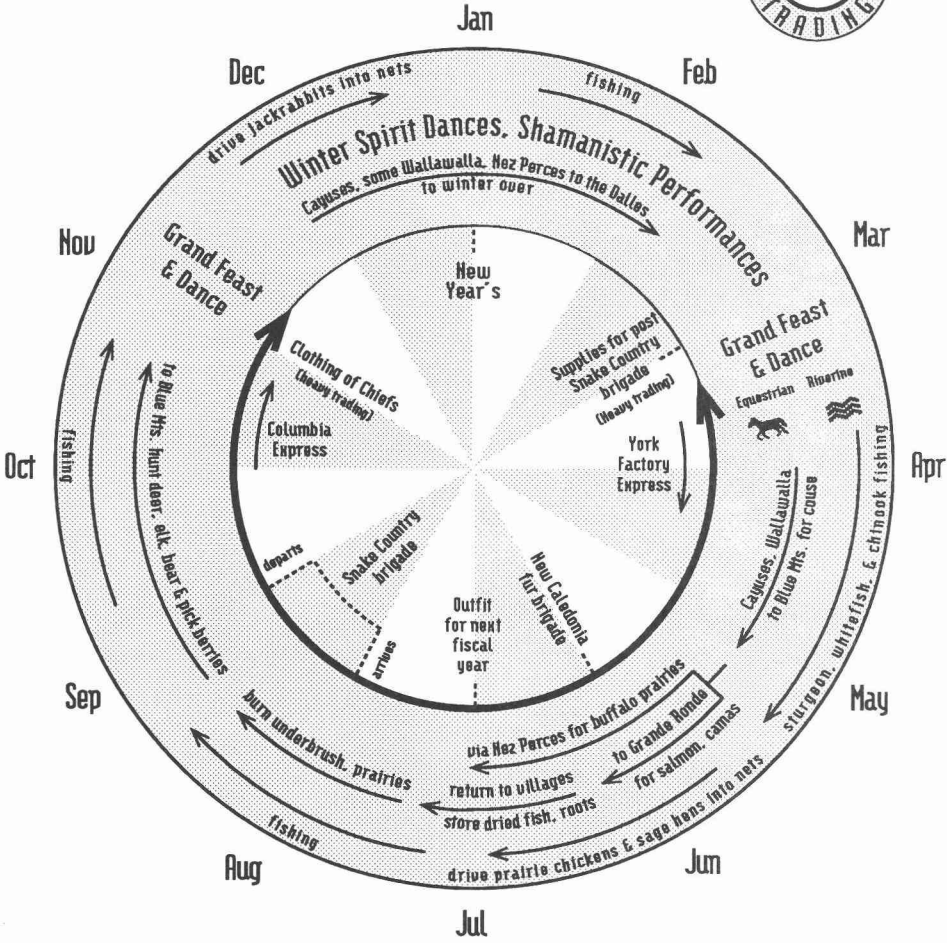
out only until the fifth snowfall, then—whatever their luck had been—returned.

Meanwhile, those Wallawallas and Umatillas who had remained at their fishing stations on the Columbia continued to take sturgeon and salmon, while on land they drove prairie chickens and sage hens into nets. In the beginning of October, as McGillivray observed, the salmon that was running was of a distinctive sort; the Indians, who distinguish four species, called this the silver-side, or silver, salmon. At the end of the month McGillivray recorded trading the first white salmon of the season, the salmon turning color as spawning time approached. By the beginning of November, the hunters had returned and were rebuilding their winter lodges. Thereafter, as need or inclination directed, occasional parties would go out on horseback to surround deer and elk in the snows of the Blue Mountains or the Cascades. During the winter months, the riverine Wallawallas and Umatillas used their nets in communal rabbit-drives.

The Indians held two first-fruits ceremonies each year, which McGillivray termed “Grand Feasts and Dances.” These brought many Indians together in celebration, and they came into the fort in large numbers. The first was in mid-March, and may equate either with the celebration of the appearance of the wild celery, which Umatillas recall having celebrated in February, or more likely the Root Feast, held today in late April, which greets the return of couse, together with the other foods that come seasonally, as the Indians say, to nourish the people.

The circumstance of the second Grand Feast and Dance, held in November, is problematical, for no such celebration is held at this season today. Its most likely context is to be found in the recollection by an elderly consultant of Palus-Nez Perce descent that formerly a first-deer ceremony was held in conjunction with the fall hunts, at which the flesh of the animal was consumed together with roots and berries ritually gathered.² Doubtless, also, it was a time of glad reunion as villagers came together to go into their winter quarters. For the master of the fort, it was the occasion for the annual clothing of chiefs and marked the most intensive trading. That November was also the time for formal trading at Spokane House is seen from the journal of John Work for 1825.³

1 Fort
2 Indians



The Seasonal Round

Following the trading, the Indians dispersed to their winter settlements, the Cayuse returning as need occurred to withdraw the roots they had stored in the fort. Within their villages, their winter spirit dances and the demonstrations of their shamans were held without notice in McGillivray's Journal. Near the fort there remained only the neighboring villages of the Wallawallas who comprised the Home Guard. The latter were soon reduced to begging food, especially in the winter of 1831-32, when some of the salmon runs had failed.

At New Year's the fort witnessed a special ceremony directed to those *Gardins*, which has already been described. The foods presented for division at that time did not long sustain them, and by the end of February they were again starving, seeking green toads to eke out life, and in the end moving up the Walla Walla River to camp with the nearest Nez Percés, perhaps for aid. Only toward the end of March, when Indians again began to gather for the Grand Dance, did trading revive.

Thus, the trading season of Fort Nez Percés lay within the eight months between the spring and autumn trading concourses, with transactions during the intervening summer. Over the remaining four months of winter the post was relatively withdrawn from Indian contact.

The Company Year

This annual round was in turn tied to the Company's own rhythm, as marked by the passage of brigades and expresses along the river. Late in February, the first boats left Fort Vancouver to bring supplies to the post, both for its own use and for the Snake Country brigade. The party arrived in the first week of March, unloaded their cargo, and returned to Fort Vancouver. Shortly thereafter, the York Factory express departed from Vancouver, en route to the administrative center of the Northern Department. Early in June, the New Caledonian brigade came downriver, gathering up the furs collected during the previous year. At Fort Vancouver, they were tallied, packed, and sent by ship to England. In mid-June, the boats made their way back upriver, bearing to each post the outfit—the trading stock and supplies—for the coming year. McGillivray's Journal, commencing in March 1831, is accordingly labelled "Outfit 1831." By mid-July, the Snake Country brigade

came in from a year of trapping. They left their horses and most of their families at the fort and, after a delay to avoid leaving on Friday, to the men an inauspicious day for beginnings, embarked with their peltries for Fort Vancouver. By the end of August, their rest period at an end, the brigade returned with fresh supplies and, having replenished their stock of horses from those traded at the fort, left early in September for another season in the field. Finally, late in October, the Columbia express came downriver. It had made its way from York Factory, on Hudson's Bay, or Norway House, on an arm of Lake Winnipeg, by boat, horse, and foot, travelling westward up the Saskatchewan and Athabasca rivers, across the Canadian Rockies, and down to Boat Encampment on the upper Columbia; had recovered the boats cached there, and was now enroute to Fort Vancouver, bringing inbound dispatches and letters, together with officers and men assigned to the Department.⁴

The daily routine of the post required endless industry. Messengers came or went "along the communication" relaying letters, horses, or supplies upriver or down. The horses seemed to stray or be stolen constantly and had to be searched for: they were easily "borrowed" and seemed to take a wayward delight in evading the most vigilant guard. They were brought into the corral within the fort only when they were purchased or when otherwise necessary, for there was little pasture in the neighborhood of the fort and when corraled they chewed away at its wooden structures. In order to prevent them from mingling with the animals of neighboring Indians, they were herded at Pine Creek, some miles distant, where there was adequate pasture.

The second major commodity of trade, the furs and hides, also required attention; periodically, the master took them out of storage to inspect them and beat them to rid them of dust and vermin. The condition as well as the size of peltries were matters of professional pride. Samuel Black, despite his many virtues, was apparently a sinner in this regard: four years after he had taken charge at Fort Kamloops, McLoughlin wrote him to complain that several of his beaver had been much damaged by moths. "It is strange," he observed tartly, "that these animals formerly abounded at Walla Walla and now there are none and Thompson's River which then had none at present abounds with them. This is certainly most curious."⁵ In the spring, after a final beating, the skins

were baled in the fur-press and wrapped into water-tight units, termed "pieces," of approximately ninety pounds. For ease in handling, particularly in water craft and during portages or at *décharges*, the pieces were where possible uniformly of that weight. At a portage, a *voyageur* was expected to carry two pieces at a time by his tumpline; and Wilkes reports that on a wager one man had carried six pieces—540 pounds—for a distance of a hundred yards.⁶

Farming at the Fort

In addition to the duties relating directly to the trade, those who staffed the post had to sustain themselves. Under Simpson's policy of local self-sufficiency it was not enough that the foodstuffs be local; they must also not encroach upon trade. During his visit to Fort Nez Percés in 1824-25, Simpson had been appalled by the wasteful extravagance of John Dease, who in a three-year period had slaughtered no fewer than seven hundred horses to feed his people. "Neither Horse Flesh nor Imported Provisions are at all required," he held firmly, "as the River with a Potatoe Garden will abundantly maintain the Post." Bringing up ten pounds of seed potatoes from Fort Vancouver, the governor delivered them to Dease with a lecture on their use.⁷

What advantage Dease took of the potatoes is uncertain; although he had been promised a transfer, he was there for another summer to plant a crop before Samuel Black relieved him. Black in 1827 reported only reliance on uncultivated products, listing salmon, sturgeon, and hares—those jackrabbits which the Wallawallas had driven into their nets—as well as a small amount of dried meat, together with roots and berries.⁸ By 1830, however, Barnston was raising corn, probably for the first time at that post, for McLoughlin wrote congratulating him on his crop of twenty-five bushels, which, he averred, proved that corn could indeed be raised there.⁹ McGillivray, who had goats and a few head of cattle sent up from below, sowed radish and salad seed, but the goats got to his flats, placed for protection on the galleries, and ate the radishes. He planted a small vegetable garden beside the Walla Walla River, only to have it drowned out by rising waters. He also had his men clear a field some six or seven miles up the same river and plant potatoes, corn, and pumpkins, to which some of the men added turnips. These crops did fairly

well, although the Indians, pinched by the failure of salmon runs, stole most of the potatoes.

These vegetables were supplemented by tallow ("grease") brought up in kegs—at one point McGillivray was driven to supplement the men's diet from his own private supply of this item—by purchases of sturgeon, and—far more extensively—of salmon. As an occasional treat, a *maron* or a few dogs might be bought and butchered to add variety to the fare. In response to McGillivray's appeal, McLoughlin ordered that additional supplies of corn be sent down from Colville and dried salmon from Thompson's River for him and his men. Their dependence upon purchasing supplies from the Indians is notable, for the "River" which Simpson extolled as a source of support furnished fish mainly indirectly, and at the expense of trade goods. Excursions were frequently undertaken to seek salmon elsewhere when the local runs had failed. McGillivray found himself forced to send the interpreter with a party of men to trade for salmon at the fishing stations upriver to the forks of the Snake and downriver as far as the Dalles.

The diet at Fort Nez Percés was a simple one that required the sauce of a good appetite, particularly when the salmon had run out or had spoiled, and when rations were reduced to corn and tallow mixed together. Freemen from the Snake Country brigade, confronted with post rations after a year of flesh foods, however irregular the supply, found the transition difficult to stomach.

It was only under the long and prosperous management of Pierre Pambrun, McGillivray's successor, that the post was placed under sound cultivation, with an irrigated quarter-acre garden on the nearby banks of the Walla Walla, together with an upriver tract of some two or three acres, fenced with brush, for more extensive crops. Although in 1839 Farnham found these developments rudimentary by comparison with the farm at the Whitman mission,¹⁰ Whitman's associates, Henry H. and Eliza Spalding, in a letter written three years earlier, when their reception by Pambrun marked the end of an overland journey from the States, had registered their pleasure with the "Abundance of corn, potatoes, peas, garden vegetables, cattle, Hogs &c. raised here."¹¹

In addition to food, there were other needs, not least of them fuel for cooking and heating. Since Walula was bare of substantial

trees, driftwood had to be collected, hauled ashore, and cut up into firewood. Thereafter, it had to be protected from individual Indians, who continued to act in the conviction that the wood, together with the site, was still theirs.

The labor for residents of the fort in the year covered by McGillivray's Journal also included an extensive rebuilding of the fort. Men were deployed according to their skills to the tasks of repair, beginning with the outer defenses and continuing after the men's house had been completed, at the end of December; indeed, they did not pause until the spring trading.

Gambling, "Frolics," and a Solemn Observance

At intervals during the year there were times of relaxation, of celebration and merriment. In July, McGillivray reports, when an advance party of trappers from the Snake Country brigade "cast up" (in the parlance of the day), they were soon engaged in lively gambling with Indians who had come in to trade. There was also horse-racing, Indians wagering against trappers, in which Tamatappam's son, Le Borgne "The One-Eyed," won twice. When the main body of the brigade had arrived, and the trappers had gone on down to Fort Vancouver, this link between the men of the post and the Indians at large went too. The evening after their departure, wrote McGillivray, "The men had a frolic . . . and as I did not wish any Indians should come into the Fort, for the men might have picked quarrels with them," he barred the gates. This affronted old Tamatappam, who, arriving early next morning, felt aggrieved to be kept waiting for some time before being admitted.¹² Meanwhile, the Wallawallas were conducting their stick games, holding them so close to the nearer bastion of the fort, and singing their gambling songs with such vigor, that McGillivray testily ordered them to take themselves off.¹³ To his chagrin, they were still at it a day or two later and did not begin to break camp to hunt beaver until some left early in August.

The horse racing had, it seems, stirred McGillivray's sporting spirit, for one Sunday in August when, by Company rules, business might not be transacted, he supervised the men in laying out a race course a mile long. He had no time to use it before Work and his trappers were back to rejoin their families, and matters

once more grew lively, as the Journal records that they were "on the *divertissement*," undoubtedly having a last fling before their departure.¹⁴ Soon, once more, they were outbound.

With the harvest in and the clothing of chiefs yet before him, McGillivray found time for the new race course. In mid-October, he ran, and lost, a race with a Cayuse dubbed Garçon de Bon Vieux. McGillivray challenged him to a rematch. Six days later the Garçon was back with his brother and three other Cayuses as witnesses. They put up as stakes three buffalo robes, appichimons (leather saddle blankets), and other articles—which McGillivray doubtless covered—only to see the trader's horse win.¹⁵

On the first day of November the men observed All Saints' Day, the sole Christian observance mentioned in the Journal. Later in the month, after the clothing of the chiefs and the heavy trading that followed, at a time when almost all of the Indians had departed, "The men purchased each a Pint Rum, and had a partial frolic."¹⁶

Although the New Year was ushered in with three cannon salutes, followed by the presentation of gifts to the Home Guard, the Journal is silent upon the details of celebration so commonly observed within such posts. Instead, McGillivray is content to observe that on the following day the men and their families moved into the new quarters they had built.

Occasionally, the larger world of the Department came to touch the little post. So it was late in June, when the Journal records the melancholy visit of a family group, led by the old Flathead woman whom François Rivet, former member of Lewis and Clark's expedition, had long ago taken to wife. With her were two of her sons; Julia ("Madame Ogden"), her daughter by a previous marriage, with two of her small sons; and Limpy, a daughter by yet another marriage. They were accompanied by the son of Nicholas Montour, and the mother-in-law of John Work. They had come to see to the proper marking of the grave of François Rivet, Jr., a member of the last Snake Country brigade led by Peter Skene Ogden, who, with eleven companions, had been drowned the previous year when their craft had upset in running the Columbia at the Big Dalles.¹⁷ The body had been brought back and buried in the graveyard at Fort Nez Percés. Although the men of the post were then hard at work repairing its structures, McGillivray ordered one man to assist the mourners. In five days, the grave had

been fenced in with posts, a partial protection against animals, and the party left once more for Colvile and the Flathead outposts.

Life at the small, dusty post on the Columbia must seem today monotonous and addressed to matters of the moment. In McGillivray's Journal, an official record of events for the eye of the Company, the small, humble arrangements of daily life only occasionally appear. Behind its narrative can be seen the wheeling cycle of the seasons within which the Indians, on the one hand, and the Company, on the other, regulated their affairs.

To this perspective of life at Fort Nez Percés in terms of abstract cycles this closing episode becomes a necessary corrective. The visit of old Thérèse Tête Platte, as she was later christened, together with her family and friends, to honor the remains of what may have been her first-born son, drowned in the service of the Company under her son-in-law, Peter Skene Ogden, summons up the texture of Company society at that time: White, Indian, and *métis*, knit together in this far land. This chapter is entitled "Routines"; all too often, in the dangers surrounding Company life, death was, if not routine, an all too frequent presence.

TEN

Trading at the Fort
The Company Perspective



The business operations of the fur trade under the Company may be briefly summarized. Goods for a given year—e.g. Outfit 1831—were purchased on the open market in Europe. Often they had to be purchased three years in advance because of the time involved in communications and shipping. Once purchased, the worth of each item was restated in terms of the unit of trade, the Made Beaver—hereafter abbreviated to MB—that is to say, the prime skin of an adult beaver, taken in winter fullness, and cured. The resultant listing of goods then constituted the Company's standard of trade. Upon receipt at York Factory, the major depot on the Bay for the Northern Department, or at Moose Factory, the depot for the Southern Department, the goods were revalued upward, in 1831 at 33 1/3 percent above prime cost (initial price) to cover shipping and other overhead expenses. At Fort Vancouver, the advance was for some years 70 percent, even for goods sent by ship to the Columbia, until McLoughlin eventually secured parity for Fort Vancouver with York and Moose.¹

In the early history of trading, the advantages secured by close trading—that is, haggling—on skins that fell in size, season, or quality somewhat short of the prime beaver pelt were termed the "overplus." The term was extended to encompass other advantages, secured by giving short measure in powder, tobacco, cloth, and—in early days—brandy. Against the advantages thus won, allowance had to be made for goods given as gratuities to Indian leaders as an accompaniment to trading. The resultant unofficial rate of exchange that anticipated these practices was carried explicitly upon the books, and was known as the double, or factor's, standard.² As David Thompson, then a Nor'Wester, but a former Hudson's Bay man, put it, the standard of trade was "about two thirds of what the Indians pay, but to this the Indians always expect to get a present in goods."³

Furs received from Indians, either the product of their own hunts or secured through secondary barter from more distant tribes, together with other "country" items purchased, were also evaluated in terms of MB, thus providing what Ray terms the comparative standard.⁴ When those furs that were the product of direct barter had been pooled with those collaterally received in gift exchanges, they were restated in pounds sterling, and were eventually auctioned off on the London market.

Company profits thus were realized both from the sale of goods to Indians, Company employees, and others, and the sale of furs. Against gross profits it was necessary to deduct a considerable overhead for building and maintaining posts and ships and for field activities. To ensure adequate inventories of goods on hand, despite the vicissitudes that beset transportation, and yet not tie up funds in large stocks in dead storage, required keen judgment. The Company did well in its management, providing annual dividends to stockholders of 4 percent in the period 1821-24, 10 percent through 1827, rising to 20 percent through 1832, and thereafter fluctuating between a low of 10 percent and a high of 25 percent. There were, in addition, stock bonuses.⁵

The units of measurement used in the internal reckoning of the Company varied through time. Initially, apparently, the price had been set by the weight of skins. A letter from the governor and London committee to the "Gentlemen Chief Factors in Charge of the Columbia Department," written in 1823, pointed out that the skins received had deteriorated in passage, because they had not been sufficiently scraped on the flesh side. They suggested that the price be set by the skin (i.e., the MB), cubs to bring half the price. In this way, they concluded, trappers "would thus have no inducement to make the Skins heavy."⁶ In the late 1860s, as Cowie recounts, the Company had replaced the "skin" standard of the MB with the "money way," trading directly on the sterling standard, in an effort to do away with the extra cost of gratuities.⁷

Within the department, each post had its local standard of trade, to take into consideration transportation costs from the depot. The standard of the Columbia Department in the year 1824-25 lists exchange rates in MB at Spokane House and Fort George.⁸ Most of them reflect differential costs on the interior supply route from York Factory. For example, three-point Hudson's Bay blankets were set at 2 MB at the interior post, as against 8 MB at the

coast; while rifles with English twist barrels were priced at 30 MB at Spokane House and 40 MB at Fort George. Other differentials reflect sea transport via Hawaii: a pound of transparent Canton beads were valued at 5 MB at the coast and 10 MB at Spokane House. After supply to the Columbia Department was established directly from England by sea, the transportation differentials all ran upriver to the interior.

Competition

The standard of trade was further subject to competition. Although the supply of sea otter had been so reduced after 1815 as to dim the appeal of the Pacific coast for American traders,⁹ those who continued on the coast found profit in trading beaver and other land furs from tribes who secured them by trade from Indians of the interior. In addition, the Columbia Department was subject to competition on its eastern front from American enterprises operating from the upper Missouri and Rockies. The initial decision to retain the department had, indeed, been argued by the London committee in terms which they wrote Simpson: it seemed, they said, "good policy to hold possession of that country, with a view of protecting the more valuable districts to the North of it."¹⁰

Those "districts" included New Caledonia, a cluster of posts far to the north in the headwaters of the Skeena, Fraser, and Peace rivers, developed first by the Nor'Westers, beginning with Alexander Mackenzie and Simon Fraser. The latter, exploring the river that bears his name, in the years when Lewis and Clark were reconnoitering the lower Columbia, initially believed his stream to be the upper source of that river, until he traced it to the coast and found, to his disappointment, that it was distinct and, worse, unnavigable. Thereafter, while other northern avenues to the coast were sought, New Caledonia was linked for purposes of supply to the Columbia Department, and in 1828 was made a district within it. McLoughlin was placed in charge of the whole, in part on the strength of his performance, while in charge of the Rainy Lake District, in what is today southwestern Ontario, in meeting the competition from Astor's American Fur Company.

It was Company policy to respond to opposition from coasting traders or parties in the interior, by undercutting the competitors'

prices until they had been driven to the wall. As Rich has shown,¹¹ Simpson might reach agreements with large competitors, such as the Russian American Company or the American Fur Company to prohibit trading in liquor or in firearms, while smaller firms could not be allowed to remain, but must be priced out of the trade; and McLoughlin sometimes courted censure for buying out a competitor, rather than driving him out in a price war.

When competition within the department brought a temporary local reduction in prices, the Company sought to maintain the standard elsewhere. However, the resulting differential among local standards of trade encouraged Indians to drift in from other districts to take advantage of the lower rates. Traders in those districts sought to secure an equivalent lowering of their tariff in order to retain customers, but McLoughlin habitually resisted the suggestion.

In 1829, when the American coastal trader, Captain John Dominis, in the brig *Owhyhee*, accompanied by the *Convoy*, appeared in the lower Columbia, he undercut the Company's standard, selling guns for 6 MB, as against a standard of 18, and two-and-a-half point blankets for 2 MB, compared to 5 at Company rates. McLoughlin lowered his prices, Dominis further lowered his rates, until both parties were offering a blanket at a ruinous 1 MB.¹² Samuel Black, at Fort Nez Percés, sought a corresponding reduction, which McLoughlin stoutly refused. In a typical letter, he wrote,

as to your trading on our tariff is altogether out of the question that we can transport property to your place to suffice at our rate of trade[.] indeed you ought not to think of adopting our Tariff as it will spread from your Place to Colville District and it will be ruined by it. It is true your Indians will come here but this cannot be helped and it is better to allow them to do so than to try and prevent them at the expence of spoiling all the Interior Trade[.]¹³

Repeatedly, the chief factor urged Black not to lower his prices and complimented him for standing firm. Only when Black had been transferred to Thompson's River did McLoughlin learn from his replacement, George Barnston, that Black had offset the high tariff by increasing the gratuity given as a collateral gift. McLoughlin advised Barnston,

make no farther reduction and indeed if possible you ought to bring the trade back to the former standing which if you do will be of more real service even if you collected only one fourth of the usual returns than if you trippled them. . . . to carry this plan into execution you must not appear anxious about Furs and tell the Indns who complain of the prices, that you are sorry you cannot afford them higher prices for their Furs, and that you have no objection to see them carry their Furs to this place if they can get more for them.¹⁴

The behavior of the Indians in such circumstances convinced McLoughlin that he was dealing with economically rational beings. This view contrasted with that expressed during the 1749 Parliamentary Enquiry into the Hudson's Bay Company that "The giving Indians larger Price [for their Furs] would occasion the Decrease of Trade."¹⁵ Thus, writing to Simpson, McLoughlin noted "you will please to observe, that the Indians exerted themselves more than usual in 1829/30 in consequence of the reduction of the price of Goods."¹⁶ Again, writing to the governor and London committee on the coastal trade, he maintained, "though our vessel is alongside the opposition, the Indians will go to the cheapest shop, and will keep their Furs if they hear of an opposition till they get their price for them, it being so evident that the cheapest shop will carry the day."¹⁷

Horses and Peltry

Within the department, Fort Nez Percés had come to take on a specialized role as a supplier of horses, traded primarily from the great herds of the Cayuse and Nez Percés, for transportation "along the communication"; for horses found far better grazing, and herds were far larger, here than among the tribes in the more heavily forested zones in the Colville District and in New Caledonia. As Simpson reported after his second visit to the department in 1828, the post could be depended upon for 250 horses annually. By contrast, "The few Furs collected here, are chiefly obtained from the Cayuces, and as their Country is becoming exhausted by the ravages of our own and the American Trappers, the annual returns, must soon diminish rapidly."¹⁸ The necessity of trading for horses with the goods at hand placed corresponding limits on the traffic in furs. Yet the eagerness of traders, who saw furs as the

ultimate objective of trading and horses as only instrumental in their acquisition, was difficult to restrain. It was a recurrent problem. Wrote McLoughlin to Samuel Black, "I am aware that purchasing Horses must Effect very Matariially Your Trade—But we cannot carry our Business on without them[.]"¹⁹ Five years later, he was writing to McGillivray, "am happy to find you have been so very successful in your Beaver trade, but I am afraid it will cause us some difficulty to procure the horses required for Outfit 1832."²⁰ Already, McGillivray had realized his plight. At the annual "clothing of chiefs" a month earlier, he had written "Few Horses will be traded this Fall, as there is about 500 Beavers in the camp."²¹

Part of the difficulty in allocating goods between furs and horses was the inelasticity in the supply of trade items. Outfits had to be ordered well in advance and the losses suffered in transit further limited the available trading stock. In 1826, in an effort to induce the Indians to hunt, McLoughlin, advising Black to acquire as many horses as possible, added "traps is one of the Best Articles you can give in payment for them."²² Three years later, writing to Donald Manson, a clerk whom he had set to watch the movements of the American coastal trader, John Dominis,²³ McLoughlin confessed, "In an unguarded moment I allowed a few Traps to be sold but I am afraid we will lose by it as the Indians are Killing so many Beaver I am afraid at the price we now pay we will Run Short of Goods[.]" He requested him to purchase thirty blankets' worth of dentalium shells, undoubtedly to supplement the stock of imported trade goods.²⁴ In this manner, the Company entered into direct competition with the native trading network.

Demanding Customers

Indian preferences also entered into the calculations. After having seen the articles that had passed upriver to other posts, Black asked McLoughlin for a supplementary "Keg of common trading Beads . . . more than p[er] Indent."²⁵ He also pointed out his deficiency in red baize, part of which had been diverted to Peter Skene Ogden's Snake Country brigade. He added, "I must absolutely have Green Beads for they are already all done—. The Indians like the Green dark Green and only take the Blue transparent When they can get None Else[.]"²⁶ McLoughlin consented,

contingent upon Ogden's agreement, to the issue of the red baize, but added that there were no more green beads. "I am sorry to find that the beads imported this year are in no demand at your place[.] in this Quarter they are more Saleable than the Dark Green."²⁷ Black remained unconvinced. "The Indians here have taken a liking to Brass Kettles because they are Strong but complain of the size. . . . The Dark Green Beads is yet their favourite Among them here besides the others Break[. They] are Dear But they Rather take them than go without the Bauble—[.]"²⁸ McLoughlin, in response, advised him to send his unsaleable items down to Fort Vancouver; first, however, "show it to the Gentlemen in charge of the Districts on their way down—[s]o that they may take what they please—the rest, send down to us—[.]"²⁹

The following year, McLoughlin provided Black with a detailed account of his Outfit, listing deficiencies in articles requested and the substitutions he had made. No green beads were available.³⁰ A year later, when McLoughlin forwarded an invoice of Black's Outfit for that year, green beads led the list of omitted articles. By way of explanation, he wrote, ". . . these numerous deficiencies are caused in part by a whole requisition for Outfit 1826 being cut off. . . . any new article you require we can only have three years after your demand[.]"³¹ Later, the chief factor wrote to express his displeasure at Black's refusal to deliver four rolls of tobacco from his stores, per instructions, to William Connolly, in charge, under McLoughlin, of the New Caledonia District. He then passed on to a discussion of Black's inventory of blankets, and finally returned—as to an aching tooth—to the perennial issue. "As to Beads," he observed,

you had a hundred and fifteen Pounds on Inventory and your Expenditure last year was only Ninety one Pounds & we have none of the Sea Green Beads you say are in demand at your place. . . . I have to observe that if your Expenditure of Beads is this year very great, we will be proportionally short for next year as what you now receive & the Blankets are taken off Outfit 1829.³²

Yet the demand was not a quirk of Black's, but reflected continuing Indian preferences; for after Black had gone to Thompson's River, McLoughlin wrote to McGillivray at the fort, "I am sorry we have no green Beads therefore you must be as economical of those you have as you possibly can."³³ Likewise, in his journal

McGillivray repeatedly attests the Indian preference for the older Brazilian twist tobacco over the Virginia leaf form.

Company trade goods were grouped, says the American naval explorer, Captain Charles Wilkes, into three classes. The first, designed for gifts, comprised knives and tobacco; the second, articles of trade proper, included blankets, guns, cloth, and ammunition; while the third, including shirts, handkerchiefs, ribbons, beads, and the like, were used as pay for small services, labor, and food.³⁴ In practice, the divisions were at least roughly maintained. At Fort Nez Percés, to judge from the Journal, tobacco was a common gratuity. On one occasion, a Wallawalla asked for a cotton shirt in payment for a dried salmon; while the request lay within the proper division of goods, it was apparently excessive, for McGillivray, indignant at the attempt to raise prices, responded by throwing his fish out of the store.³⁵ A week earlier, another Indian had tried to trade a horse for a gun, but was refused. It was policy, says McGillivray, that guns and green blankets—the latter the most valuable sort—were only to be traded for beaver.³⁶ Yet it should be remarked that he himself had bought a horse for a gun,³⁷ and on another occasion, when the son of a Palus chief had offered him a similar exchange, the *bourgeois* had refused the trade only on the grounds that the animal was too small.³⁸

In fact the policy restricting the trade in guns was far from inflexible. McLoughlin himself had written to McGillivray's predecessor, George Barnston,

as to the Horse, when the band was brought in the one presented by the Walla Walla Chief was not pointed out so that I did not examine him particularly. however after the manner he pranced into the Fort after having in these very bad Roads carried Mr. Annance for twenty six days, it is certain he must be a very fine Beast and well worth a Rifle though I am sorry to say we have none. however I will do my utmost to get one and if I cannot succeed will a fine Gun do in place of a Rifle—³⁹

When the Cayuse chief, Hiyumtipin, presented him with a fine horse, McGillivray, mindful that he had been promised a rifle for such a steed, fobbed him off instead with "an Old Gun, and could not be disposed otherwise."⁴⁰ And in paying Charlie, a Nez Perce chief, for undertaking a trip to Fort Colville on Company business, McGillivray heeded his plea for a firearm and included a long gun in his wages, while cautioning him not to make a precedent of it.⁴¹

The Trading Ritual

The trading year at Fort Nez Percés peaked during the major gatherings in March and November. During the intervening months of spring, summer, and fall, the post was the scene of intermittent exchange. During the winter season there was little trade, as the tribes, in winter quarters, were occupied with their winter spirit ceremonies and shamanistic performances; while some of the equestrian segments were wintering over at the Dalles.

Formal trading, particularly at the spring and autumn sessions, was shaped by a ritual long established in the north, and adapted to the local scene.⁴² In that ritual at Fort Nez Percés, the significant features of setting were the Indian campground near the fort, the outer defenses of the fort, its main gate, the yard within, the Indian hall, the Indian store, and the master's sitting room in his dwelling. These elements were variously arranged at Fort Nez Percés at different times in its history, reflecting postures of security and available space.

The Indian hall—or, as William Kittson termed it, the Big House—is a key to the relationships between Whites and Indians here. In the original fort, Ross had built it at the gate and made available within a fire, tobacco, and a man to attend visitors.⁴³ This was consonant with his stringent security measures, with the inner palisade separating the yard from the buildings, and the trading port—the aperture through which trade was conducted—giving access to the Indian store. But it was not only security that dictated the separation of the Indians from the contents of the store: as Rich points out, the use of the trading port reduced the opportunity for the Indians to view the goods at hand and thus to press for gifts.⁴⁴

When Dease relaxed the restrictions upon trading, the Indian hall was moved within the fort—by McGillivray's description, beside the master's house, where in an outbreak it could be covered by gunfire from the point gallery above the main gate—and the inner palisade was torn down. While Garth identifies the Indian hall with the Indian store, this is unlikely, for Ballantyne, in his description of life in the Company as he had seen it in service, always holds the two distinct.⁴⁵ The usefulness of such a reception hall was felt by the missionary, Marcus Whitman, and his wife, who found their domestic quarters in their first mission house overrun by visitors; they incorporated an Indian room on the model

of the nearby post when they enlarged their establishment. After the wooden fort of McGillivray's time had burned down in 1841, McKinlay rebuilt the post upon much diminished lines, and seems for reasons of space to have placed the Indian hall once more outside the palisades.

In McGillivray's time, when a band of Indians approached the fort to trade, they paused at a distance, sending ahead a messenger to notify the master and secure his welcome. He in his turn sent back the messenger with a gift of tobacco for the leader to convey his welcome to the fort. As they drew near, the Indians rode thrice around the establishment, firing a *feu de joie*, to which the fort responded with a volley. The greeting was conventional. In 1825, when John Work was in charge at Spokane House, he was ignorant of the protocol and failed to return the compliment when thus favored by a Flathead chief and followers riding in from the buffalo country. When the chief expressed displeasure, Work made amends by promising to discharge a round on their departure.⁴⁶

The etiquette of reception next called for the Indians to enter the gate without their weapons and to pass into the Indian hall. There the master welcomed them, perhaps smoked the pipe with their leader and gave him tobacco to be distributed among his followers. Here also they might rest, for the Journal makes mention of a bedstead for the Indian hall.⁴⁷ Leaders, however, passed still further into the heart of the fort, being admitted to the sitting room of the master's house, there to smoke with him, perhaps drink tea or receive a drop of rum in molasses,⁴⁸ and discuss the news of the day.

It was usually on the following day that individuals made their way to the Indian store for trading.

The ceremonial welcome was more elaborate on the annual occasion of the clothing of chiefs, at which the leaders to be thus honored each presented a horse to the master, to which he made a balanced return gift of goods. In effect, each dyadic exchange confirmed them as trading partners. At this time, too, the Indians welcomed the master as guest at the Grand Dance they were holding in their encampment. That annual ceremony may be seen as the counterpart of the one held formerly at York Factory in the fall, when flotillas of canoes laden with furs came downriver from the interior for the annual trade.⁴⁹

In maintaining the hospitality of the post, the Company drew heavily on tobacco. Indians frequently came into the post to hear the news and get tobacco to smoke. Of all the Company goods, tobacco was most in demand as a gratuity, as McGillivray's Journal repeatedly attests. At the end of the spring trading, departing Indians thronged the square of the fort,

all demanding a Piece of Tobacco, which they received. This is very expensive, and some Fifties of them, bring nothing or deserving of any thing, but I am informed this is the way of treating them.⁵⁰

Every Sunday is an expense to the Fort, for we must deal out Tobacco to the principal Chief of the place, to Smoke when Saying their Prayers. Sometimes it is half a Fathom Twist Tobacco, sometimes more, according to the number of Indians on the ground.⁵¹

After the fall trading, McGillivray summarized the vital role of tobacco. Since July, some five rolls of twist and one bale of leaf had been expended. Though this was admittedly a large quantity, it had probably enhanced the success of the trade in furs. "It is in this article alone that our expences are great, and will always be, as long as this will be a post. Ceremony upon ceremony, Speeches, novelties &c &c The Tobacco pays for all—"⁵² The major obligation, as host, fell upon the Company in the person of the master. Most of the gifts made to him by Indians were horses presented by chiefs, and a return in goods was anticipated. However, McGillivray also records small presents of edibles that seem merely thoughtful gifts without expectation of recompense: venison from Tamatappam when the trader was recovering from fever, two buffalo tongues from the Nez Perce, Bouton, on his returning from the Plains, and three deer tongues sent up by way of a passing messenger by a Umatilla from Blalock Island in the Columbia.⁵³

Transactions carried on in the trading store are not described in McGillivray's Journal. From the time of Dease's regime on, Indians were permitted to trade there directly. Only the master, or by delegation the interpreter, served in the store. Ballantyne details the practice with which he was familiar in Canada: when an Indian brought in his furs, the trader assessed them and gave him a stick tally for each Made Beaver of value. When the furs

had been taken in, the Indian pointed to objects on the shelves; and the trader, laying each article in turn upon the counter, abstracted its value from the pile of tallies until they were all gone. He then concluded by adding a few small gifts.⁵⁴ Transactions such as this could take place without a common language. At Fort Nez Percés, a local language, eked out by signs, and later Chinook Jargon, were available for communication. McGillivray's entries in the Journal show that Indians sometimes haggled for a better price: the store thus was the scene of that "balanced reciprocity" of Sahlins's model, with the Company's standard of trade at least a point of departure.

Cox, while stationed at Fort Okanagan in 1816 under the North West Company, had encountered a somewhat different form of trading. An Indian trading party upon arrival deposited its skins and was received by the trader in the calumet ceremony, smoking the pipe together, followed by a *regale* of tobacco. Thereafter, each man gathered his skins into separate lots. "For one," says Cox, "he wants a gun; for another ammunition; for a third a copper kettle . . . &c., according to the quality of skins he has to barter." These Indians, he adds, were shrewd bargainers.⁵⁵ The procedure suggests that the Indians had at least an approximate knowledge of the standard of trade, and that haggling proceeded around it. The trade articles were apparently not in evidence at the time of barter. A drawing by Joseph Drayton, the artist of the Wilkes expedition, on his visit to Fort Nez Percés in 1841, shows Archibald McKinlay, the new master, standing before the gate of the establishment examining piles of peltry being spread before him by visiting Indians. This may depict a similar transaction.⁵⁶

Trading at the fort was in part for provisions. These were usually in the form of salmon and sturgeon, but occasionally a dog or a *maron* was purchased that might be killed for meat. On one occasion, the Cayuse chief, Hiyumtipin, is recorded as coming in with roots to trade;⁵⁷ it is uncertain whether McGillivray bought them, as Black had done some years earlier. The trader was careful to end his purchase of salmon before the fall trading. This was, he said, because if he tried to store too many they might spoil; but it also gave the Nez Percés and Cayuse a chance to trade for their own supplies.⁵⁸ In fact, to monopolize the salmon would have been self-defeating, since there would then have been a dearth of foodstuffs to sustain the Indians coming in for the trading.

The major items received in the course of the year were furs and hides, as well as horses for Company use. The variety of peltry is reflected in one entry from the Journal: "Traded 11 L[arge] Beavers & 18 Sm[all] D[itto], 4 Otters, 16 [Musk] Rats, 2 Badgers, 1 Wolf, 1 Fox, and 1 Brown Bear."⁵⁹ Deerskins were also traded. At the end of the fall trading, McGillivray totaled up his take for the year, apparently converting the value of the diverse pelts into MB. "Since the closing of last Outfit [March 26, 1830], we have now 1100 Beavers. this is well & forms 340 Beavers more than the Returns of last Year. Our trade in horses has been 104.—Hardly any thing is traded during winter—nor do the Indian hunt Beaver—"⁶⁰

Absolute trading standards were, of course, difficult to assert, since the commodities and products furnished by the Indians were not uniform; and nowhere was this more so than in buying horses. It required the appraising eye of the trader to assess the worth of an animal and the training of a clerk to translate that value into its equivalent in a bundle of trade goods. For the modern scholar the task of evaluation is complicated by the circumstance that some items included—e.g., a gun charge of a ball and powder—do not appear so listed in the standard of trade, where these items are entered separately by weight.

Of all horses, the *maron*, because it was an unbroken animal usually purchased for meat, brought the smallest price. One mare cost 60 gun charges, 2 yards of tobacco, and a butcher's knife;⁶¹ another animal was sold for a *taureau* (skin bag holding fifty pounds) of salmon pemmican and half a foot of tobacco.⁶² In the trade in horses, diplomatic considerations compromised the standards as McGillivray testified in his wry comment that "Horses traded from Chiefs always [c]osts dearer than others[.]"⁶³ This may have been in part at least because trade in horses with such leading men took on the formal character of a gift exchange, when haggling over prices was inappropriate. At least some of these transactions occurred during the great fall trading, during which the chiefs were clothed. McGillivray, indeed, decried the time-honored practice of giving gratuities, such as the clothing, in advance of trading, because it dulled the appetite of the Indians for goods.⁶⁴

In one such instance, following the ceremony of clothing, the paramount Cayuse chief, Hiyumtipin, his brother, Red Cloak—also counted a chief—and a third, unnamed, Indian each presented

McGillivray with a horse. Red Cloak, however, "seeing the Lot of Goods, which was the same as the [others'], without even inspecting the Bundle—walked away without saying a word[.] In the evening I sent him back his Horse." Two days later the Indian returned the animal, thus signifying his acceptance of the terms of barter. McGillivray itemized the articles, avowing them "a great price":

1 Blanket Plain	3 P ^t B. Bay	1 Butcher's Knife
1 do do	1 " " d.	1 doz. Coat Buttons
1 yd. HBC.	Red Strouds	1 " Thimbles
60 Balls & Powder		1 Yard Twist Tobacco
6 Yards Aqua.Mar: Beads		1 P.C. Look ^g . Glass
1 Half Ax		1 Flat File 8 inches
also 1 Flint, 1 Awl, 1 G worm, ⁶⁵ & verm ⁶⁶		

In another trade, by which McGillivray acquired a "Stout Young Horse" from a Nez Perce chief at what the trader deemed a fair price, he reckoned the trade goods in pounds sterling:

	£	s.	d.
1 Int. Blanket 3 Points		5.	3
8 yd. Fine transp ^t Beads		4.	4
6 yd. Aquamarine ditto		3.	6
1 yd. Tobacco			10
1/2 yd. Common Strouds		2.	10
1 doz. Thimbles			3
1 doz. Rings			3 1/2
1 Japanned Tobacco Box with Glass	1.		3
1 Large Knife			4
1/2" Copper Kettle 2/2"		1.	1
Total		19.	11 1/2

Gratis: Awl, Flint, Gunworm, and Vermillion

Advance of 33 1/3		6.	7 3/4
Total Value	£1	6.	7 ⁶⁷

A third horse, traded from another Nez Perce, was a "fine . . . Middling Stout *Cendré* (Roan)," for which McGillivray bartered goods to the value of 25 MB. The goods that made up that value are as follows:

	£	s.	d.
1 Blanket Plain 3 P's B Bars		6.	6
7 y ^{ds} Green transp ^t Beads 6 1/2		3.	9 1/2
50 Balls 6 ^d 2/3" 6 1/2 Powder H.		1.	
1 L Knife 3 3/4, 1/2 Twist Tob ^o .		5.	8 3/4
1/2 Y ^d HHB Plain red L I ²			2 1/2
1 doz Brass Rings			3 1/2
1 " " Thimbles			3
1 Polished Fire Steel			2
		14.	9
adv. 33 1/3 p. ct.		4.	11
		19.	8
Add flint, worm, Verm, Awl			4
		20/.	⁶⁸

Note that the articles in the trade bundles span all three categories in the Wilkes listing, while within the bundles it is the articles added at the end—gunflint, gunworm, awl, and vermillion—that constitute the gift within the sale. The advance of 33 1/3 percent is the increase above prime cost for Fort Vancouver; there seems to be no further advance in the reckoning for transportation to Fort Nez Percés.

Against these instances, and that of a young mare traded earlier for goods valued at 14 MB,⁶⁹ we may pose some general observations on the range of prices. Trading horses in the homeland of the Nez Percés in 1825, John Work had estimated that good horses were worth 18 to 20 MB apiece.⁷⁰ McGillivray, writing six years later of horses brought into the post, placed the value somewhat higher. "[A] good moderate Horse," he wrote, "will always cost a Large [Blanket] with Items to the amount of 20 to 22 skins."⁷¹ And of that animal he had bought from the Nez Perce for 25 MB, he remarked, "This is about the usual price of a Middling Stout Horse[.] a Stout one will come up to 30 to 35/+ Ea: and a Known Racer is invaluable to an Indian. He will scarcely part with him, without an exorbitant price—"⁷² By way of contrast, the return of a strayed horse brought a reward of 3 MB.

Despite the fiction of a gift exchange, the horses acquired by McGillivray became, of course, Company property. Private trading by any member of the staff, whether officer or *engagé*, was strictly forbidden; and as we have seen, McGillivray also took resolute action to prohibit the Snake brigade trappers or their Indian

wives, while temporarily under his authority, from bartering privately with the *Gardins* for food.

In his conduct of the horse trade, Samuel Black had been repeatedly criticized; Ogden, for whose Snake Country brigade many of the animals were destined, thought his practice penny-wise and pound-foolish. He wrote in his journal in December 1827,

Three fourths of the horses I received last fall from Mr Black were young, two year olds and ill suited to undergo the severe privations they met with in the Snake Country. . . . no trapper can do justice to his traps without he has four good horses. My party at present average this number but unfortunately they are most indifferent. It would be far more to the interest of the concern, to pay an increase price to the natives and select good horses. It is said by doing so it would prove detrimental to the returns [i.e. in furs], but from my knowledge . . . I am of a contrary opinion. The returns at least 2/3 are produced from the Cayouse tribe, the remainder from different Indians, and the upper Nez Percy tribe are those from whom good horses can be obtained and very few beaver. For the two last years the Americans have traded with them; this year they procured thirty-five prime ones from them. No doubt they paid double for them [what] we do, but they will in due season fully pay their value, whereas those we obtain never can.⁷³

Ogden returned to the subject a month later, arguing that,

The trappers would most willingly pay an advance to have good ones, but unfortunately the gentleman in charge of Fort Nez Percy, Mr Samuel Black, shaves so close, so as to have something on the credit side of his account that I apprehend [he] will never consent, granting we were to allow him an extra price for his labour and horses. It is no doubt very praise worthy, for any man in charge to exert himself to make both ends meet, but it is merely paper work and very little value to him, when in fact were good horses traded, I am fully convinced before three years it would be a gain, as only one half the number would only be required and probably even less.⁷⁴

When McLoughlin then pressed Black to improve both the number and quality of the horses he traded, Black seemed to argue on the latter score that he got the best the Indians offered but that they "do not improve in breaking horses or riding them."⁷⁵

In the field, and dealing with Indians ignorant of trade, barter brought handsome rewards. Ross wrote of McKenzie's early trading with the Snakes, "In their traffic the most indifferent spectator could not but stare to see the Indians . . . bringing large garments of four or five large beaver skins each . . . and selling them for a knife or an awl, and other articles of the fur kind in proportion. It was so with the Columbia Indians in our first years, but they soon learned the mystery of trade, and their own interest."⁷⁶ The "mystery" supposedly learned by the tribes along the Columbia they displayed almost as soon as rival fur companies arrived in the Oregon Country; it was to use the leverage of competition to raise their own prices.

By contrast with the initial low valuation placed by the Snakes upon the furs which the companies sought was the premium they set upon headdresses, bearclaw necklaces, and red ochre—items of symbolic, ritual, and heirloom character which for Ross were greatly overpriced.⁷⁷

We have dealt thus far with the ordinary trading transactions at the fort or of conventional trading in the field. Ogden, travelling in the Snake Country and required to live off the land, sometimes found himself hard-pressed to find food for his men and their families. At such times he was driven to tactics that—far from reflecting the free play of market forces—were the very exemplification of negative exchange. He had the grace to acknowledge that the Indians could scarcely find nourishment in the baubles left in exchange for the roots his party seized. He confided to his journal, and thus to his superiors, "[W]ith the Snakes you must take them by surprise take their property ere they have time to secure it recompence them for it—by any other means you cannot obtain anything from them so averse are they to trade particular Provisions—nor do I blame them as their resources are not great in such a wretched Country."⁷⁸

This chapter has outlined the general features of the Company's Indian trade and the calculations upon which it rested. That the Indians perceived the trading itself, and the act of trading, from a different perspective will be seen in the following chapter.

Trading Operations in Fort and Field

THE coming of the traders among them, alien alike in appearance, speech, and culture, had confronted the Indians with an enigma. They had welcomed David Thompson, with his promises of the new goods a post would bring, only to find that the newcomers, despite their material wealth, were far from open-handed. With the passage of time, they took Indian wives, but seemed reluctant to share with the kin they thus acquired. The master of the post, who, like a chief, might have been expected to exhibit generosity, seemed particularly tight-fisted with the goods at his disposal. The local Indian ideal was of an uncalculating generosity—Sahlins's "generalized reciprocity"—among relatives and, to a lesser extent, from a leader to one of his people. This ideal is reflected in the anecdote Ross tells of a Wallawalla man, a would-be suicide who had shot himself after Snake raiders had abducted his sister. Ross, moved by his plight, nursed him for some five months until he had regained his health. When he saw Ross once more, he requested a gun as an expression of Ross's continued regard, and declined to barter horses to get one. When Ross refused, he reduced his demand to an axe; and being once more refused, attempted to kill his benefactor.¹ Narcissa Whitman, the missionary, in 1842 recorded a similar example: when she rescued a *métis* child and took him to raise, the child's Indian grandmother presumed upon the connection thus formed to ask her for food.² In both instances, when a stranger had assumed a role that in tribal society only kin or a leader might take, it was expected that he or she would thereafter act consistently in all their relationships.

Thus it was not only the history of strife intervening between Thompson's council at the Forks of the Snake in 1811 and the construction of the fort seven years later that accounts for the barely veiled hostility that surrounded its early management. The impartial pricing policies of the Company, only slightly modified

by the addition of gratuities, must have appeared to the Indians both cold and depersonalizing. Add to this McKenzie's determination to extend the trade to the Snakes, their inveterate foes, and the reaction of the fort Indians becomes understandable. Having expected that the Whites, who had sought contiguity with them and continued to seek intermarriage, would favor their cause, and behave generously, they saw the balanced exchange of the ledger books as invidious. While some brought in furs and horses to trade, others tried to get goods by bullying and threatening.

Their sense of alienation was heightened by the restriction upon their access to the fort. Under Ross, Indians seem to have been disarmed at the gate, then were admitted in small numbers into the inner yard, which was separated by a palisade from the buildings of the establishment. Trading itself was carried on through an aperture, some eighteen inches square, the so-called "hole-in-the-wall," through the side of the Indian store, which was closed at the end of business by an iron door. A corresponding opening seems to have been made in the inner palisade.³ In vain the Indians sought to have these conditions relaxed; while McKenzie, who had demonstrated the value of showing trust toward the chiefs at the Cascades, was opposed to excluding the Indians in this manner, Ross nonetheless prevailed.⁴

The resentment he reaped is clear upon his pages. "I have never experienced more anxiety and vexation than among these people," he recalled.

Not an hour of the day passed but some insolent fellow, and frequently fifty at a time, interrupted us, and made us feel our unavoidable dependence upon their caprice. "Give me a gun," said one. "I want ammunition," said another; a third wanted a knife, a flint, or something else. Give to one, you must give to all. Refuse them, they immediately got angry, told us to leave their lands, and threatened to prevent our people from going about their duties. Their constant theme was, "Why are the whites so stingy with their goods? They hate us, or they would be more liberal." A fellow raps at the gate, calling out, "I want to trade!" When you attend his call he laughs in your face, and has nothing to sell. . . . Half their time is spent at the toilet, or sauntering about our establishment. In their own estimation they are the greatest men in the world. The whites who labor they look upon as slaves, and call them by no other name. I had, therefore, to lay down a rule in all my dealings with them. However sudden the

call might be I never obeyed it until I had walked backwards and forwards across the fort twice. Nothing then surprised me or ruffled my temper, and I often found the benefit of the plan.⁵

Although with the passage of time the restrictions were relaxed, and Dease, the second master of the fort, allowed the Indians far freer access, among a segment of the tribes the tactics of "negative reciprocity" continued unabated. Samuel Black, in his response to the questionnaire circulated by the Company, corroborates Ross's observations. Having delineated the character of the Indians in terms which are generally favorable, he adds, underscoring his comments,

With Traders Whites & even amongst themselves the Demon of Avarice Reignes, Hectoring Domineering pillaging Thieving & all Kinds of Tricks to draw property from the Whites, but fortunately more Rogues than Rascals & will give over when resolutely opposed[.] they are Now greatly changed & I think peace and quietness will Succeed to fighting Buffating to preserve property because they often assume the Character more in purpose than from any real . . . hatred to the Whites.⁶

The pressures on the Whites were unrelenting. When Dease relaxed his guard and freely admitted Indians to the fort, Simpson found that the interpreter, Jean Toupin, angered by a reprimand for being too intimate with the Indians and indiscreet in his amorous affairs, had plotted with Hiyumtipin to seize the post in Dease's absence. Simpson planned characteristically prompt action. First he held a council with nine chiefs, five of them Cayuses, three Nez Perces, and one Wallawalla. Simpson spoke for two hours, gave them each a dram of rum, two fathoms of tobacco, and fifty loads of powder and ball, together with three fathoms of tobacco for their followers. The leaders agreed, he reports, to hunt for furs, to respect the Whites, and to protect them while on their lands. He also intended to put the interpreter in irons and bear him off to a distant post, but when Simpson departed Toupin appears to have remained.⁷

Even the redoubtable Samuel Black was under pressure, for the same Hiyumtipin had fought with him in the store.⁸ The trickery played on Barnston, by an Indian who, having stolen a horse from the post's herd, returned boldly with the animal to sell furs to him, may thus be seen as by no means extraordinary in trading relationships at Fort Nez Percés.

Plans to Move the Fort

Yet if the trading establishment was an irritation and a challenge to many of the local Indians, when they were threatened with its loss defenders came forward and resisted vehemently. From 1818 until the international boundary was fixed by treaty in 1846, the Oregon Country was jointly occupied by Great Britain and the United States. Simpson, in his survey of the Columbia Department in 1824-25, was keenly aware that six of the seven posts inherited from the North West Company lay south of the forty-ninth parallel; and since it was the view of the London committee that the Columbia River might well prove to be the international boundary, he was under instructions to move those installations to the north bank of the river. Accordingly the depot was shifted from Fort George to a new post, Fort Vancouver, erected opposite the mouth of the Willamette; Spokane House was to be abandoned in favor of a projected Fort Colville; and Fort Nez Percés was scheduled to be moved, perhaps to the vicinity of Priest Rapids.⁹ Simpson himself witnessed the distress of the lower Chinook at the transfer from Fort George, and the opposition of the Spokane to the move to Colville was also vigorous,¹⁰ yet the change was made.

At Nez Percés alone did the opposition prove decisive. As McLoughlin summarized matters in correspondence with Simpson, he had written Dease, who had assured him that the move was feasible; and accordingly McLoughlin had made preparations to effect it in the summer of 1826. However, on a visit to the post in the fall of 1825, he found that Dease had not yet even broached the matter to the Indians, and so himself addressed the principal chiefs. The Company, he told them, planned to bring cattle to the fort, as they had requested of Dease, but to protect them against Snake raids it would be necessary to remove the establishment to the north bank of the Columbia. Initially, all the chiefs but Tamatappam agreed, and McLoughlin directed Black to carry out the preparations planned by Dease.¹¹ Soon after Black's arrival, however, the new master was writing him of rising discontent among the Indians:

The Indians here have behaved well Enough But not one of them but declares against removing the Fort[.] I kept of the subject as long as I could firmly houlding out underhand that the

Gentlemen had so arranged it and that it would be changed of course[.] And Beaver and Horses were proposed to Debauch me not to Change the place and at last I told them the Fort would be Changed[.] they Rose in one Voice against it and came forward with all their Offers[.] The Lands would be no more Good &c &c I have now put the Business on You and the Governor That I would not Contradict what the others proposed without their Sanction—But I did not think it would displease the Indians to Remove a short Distance But all would not do or do I think it safe to Remove in spite of them[.] We have not a friend to speak in favour of allowing the Fort to be Removed—And we can only Remove it without their approbation the consequences of Which I do not like to Risk[.] perhaps they would only bluster a little and take the Sulks But in these Sulks the Scamps on the Big River would be very willing to Join and would not so Easily be settled[.] they would go to Below a little where there is a flat of fine soil But on this side—they find it Inconvenient to cross the River and this spot is their favourite place and Old Tomatopins Grounds and Young Allicat is mad for his Daughter and he and the Cayou-ses are so mixed and the Old man labouring with all his might to keep the Fort completely embarasses me. If I can however I shall send a couple of men to carry on the Work at Priests Rapid and wait further advice or a favourable Occurrence[.]¹²

Any community facing the transfer of a major business concern to another town might well sympathize with Tamatappam, so long a champion of the fort, now confronting the prospect of its loss. Still, Black had his orders and, as he had written, had sent out a party to explore possible sites on the north shore in the vicinity of Priest Rapids. Presently, McLoughlin replied, regretting the Indian outcry, yet adding, “you Know it is not a measure of Choice but of Necessity—If an American opposition should come,” they would insist on the British removal and the fort would then fall into their hands.¹³

Black took up the matter once more:

the principal Indians hold out so determinately opposed to a Removal from their favourite Spot that I was obliged to give Up the point to them not finding it in my Own mind advisable to give them so much cause of displeasure for they are at the Best, Scamps and the Is Ky ouse here having the Greatest sway with the Rascals along the River and turning against us although for a

season would Endanger the communication so far as to give the Ill Inclined more scope to Act against us in the General disaffection to say the least for the Indians that concentrate here Is Kayouse—Nez perces &c &c will always find it a bitter pill to make them Cross the River out of their Usual Routine and a Mortification they cannot comprehend as they say the Fort was Given to them—These Indians have no Canoes always on horse back and none of them ever hunt or Cross the River on the North side—The Eligible places for Gardening near this are all on the South side[.] Thus situated and Embarrassed amongst such Brutes having all the power in their own hands—and the Risk of disobliging them and Endangering commotions I am at a stand how to act or Where to go[.] at present the preparations for a New Fort shall go on i e preparing the wood which shall be lodged at the [mouth of the] Yac-Ka-mon and only wait for the Word from you to Run all Risks and Remove their or right opposite which is by the Bye an Awkward place [.] the Ya Kamons who hunt the way of Pugets sound are Right opposite Priests Rapid and Below that Rapid would perhaps be the Best place for them—but they Fish Salmon from one River to the Other and would come to the Entrance[.]

Then Black added a final argument against removal.

a Band of Is Ka youses went to trade with these Indians [the Yakima] this Spring[.] they only got thirty Beaver and left ten in the Camp they could not get[.] should the Americans possess this Spot And we on the other side we might get a few Beaver and Horses if Required but I suspect scarcely worth while Keeping up an Establishment Except for the communication and our Establishment higher Up[.] the Indians will not hear of the River Ya cka mon Indeed they were near fighting in their trading Excursion—¹⁴

These were weighty factors, and McLoughlin conceded the point. In a letter addressed to Chief Factor William Connolly, of New Caledonia, to Dease at Fort Colvile, and to Black, he wrote, "If Mr Black thinks the Removal of the Post of Walla Walla to the North side of the river is likely to bring us into trouble with the Natives he will not do it As such an Occurrence would make our Communication with the Interior more difficult and Hazardous and if next year the Communication is Changed the post of Walla Walla may then with safety be abandoned if the Natives will not allow it to be removed."¹⁵ To Simpson, he wrote, in comment

upon a committee proposal to enter into defensive treaties with the principal tribes, that

it would be incurring expence to no purpose as these Indians are so mercenary that no treaty would be held by them as binding longer than they found it to their interest, and it is certain they will give the preference to the Establishment that can afford to pay them the best price for their Furs and is most conveniently situated for them to deal with, and convenience of situation is an advantage I am sorry to say those on the South side of the Columbia will entirely and solely possess.

Adverting to a committee proposal of a ferry at Fort Nez Percés, he went on to give reasons why it would not overcome the objections.

1st those on the South side who may be said to be 4 to 1 on the North side object to the Fort being removed because it would accomodate those on the North side (whom they do not like) more than themselves[.] 2nd By the Fort being removed to the North Bank every time they had to deal with us they must cross the River, leave their Horse on the South side, where during their absence they might be stolen, so that from envy and interest they will object to the removal of the Fort to the North bank.¹⁶

In the end, the post remained on its original site until its destruction during the war of 1855. Archibald McKinlay, indeed, says that as late as his visit in 1841 Simpson was still toying with the feasibility of moving the fort to the north bank, but he would surely not have needed the counsel of a newly installed master that “the Cayouses and Nez Percés could not cross the river conveniently” to realize its impracticability.¹⁷ For the Indians, unaware of the full range of contingencies weighed by the Company, the decision must have seemed an acknowledgment of their special claims upon the post.

A second response by the Company to the prospect of an American presence below the Columbia was the policy of eradicating fur-bearing animals from the region to discourage American trappers. Among the standing rules and regulations of council, Northern Department, printed in 1828, Item 38 deals with what today would be termed a policy of sustained yield, but was there termed “Nursing the Country.”

Resolved that all Gentlemen in charge of Posts and Districts, be directed to discourage and prevent the killing of Beaver during the Spring and Summer, and to use their best endeavours to reconcile the Indians to the change, and impress conviction on their minds as to the propriety of such reduction, and in the mean time that additional encouragement be held out to hunt small furs, to compensate to the Indians for the curtailment of Beaver, and the better to enable the Tribes inhabiting Districts of Country where there is a scarcity of Provisions, and who might consequently be induced to hunt Beaver as an article of food to observe this restriction. That Fishing Tackle, Ammunition and provisions be furnished them at a reduction in prices of 33 1/3 percent on the ordinary Sale Tariff.

This resolution however is meant to apply only to Districts of Country within the Hon. Company's Territories not exposed to opposition, but in frontier Districts it is recommended that every encouragement be afforded the Natives to hunt the country close, as by extirpating the Fur bearing race on the Frontiers, the home country will be effectually protected from the incursions of rival Traders.¹⁸

Cayuse Trappers and Middlemen

The time-honored method of securing beaver was, as the regulations suggest, by inducing Indians to trap them. McKenzie, in his initial contacts with the Nez Percés, in 1812-13, had found them unwilling to do so, alleging that trapping was only fit for women and slaves.¹⁹ He therefore began trapping them directly himself, with parties of freemen. The Cayuse, on the other hand, in their eagerness to secure guns and ammunition, willingly entered into a quest for furs. In 1824, Simpson remarked that the yield from Fort Nez Percés, amounting to some two thousand beaver, came principally through the Cayuse.²⁰ These, it becomes evident, were secured in two ways. The Cayuse hunted beaver themselves beyond the Grande Ronde and in the Blue Mountains, their quest steadily leading to encroachment upon territories held by Bannock and Northern Paiute. They also acted as middlemen, trading furs from these people and, to a lesser extent, from the Shoshone.

Ogden, in the first years he led the Snake Country brigade, testifies to Indian hunting in the southern Grande Ronde, where

he noted of the Brulé (Burnt) River, "The Walla Walla Indians having spent some time here & clean'd it well, from appearances they have made good hunts of it for it is certainly a fine River for Beaver."²¹

Black provides further evidence that the fort Indians were interested in trapping. Writing to McLoughlin, he argued against reequipping four of Ogden's trappers, who had just come in, and sending them out again, justifying his actions by saying, "It would be an adventurous Business to Equip these men and send them in the Mountains here—nor is the Cayouse fond of trappers they like traps themselves[.] besides Charly [the Nez Perce leader] has been informing them that the Trappers are to Work about River Brulé Where they made their Hunts before and if this be the Case they will be disappointed."²²

Ogden's field journals from the Snake Country brigades provide us an eyewitness account of Indian activities in the field and of the overlap between that part of the Nez Percés District trapped by fort Indians and the region within which the brigade hunted. As such, they complement McGillivray's observations of activities seen from the fort.

As he departed in the brigade of 1825-26, Ogden observed, "several of the Fort Indians follow us more with a view of giving us trouble than to assist us."²³ When he had passed down the Columbia below Blalock Island, he encountered two Cayuse chiefs, who proposed that he follow their route south toward Finan McDonald's camp, in the Klamath country.²⁴ Ogden preferred to follow his guide. At the mouth of the John Day River, he found the old Wallawalla chief—probably Tamatappam—awaiting his arrival.²⁵ When beaver traps and ammunition were stolen from the party, the chief went in pursuit and returned in the night with the missing property.²⁶ Four days later, en route to White River and Tygh Creek in the Deschutes drainage, Ogden noted, "both these Forks . . . were I am informed by my guide formerly well stocked with Beaver but the Natives of Fort Nez Percees have destroyed all."²⁷ The next day, the Wallawalla chief departed, after trading them a horse.²⁸ Ogden soon met McDonald, returning from the Klamath Lakes. He now sought a guide who knew the country ahead, and found him in "A Snake Indian who had been living many years with the Cayouse Indians"²⁹; he was possibly a former slave.

Two days later, as his party moved up the Deschutes toward Crooked River, Ogden "learnt from Indian report that a party of Cayouse are off to warn the Snake Indians that we are coming to pay them a visit but I am not of opinion this is the case, if so I am of opinion is with a view to taking Beaver on the borders of their territories ere we reach it."³⁰ When they got to Crooked River, they found recently abandoned Snake huts, and a river seemingly depleted of beaver. "[I]f this River had not been visited by the Fort Nez Percee Indians," judged Ogden, "it would have yeilded from 4 to 500 Beavers[.]"³¹

When the party had reached the vicinity of Ochoco Creek, they were joined by two Indians from the post, each equipped with two traps, who wished to join the hunt. Added Ogden, "they . . . are as ignorant of the Country beyond this as we are ourselves."³² Two weeks later, discouraged by the meager returns, the Indians departed.³³ As he pressed on toward the headwaters of the John Day, Ogden remarked wistfully of the Deschutes drainage behind him, "before this country or rivers were visited by Fort Nez Perces Indians they were well stocked in Beaver."³⁴

On the John Day and beyond, the brigade encountered only Snakes or the evidence of their occupation. Some Indians they met traded at rates that seem cheap by the tariff of the time; and trappers reported the beaver to be wary, since the Snake hunted them by destroying their dams and lodges.³⁵ When the party had passed eastward into the drainage of the Burnt River, the guide returned to the Columbia,³⁶ while Ogden and the brigade continued via the Payette River to the upper Snake. In the vicinity of the Blackfoot River, in what is now southeastern Idaho, they found evidence of the activity of Indian middlemen, for some Snakes who came into camp "appear to be very independant of our Goods being nearly all well armed and well Stocked in Ammunition Knives and Iron works—part of these supplies obtained last Summer from the Fort Nez Perces Indians and the remainder from the Americans they have not a Beaver Skin amongst them."³⁷ Trading, Ogden found, was at extravagant rates: he was forced to give twenty skins for a miserable horse, while "not many years since a horse could have been obtained for a Knife or Axe, this is the effects of Iroquois remaining with them [.] to be independent of them for years, they might again be taught to barter on equal terms, but at

present we cannot." He appeared not to consider that Indian middlemen from the fort might also be responsible.³⁸

There was no evading that presence. Two days later, near the juncture of the Blackfoot River with the Snake, Ogden came upon the main camp of the Snakes. They had just returned from a successful buffalo hunt and were now bound, first for the Malade to dig roots, then to the salmon fisheries at the Falls. In vain he sought a chief to accompany him; "they are," he reported, "to meet the Fort Nez Perces Indians at the entrance of Burnt River to trade."³⁹

Returning soon thereafter from a brief excursion into Blackfoot country, Ogden, once more on the south bank of the Snake, met seven of the fort Indians who had been wintering with the Flatheads and were here for a different kind of transaction with the Snakes—a horse-stealing raid. They returned twelve days later to the Flathead camp; Ogden sent letters along with them.⁴⁰

The trade gathering with the fort Indians on Burnt River was drawing off the Snakes. Even a party of Shoshone returning from the Klamath country reported that their chief and his band were off for the meeting on the Burnt River.⁴¹ So also was another camp of Snakes, the men of which were all off for trading.⁴² From camp on the Bruneau River, Ogden wrote that "the whole of the Snake Tribe are gone to the entrance of Burnt River there to meet the Fort Nez Perces Indians to trade and conclude a pease commenced last year, if this meeting should continue annually it will be the means of encreasing the returns & enhancing the Value of Horses."⁴³ Later he added that it would also prevent the Snakes from meeting American traders.⁴⁴ However when, a week later, Ogden reached the mouth of the Burnt River, scene of a peace conference the year before, the trade gathering had not yet taken place.⁴⁵ The brigade made its way back to the fort.

For Black, who relied mainly on the Cayuse for beaver, there was need to preserve their rights against the incursions of the Snake Country brigade. In a letter to McLoughlin, he put his point. "Mr Ogden writes Short and sweet he claims the Whole South Territory which I give up except a small skirt the Is Ky ouses usual hunting Grounds [.]"⁴⁶ This was probably on the Burnt River. Ogden was not so ready to concede the issue. In 1826 a Cayuse guide led him into the Grande Ronde en route to the Snake

Country; he halted to cut tipi poles, and also had his men put out their traps. "If the Cayouse will not ruin the beaver in their own lands," he wrote in extenuation, "we must for them at least assist to diminish the number, and if we do not others probably will for us, and at no distant period."⁴⁷

Trading with the Snakes was an uncertain affair for the fort Indians. In May of 1825 there had been a battle between the Cayuse and Snakes over horses.⁴⁸ Perhaps Black alluded to this event, when he went on to say,

the Disputes about Snake Horses are settled but at the Expence of a broken head to one of our friends An Indian . . . two Bands of Snakes . . . have visited [the Cayuse] and carried off about 50 [horses] in presents & Traffick and the Iskyouses are now like Bulls Regretting them and wish the Buffaloe Robes to the Duce and no more Inclined to Dispose of more—I hope you will Remark this for should the Nez Perces get also scar[c]e It would be hard to get Enough to supply such Demands. . . . Some of the Snakes with an Old Chief and the Son of Another Great Chief came to the Fort I heard of no Beaver amongst them or any thing else to trade perhaps they left their Beaver En Cache it is said they are coming Back[.] the Is Ky ouse behaved friendly to them altho' they were near quarrelling Once And again or will they agree long—⁴⁹

Here was an Indian trade in competition with that of the Company, for it is doubtful that the buffalo robes were to be traded in the store, where they would in any event have been a poor substitute for the horses traded away.⁵⁰ Some may have been brought to the Indian transactions at the Dalles.

In the following years, Ogden seems to testify to a relatively peaceful, if unstable, accommodation between Cayuse and Nez Perces on one side and Shoshoneans on the other. In 1828, while wintering on the Portneuf, he encountered three Nez Perces who had been camping with the Snakes;⁵¹ and a group of the latter he found camped on Burnt River informed him they intended to follow his party "in expectation of seeing the Cayouse tribe, if not will proceed to Fort Nez Percy."⁵² Once more he noted the intermeshing of Company and native trading networks. In that harsh winter, the Shoshoneans had suffered a great loss in horses. This, he wrote, "will greatly tend to enhance the value of the Nez Percy horses, as they will resort there to procure others, should

they remain at peace with that tribe, but of this I have my doubts as both are well inclined for war.”⁵³

Returning from his exploration of the Humboldt River in 1829, Ogden passed through territory he had seen three years earlier. On the Silvies River, which then had lain beyond the limits of the Cayuse, he now attributed the dearth of beaver to the Cayuse having trapped it earlier in the spring.⁵⁴ Shortly thereafter, he found the remains of what he interpreted as a Cayuse camp from the preceding fall on the south fork of the John Day with fifteen beaver frames in it.⁵⁵ Staying near the river, he searched for a “short track” which the fort Indians habitually followed from the post. He came upon a salmon fishery occupied by some fifty Snakes and their families near the junction of the south and middle forks. From them he traded three beaver, but refused ten more, for which they wanted a horse. They told him, “They are in expectation of soon seeing the Cayouse Chief here to trade.”⁵⁶ This must have been the younger Wilewmutkin, in his peaceful intercourse with the Snakes.

Aside from the Indians who trapped and traded in their own parties, there were some who accompanied the Snake Country brigade, either as hangers-on or as free trappers. Ogden’s party in 1827-28 consisted of Ogden, Tom McKay, three servants, and twenty-seven trappers. Three trappers bear what appear to be Iroquois surnames, while two are apparently local Indians, one Rochquelaure, the other Baptiste Spokane. The former, at the time of his death in 1830, was listed as a slave, and may have been of Snake origin.⁵⁷

Ogden was not happy to have Indians in the brigade. “Indians,” he wrote in 1829, “do not answer with trapping parties, but to make up our number we are obliged to take them and they are miserable substitutes, no dependence to be placed on them for day or night watch, and in an attack they are the first to conceal themselves.”⁵⁸ A fort Indian in the brigade of 1827-28 was left destitute when Snakes stole his four horses. “He was by me fully warned before departure,” wrote Ogden defensively, “Still he came.” Now the Indian and his family spent the night “crying and lamenting their loss.” Fortunately, a search party located the missing animals.⁵⁹

Of greater value was the Cayuse Indian who served as a guide that year, for he led the party over a new and shorter route into

the Grande Ronde and proved of substantial assistance while the brigade was in winter camp on the Portneuf.⁶⁰ Hangers-on were at best a mixed blessing. If they were Nez Percés and Cayuses, they occasionally added to the strength of the brigade against common enemies. Snakes might serve as reinforcements in the event of a Blackfoot attack, but meanwhile they were a constant source of thievery. During his exploration of the Humboldt in 1828-29, Ogden made note that the brigade had been much plagued by Snakes, who succeeded in stealing a number of horses. Two Indians, who had attached themselves to the brigade along the Columbia, spotting horses' tracks, decided to do some horse-stealing of their own, promising to rejoin the party in four days. There seemed no inclination on the part of Ogden or his men to dissuade them, despite the risk they were running. Sure enough, when they came in on the fifth day, it was with bare hands, having narrowly escaped with their lives.⁶¹

One fort Indian who served in the Snake Country with John Work is the Cayuse known on the Company records as The Berdache, who with his brother appears frequently on the pages of McGillivray's Journal. He was a transvestite of the sort known among the Nez Percés as *si'méec*, and seems to have been fairly well off, owner of a slave and of a hundred horses. He was endowed with an enterprising spirit: when Snakes made off with some seventy of his herd, he was all for going down in a counter-raid to recover them. Already by the time of the Journal, he had wintered with John Work, though not mentioned by name in his records of that year. He went out again with Work in his brigade to the Bonaventura in California in 1832-33, where he died of fever, apparently at an advanced age, since he is referred to as an "Old Caiause."⁶² On his death, McLoughlin provided the master at Fort Nez Percés, Pierre Pambrun, with an inventory of The Berdache's beaver pelts, horses, and other belongings, instructing him to pay his relatives for the furs at the local standard of trade, to "give them four horses, charge to Vancouver, and we will send them the remainder of his things by the Boats."⁶³

Some few Indians went out in the *ménage* of a trapper on the brigade. In McGillivray's time, Paul Guilbeau had been transferred from the fort to the Snake Country brigade, to bring it up to strength. With him, apparently, then or later, went his *Gardin* brother-in-law, who had occasionally been employed at the fort

as a horse-guard. This was probably the man who was a member of Work's brigade to the Bonaventura, described as a Wallawalla and a companion of Guilbeau. On this trip, he was wounded when he sought to retake horses stolen by Indians.⁶⁴

Playing Up Competition

Both Whites and Indians had to learn about each other's social norms. The fort tribes had to realize that Whites found it natural to compartmentalize their behavior, and to be ruled by different standards in their trading relationships than in their social interactions. Company men had to become aware that an agreement with a single chief, even with so influential a man as the younger Wilewmutkin, could not bind a Hiyumtipin to hunt beaver or to make peace with the Snakes. At best, a leader could be held responsible for his "young men," his followers. To officials seeking to build up stable relationships, the Indian scene had the fluidity of droplets of quicksilver.

Indian leaders who were quick to play off the Astorians against the Nor'Westers or the Americans against the Company also sought an advantage in the competition between adjacent posts. Despite McLoughlin, who saw the fur yield for the department as a whole, the Indians found it easy to play upon the rivalries among traders. It was a perennial problem, as can be seen from Simpson's 1830 remark concerning his subordinates in the Lake Superior region. "I fear," he wrote, "that each successive manager of the Honble Company's affairs in that quarter has been more anxious to establish for himself the reputation of a Pack Maker or first rate Indian Trader than to consult the permanent interests of the Honble Company and Fur Trade."⁶⁵ McGillivray's competitive urge to excel lay behind both his disparagement of the quality of Barnston's furs and his satisfaction in the gross of his own returns, even though made at the expense of an adequate trade in horses. Here, too, was the source of the reluctance of the masters of interior posts to maintain their standard of trade while their Indian clientele drifted to Fort Vancouver to take advantage of the prices temporarily lowered to meet the challenge of Captain Dominis.

Among individual traders there was also a measure of rivalry over Indian patronage. When McGillivray, taken ill, had been borne down to Fort Vancouver for treatment, his place was taken

temporarily by Clerk William Kittson, down from Fort Colville. Presently, two Pend d'Oreilles came in to trade, whom Kittson recognized and evidently viewed as disloyal. Tartly, he wrote in the *Journal*, "I shall have my own will with these scamps, for not trading at our place or as I may say at their Fort."⁶⁶

The principal inducement offered the Indians for trading loyalty was in the annual clothing of the chiefs. At Fort Nez Percés, this can be seen as an inducement to encourage their followers to hunt furs, to trade with the Company only, and to trade at the proper establishment. Between the Colville District, the clientele of which were various Salishan speakers and the Kutenai, and the Nez Percés District, which dealt principally with Sahaptian speakers, although also with the Sinkiuse, there was rivalry over some of the Nez Percés themselves. When two Nez Percés leaders came in about a month after the clothing ceremony, for which they had been absent, McGillivray presented one, Charlie, with his garments, upon which the latter promised to "go for Beaver" following the Grand Dance of March. He also clothed the second man, Towishwa, after he had promised to trade at Fort Nez Percés rather than at Colville.⁶⁷ Still later, there came in another Nez Perce, brother of the Cut-Nose, whom McGillivray merely presented with a cotton shirt and a handkerchief. "This Indian," he explained, "is generally clothed, but this Year, he was off to Buffaloe and brought a number of Young men with him; who had Beaver, which I was told, were traded by the Americans[.] I informed him, that he would be clothed the same as other Chiefs of the place, provided he would bring his furs here[.]"⁶⁸

The consequence of such practices was in time to establish a stable clientele of chiefs at each of the several posts and thus to extend the influence of resident traders over them. How far this was the direct aim of Company policy and in what measure it was the end result of competition between individual traders is far from clear. At times, however, rivalry between individual traders became unsettling. In 1833, McLoughlin wrote Chief Factor Peter Warren Dease, then in New Caledonia, over contentions between Samuel Black, at Thompson's River, and Alexander Fisher, at Fort Alexandria, on the Fraser, over the boundary between their districts. Both claimed the Pavillion River, which lay between them. Wrote McLoughlin severely, "Mr. Fisher has descended to use juggling tricks to impose on the ignorant superstitious natives acted

most improperly and unbecomingly, and he will please desist from doing so." Setting boundaries between the two trading spheres, McLoughlin instructed Dease, "The trade must not be injured by sending invitations to the Indians to go to any place but they must be allowed to go where they please, as in the Columbia we give no debts [i.e. extend no credit] it is of no consequence where they trade their furs, provided the Tariff of the different places is strictly adhered to." Dease was directed to reassign Fisher as McLoughlin proposed to do with Black.⁶⁹ In fact, Fisher was not transferred for another six years, while Black remained at Kamloops until his untimely death in 1841.

The problem was recurrent. In 1837, McLoughlin found that the master at Okanagan was providing goods to local Indians to trade with the Kalispel and Coeur d'Alène of neighboring Fort Colville; and once more had to voice his disapproval.⁷⁰

Thus, even within Company operations it was difficult to instill in individualistic traders the strategic perspective of McLoughlin, ready temporarily to lower his own standard of trade at Fort Vancouver in a price war with the American, Dominis, yet insisting that the interior posts maintain their higher prices. He well knew that it was far easier to drop prices than to raise them once more. Samuel Black, for one, saw only the loss of his customers at Nez Percés: the index of his success as a trader lay in the year-end total of peltry taken. Among masters such as Black, when at Thompsons River, and McGillivray and his neighbors at other posts, pride in their personal success led to attempts to woo client Indians from each other.

How important was such a narrowing of perspective? The case can be made that in many instances it may have been nothing more than a testing of associates, the natural outcome of having yoked highly individualistic and competitive men within a single organization. For example, there is the tilting between Black and Ogden over horses, reviewed earlier. Black had the reputation for stinginess—after a visit to the post, Frank Ermatinger wrote that on this occasion his host had "out-blacked Black"⁷¹—and there is a sound basis for Ogden's criticism. The two clashed again over the Cayuse trapping grounds. Black strove to protect them, and it can be argued that he did so because the furs came into his Indian store. Ogden, citing the policy of creating a "fur desert" to discourage American trappers, readily poached on Cayuse lands, an

action which enhanced his own take. Yet these two men were cronies, who as Nor'Westers had served in the "fur wars" against the old Hudson's Bay Company in the Athabasca District. At the time of coalition, his comrades had presented Black with a ring engraved, "To the most worthy of the Northwesters"; and in their later years he and Ogden arranged an annual meeting to pass a few weeks together.⁷²

TWELVE

Trade and Order



In a situation in which Indian leaders possessed no general authority to command others, but had to rely upon persuasion, example, and—for individuals—the inducement of generosity or the infrequent coercion of physical force, the very existence of a trading establishment was sometimes in jeopardy. The fort had need of its defenses and the Company its reputation for decisive action in order to survive.

It took physical action to regulate order within the premises. Particularly when crowds were present, as during the Grand Dances in March and November, individuals were likely to be unruly. "An Indian (Palouche)," wrote McGillivray, "got a drubbing from Martineau, they are past endurance at the Door, and pushing about the men for admission right or wrong. Before the Indian went out, he demanded payment for the beating[.] Quinze Sous offered him Tobacco this he rejected—who asked for ammunition, which was not given—" ¹ Again, as the Indians gathered for fall trading, "An Indian got a drubbing for breaking a Pane Glass wilfully—altho' repeatedly told to keep away from the window, and Set in the Square of the Fort. Another Indian very unceremoniously pushed the Interpreter, in demanding a bit of Tobacco—for his uncivil behaviour he was turned out of the Fort. it is Strange, as Soon as these Indians find themselves numerous, they will always endeavour to impose and intimidate." ² Nor was this all. Local Indians, perhaps to maintain their position as intermediate traders between post and distant tribes, sometimes acted belligerently when their clients came into the fort to trade. In one instance, when a Yakima had traded at the fort, a Wallawalla named The Petit Chasseur ran after him and plundered him of the goods he had received in exchange. Seeing him in the act, the interpreter made him return them to his victim. ³ The Cayuse were particularly anxious that the Shoshoneans not come in to trade at the fort.

On his part, the *bourgeois* exercised his power to exclude from the fort those who had offended him. The Cayuse known to the Company as The Old Berdache, a man who owned a hundred horses, stood accused of having stolen a Company horse. In vain, he protested that his brother had sold the horse to the Company without his approval. As McGillivray wrote, the man had made no demurrer during the two years that the animal had been in Company hands. "There is not a Cayuse," he insisted, "but knew he was a Thief—but they connive at one Another's thefts and hid the truth from us. The Chiefs of the Post," he concluded, "are as great scamp as the greatest Blacklegs at Fort Nez Percés." And he put The Berdache out of the gates, protesting as he went. It was three months before the latter returned in the company of his brother, who sold McGillivray a horse. About ten days later, The Berdache gave him an animal for the one stolen, and thus made amends.⁴

Expanding the Fort's Trading Area

In these ways, the Company maintained a limited sphere of order within and about the fort. This was not enough, however, for the volume of trading operations required the creation of an order that would permit the widest possible contact with peoples desiring to trade. From the first, then, Whites on the Columbia had sought to foster intertribal peace: the recognition of prominent individuals as chiefs went hand in hand with efforts to bring to an end the endemic state of war in the region. Wilkes recounts that Lewis and Clark had "presented an American flag to the Cayuse tribe, calling it a flag of peace; this tribe, in alliance with the Wallawallas, had up to that time been always at war with the Shoshones or Snakes. After it became known among the Snakes that such a flag existed, a party of Cayuse and Wallawallas took the flag and planted it at the Grande Ronde, the old man above spoken of [Alokwat] being the bearer."⁵

While among the Nez Percés, the two captains had explicitly linked peace with the development of trade. On their return trip, they met in a council with the four major chiefs of that people, listed in order of rank: Tunnachemootoolt, "Broken Arm," Neesh-ne-park-ke-ook, "Cut Nose," Yoompahkatim, "Five Grizzly Hearts," and Hahatsilpilp, "Red Grizzly." Lewis and Clark laid a

map before them and "detailed the nature and power of the American nation, its desire to preserve harmony between all its red brethren, and its intention of establishing trading houses for their relief and support." The Broken Arm next day explained to the people the proposals set forth and prepared a pot of mush, from which those assenting were to eat with him, those rejecting the overture abstaining. With unanimous agreement registered in this way, he returned the Nez Perce response in council with Lewis. His people, he said, had earlier sent three emissaries with a pipe on an errand of peace to the Shoshone, but all had been slain. In revenge, the Broken Arm had led forth a large party and had slain forty-two of the foe. Having evened scores, they were now ready for peace; they were also favorable to a peace with the Blackfeet.⁶

Later, when traders were establishing themselves in the region, the themes of trade and intertribal peace continued to be linked. Donald McKenzie, acting successively for the Pacific Fur Company and the Nor'Westers, sought to extend his operations into the Snake Country in the vicinity of the Boise River, while at the same time he endeavored to reconcile the Nez Percés and their neighbors with the Snakes. However, as McKenzie's lieutenant and chronicler, Alexander Ross, pointed out, that peace had a limited objective. In the year that he established Fort Nez Percés, McKenzie concluded a treaty of amity with the neighboring peoples,

one condition of [which] was that we should use our influence to bring the Snakes to agree to the peace, for without that it would be useless to ourselves. The only real object we had in view, or the only result that could in reality be expected by the peace, was, that we might be enabled to go in and come out of the Snake country in safety, sheltered under the influence of its name. Nothing beyond this was ever contemplated on our part. All our maneuvers were governed by the policy of gain. Peace in reality was beyond our power: it was but an empty name.⁷

However, in the minds of many of the Indians who lived near the post, passage for the traders into the Snake Country meant the arming of their enemies. The treaty of amity was not binding upon those who did not concur. A party of Nez Percés opposed to the peace, led by one Red Feather, first threatened McKenzie directly, then fell upon a detachment bringing furs to the fort, killing two men. Others followed McKenzie as he made peace

overtures to the Snakes and killed several of the latter.⁸ They were driven off even as Blackfoot raiders in turn descended upon the Snakes. As the Nez Percés retired homeward, Snake warriors followed them, bent on revenge, and fell upon a party of Wallawallas camped within three miles of the fort, killing several and carrying off others of some prominence. At once, the neighboring Indians of the Nez Percés District descended en masse upon the fort, alleging that the dead had been slain by weapons furnished by the Whites. Among the accusers was a Cayuse, one Gueule Platte, "Wide Mouth," and spokesman for the aggrieved was Tamatappam, whose "sister" was among those abducted. At length, Ross was able to pacify the chief, and he followed up by securing a short-term agreement from leaders of the Nez Percés, Cayuse, and Wallawalla that they would refrain from renewing hostilities at least until McKenzie was safely out of Snake Country.⁹

McKenzie meanwhile was counselling with leaders of the Snakes. According to Ross, the Shoshone leaders asserted that they maintained peaceful relations with the Sahaptins; it was their associates, the Bannock and Northern Paiute, they maintained, who were responsible for stirring up hostilities. As McKenzie prepared to return in the spring of 1820, the same leaders expressed the wish to see the Cayuse ("Shy-to-gas") leaders alone, without the Nez Percés.¹⁰

Ross witnessed a later stage of negotiations in 1824, after the fur trade had passed to the new company of the coalition. While he was in the vicinity of the Boise River at the head of the Snake Country brigade, a party of Cayuses came riding in on a mission of peace. Crowded into the lodge of the Bannock chief, together with the two Cayuse "plenipotentiaries"—unfortunately their names are not given—and some seventeen or so Snake delegates led by chiefs of the Shoshone, Ross participated in a solemn calumet ceremony. "The peace having been occasionally progressing for the last seven years," he reflected, "I now for the first time began to entertain hopes that it might, after all, possibly succeed. The hostile feelings had of late changed, otherwise the Cayouses would never have ventured so far and in such small numbers into the heart of their enemy's country. The Snakes has also, as we have already noticed, been at the Nez Perce camp and returned with a favourable impression."¹¹

Thus, proposals initiated with the idea simply of permitting unrestricted passage for White hunting and trading parties had resulted in at least formal amity between the fort Indians and the Shoshoneans.

The next step came in 1825 during Simpson's reconnaissance of the Columbia Department. At the request of the Indians at Fort Nez Percés, he held council with them; they promised to hunt beaver and to treat the Whites well and furnish them protection on their lands.¹² In May of that year, shortly after his departure, Snakes and Cayuses were once more engaged in what Dease, at Fort Nez Percés, called a "battle" over horses, in consequence of which all communication between the two was broken off.¹³ Dease took the initiative to heal the breach. He wrote in the spring of 1826,

I succeeded last Summer in sending the Kayouiks and a band of Nez Percés to make peace with the Snake Indians, which was effected, and the result of which enabled those I had sent to hunt on the Snake frontiers as they came back in which they were pretty successful, having brought me in nigh Eight hundred Beaver skins in about Six weeks.¹⁴

Simpson well understood the transitory nature of peace treaties between the fort Indians and the Snakes, of which he wrote,

If a reconciliation is effected between those tribes it is by our interference and presents are made by us to both parties indeed their only object in coming to this temporary arrangement is to secure those presents; they then smoke a Pipe of Peace and part with professions of Friendship but their treaties are no sooner ratified than broken as the moment the conference is over and we turn our backs they are ready to pillage each others Women and Horses and cut each others throats.¹⁵

A treaty was likely to be ephemeral because those who had concluded it could only ensure its observance by those of their fellow tribesmen who were induced to comply through personal loyalty or the persuasiveness of their reasoning. Over his kinsmen and friends, those who in Bailey's terms had normative links with him, the peace-maker was likely to gain his way.¹⁶ Over young men his reputation, together with such favors as he might extend them—lending them horses or other gear, occasionally feasting them—was

likely to exercise a somewhat lighter influence. Such a leader, however, was at best *primus inter pares*, and among his fellows there were likely to be rivals who disagreed with the peace itself, were indifferent to the persuasions of the peace-maker, or sought to subvert it to discomfit him. To those who were no friends of the peace might be added tribesmen smarting for the loss of kindred still unavenged, and young men eager for an opportunity to make their mark in war.

In all of this, the Company took pains to avoid plunging into partisanship. When the Cayuse leader, Hiyumtipin, off to avenge horse thefts by Snakes in the vicinity of the Grande Ronde, asked McGillivray for half a dozen trappers as reinforcements, the latter declined "as I am not here to make war," though he explained his decision to the Indian by saying that John Work would soon be back to take the men down to Fort Vancouver.¹⁷

With the Plains providing an alternate arena for the display of war prowess, and the increasing attraction of profits to be gained as intermediaries in the Snake trade, warfare against the Shoshoneans was temporarily laid aside in the great stir which Ogden witnessed in 1826 among the Snakes bound for the council of peace and trade on the Burnt River.

McGillivray was convinced that the furs being brought in by the Cayuse were largely secured, not directly through their own trapping, but by means of the Snake trade. Thus he wrote in his Journal, "Trade 6 Large Beavers with an Indian these Skins are much Soiled, and have no doubt been traded from the Snakes. It is surprising how, few of the Natives kill Beaver which resort to this place—at least 3/4th of the Returns are traded by Indians from the Snakes[.]"¹⁸ Even the Master of the Roan, Hiyumtipin's brother, seems to have tried his hand, for The Berdache's Brother brought beaver traded by him into the fort.¹⁹

With the peace, a Snake slave also took on the role of middleman, being reported as trading four large and six small beaver pelts for powder and ball, which he planned in turn to barter with his tribesmen for more beaver, at a markup of one hundred percent.²⁰

As the trade increased, however, the advantage in arms which the fort Indians had enjoyed over their one-time enemy diminished. When Snakes stole some seventy horses belonging to The Old Berdache's Brother and the Cayuse expressed his determination

to recover at least some of them—which he succeeded in doing—or perish in the attempt, McGillivray

warned him not to go alone, but I am apt to conclude, he will find few to go along with him[.] It is not the interest of the Cayouses to go to extremities with the Snakes. Their trade with them is lucrative and moreover, as the Snakes are furnished with Ammunition and Some Fire Arms from the Nes Percés as well as Cayouses—they have become formidable.²¹

Company Trade and the Native Trading Network

Thus were repeated here on the southern frontier of the Plateau processes which Rich and Ray have shown characterized the fur trade generally. Tribes neighboring the posts became intermediaries to those more distant, and in that role came increasingly to depend upon the latter to furnish the peltry they traded. While the Company sought to make direct contact with those who did the actual hunting, and thus reduce the increment in cost due to intermediaries, the fort tribes resisted these efforts in order to maintain their control on the flow of trade.

That there should have been a convergence between the native trading network and that of the fur companies is not surprising, for in locating their posts the latter had frequently placed them near Indian trading centers. Thus, to mention a few within the Plateau, there were Spokane House, Fort Colville, Fort Okanagan, Fort Thompson, and Fort Nez Percés. When they sought to induce the local Indians to bring in furs, some did so directly, as had the Cayuse originally, while others—some of whom had been intermediate traders in the native network—sought by barter to secure the furs from more distant peoples. In their trading, they drew not only on native goods but upon the trade articles offered by the posts. In the course of time, the fort tribes developed a proprietary attitude toward their post; and they sought, in the interests of preserving their own trading advantages, to prevent their clients from trading there directly.

In the days when the two trading systems coexisted, they were defined, not by a distinction in the persons involved, but conceptually in the source of the goods traded. If these were primarily of native origin, they may be said to lie within the native network. On the other hand, if they came from the Indian store, even

through intermediate traders, they were an extension of the post's trading economy. Often, of course, both native and fur trade commodities were traded together.

The Company sought to instill in the fort Indians an appetite for an ever-expanding inventory of objects. In this they were not wholly successful, for Company goods had to contend for attention with those that flowed in the native network. We may well repeat here Ross's observation on McKenzie's experience in his early trading among the Snakes, and the contrast he makes between the value placed upon trade goods and that of native articles of ritual character: "a beaver skin, worth twenty-five shillings in the English market," he writes, "might have been purchased for a brass finger-ring scarcely worth a farthing; while a dozen of the same rings was refused for a necklace of birds' claws, not worth half a farthing."²³ Much of the "country produce" that was traded at the fort, such as horses and buffalo robes, as well as Company wares secured there, might also be traded at the Dalles. To a lesser extent, some goods of European or American manufacture might reach the fort Indians via the native trading network.

In 1831, although the growing trade between fort Indians and the Snakes had dampened the raiding along their mutual frontier, relations continued precarious. Two of the major leaders of the local Indians—the Cayuse, Tawatoy, and the Wallawalla, Piupiumaksmaks—were reported encamped together with their followers in the company of a strong band of Snakes; and the Wallawallas, at least, were plagued by horse thefts.²⁴ Two years later, an American party under Nathaniel Wyeth, as they moved down the Umatilla valley toward the post, encountered "some poor horses in charge of a squaw and some children[.] the men were all out hunting[.] they had no food but rose berries of which we made our supper[.] they were much frightened at our approach there having been some Indians of this tribe viz Walla Walla killed by the snakes above, and this family was murdered the night after we left them."²⁵

By 1837, Company influence had been consolidated in the Snake Country by the purchase of Fort Hall, established by the American Wyeth on the Portneuf River, and by the establishment of Fort Boise, which McLoughlin had ordered built to oppose it. The Company in this way reached beyond the former Indian middlemen to deal directly with the Snakes. The following year,

James Douglas wrote to Simpson and the Council, proposing “to rouse the slumbering energies of the Natives [of the Snake Country] and to place them, as hunters, in competition with the American Trappers.” Given the opportunity, he was sure they would “prise their natural rights of chace, and resist those who would trespass on their domains.”²⁶ Farnham, of the Peoria party, who came this way in 1839, remarked that in consequence the Cayuse had lost their former trade with the Snake country.²⁷ If so, they had acted as middlemen in the fur trade for no more than a decade and a half. Meanwhile, they continued their earlier role as direct traders in the native network. In 1841, the Wilkes party visiting Fort Nez Percés met the fort Indians just returning from a meeting with the Snakes in the Grande Ronde, where they had exchanged salmon and horses for roots, elk and buffalo meat, and skin lodges.²⁸ Although some of the commodities received might have been welcomed at the fort—they were then being purchased in the Colville District²⁹—it is probable that in the main they were destined for personal consumption and for trading at the Dalles.

THIRTEEN

The Political Events of 1831-32



Seen over the broad reaches of time, the events recorded by Simon McGillivray, Jr., on the pages of his post Journal for Outfit 1831 are of minor consequence; it is by virtue of the quality of reporting that they acquire particular moment. Yet, as Saum has reminded us, we must be wary of reading such records as literal transcriptions of what took place: frequently fur traders took the opportunity to vent upon their pages animosities and prejudices toward the Indians which it would have been impolitic to display directly.¹ Two personal conditions may have colored McGillivray's reporting. He had cause for disappointment when he was refused a furlough and instead was assigned to a post which he had to rebuild even while carrying on trade. In addition, his strictures on the Indians with whom he had to deal may have been tinged by his desire to deny the ethnic bond they shared with him. However, his commendatory remark upon an Indian guide during a successful exploration made two years later has been singled out by Saum for favorable comment.² Perhaps we may conclude that such bias as there is in the Journal is not innate, but rather a reaction to stress.

The daily reports are direct and strikingly candid. A typical entry for the day will record weather conditions, special projects begun, progress of work on rebuilding the fort, trading, and visitors to the post. Since only the clerk's copy of the original has survived, we do not know how much may have been blotted out and begun again; but in all probability what was once written was left to stand. Though the entry for any given day is likely to be prosaic, taken together they provide an account of the unfolding course of the political events of that year.

The younger Wilewmutkin had been the leader of the Company's client chiefs among the Cayuse favored by McLoughlin. For instance, when the chief factor, unable to heed Indian complaints about the high tariff maintained at the fort,

complied with their collateral demand for two calves, he directed that one of these was to go to Wilewmutkin.³

When, therefore, McGillivray learned that Wilewmutkin had died, he was at once aware of the import for the Company. He acceded to

a request by his relatives and tribe, that he should be buried, according to the French Fashion—accordingly a Coffin & Cross was made, and he was interred in our Burial Ground[.] The expences on this occasion was 1 Blanket Plain 3 Points, 1 Com: Cotton Shirt, 1/2 yard Scarlet Cloth & 4 Yards Gartering. This Indian, I am told was a great friend of the Whites & Fort, and restrained the turbulent disposition of his tribe from committing violence and depredations on the Fort. The person now, who succeeds him is the Babine Fendu. His character is too well known, by every trader, who has been here to give any description. Probably he may change for the better. He is an ambitious and headstrong Indian.⁴

Evidence that Hiyumtipin (The Babine Fendu) was less of a friend to Company interests was not difficult to find. In 1825, he had plotted with Jean Toupin, the interpreter at the fort, to seize it while Dease was temporarily absent, a scheme which Simpson, then visiting, had thwarted.⁵ Black, in turn, had had his troubles with him, for McGillivray recounts that Red Cloak's brother-in-law had laid a hand on the trader when he "was fighting Babine Fendu in the store last year."⁶

When the dead leader had been interred, Tawatoy, his brother, fell ill and was bled, a procedure to which the devoted Piupiumaksmaks, his brother-in-law, objected. Wilewmutkin's young son—another, Cayuse Halket, had already been sent east by his father to the mission school at Red River—came in to demand a gift from McGillivray, doubtless as consolation for his bereavement. The trader refused, observing to the pages of the Journal, "I think it is enough expending property on the body of his Father, without paying the living for the dead."⁷ The next day, Five Ravens arrived from the Umatilla River to see his sick brother, shortly followed by Hiyumtipin, bringing with him a shaman to sing over the patient.

Matters soon sharpened. A week later Hiyumtipin charged that Five Ravens and Qematspelu's son-in-law had each fired a shot at Little Doctor, a Nez Perce shaman who had been one of two who

had attended Wilewmutkin in his fatal illness. The second shaman, he added, was then in the Cayuse camp, and thus likely to be killed,⁸ since shamans who had lost a patient were often accused of having practiced sorcery upon him or her. Hiyumtipin promptly took Little Doctor under his protection—cynically, McGillivray speculated that he no doubt extracted a fee in return—and they left together. His intervention can be read as a challenge to the action of the Umatilla River pair.

The affairs of the deceased still hovered over events. On 20 April, McGillivray traded for a *maron* that had belonged to Wilewmutkin; according to custom, the animal had immediately to be killed. The price, two fathoms of tobacco, two yards of beads, and twenty loads of ball and powder, amounting to a value of eight skins, was far in excess of the usual cost of a *maron*, reflective of the dignity of the transaction. Five days later, Tawatoy, now on the mend, visited the fort to present the master with the “beloved Horse” of his late brother, for which he refused payment, although McGillivray was determined to pay him later. At the same time the trader was given another horse of the late chief in payment for property previously received from the Company, and the brothers promised another also due on the same account.

About that same time, McGillivray was registering his irritation at persons connected with Hiyumtipin. There was his nephew, the Wide Mouth’s Son, who had run off with the wife of a Company employee named Fallerdeau, who had entrusted her to Hiyumtipin while he was off on duty with the Company express for York Factory.⁹ There was The Prince, one of Hiyumtipin’s brothers, who, though he brought in beaver to barter, was “a troublesome and pert fellow, begging upon every Beaver which he trades.”¹⁰ The brother-in-law of another of Hiyumtipin’s siblings, Red Cloak, McGillivray recalled, had laid a hand on Sam Black the previous year, when the latter was fighting Hiyumtipin.¹¹

By contrast, the trader was gratified to receive a fine race-horse from Twitekis, Tawatoy’s Nez Perce half-brother.¹² Not that the Wilewmutkin side was blameless; at least, The Berdache, accused of having stolen a trapper’s horse, averred that it was Five Ravens who had kept the animal.¹³

Old Tamatappam, despite his proprietary air toward the establishment, which he had long championed and which stood on Wallawalla soil, appears in the Journal as a complainer, cross-

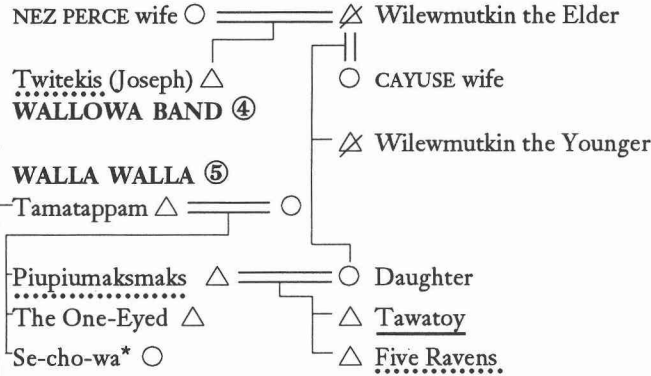
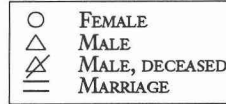
THE CAYUSE FACTIONAL DISPUTE OF 1831-32

Marital Affiliations and Alliances (Principals, Allies)

NEZ PERCE

CAYUSE ① (Umatilla River)

CAYUSE ③ (Walla Walla River)

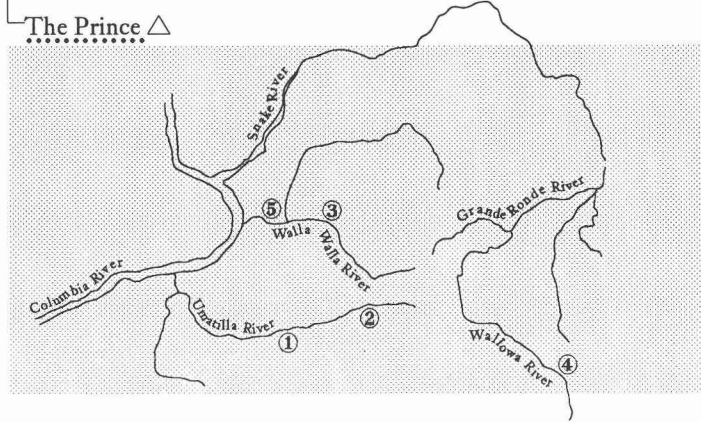
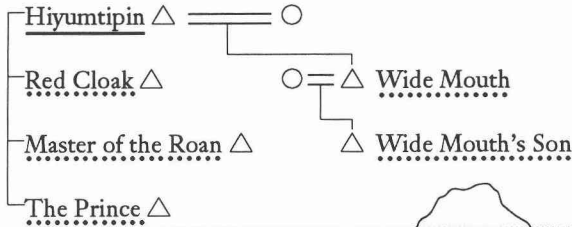


CAYUSE ② (Umatilla River)

△ Qematspelu ("War Chief")

The Quiet One ("Le Tranquil") △

*Birth order not given



grained and stingy. On 15 April, his son, Piupiumaksmaks, traded a horse; a week later it was so swollen that it seemed likely to die. "This family of Tomatapum's," grumbled McGillivray, "never give a Sound Horse, there is always some complaints of his Horses, which they trade—and it is only now & then, they do give us a good Horse—" ¹⁴ At times, the old chief presumed too much on the fort premises and had to be put in his place. William Kittson, temporarily taking over from McGillivray, who had been taken down to Fort Vancouver to be treated for a fever, found the old man and his son with eight other Wallawallas in McGillivray's sitting room and "gave them a set down" for presuming to enter without his permission; moreover, he refused them the pipe except in the Indian hall. ¹⁵

Not all the blame lay on the Indian side. On 13 June, Hiyumtipin's brother-in-law came seeking payment for a *maron* that Martineau had killed for food. McGillivray sent him on to Martineau for payment "and if he does not satisfy him, we will have to give Ammunition on his account."

The two following days increased the contrast. On 14 June, Kittson records the visit of Tawatoy, together with fifteen of his tribesmen, come to trade, who were "admitted in the Big House [Indian hall], where they had to Smoke, and happy to say behaved well." The next day The Prince arrived, together with Red Cloak's brother-in-law, who

brought nothing, unless idle stories of the women. . . . Saying that Mr McGillivray and Mr Black told the women here, that Babine Fendu was too great a scamp to make a Chief of the Nation, and that if he would not take care, the Gentleman in charge of [the] Place, would shoot him. I replied that it was all lies of their own making, and that the Whites were not accustomed to kill, unless attacked. ¹⁶

On the same day, Wide Mouth's Son stole a Company horse, and two employees went in pursuit. He had taken the animal in umbrage at the insulting manner in which Company servants working in the cornfield had spoken of his affair with Mrs. Fallerdeau. The horse was peaceably recovered, but the grievance continued to rankle. ¹⁷

Hiyumtipin and his brothers were far from being devoid of friends. The old Nez Perce chief, The Cut Nose—one of the

four principal leaders recognized by Lewis and Clark—had no sooner arrived at the fort than he was off once more to visit the Master of the Roan, who was ill. The latter presently recovered and put in an appearance at the post.¹⁸

McGillivray soon saw another contrast. He was able in mid-July to persuade the Nez Perce leaders, old Button, Blue Cloak, and Twitekis, to hunt beaver. Hiyumtipin, however, was intent on retaliation upon Snakes in the direction of the Grand Ronde, who had been raiding horses, and sought in vain to secure a contingent of trappers as reinforcement. It is true, however, that Red Cloak's brother-in-law brought in some large beaver pelts to trade.¹⁹

Late in July, Tawatoy brought in a fine white spotted horse. "The Company," wrote McGillivray, "have now no more claims on this family for horses."²⁰ Meanwhile, however, Tamatappam was pettish because, a day or two earlier, the fort had been barred to Indians while the men were having a "frolic," and he had not been admitted until the affair was at an end. When a horse offered for sale by an Indian was rejected because it was lame in the shoulder and hind leg, the old chief, though not involved in the matter, "growled [that] the Horse was so narrowly examined. . . ."²¹

The Indians appeared to take pleasure in retailing unpleasant news. The Master of the Roan reported that an Iroquois who had deserted Work's brigade the previous winter was due in shortly with a party of Americans—the long-dreaded opposition. When McGillivray expressed skepticism, the Indian offered to wager a horse on the truth of his statement.²²

The following day, instead of Americans, in came Hiyumtipin, along with other "nobs of Cayouses" and presented McGillivray with a bay horse. Since Kittson had promised the Indian a rifle for a fine animal, McGillivray looked through his stock—and put him off with an old gun, otherwise unsaleable. Hiyumtipin then begged a small axe, which was given; but his request for a powderhorn in addition was refused. McGillivray took advantage of the presence of the Cayuses to have The Berdache's Brother and Red Cloak geld eleven Company stallions. Although some Cayuse may have used the Nez Perce method of tying off the testicles, the Journal says they "cut" the horses. Since Red Cloak had also gelded a horse belonging to a trapper, McGillivray paid him for this animal as well.²³

Now mollified toward Hiyumtipin, the trader made up a flag out of four yards of his own red bunting and presented it to him. "The Willa Walla's and him do not pull together," he observed, "a Chief like the Late Young One (Willamutki) is wanted, to control all parties."²⁴

Shortly thereafter, Qematspelu and Tawatoy came in and traded beaver. When Qematspelu left to hunt more beaver, McGillivray loaned him four traps. At this time (2 August) he and Hiyumtipin agreed to receive their formal clothing in the fall. Hiyumtipin at first agreed to accompany Qematspelu, but within the hour changed his mind. On their departure, the war chief and his young men received the usual gratuities of ammunition and tobacco.²⁵

As for Hiyumtipin, instead of leaving for the field, he visited Piupiumaksmaks to pour his complaints into his ear. This resulted in an unusual, if transient, alliance. That evening, the two leaders came to the fort to inveigh against Tawatoy—who otherwise was the close associate of the Wallawalla—"for carrying away a flag which formerly belonged to Alicotts and which the late Young Chief had in his possession when he died—" This may well have been the American flag given Alokwat by Lewis and Clark. Apparently, as he retired from an active role, he in turn had presented it to the younger Wilewmutkin, who, it will be recalled, had also earlier received his name. The rival line argued that the banner had been intended as a symbol of office, but had instead been treated as personal property. Undoubtedly, the matter had been raised before, and the trader, in an effort to quiet the issue, had made the bunting banner as a substitute. Anticipating the appearance of an American opposition in the vicinity, he cannot have been too fond of the original flag.

He had also, however, to meet the issue before him, and replied to the two chiefs that they should have broached the matter in the morning when Tawatoy had been present. He went on,

I considered the Flag as belonging to the Late Y^e Chief's family exclusively. To this, he answered that I had asserted which was not, and made a long speech on the occasion. I merely stated [one can see the jaw muscles tighten as he wrote] that I had never told a falsehood to an Indian, nor never stole from them and that whoever had stated, that I had told them falsehoods, were Liars

and Women, the latter expression I repeated three times, upon which I entered my room and he (Babine Fendu) begged for a bit Tobacco which he got and went away.

This I am afraid will not be the conclusion of the business. He is a discontented subject, and jealous of the influence of the War Chief and Y^s Chief's Br among the Cayouses. The two latter have certainly a stronger band of Young men, than Babine Fendu, and will always be more listened to, and have more influence[.] It is here proper to remark that the grand promises of Babine Fendu of going in quest of Beaver all Summer has turned out to nothing—just as I expected.²⁶

The temporary alliance between Hiyumtipin and Piupiumaksmaks was promptly breached by the injudicious act of The Prince, Hiyumtipin's brother, who in a domestic quarrel shot and severely wounded his wife, a Wallawalla. In the resultant uproar between the two tribes, all the men took to their weapons and The Prince made a prudent retreat to the vicinity of the Little Walla Walla River, not emerging for a week.²⁷

Meanwhile, McGillivray treated Tamatappam for constipation, though with no immediate results. Hiyumtipin was endlessly in and out of the fort, talking about going for beaver, and perhaps working to quiet the harm done by The Prince. The day after The Prince returned to public life, Hiyumtipin came early to beg a blanket as a gift. Refused, he departed in a huff. As McGillivray reviewed his record, Hiyumtipin had not brought in a beaver since the previous March and had done nothing all summer. In the spring he had received four large blankets for as many horses; he now claimed he had none left. (By custom, such wealth often was circulated to followers.) Three days later (15 August), he finally left the post.²⁸

On that day, the Journal records a blemish of ambiguous significance: Tawatoy's brother-in-law had stolen a horse. Since this was not Piupiumaksmaks, it must have been the brother of Tawatoy's wife, known to be a member of Hiyumtipin's band.

Shortly there came news of the anticipated American opposition. A body of Nez Perces, together with the "Colville House Indians," were off to join the Americans. They reported "that Blankets, Beads, and Ammtⁿ are procured for a mere song. This," observed McGillivray tartly,

is glorious news. I merely said, the Nez Perces were welcome to go with thier furs where they pleased. This post would be a great gainer by the Non-arrival of [Nez Perces]! they bring precious few furs, and we are at more expence about them than for what they bring. Horses excepted, and this, the Trappers must absolutely have. The Cayouses and Walla Wallah's can never furnish enough.²⁹

Two days later, though the weather was cooler, the trader seemed still at the simmer. A Wallawalla brought a dried salmon to trade and demanded a cotton shirt in payment. McGillivray threw his fish out of the store. "[T]hey have no sense of shame," he wrote indignantly, "for they know our Tariff very well, but will always try to prize their Salmon high."³⁰

While McGillivray was still angry, the mischief of Petitsom, the young *Gardin* horse herd, came to a head in the incident, already described, in which the trader rashly wounded him and later invaded the Indian camp when the youth defied him. With the flight of Petitsom, McGillivray was temporarily relieved of an irritant, and the remainder of the month was uneventful. On 30 August, John Work and his party returned from Fort Vancouver with the news that the intermittent fever had broken out there; McGillivray feared it might spread to his own Indians. When Work departed for the Snake Country, he left behind his Indian slave, a boy alternately referred to as Sasty and Nasty—perhaps a Shasta—some fifteen years of age, who was ill of fever. When he recovered, McGillivray put him to work as a cattle-herd.³¹

Late in September, Talatouche, the Palus chief, sent word that he was camped with thirty followers a short distance from the fort, and that he had come to settle the misdeed of one of his people, who the previous year had shot and eaten a Company horse and a *maron*. The thief acknowledged having slain the horse, which he wished to replace with a *maron*; but he denied killing the other animal. McGillivray returned answer that he demanded a horse for a horse; an unbroken animal was unacceptable. Since the man had none, Talatouche sent off for one of his own beasts to make good the loss. Only then did McGillivray invite the Palus party into the fort, excluding the thief until restitution had been completed. Old Talatouche and his son, wrote the trader, had always been good Indians, bringing in strayed Company horses. They never connived at thefts.³²

Nonetheless, the next day in the fort,

old Talatouche made a long speech about the Horse, which was brought into the Yard this morning, and expected to be paid for it—I merely said, I did not ask him for the Horse, but expected one through the hands of the actual thief, and that I gave him full liberty to take away the Horse from the Yard, but in the mean time, the Horse thief would Not escape punishment. He answered that as the Horse was in the Yard, he would not take him away. On his departure I presented him with 30 Balls & Powder 1 Yard Tobacco, 1 Large Knife, and 1/2 Yard Red Strouds, at which he was pleased.

Trading then followed, at the end of which Talatouche presented the Master with ten salmon for the *maron* that had been killed. This McGillivray refused to accept, “as I had said in the Hall, I would forget and forgive. The Salmon remained in the Store. So I am glad to find the Horse business is Settled very Satisfactory.”³³

As McGillivray had feared, the Snake Country brigade had brought the fever upriver with them. By October it had afflicted some of the fort families and at least one Indian, whom the master treated. Soon thereafter, he was stricken himself and instructed the *Gardins* to move farther from the fort. When the Cayuse and Tamatappam’s Wallawallas came in, they too were warned away. Despite the danger, two Umatillas and The Berdache’s Brother came in to enquire as to the trader’s health. Presently, he was on his feet once more.³⁴

As the time of the clothing of the chiefs approached, the internecine Cayuse rivalry flared up once more, as Wilewmutkin’s young son paid McGillivray a visit “and inveighed most bitterly & in no unmeasured terms against the Babine Fendu, the latter must have done some thing to provoke him. There are great petty jealousies existing among Chiefs & demi Chiefs. there is no end to it. Young Chief’s Son offered me a Horse for a Gun, informed him that I sold Guns for Beaver only.”³⁵

Meanwhile, the Indians were seeking to assign responsibility for the intermittent fever, which to them must have smacked of sorcery. Piupiumaksmaks and Hiyumtipin questioned McGillivray concerning it, and asserted that the Americans must have given it to them when they were in the Willamette Valley in 1830. Company servants, including the interpreter, had assured them that this was so. McGillivray held that the men had been misguided in

lending their voice to the accusation, for, should the disease spread, in the end Whites of whatever nationality or affiliation would equally be blamed. He had learned that the fever had moved upriver to the Deschutes and was touching the bands on the John Day. Hiyumtipin came in to announce that, for fear of the fever, he would hold his Grand Dance alone in the mountains, and would come in later with his furs.³⁶

McGillivray's "close"—i.e., parsimonious—trading was not popular with the Indians. A band of Nez Percés under Red Grizzly and Blue Cloak had come in with pelts to barter, and after the transactions were at an end claimed that the master charged them more for goods than he did others. "It is false," he rejoined. "The tariff is the same for them as other Indians which resort here."³⁷

Carping seemed unending. When, two days later, some Cayuses came to remove their property from two apartments in the fort where they had been permitted to store it, Hiyumtipin was quoted to McGillivray as maintaining that the trader had ordered them to take it away; this the latter was at pains both to record and to brand as a lie.³⁸

McGillivray eagerly grasped at the first evidence of a defection from Hiyumtipin's following. That evening, he wrote, the brother-in-law of Red Cloak came to his room "and said his Chief was quite beside himself, and if he acted as he did, he would not be listened to as a Chief. The fact is," the trader continued, "the Babine Fendu, through his arrogance personally, will always detain a few young men. The Late Young Chief's 1st Br [Tawatoy] will be the head man, and the War Chief [Qematspelu] will support him altho much in the hulks at present."³⁹

Soon, however, there was a flare-up with Tamatappam. The old man came in to complain that McGillivray spoke more with others than with him.

I told him, this was false. that there was jealousies existing between the Cayouses & his tribe, of which I was not aware of, and that it was not right, and that they ought to agree among themselves, without coming to me every day to make their complaints of one another. The Babine Fendu has Seceded from his tribe & others, and, altho the young men do not approve of his conduct yet they Support him. The Young Chief & War Chief are the predominant men, and this gives rise to jealousies.⁴⁰

Hard on the heels of the old chief came his brother, Le Tranquil, to beg the gift of a shirt and leggings, alleging that he had traded all his property at the Deschutes for salmon. When his plea was denied, he repeated it, and McGillivray instructed the interpreter to make clear to him that if he did not know how to behave himself in the sitting room he would not be allowed to come there. To the Journal he added the observation that the man had a fine band of horses but traded none. Three days later, when Tamatappam's second son, The One-Eyed, traded a mare for twenty-one skins, the master pronounced it "a moderate Cheap Bargain for this Stingy family. This is the Second Horse traded from them Since last March, and they have about an hundred Horses."⁴¹

Already by the end of October, preparations were under way for the Grand Feast and Dance. On the last day of that month, the *Gardin* headman, The Little One-Eyed, had gone up to the mouth of the Snake to collect the Indians to attend it; shortly thereafter, the chief of the John Day River band arrived for the occasion.⁴²

The annual clothing of chiefs, timed to coincide with the Grand Feast and Dance, marked the major trading of the year and was an inducement for the chiefs to bring in their people and furs. The clothing presented varied. The Fort Colville requisition for 1828 lists three each laced blue capots and red capots for chiefs.⁴³ Pierre Pambrun, McGillivray's successor, according to his son gave each chief a beaver hat covered with fox tails and cock feathers and bound about with tassels of gold and silver, such as was worn by *voyageurs*, together with a blanket, leggings, tobacco, and ammunition, among other items.⁴⁴ The missionary, Henry H. Spalding, estimated that the gifts of clothing, including coats, shirts, blankets, ammunition, knives, and tobacco, amounted in value to some thirty-five dollars.⁴⁵

For McGillivray, the conduct of this affair reversed the proper order of events. "A bad custom prevails," he wrote, "in our way of Trade of giving out Cloathings & other Gratuities, before Trade begins, for it ofttimes [is] ill bestowed. It is only after they have had all from us, that they commence trading—and some gives nothing, altho' receiving presents."⁴⁶

As the Indians gathered and in their numbers grew bolder and more unruly, gossip, that powerful instrument of correction in

native society, was focussed upon the conduct of the trader. When the daughter of a Wallawalla, Little Hunter, died, the father came to request that McGillivray give him something—doubtless a length of cloth—to cover the body. When the trader refused, old Tamatappam spoke to others in the Indian hall “in an indirect manner,” saying that Ross, Dease, and Black, earlier masters, had always given something for the dead. Informed of this remark by Baptiste Dorion, McGillivray

gave the old man a Severe lecture, and begged him to mention, if he had ever given me the tail of a Salmon or Beaver or a Horse Since my arrival here last February, and that he & his family had been Smoking Tobacco all that period, without paying for it. He remained Silent and went away[.] About an hour after this, His Eldest Son (Serpent Jaune [i.e., Piupiumaksmaks]) presented me with a fine Horse, and the old man came and traded 9 Large & 5 Small Beavers.⁴⁷

The next day, McGillivray formally clothed Qematspelu, Tawatoy, and Piupiumaksmaks, giving the sundries due a demi-chief to Twitekis, the Hat, and the chief of the John Day band. When they had been clad in the square and had marched out of the fort, two cannon were fired in salute. Two days later, Hiyumtipin came in, and when he and others had been clothed, trading went on. During this time, Qematspelu presented McGillivray with a horse, apparently in reciprocation for the clothes received, for there are indications that this was expected of all recipients.⁴⁸

Shortly after the ceremony, the Indians held their Grand Feast—perhaps a thanksgiving feast following the fall hunt—which was followed for the next three days by the Grand Dance, some three hundred men reportedly being gathered. Here McGillivray candidly set down the expression of Indian disesteem for him. “It was always customary,” he wrote, “to invite the Person, in charge to attend the last day of the dance. They did not honour me with a call.”⁴⁹

As the Indians began breaking camp, he had time to assess Twitekis. “This Young demi-chief,” he observed, “has exerted himself these two years past in hunting Beaver—and has succeeded—and keeps his party of young men (30) in good order—and no ways troubles me himself.”⁵⁰ Twitekis and Five Ravens each presented him with a horse.

Hiyumtipin's band remained on the grounds to trade. The paramount chief, another Indian, and Red Cloak each presented McGillivray with a fine horse, but Red Cloak demurred at the bundle of goods assigned him, though it was the same for each, and walked away without a word. The trader accordingly returned the horse. In his journal he noted for rebuttal the Cayuse complaint that he did not pay enough for horses. "[A]ll this is mere fuss," he wrote, "for the Books will prove they are well Paid." The following day Red Cloak sent back his horse. Thereafter, the Cayuse raised camp and Tamatappam traded another horse.⁵¹

With almost all but the Home Guard gone, December was a quiet month, largely given over to continuing repairs on the buildings. Midway through the month, the Nez Percés, Charlie and Towishwa, arrived to present horses and be clothed, while Looking Glass sent along a horse via the Wallawalla, The Little Hunter. Towishwa, who usually traded at Fort Colville, should have been clothed there, but upon promising to transfer his trade to Fort Nez Percés, received his clothing. This, wrote McGillivray with satisfaction, made the seventh chief at this post who had received full clothing, along with eighteen demi-chiefs. Soon thereafter, Hiyumtipin, The Prince, and others came to visit, bringing a little fresh venison as a gift.⁵²

A short time later (20 December), McGillivray noted the peace-keeping activities of Qematspelu. Young Petitsom, along with four other youths, had gone off on a horse-raid against the river Sahaptins who, though sometimes seen as overawed by the Cayuse and Nez Percés, were linked to them by speech and social ties. Armed with bows and arrows the five youths were determined, so reports had it, to kill any who resisted them. Halfway to the Deschutes they stole six fine horses from an Indian known as Sapokass's Son. As they were returning, they were intercepted by the war chief, who took away all the animals except a mare which Sapokass's Son himself had stolen. He allowed the youths to take her along to restore her to her owner; the other animals he brought downriver to restore to Sapokass's Son, whom he soon met in pursuit of the thieves.⁵³

The remainder of the month was spent in routine activities, broken by occasional visits—first the old Palus, Talatouche, then some Umatillas—for tobacco and the news. The Home Guard headman, The Little One-Eyed, brought in a gift of venison.

Toward the end of the month, a Chinook wind came up and melted the snow. When McGillivray dispatched a party of men with the interpreter to bring cattle up from Fort Vancouver to augment the small herd, he was left with only three men—two of them Iroquois *métis*—and two boys to staff the post.⁵⁴

McGillivray ushered in the New Year with the discharge of three cannon. As the *Gardins* mustered at the fort gate, McGillivray presented their headmen, Patqui and The Little One-Eyed, with the *regale* already described in Chapter Eight, which they in turn divided among their followers at the gate.⁵⁵

Visitors continued to be desultory. The Berdache's Brother came to have his rifle repaired; Paluses arrived with a few wolfskins to trade, and Umatillas with fresh trout. Two of Hiyumtipin's brothers came in, one from the Blue Mountains and the other from the Umatilla River, the latter to replenish his tobacco.⁵⁶

In the midst of this deceptive lull came the event that was to precipitate a crisis at the fort and in the end unseat McGillivray. On January 10th, an Indian came in with dispatches from New Caledonia. McGillivray, instead of drawing upon the Company herd, some sixteen miles off, asked several Indians to lend him a horse to forward the dispatches. All made the excuse that their horses were too far off. While he was pressing his request, Wide Mouth's Son came riding up; and McGillivray asked him to carry the dispatches as far as the Dalles. Indian messengers were routinely employed in this manner and were paid for their services. However, this nephew of the Cayuse paramount chief was above that; besides, he had had enough friction with the servants to reject the request out of hand. He also laughed in McGillivray's face and, there being a good number of Indians present, he became insolent when the trader unwisely persisted. "I merely said," wrote the latter, "that when I spoke to him I did not laugh, and that I found his conduct very strange upon which I ordered him out of the Fort—and not being ready—I gently pushed him out. I again spoke to him outside of the Fort, and told him, that I spoke civilly, and did not expect rude behaviour on his part. and that if he had any thing to say—he might speak out. He was silent."⁵⁷ Surely, McGillivray is tendentious in recording the scene, and the adverbs "gently" and "civilly" reflect a control that on reflection he may wish he had exercised. Nonetheless, he had done no more in this instance than Black had had to do before him, and some-

what less than Barnston had done when dealing with the horse-thief. The consequences were graver because Wide Mouth's Son, though silent, was far from subdued.

He was a man of uncertain temper. His father had once ordered Ross to come out of the fort to deal with a crowd of Indians aroused by a Snake raid for which they blamed the Nor'Westers; and McGillivray still found him an unreasonable man in trading.⁵⁸ The son had a record of violence. Some years earlier, in the course of a domestic quarrel, he had ripped open the belly of his wife, killing her, then attempted suicide. In Black's time he had stolen a horse, and the previous summer had threatened to kill the wife of one of the Snake brigade trappers.⁵⁹

Now, enraged by his treatment, Wide Mouth's Son returned to his lodge, painted his face and horse, and rode two or three times about the lodge, announcing his determination to kill the Company cattle in revenge for that affront, for having been called an old woman, and for being treated like a dog for having run off with Fallerdeau's wife the previous spring.

Meanwhile, the cattle-herd, young Sasty, left the house to collect the cattle—two cows and a bull—and, spotting Petitsom working at the fish weir on the Walla Walla River, invited him to come along. They were driving the beasts ahead of them when Wide Mouth's Son rode up and began shooting the cattle. When he was done, he rode back to camp to proclaim his deed, then rode back again. Another Indian, the Son of The Old Babblar, suspecting his intention, rode after him to prevent further mischief. Wide Mouth's Son rode up to Sasty, who was gazing at the fallen cattle. "Why, did you Kill the Cattle? Are you a Manitou[?]" the youth is quoted as saying; whereupon the ruffian rode upon him and—deaf to the entreaties of Petitsom—fired almost point-blank, killing Sasty instantly. The killer would not touch the body himself: instead, he offered Petitsom a horse if he would throw it into the river. Petitsom would not, but laid it beside the road.⁶⁰

Late that afternoon, McGillivray began to hear rumors of the event, and went out to wait for the cattle to appear. When it grew dark, he sent out a man to search for them. About eight in the evening, an Indian brought the news. The trader sent out men to the spot and waited for their report. They soon returned, having found Sasty's body about half a mile away.⁶¹ The next morning, after dispatching an account to McLoughlin, McGillivray sent off

two men, who located the cattle. Two of the animals had been wounded, but would recover. The third, a cow that had been presented to Wilewmutkin and now belonged to Tawatoy, appeared mortally injured.⁶²

Only two days after the event did the details of the slaying, recounted above, begin to come to light, as the *Gardin* headman, The Little One-Eyed, came in to give McGillivray a circumstantial account, probably gained from the murderer, who was then in the *Gardin* camp with his father.⁶³

The remains of Sasty were buried down by the Columbia, behind the boatshed. McGillivray read the funeral service over him, and the flag was set at half-mast; a Company servant had been slain by an Indian. McGillivray was already casting about for the proper action to take. Doubtless those "savage ideas" which his father had found in him surged in his mind. Retaliatory measures, he wrote, were out of the question for he had at hand but three men, only one of whom could be depended upon. To take action himself was also impossible, for on him depended the lives of the men and property, to say nothing—the eternal trader!—of furs worth £1,200.⁶⁴

Few Indians entered the fort that day. In the evening came Hiyumtipin, seeking news which, he said, the messenger had brought from Fort Vancouver, but which the trader must be withholding from the Indians. McGillivray had no answer to this. Aside, the Cayuse was heard to say to others, "Why is the Chief So silent or vexed about the death of Sasty.—He was but a Slave." He did not say a word about the cattle. As he went off to his lodge, the trader asked him to drop by the horse guard to summon Baptiste Dorion to the house, where he was needed as interpreter in the absence of Charpentier. Hiyumtipin refused, saying that it was too far out of his way—understandable, in view of the distance to Pine Creek, but also a token of the distance he meant to maintain in this affair. Since Dorion was unaware of what had occurred, and Wide Mouth's Son was still free "and threatens to shoot us, whilst attending our avocations," McGillivray sent the two Iroquois, well armed and with a spare gun for Dorion, to make their way afoot in the dark of night and bring him back with them.⁶⁵

It was uncertain whether some of the Indians had now combined with Wide Mouth's Son against the trader. Formerly they

had been willing enough to lend McGillivray horses, but now he could not secure one. He sent Patqui, one of the Home Guard headmen, to request a horse from Martineau's father-in-law—a man whom McGillivray had once cured—only to have him decline, observing that “he was fond of his Horses.” Evidently, even this *Gardin* was now standing in wary neutrality.⁶⁶

The next morning, young Dorion and the Iroquois (in the parlance of the times) “cast up” on horseback, accompanied by an Indian from the horse-guard, with a tale to tell. While still about six miles from the fort, they had met the Wide Mouth's Son, who thereafter kept abreast of them about a gunshot distant, now and then galloping ahead over small hillocks. McGillivray had no doubt that it was only their strength in numbers that prevented an attack. He heard that The Little One-Eyed had twice ordered the Indian out of the *Gardin* camp, but he would not budge.⁶⁷

Now that young Dorion was at hand, McGillivray set to questioning The Little One-Eyed about the slaying. His first account had come through Catherine, a Wallawalla woman under the trader's protection, who could translate only into imperfect French. McGillivray had been reluctant to pursue the questioning through the boy, Martial La Valle, who was only twelve years old and timorous. The fuller details which he now received have already been incorporated above. Needing his men at the fort to strengthen his hand, McGillivray entrusted the herd of Company horses, fifty-eight in number, to three Home Guard Indians. He fretted that others, seeing the men at the fort “so passive after what has occurred,” were likely to take it into their heads to steal some of the animals.⁶⁸

By Sunday, five days after the slaying, the men had begun to relax from the fear of an imminent attack. McGillivray had instructed them not to open hostilities but to defend themselves if attacked. By this time he had considered, and ruled out, a night sortie upon the murderer in the Wallawalla camp, since innocent persons might come to harm. A daytime attack would lack surprise, and the miscreant might well take flight; or he might find defenders, for certainly his father, at least, would fight. Meanwhile, routine measures had been continued; a Wallawalla had been hired to herd the wounded cattle.

When the Indians assembled for their customary Sunday dance near the fort, McGillivray decided to take steps to defuse the

tension. Going forth with Dorion as interpreter, he asked the dancers,

Why did not the murderer come & dance as he generally did? Why is he afraid? I wish him no harm, and to tell him so—as well as his relations—that if he had acted as a man, he would have informed me of what he intended to do, instead of acting as he did. That we were not Soldiers to be fighting with Indians, but Traders, and that I did not like to see the Grass covered with blood. —that it was bad to Kill useful Animals as well as people for nothing. —They said it was true, and I walked out of the ring—⁶⁹

There had been no other way, McGillivray confided to his Journal, to calm the Indians, who were uncertain as to what action the Company might take. The post was vital to the Columbia Department. He had not the men to begin a war of extermination, and there was no local Indian daring enough to assassinate the murderer for hire.⁷⁰ Lacking the means for reprisal, McGillivray had adopted the perspective of the embattled trader, perennially on the brink of danger, prudently assessing the situation in terms of the larger interests of the Company.

The next few days were given to routine tasks about the fort. Indians now began coming in to trade once more, perhaps because the weather was milder than usual. Two days after McGillivray's speech to the dancers, Red Cloak's brother-in-law—the same man who had earlier criticized Hiyumtipin—came up to see the cattle and pronounced himself as “very angry” about their having been shot; but he said not a word about Sasty. “A Slave and a Dog is synonymous with the Indians in these parts,” wrote the trader.⁷¹

If it seems strange that those who had previously been powerful friends of the establishment had not yet spoken out, it was because they were distant from the fort and had their own concerns. Two lads from Tawatoy's band came in to report that, together with Tamatappam and his son, they had been encamped with a strong party of Snakes; and Tamatappam's family had had seven horses stolen from them by the Snakes.⁷²

Two days later, ten full days after the shooting, Wide Mouth's Son sent word direct to McGillivray. He was glad, he said, that the cattle were not dead; he had been angry at having been turned out of the fort like a dog. He promised to do no further violence

and was prepared to pay a fine horse or mare, as McGillivray pleased, in order to make amends. The compounding of murder—or indeed of other damages—by payment was, as McGillivray observed, a customary Indian practice (and one which the Company had encouraged); but Wide Mouth's Son, like the others, had said nothing directly about Sasty.⁷³

Inexplicably, the trader refused either to accept the offer or to extend a counter-proposal. Stiffly, he replied, "That I wanted nothing for the blood which had been shed—that the White people never accepted anything for the death of their relatives or friends[.] The Fort was ours, and we would turn out those, that did not comport themselves properly. That formerly—(and not long ago) no Indians were admitted into the Fort, which avoided many quarrels—And that he might Keep his Horse—" To justify his action, the trader reviewed the character of the murderer.⁷⁴ Yet he had thrust the matter once more into limbo.

In the pages of his Journal, McGillivray reviewed alternative plans for ensuring the peace. The Indians about the fort behaved well, save for a few rogues like Wide Mouth's Son. There would be little difficulty with them were it not for the horse trade, for the animals were the source of all quarrels. Nothing would more swiftly bring the natives to their senses than to close the post for three years, and so deprive them of goods; but that solution was out of the question, since the fort was needed to ensure the safety of the brigades and provide them with the horses upon which they were dependent. If the post must be maintained, then, it must be strengthened: the complement ought never to be less than two gentlemen and twelve efficient men, six to staff the post and another six for support services, to pursue horse thieves, and for other duties. They could be supported by corn grown at Colville which, with its ample fields, had been intended to provide supplies for other posts in need.⁷⁵

One can almost see the economizing eye of Simpson—or that of McLoughlin—running over that solution. McGillivray, they would have said, was hardly being practical: so heavy a complement could never pay for itself.

Hiyumptin came in the following Monday to gather the latest news, and also to beg for such articles as he could get, and McGillivray emptied his bile upon him. The Cayuse, he declared, had come to the fort far too often, bringing with him nothing for

trade and merely draining Company goods. From March 1831 to that date he had traded only sixteen large and two small beaver and one horse. His demands were unreasonable; and to refuse him anything was to precipitate a quarrel. The chief withdrew; and when he left the vicinity three days later he still maintained silence on the shooting of the cattle and the murder of Sasty.⁷⁶

When news came in that Charpentier was on his way from Fort Vancouver with the livestock—three heifers, a calf, and six goats—for which he had been sent, McGillivray bitterly wished them back at Vancouver. It was evident, he wrote, that the natives were not sufficiently civilized to care for cattle; he proposed instead to send them on to Okanagan, if Peter Dease wanted them there; if not, he could send them instead to Colville. When Charpentier came in, he brought a routine letter from McLoughlin, adding that he had been hospitably received by the Indians along the communication. Despite the reassuring news and the relief of having his men back, McGillivray decided to forestall a further attack upon his own cattle—by now surely an unlikely prospect—by sending them and the goats back down to Fort Vancouver, keeping only Tawatoy's cow and the bull, which he planned to present to Piupiumaksmaks.⁷⁷ Meanwhile, he sent off several Indians to convey a cow and a heifer upriver to Dease at Okanagan. At the very time when he was still fearful of further violence, he was thus sending off men to transport cattle in midwinter. To be sure, he drew off only two men and resorted otherwise to *Gardins* and other Indians, but it nonetheless seems an injudicious move.

On Sunday, four Indians from Priest Rapids visiting the dance left their belongings in the camp presided over by The Little One-Eyed. On their return, they found that Wide Mouth's Son had stolen their guns. It was further defiance of the *Gardin* headman.⁷⁸

At long last, three weeks after the slaying, came McLoughlin's long-awaited reply, acknowledging

your letter . . . conveying the melancholy intelligence of the murder of Sasty. . . . in reply to your request for advice and assistance . . . it is out of our power to afford the latter and you will please also recollect that if the Tribe protect him or that he chooses to fly to a distance in either case, it will be out of our power to get him.

In the mean time, I conceive it would be our best policy to give out to the Natives that we as must be evident to them have done

all in our power to gratify their desire of getting Cattle, and leave them to judge how we must feel to see that depriving ourselves of the Cattle in our desire to do them good, has led to the murder of one of our people, and the disappointment of our good wishes towards them.

That all the Chiefs among the traders are applying for Cattle to take to their Indians, that Messrs Dease, Ogden, and Black have applied for those now sent them, but that in consequence of the repeated applications you and your predecessor had made for them and the great care you had represented they all took of them, we refused the others and sent them to Walla Walla. But you know well what to say and I merely state this, that we may not appear to contradict each other in case any speak to us on the subject.

In regard to your intention of sending the Cattle to Okinagan I beg leave to suggest (leaving it however to your decision) if it would not be better to see how the others would act, than to adopt any measure which would seem to punish the innocent for the sake of the guilty.⁷⁹

The cattle, however, had already been sent off. Observed McGillivray glumly of the letter, "Apprehensions are entertained that should we punish the Murderer—it may affect our Communication. I am apprehensive that our passiveness will be misconstrued, by the Natives, & that it may occasion more bloodshed—they will certainly take a footing on it—which may bring on serious consequences." He had himself shut the door on blood-compensation; and McLoughlin was not prepared to intervene. McGillivray sent off another letter to Fort Vancouver.⁸⁰

A few days later, the Little One-Eyed gave umbrage by coming in to retail a story that had passed along the line of Indian messengers bringing mail from Fort Vancouver. The gossip was to the effect that McLoughlin had beaten Charpentier for selling blankets below tariff and that he had privately imparted news to a Wallawalla, The Little Hunter, of which the interpreter knew nothing. McGillivray's irritated response was that "such stories pleased the Willa Wallas, and that they should listen to those liars, instead of coming to me, to confirm them. That as they were always looking out for News, they ought to Send people to Vancouver & Colville every fortnight and it might better their situations."⁸¹

As matters returned gradually to normal, Martineau's father-in-law, once more ill, came to the fort for medicines. When McGillivray taxed him with ingratitude in refusing the loan of a horse just after the shooting, he denied that Patqui, the Home Guard headman, had ever conveyed the request to him. McGillivray was inclined to believe him.⁸²

On 9 February, Towishwa came in with other Nez Perces, bringing in two Company horses and one of the trader's that had been lost. McGillivray judged them honest fellows and deserving of remuneration. They traded horses and peltries, and Towishwa presented a horse, asking for a gun in payment, but was content instead with an assortment of lesser goods.⁸³

On the same day, the Indians charged with taking the cattle to Okanagan returned. Caught by heavy snows, they had had to retrace their steps to Priest Rapids, where they had left the cow and heifer in charge of the old "priest." That Indian had erected a stable for them and promised to take them to Okanagan when the snow had sufficiently melted. McGillivray blamed Charpentier, who had wintered many years in the region, for not having anticipated the likelihood of snow.⁸⁴

Finally, after five weeks, there came a break in the impasse on the shooting. On 17 February, Hiyumtipin came in and

Made a long speech for the first time about the shooting of the Cattle—but not a word about the defunct. The object of his visit is to have a parley with the Murderer, and to consult his Brother (Capot Rouge [Red Cloak]) & War Chief [Qematspelu] who are now at Utalla River, whether this wanton act of aggression shall be allowed to pass unpunished. I can hardly think him serious as the Murderer is his Nephew—He and family—as well as his small band rather dread the resentment of the Young Chief [Tawatoy], Willa-Walla Chief [Piupiumaksmaks] and Charlie (N P Chief) which has made him speak out for the first time. The absence of the Cattle gives him pain. I told him—it was not words I wanted but deeds—

When Hiyumtipin departed, McGillivray was careful to send on a little tobacco for Qematspelu and Red Cloak.⁸⁵

Five days later, Dorion came in bearing a letter from McLoughlin. It had taken him nine days to travel upriver from Fort Vancouver. Indians were still dying on the Deschutes and

on John Day River, undoubtedly, wrote the trader, from the intermittent fever, which despite the doctor's ministrations still also plagued Fort Vancouver. The cattle sent down with Dorion had arrived safely.

McLoughlin's letter was brief and largely uncommunicative. He regretted that the cattle had not rather been sent on to Okanagan and urged "that we . . . be Extremely cautious in our proceedings as you will Know that any trouble at Walla Walla will interfere with the Whole Interior of the Department." He added that if the bull had not yet been given to Piupiumaksmaks it should be sent on to Okanagan.⁸⁶

On the first of March, The Berdache's Brother came in on a visit. He spoke ill of Huyumtipin, which did not surprise McGillivray, for as he wrote, "few or any one has a good word to say of him [.]". However, with the arrival of a Nez Perce party including Charlie, Looking Glass, Button, and The Cut Nose's Brother, with about sixty followers, who had come to trade horses, there took place a denouement, an expression of public sentiment, that was unmistakable.

That Sunday, the Nez Perces and Wallawallas were conducting their Sunday dance at the Little River. Wide Mouth's Son entered the circle, whereupon a young Nez Perce, a relative of The Little One-Eyed, the headman whom the recreant had defied, dragged him out, exclaiming that no murderer should enter the ring. The two scuffled, and Wide Mouth's Son received some hard blows. After a time, he sprang once more on the Nez Perce, again receiving a beating, and eventually withdrew to his lodge. The following day the Wallawallas moved their camp to join the Nez Perces.⁸⁷

Hiyumtipin, who arrived the next day with other Cayuses bent on trading, had the last word, though again indirectly. As he raised camp "he told the Nez Perces in their language, that at present they were obliged to trade Tobacco for their devotional places every Sunday, and that I was a bad Chief, and that M[r] Black was a good one, and that it was after a great Struggle with himself, that he could be brought to ask me for any thing." Having recorded the charge, McGillivray presented the other side. Hiyumtipin and some of his band had been wintering about a day's march from the fort and had frequently importuned him for tobacco and

other goods. Over a two-year period, the annual expenditure in tobacco had doubled from six rolls of twist and a bale and half of leaf, without a corresponding increase in trade.⁸⁸

Four days later, McGillivray presented The Cut Nose's Brother with a cotton shirt and a handkerchief, the sundries of a demi-chief. Generally, the Nez Perce was clothed, but this season he was being denied that privilege because, while off hunting buffalo, his young men had traded beaver to the Americans. When he brought his furs to the fort to trade, he was told, he would be clothed like other "Chiefs of the place."⁸⁹

The next day a letter from McLoughlin arrived, written in response to one—perhaps no longer in existence—which McGillivray had penned on the first of the month. At that time, the embattled trader had just received the first missive from his superior offering only advice, but no material assistance; and he had been discontented. In his present communication, the chief factor quoted and commented on the concluding paragraph of McGillivray's letter, in which he had suggested that "it might probably be of benefit to the Company were I removed from this place and another to assume the charge before the Indians will have come out from inland which will be about the commencement of next month.['] I beg to remark," wrote McLoughlin,

that to remove you at present would make the natives consider that your conduct is disapproved and make them more troublesome to your successor and we must therefore defer removing you to a future date. However you ought I think to give out that you will not remain, to make them anxious to please your successor as they will be affraid if they offend him also, that they will get a bad character among the White Chiefs and none will be willing to remain on their lands. As you well know that Indians however they may be are most anxious of consideration.

You know also that altho' the killing of Sasty is murder yet with these Indians it is considered no greater offence than killing a horse; and perhaps not so bad as the shooting the Cow. God forbid that I should mean to justify Murder, but in dealing with Indians we ought to make allowance for their manner of thinking and If I was addressed on the subject by any of them I would say the Almighty has forbid the shedding of innocent blood, and commanded that he who shed man's blood by man shall his blood be shed. and in obedience to this command, if a Chief

among us was to Kill a slave that Chief would be killed. But as you have not the means of putting this command in execution you will leave it to the Almighty who will punish the Murderer either in this world or the world to come. But you know well what to say and I only mention this to explain you my view of the case[.]⁹⁰

As the cycle of the fiscal year, Outfit 1831, drew to a close, there came news that Tawatoy was at John Day River en route for home. Others were arriving for the Grand Feast and Dance: the Nez Percés, Twitekis, The Hat, Towishwa, and Blue Cloak were already encamped on the grounds. Patqui, the *Gardin* headman, brought intelligence that the intermittent fever had now ascended the Columbia to a place just below the mouth of the Umatilla. And here the Journal closes its window upon an eventful year.⁹¹

That year had seen the death of a paramount chief, the succession to that position of a man who had long opposed the interests of the establishment, and his steady loss of influence to the junior brother of the deceased, a person with strong intertribal alliances and local supporters. As these two contested for superiority, control of followers hostile to the fort was weak, and an unpopular trader laid himself open to an act of violence. The reluctance of Hiyumtipin to curb his nephew, who had gone on to challenge a *Gardin* headman, eroded his own moral authority and was decisive in throwing popular opinion, and de facto paramountcy, to Tawatoy.

McGillivray, as well as Hiyumtipin, found his office pass from him. On 12 March, McLoughlin wrote him that, while gratified to learn that matters had become quiet once more, the prospect that "the late melancholy occurrence" might yet bring on new troubles led him to send Pierre Pambrun to succeed him; and McGillivray was thereafter to proceed to Fort Colville. The chief factor enclosed a copy of his report on the incident to the governor and council, adding, "I will only say that in removing you from Walla Walla I am only influenced by a desire to avoid every possible cause of disagreement with the natives, as in every other respect as is evident by the returns you did your utmost to promote the Interest of the concern."⁹²

The report to the governor and council, dated three days later, detailed the events and enclosed relevant correspondence. Wrote McLoughlin,

I am sorry to say it appears to me that tho Mr McGillivray did not do any thing to Justify the Indian acting in the atrocious manner he did, still Mr McGillivray was thrown off his guard and did not act with that caution so necessary to be observed in dealings with Indians of the disposition of those about Walla Walla. . . . Mr McGillivray thinks that to take him away from that place would be advantageous to the Concern. . . . by the present opportunity Mr Pambrun proceeds to succeed Mr McGillivray and the latter Gentleman will go to take charge of Colvile—⁹³

Simpson, in his turn reporting the incident to the governor and committee in London, somewhat distorts the episode:

Fort Nez Percés also did well in regard to trade but a circumstance took place there in the month of January which might have led to very serious consequences[.] It appears that Chief Trader MacGillivray had a misunderstanding with an Indian of the Cayouse tribe, and pushed him out of the Fort. The Indian felt indignant at this treatment, and took his revenge by shooting a lad belonging to the establishment—and some cattle that were grazing at a little distance from the establishment. *Mr MacGillivray called on the tribe to give up the murderer, which they declined,* and as it would have been madness in us to involve ourselves in hostilities with those Indians, who are very powerful and may be said to hold the key to the communication, we have been obliged to submit tamely under this outrage and insult. Mr McGillivray's conduct was not so temperate and guarded in this affair as we could have wished—or should have expected—from a trader of his experience. he was removed to Fort Colvile this Spring, and has since been appointed to New Caledonia.⁹⁴(italics added)

It was just that absence of a corporate authority over Wide Mouth's Son, which Simpson assumed to exist in the passage here italicized, that allowed him to act as freely as he had. Company policy was soon to be directed at strengthening the internal authority of the chiefs.

Although our focus is upon the fort and the Indians about it, it seems hasty to rush Simon McGillivray off the stage. His ensuing career merits at least a few lines. He remained at Fort Colvile only long enough to be available to McLoughlin in clearing up

the Fort Nez Percés books on Outfit 1831, then was transferred to New Caledonia. There he was assigned the task of exploring the course of Simpson's River—the present Skeena⁹⁵—to trace the flow of interior furs to the coast. Although a relatively brief trek, it was made through difficult terrain, and McGillivray's journal records both the obstacles—including a hand-to-hand struggle with a rebellious servant, one George John Simpson—and the satisfying outcome.⁹⁶ Undoubtedly, it did much to restore his own self-confidence and the esteem of his fellows.

The following year, however, he retired from the service. Simpson was the readier to give his approval in that his resignation cleared the way for the advancement of Clerk James Douglas, whom Simpson otherwise feared he might lose.⁹⁷ Initially it was McGillivray's intention to settle on the Willamette; in the end, exhibiting that indecision that had plagued him during his Nez Percés crisis, he instead went out of the country to the Red River settlements, where his son, Montrose, born about 1822, was formally baptized.⁹⁸

The fur trade had been his life, and within the year he wrote Simpson applying for readmission. He was offered and accepted the best position available, a clerkship at the highest salary.⁹⁹ In that capacity, he was sent to establish the Esquimaux Bay (Hamilton's Inlet) District in Labrador. The following year, when Robert McVicar retired, McGillivray was once more advanced to the rank of chief trader,¹⁰⁰ and in 1838 was assigned to Chicoutime, in the Kings Posts District.¹⁰¹ It was in 1840, while he was en route to a new assignment in the Mackenzie River District, and thus near the region of his early service under the North West Company, that he fell ill. Somberly, Chief Factor Duncan Finlayson wrote to John Lee Lewes, "we had appointed Mr C.T. Simon McGillivray to Rivierre de Liard but a more powerful mandate than ours has assigned another Station for him—the Grave. I am sorry to inform you that after a long and protracted illness, he died on the inward voyage within a short distance of Fort Alexander where his remains are interred."¹⁰²

The date of his death was 14 June.

FOURTEEN

Concluding Remarks



In assessing the events reviewed in the preceding chapters, it will prove useful to see the interaction between Indians and fort personnel within the frame which Edward H. Spicer has termed a "contact community," comprising two societies in an enduring, yet changing, relationship.¹ Generically, in a comparative study of acculturation involving six Indian cultures in contact with Euroamerican societies, Spicer and his associates have dealt with five types of contact community into which, at one time or another, the Indians had entered. They included the fur trade, Spanish mission, United States reservation, its Canadian counterpart, and the urban segment. Each type of contact community was seen to be characterized by defining features. For the fur trade, they were three: 1) the orientation of the Euroamerican traders was purely to the marketplace; 2) their relationship toward the Indians was non-coercive; and 3) the Indian society was structurally stable.²

There is little or no question that the fur companies in the Oregon Country were oriented toward the marketplace, but they were not solely so, for rivalries between the Nor'Westers and the Hudson's Bay Company in pre-coalition days were sometimes highly personal. After coalition, the reconstituted Company was at one and the same time both a commercial enterprise and a British firm, in competition with Americans in a region to which both had equal rights of entry. This imparted a political character to fur-trade operations, and in turn to two policies governing them. Having in mind the probability that the international boundary would lie along the Columbia River, the London committee agreed that the Columbia Department would be maintained to provide a barrier against American infiltration into areas to the north. North of that projected boundary, furs would be sought through the usual arrangement of fur posts dealing with the local Indians. Below

Some of these remarks have been previously published in a paper, "Fort Nez Percés, 1831-32: The Fur Post as a Social System," at the Circum-Pacific Prehistory Conference, held in Seattle, Washington, August 2-6, 1989.

that line, while Indians would be encouraged to bring in furs, either directly or through Indian middlemen, the region was to be trapped by brigades, the South Party operating out of Fort Vancouver and the Snake Country brigade from Fort Nez Percés. Those bodies worked with the joint objective of maximizing their take in peltries and of leaving behind a "fur desert," unprofitable, and thus unattractive, to American rivals.

The distinction in policy introduced by the injection of political rivalries into economic, market-oriented planning in turn affects the second typological feature of the fur-trade contact community, namely the non-coercive relationship of the Euroamerican trader toward his Indian customer. This characterization was, on the whole, true of the administration of John McLoughlin, who showed notable even-handedness and forbearance in his dealings with the tribes, characteristics by no means always manifested toward subordinates who crossed him. On those infrequent occasions when the slaying of Company personnel by Indians led him to order reprisals—as when in 1828 the Clallam, on Puget Sound, murdered a clerk and four *engagés*—McLoughlin was quick to regret the intemperate exercise of force by the subordinate in charge of the punitive body.³ In the ordinary course of events, the miniscule staff of a post was far outnumbered by the local Indians, so that, if it came at all, coercion was likely to arise rather from the Indian side.

Whether or not one terms them non-coercive, the relationships with the tribes south of the Columbia were on a different footing than the symbiotic nexus with those north of that line. As Nathan Douthit has recently shown⁴—and as has been exemplified in the remarks quoted from Ogden when in the Snake Country—those brigades trapping in the southern part of the Oregon Country were operating in competition with the native inhabitants. In the season of Ogden's 1827 exploration of southwestern Oregon, the beaver that his men were assiduously trapping were a staple food for the hard-pressed Indians, some of whom sent arrows into his horses to dissuade him from staying. In such trespasses, counter-attacks, and "punitive" reprisals in the course of fur-trade operations in southern Oregon and California, Douthit gives a total of some forty-five Indians slain.⁵ It may be added that when relationships with the Indians became sufficiently regularized, or when rival trading posts had to be opposed, the Company

did build posts below the Columbia: thus Fort Umpqua in 1832, Fort Boise in 1834. When the American post, Fort Hall, was purchased in 1837, it was combined with Fort Boise in a regularly constituted Snake District.

The third defining characteristic of the fur-trade contact community, the maintenance over time of a stable Indian society, was initially an objective of the Hudson's Bay Company. Its essential task was to induce the Indians, as hunters, to divert some of their attention to securing the peltries the Company sought and to trade them in the Indian store for commodities on sale there. This entailed developing in the Indians new tastes and "needs" for those goods: to wear woolen blanketing in the place of skin clothing, to cook in brass kettles instead of stone-boiling in baskets, to employ a Northwest gun or rifle instead of a hand-made bow and arrow. Such changes carried for the Indians a new state of dependence: a flintlock musket requires access to supplies of powder, ball, and gunflints and to the services of a gunsmith to repair a broken firing mechanism. On its part, the Company had to build a chain of small posts in strategic localities within the Indian country, maintain a regular flow of supplies and communication among them, and staff them, with an eye to economy, with as small a staff as possible, depending on occasional Indian labor to supplement their efforts.

The very inferiority of numbers of the Company viz a viz the Indians and the pacific nature of its enterprise meant that its leaders operated with diplomacy and a close attention to the Indians, avoiding coercion save when forced to it by a flagrant challenge to its *pax hudsonica*. Indeed, its main challenge to the status quo was to seek to extend that peace to the Sahaptin-Shoshonean border, a move that Lewis and Clark had earlier also sought to foster.

So well did the tribes of the region adjust to the presence of the fur companies that already by 1821 Nor'Wester Donald McKenzie, writing from Fort Nez Percés to Wilson Price Hunt, with whom he had traveled overland to Astoria a scant decade earlier, declared, "This country has altered greatly since former times. Particularly as regards the disposition of the natives, & in respect to trade in general. All is peace & quiet & two or three men can pass & repass along the communication as if nothing had ever taken place."⁶

Acceptance of the posts in their midst by the local tribes became clear in the resistance they mounted when Simpson, in his

reconnaissance of the Columbia Department in 1825-25, ordered the relocation of Forts George and Nez Percés to the north bank of the Columbia and the closure of Spokane House in favor of a new Fort Colville. Indeed, for Fort Nez Percés the Indian arguments proved persuasive.

With greater experience with the Indians, the Company undertook programs of planned change, which will be discussed in the second volume of this work. The turbulence at Fort Nez Percés that had led to the unseating of Simon McGillivray brought his successor, Pierre Pambrun, with McLoughlin's backing, to seek to develop a more responsible, and responsive, chieftaincy. Liberal movements in England led the Company to enter into a program to have selected sons of chiefly families educated in Anglican schools on the Red River, to be returned to their tribes as evangelists. In parallel, American Protestant missionaries, together with Catholics, established mission stations within the Company's trading domain. Their collective impact upon the Indians was great, but not always what had been anticipated.

As Spicer and his colleagues recognized, the reaction of the Indians entering into fur-trade relationships was conditioned by the culture and experience that had shaped them up to that time. For some two generations the tribes of the Nez Percés District had been shaped by the acquisition of an equestrian life, with an opening to the fascinating and perilous life on the Plains. Their larger, multi-tribal society had become reordered, with an emphasis on equestrian wealth, and they were at the peak of their prosperity and influence. Active participants in the Columbian trading network, they brought into their fur trade dealings some of the same calculations and values entertained there. Pressed on the Plains by tribes of the Blackfoot confederacy and on their southern flank by Shoshoneans, they were eager to acquire firearms.

It is of more than incidental interest that a given people did not act as a unit. Among the Nez Percés, when McKenzie first approached the bands on the Clearwater, he found they disdained to hunt beaver, work they held suitable only for women and slaves; and when he himself sought to trade directly with the Shoshone-Bannock, Red Feather and his followers resisted his enterprise. Other Nez Percés were more accepting, and by McGillivray's time several important leaders were engaged in hunting beaver. Among the Cayuse, the Wilewmutkin band cluster on the Umatilla River

favored the trade and readily trapped most of the beaver brought into Fort Nez Percés in the early days. By contrast, Hiyumtipin's followers on the middle and upper Walla Walla River held aloof, or entered grudgingly upon it.

In a trade with an intermittently hostile people, the Shoshoneans, from whom they had traded their first horses, the Cayuse showed an interesting development. As they themselves became more dependent upon the wares of the Indian store, and the stock of beaver in their own territory diminished, they came to include some of those wares in their traditional trade with the Snakes, in order to secure the necessary peltry. Since what the latter people sought above all was firearms, the Cayuse traders thus reduced the military advantage they enjoyed. It is only fair to add that this step took place only after leaders of the Wilewmutkin group had concluded a peace with the Snakes.

Among the Indians of the Nez Percés District, one of the most interesting developments involved that segment of tribal society who became the *Gardins*, the Home Guard Indians. They seem to have been among the poorer members of Indian society, and their skill with canoes suggests that, although they were familiar with horses, they still inclined toward a riverine way of life forsaken by the equestrian elite. By so readily accepting a subordinate place in the order of the Whites, they invited the disdain of that elite, a scorn doubtless not unmixed with envy at the access they thus gained to the riches of the post. The *Gardins* had taken a first step in acculturation. Some of the wives of the fort had assisted their husbands in planting a vegetable garden, from which anonymous Indians, faced with the consequences of a failure of the salmon run, stole most of the potatoes. Having learned the advantage of such foods, Indians subsequently took to cultivating their own small gardens. One might term the *Gardins* a marginal segment of a society reoriented toward equestrian values, and thus the more readily attracted to the alternative life of the fort. Among the equestrian elite, there were also individuals, in a way marginal, who also inclined toward the new lifeway: thus The Berdache, a transvestite by the usual meaning of the term, who became a full-fledged trapper with the Snake Country brigade under John Work.





In 1961, while camping with Otis and Mary Halfmoon at the Joseph Days campground in Joseph, Oregon—named after Twitekis's illustrious son—in the heart of the Wallowas, I decided to keep a quiet tally of those persons who visited us and were given the hospitality of their table. I watched Mary speak firmly to two young drunks and break up a fight between them. As I worked out the interactions, the kinship tables I had charted out suddenly took on life and embodiment. The pragmatics of the system came as a sudden revelation. When I disclosed my findings, Mary, who had been watching with quiet amusement, became animated in extending and confirming them. I had gained an “insider” view of a segment of local Indian culture, and was now off the cradleboard.

In similar manner, the examination of the interactions of Indian tribes and Euroamerican fur traders, with all their dimensions of uniqueness, have enabled us to discern underlying regularities capable of being compared with the experiences of other cultures and other settings. In this, like those ancient *pik'únenma*, Otis Halfmoon's ancestors, for whom the stranger band became fellow mortals, we see the affirmation of our common humanity.

Notes



Archival Collections

BAE—Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution
Bancroft Library
HBC—Hudson's Bay Company Archives
OHS—Oregon Historical Society
NL-A—Newberry Library—Ayers Ms.
Special Collections, Knight Library, University of Oregon
UPS—Collins Memorial Library, University of Puget Sound
YB—Beinecke Rare Book and Ms. Library, Yale University

One

1. Jefferson to Meriwether Lewis, 20 June, 1803; Lewis and Clark 1903-05, 7:247-252, here 248 and 251.
2. Johansen and Gates 1967: 93f.
3. Porter 1931, Chs. VII, VIII. Johansen, in Johansen and Gates 1967, p. 96, suggests the new site of the destruction of the *Tonquin*.
4. Chittenden 1935, 1: 4f.
5. Thompson 1962: 350-352.
6. Ross 1923: 137-142.
7. *Ibid.*: 231f., Cox 1957: 117.
8. Ross 1923: 267f.
9. Cox 1957: 127-129.
10. Ross 1924: 5-18.
11. *Ibid.*: 39f.
12. Cox 1957: 194-205; cf. Ross 1924: 44-46.
13. Cox 1957: 270ff.
14. Ross 1924: 117-124.
15. Binns 1967: 51.
16. Ross 1924: 161f.

17. Rich 1959, 2: 567.
18. Donald McKay (letter to William C. McKay, February 22, 1889), "Wallo-la . . . it Mians a smallest Stream." (McKay Papers, Special Collections, Knight Library) Eugene Hunn (personal communication) states that *wahúla* (Northeast Sahaptin) is the equivalent of *walawála* (Columbia dialect). See further note 23 below.
19. Cannon 1915: 145-146.
20. Lewis and Clark 1904-05, 4:335, 337; Wilkes 1845, 4: 397.
21. Ross 1923: 137f.
22. Ross 1924: 164.
23. The reduplicated form is the diminutive of "*wána* river," the people in turn being designated the *walawálapam*, "the little-river people." Above them on the Columbia, another people was designated by a variant of the basic term, as *wanápam*, "the river people."
24. Ross 1924: 165.
25. John McLoughlin was more succinct. Writing to Simpson, 20 March, 1828, he observed, "Nez Perce is such a hell I don't know what to say about it." (Quoted by E. E. Rich, in Black 1955, p. viii). Simpson 1847, 1:160.
26. Ross 1924: 164.
27. Wilkes 1845, 4: 401.
28. Farnham 1843: 83.
29. Elliott, in Work 1912-13: 364, n. 2.
30. Ross 1924: 167.
31. Ross 1924: 161-173.
32. Ross 1924: 207.
33. Garth 1952.
34. Ross 1924: 205-207.
35. Garth 1952: 30.
36. Fort Nez Percés Journal, 1831-32: HBC Archives B 146/a/1, 2. Hereafter, Journal: Entry 21 March, 1831. I have been much aided in analyzing Garth's report by consulting scrapbooks of photographs taken during the excavations, the personal property of Lawrence Dodd, now curator of the Eells Northwest Collections, in the Library of Whitman College. A visit to the site of the fort, now covered by the waters of Lake Wallula, and an examination of topographical maps have also aided me in interpreting various historical pictures. Prominent in the pictures of Ross (the 1818 structure), of Paul Kane (1846) and John Mix Stanley (1853)—the latter two of the adobe fort of 1842—are the paired basalt columns, the "Cayuse Sisters," Ross's "Twins." In all these pictures—Drayton's (1841) figure lacks background—the Sisters appear to the left of the fort, against a background that seems to indicate that the establishment was drawn from

a position almost due north of it. This, however, cannot be true for Ross, for a river lies in the foreground and a gate faces us: he must thus have viewed the fort from the west,—from across the river, as an inscription tells us. Artistic license has surely been at play in the inclusion of the Sisters: for a photograph taken from the site of the excavations shows that from almost any other spot that landmark would disappear, either behind the fort itself or behind a bluff along the south bank of the Walla Walla River. If Ross has moved the Sisters most radically to the north, Kane and Stanley give them far more prominence than they possess from a position north of the fort, while the latter shows the cleft between them that is not visible from that spot. For Ross and Stanley, see reproductions in Garth 1952; for Kane, see Kane 1971: 17, above. These pictures, together with a second sketch by Kane (1847) are analyzed as well by Gunkel 1978: Appendix C.

37. Wilkes 1845, 4: 391.
38. Quoted by Garth 1952: 32.
39. Journal, 22 August, 1831.
40. Garth 1952: 32.
41. Stevens 1855; facing p. 152.
42. Kane 1971: 17, above.
43. Glazebrook 1938: 427.
44. Garth 1952.
45. 11 March, 1825: HBC Archives A 6/21 fo. 55.
46. Black 1827: 221.
47. Prucha 1962: 84-93.
48. Fort Nez Percés, Report 1829: HBC Archives B 146/e/2. Hereafter, Black, 1829. cf. Anastasio 1972: 202; Boyd 1985: 355ff., esp. Chart 15.
49. Black 1827: 223.
50. Journal, 29 March, 1831.
51. Glazebrook 1938: 427.
52. Galbraith 1957: 443, n. 65.

Two

1. Ewers 1968; Griswold 1970; Wood 1972.
2. Lewis and Clark, 1902, 2: 151.
3. Respectively, Lewis and Clark's Wahhowpam, Eneeshur, Echeloot, and Chilluckittequaw. For identifications, see Spier 1936 and Boyd 1985. The Wayampam village stood at Celilo Falls. Six miles downriver, Wishram stood on the north, and Wasco on the south, bank of the river, at the head of the upper dalles, or Short Narrows. Nine miles below began the lower dalles, or Long Narrows, where stood the White Salmon settlement. Well below lay the Falls, or Cascades, themselves.

Note that the capitalized form, "the Dalles," has long been used to designate the features of the river at this place and other dalles (*Dictionary of Canadianisms*, p. 195: Cdn F "trough, flume" <F "flagstone") on the river are usually specified by region. The town later founded below Celilo Falls is properly The Dalles.

4. Griswold 1970: 21.
5. Gatschet 1890, 2: 116.
6. Thus Wood 1972: 164f.
7. Gibbs, in Stevens 1855:403.
8. Lewis and Clark 1902, 2: 249.
9. Spier and Sapir 1930: 227.
10. Not only, indeed, in the springtime. One reliable consultant of Cayuse-Nez Perce descent reported that his grandparents and parents traded at the Dalles in the fall. Murdock (1980: 132), writing of the Western Columbia Sahaptin ("Tenino"), says, "The trading season reached its height in late summer when the salmon run began to slacken."
11. Lewis and Clark 1902, 148-154.
12. Ray 1938: 52: quoting Paul Kane, who adds, "'The children are often bought from their own people.'"
13. Lewis and Clark 1904-06, 3: 329, 338 (quotation).
14. Wilkes 1845, 4: 394.
15. Teit 1930: 114.
16. Lewis and Clark 1904-06, 5:23.
17. Griswold 1970: 33-35.
18. Spier 1930: 216.
19. Lewis and Clark 1902, 2: 152.
20. Ross 1923: 79f.
21. Black 1829: Query 101.
22. Hale 1890: 18f.
23. Hymes (1980: 417) suggests rather that it may have arisen as a language of slaves, attempting to speak the language of their Chinook masters.
24. Hymes 1980: 405ff. By contrast, Samarin (1988) argues its genesis in the historic fur trade in the lower Columbia, positing an earlier Nootka Jargon and perhaps other trade jargons, also in connection with the fur trade, elsewhere along the coast. Samuel Hancock (1860), who traded with the Indians of the Washington coast in the 1850s, also saw the genesis of Chinook Jargon in the fur trade and thought it recent, since "very few of the old Indians learn much of it."
25. Mallery 1881: 312f.
26. Teit 1930: 135f.; cf. 261, 373.
27. Gatschet, Frachtenberg, and Jacobs 1945: 160-163.

28. Sahlins 1965.
29. Anastasio 1972: 185.
30. Ross 1923: 136f.; see also 1924: 5-6.
31. Ray 1936. For example, the village of Kuis, at the mouth of the Snake, had a combined population of Chamnapam, Wallawalla, and Umatilla (p. 144); indeed, as we shall see, it also had Palus affinities (Chapter III, note 4.). Lewis and Clark (1904-06, 3: 123, 128) had found Chamnapam living with some Sokulks, a related group, in much the same vicinity.
32. Brunton 1968; for a Yakima expression, see Desmond 1952: 26.
33. Teit 1930: 255.
34. Turney-High 1937: 136.
35. Mandelbaum, in Cline et al. 1938: 126.
36. Turney-High 1937: 137-8.
37. Stern 1953-68.
87. Silverstein, n.d.; cf. Ray 1938:93.
39. Ross 1923: 127f; Murdock 1980: 132.
40. Teit 1930: 112; see also Griswold 1970: 67ff.
41. Teit 1930: 360.
42. Griswold 1970: 14, citing Heizer 1940.
43. Ruby and Brown 1976: 61f., 115f.
44. Lewis and Clark 1904-06, 4: 292f. (Wishram), 298, 304-5 (Wayampam), 319 (unidentified village).
45. Coues 1897, 2: 1409-10.
46. Lewis and Clark 1902, 2: 149.
47. Coues 1897, 2: 853; see also 856, 897.
48. Lee and Frost 1844: 176-7.
49. Teit 1930: 150.

Three

1. Ross 1924: 75, Map 1974. This tribe is represented by the Sha-moo-in-
augh (Map text: Ska-moy-num-augh) and the Skam-nam-in-augh (Skam-
nam-nach), corresponding to Thompson's (1962: 348, 349) villages,
Skummooiin, situated at or near Priest Rapids, and Skaemena, near the
mouth of the Snake. Spier's (1936: 17) deduction that they were both
Wanapam, or that the Skaemena were Walula (i.e., Wallawalla) is proven
sound by Ross's (1923: 145) statement, in speaking of the "priest" met at
the rapids, that the name of his tribe was Skamoynumacks.
2. Comprising the E-yack-im-ah (Eyack-ema, on the face of the map), Is-
pipe-whum-augh (Is-pipe-chum-aughs), and In-as-petsum (Ind-las-
petsum), all shown on the Yakima river and its tributaries. No separate
Chamnapam are shown.

3. Separate mention is made of the Pallet-to-pallas, who, unfortunately are omitted from the map. The name is applied by Lewis and Clark (1904-06, 5: 117) in several spellings but in consistent usage to "the band with which we have been most conversant," of the Kamiah group on the Clearwater, who "call themselves pellate-paller." Thus (*Ibid.*, 6: 114) the entry in their "Names of Indian Nations":

4. PEL-LOAT-PAL-LAH Band of *Chopunnish* reside on the Kooskooske [Clearwater] above the forks and on the small streams which fall into that river west of the rocky mountains & chopunnish river, and sometimes pass over to the Missouri.

Mooney (1896: 735), however, assigns the name to the Palus, neighbors to and closely affiliated with the Nez Perces. He is followed by Hodge 1907-10, 2: 195, and by Thwaites, editor of Lewis and Clark, who footnotes our first reference by assigning the name to the Palus. See also Thompson 1971:70. Boyd (1985: 401) compromises by assigning the name to a composite body of Palus and Nez Perces, such as we know to have existed on the Snake above the mouth of the Palouse River. While Spinden (1908: 174-5), in his inventory of the most important divisions of the Nez Perces, does not include the name, the captains are far too circumstantial and consistent in their application to have made a mere slip. It seems likely that the name was applied to two entities, and that both the captains and Mooney are correct. Unfortunately, we do not know to which one Ross was referring.

4. Represented by two village names, which appear in the map text but not on its face. They are Paw-luch [Palus] and Co-sis-pa [Kasispa]; see Mooney (1896: 735) for details. On the map, there appears on the Snake upriver from the mouth of the Palouse the legend, "Calatouche camp." Ross (1923: 226) identifies the "Catatouches" as the lowest Nez Perces band on the Snake, but they were much intermixed with the Palus. The name is that of the village chief (see Chapter V, note 41). As for Kasispa, situated at the mouth of the Snake near present Pasco, it is identified by Relander (1956: 88f) with Kosith, a village close in speech to the Wanapum. In turn, this is Ray's (1936: 144) village of *k'usis*, said to be claimed by the Yakima, with a population that included many Wallawallas and some Umatillas. (See also Chapter II, note 32.) Later Ray (1959), extending Wallawalla territory to incorporate the Chamnapam on the lower Yakima River, reassigned the village to that tribe. We shall see why later.
5. Represented by the Ne-coot-im-eigh, shown on the map as residing on a river corresponding to the Klickitat River. Boyd (1985: 405) identifies the name rather with the Chinookan White Salmon.
6. Wiss-co-pam.
7. Wiss-whams.
8. Represented by the Way-yam-pams and Saw-paw (Sapa), the latter shown on the map on or upriver from the John Day River, and here identified with the John Day band of Western Columbia Sahaptins. The river, while it bears no designation, corresponds in position and form to the John Day,

but that name is attached erroneously to a short stream further upriver which must represent Willow Creek. Mooney (1896: 740) tentatively identifies the Sawpaw with another Sahaptin group, the Skinpa, who however dwelt mainly on the north shore of the Columbia (Spier 1936:19).

9. You-ma-talla.
 10. Jacobs 1931, followed by Ray (e.g. 1936), and Spier (1936), preferred the designation, Walula, their name for themselves. "Wallawalla" is said (Spier *op. cit.*: 18) to be the Cayuse term for them, although one Cayuse, descended from members of the bands upriver from them, insisted, "*We were the real walawálapu!*" For these terms, see Chapter 1, notes 18, 23.
 11. Aoki and Rigsby n.d. recognize three Sahaptin branches, the northwestern, comprising Kittitas, Yakima, and Klickitat; the Columbian, made up of Western Columbia Sahaptins (including Umatilla), and Umatilla; and the northeastern, including Wanapam, Wallawalla, and Palus. Linked to these, but more remote, is Nez Perce. In turn, with Cayuse, Molala, Klamath-Modoc, and many languages beyond the Cascades, such as Chinookan, they are collectively members of the Penutian phylum.
 12. Black 1829, Query 25: HBC Archives B. 146/e/2, fol 4.
 13. For the earlier linguistic position, see Hale, in Wilkes 1845, 6: 214; for an ethnographic deduction based upon it, see, e.g. Garth 1964. For linguistic disproof, see Rigsby 1965, 1969. The name "Cayuse" has been the subject of some speculation. Black (*loc. cit.*) says that it was "given them. . . for their living amongst the Stones or Rocks;" and Hale, the philologist with the Wilkes exploring expedition, intimates the source of the name by linking it to the French, *cailloux*, "pebbles." Their own name for themselves may have been Liksiyu, says Rigsby (1969: 133); but in Nez Perce they were designated by the place name, Waiilatpu.
 14. Thus, the Wallawalla identify the twin basalt columns mentioned in Chapter 1, note 36, with the mythic exploit of Coyote in liberating the salmon impounded by three Cayuse sisters, two of whom he later transformed into this formation (Kane 1859: 267-270). Cayuse myth places great emphasis on Hautmi, McKay Creek, of which one man exclaimed, "This is our sacred place—the place of the clans!" (Stern 1953-68).
 15. "Names of Indian Nations" (Lewis and Clark 1904-06, 6: 115):

6.Y-E-LET-PO [Waiilatpu] Band of Chophonish reside under the S.W. Mountains on a Small river which falls into Lewis's river [the Snake] above the entrance of the Kooskooske [Clearwater] which they call *we-are-cum*.
- The "Small river" is the Grande Ronde, the lower course of which was occupied by Nez Percés.
16. Nelson 1969; Pettigrew 1981; Dumond and Minor 1983; Aikens 1984.
 17. Miller 1966, particularly pp. 78, 82, 93.
 18. Lewis and Clark 1904-05, 6: 118.

19. Zenk 1976: 9f.

20. Ross locates the Lohim (Lohum) on a river corresponding to the Deschutes, while Mooney (1896: Pl. LXXXVIII, 742, 743) places them instead on the lower course of Willow Creek. Ray et. al (1938: 392), in contesting the view of Teit (1928) that a recent Shoshonean expansion northward had displaced Sahaptin tribes before them, in turn driving out a Salishan occupation of the middle Columbia, states specifically that the Umatilla term corresponding to Lohim was not applied to a Shoshonean people, for there were none on Willow Creek, on the western border of Umatilla territory; it was rather a derogatory term often applied to the Yakima.

While it is often thought that the term "Snakes" was applied particularly to the Shoshone and Bannock, and in a derogatory sense, there are grounds for another interpretation. Gatschet (1890, 1: xxxiii) asserts that the Sahaptin speakers of the Warm Springs Reservation and their neighbors termed the Klamath, Modoc, and Paiute of the Klamath Reservation *aigspaluma*, abbreviated to *aigspalu*, "people of the chipmunks," from the innumerable rodents peopling that reservation. The term bears comparison with a Cayuse-Nez Perce term for the Paiute alone (Stern 1953-68), *he'yúxpe'lu*, "cotton-tail rabbit people," so-called because the Paiute allegedly lived on them. The Umatilla, among others, called the same peoples *waxpúspal*, "rattlesnake people." Arguing by analogy, the Snakes may have been so denominated from the abundance of those reptiles in their homeland. It may be added that the early fur trappers such as Ogden used the term "Snake" in a very general manner for the Shoshoneans they encountered.

21. Cox 1957: 259.

22. Thompson 1962: 352.

23. Wyeth 1899: 183. Others attributed the loss of sight to the reflected glare of the summer sun, or to trachoma.

24. Stern, 1953-68. The Western Columbia Sahaptins also employed the rabbit-net (Murdock 1980: 138). Townsend (1839: 327) observed the Wallawalla drive in the wintertime, with between one and two hundred Indians of all ages participating as beaters and clubbers, several hundred hares being taken in a day. Pierre Pambrun, then manager of the fort, often took part.

25. Osborne 1957: 49-159. By contrast, the archeological burials Osborne ascribes to the prehistoric Umatilla show cranial deformation in both sexes.

26. Stevens 1860: 139; Haines 1938; Donald McKay, in W. C. McKay Papers, 1839-1892: Spec. Coll., Knight Library; Painter 1946.

27. Stewart 1970.

28. Lewis and Clark 1904-05, 3: 137 (October, 1805), 4: 321-322 (April, 1806). The mounted parties, wrote the explorers, must have been in the plains distant from the river the preceding fall; they were said to hunt there

- during the fall and winter. Boyd (1985: 367), in calculating population figures, treats these seasonal differences in another way. The 1,600 Pishquithpah encountered by the captains in October at the fishing stations at Musselshell Rapids are for him the total population of the Umatilla; he accounts for the increment of 1,000 found the following April by terming them seasonal visitors, mainly Yakima, drawn here for the spring fishing.
29. (Kutenai) Turney-High 1941: 14-21. (Nez Perces) A.B. Smith, in Drury 1958: 136f.
 30. Franchère 1969: 150.
 31. Anastasio 1972: App. 2.
 32. White 1846: 632.
 33. Coues 1897, 2: 818, 827. (Shahaptin) here refers to the Nez Perces. (Shatasla): see Hodge 1910, 2: 1138. Maloney 1945—erroneously, I believe—would identify them with the Shasta. (Halthwypum): Coues (827, fn. 3) identifies them as Cayuse, but cf. Mooney 1896: 738. “Scietoga” is properly Shoshonean for “tule (or rush)-eater,” a designation which has been applied to various enemy groups. For instance, Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins (1883: 73, 75) thus terms “earlier barbarians,” who, however spoke a Shoshonean language, whom her Northern Paiute ancestors drove out of the Humboldt Sink; cf. Heizer 1970: 236, 241f. The Surprise Valley Paiute apply the name to a people, probably of Klamath-Modoc affiliation, whom they had driven out of bordering territory (Kelly 1932: 73, 139; also Stewart 1939: 134). Stewart further notes (p. 140) that the Paiute of Pyramid Lake and Lovelock used the same term for the Achumawi, who, they said, had formerly occupied the western shore of the lake. On the north, the Shoshoneans thus denoted the Cayuse and Nez Perces in particular, and by extension other equestrian associates; a modern Cayuse agrees with Coues (p. 818, fn. 45) in translating it “camas-eaters.” Henry, like a number of other early writers, applies it uniformly to the Cayuse alone. By contrast, Shoshoneans refer to riverine peoples like the Umatilla as *Agaitsi*, glossed as “salmon people.”
 34. Lee and Frost 1844: 176.
 35. Gatschet, n.d. The uncle mentioned in the text was living at the Agency during Gatschet’s visit in 1877. See also Clarke 1905, 1: 135-137. Mackey (1972: 63-65, here 63, n. 4) places the raid in the 1820s, which fits the cultural picture well.
 36. (Tamatappam): Splawn 1944: 366; Ross 1924: 170-171.
 37. Ogden 1961: 33.
 38. Ross 1924: 176.
 39. Bischoff 1945: 142, who says the Whites were returning emigrants. More likely, they were trappers headed back to the settlements. The date of his return is fixed by the remark of Elsensohn (1951: 468) that two apple trees, planted by High Bear in 1836 and 1837, were still alive in 1943. With his youthful journey, compare that claimed for the Washani prophet, Smohalla (Mooney 1896: 718).

40. Red Shirt, a Palus or Palus-Nez Perce preacher, is said to have borne Smohalla's Washat teachings to the Nez Percés. (DuBois 1938: 16; Relander 1956: 89f.). For a marriage dance among the Plateau Salish, see Spier 1935: 13. The coup stick dance was well-known among Plains tribes.

Four

1. Ross 1923: 136, 138f. Ross uses the term, "Shaw Hapten" specifically to designate the Nez Percés, although admittedly the latter term was applied with broader reference by early writers than it is now, sometimes including the Palus, for example. The name of their chief appears to be Salish, probably Flathead; and among the Nez Percés were many who had intermarried with that people. Nonetheless, we have two other identifications for the "Shaw Hapten" met on this occasion. Boyd (1985: 375) terms them lower Yakima—does he have the Chamnapam in mind?—while Trafzer and Scheuerman (1986: 12) make them Palus.
2. Smith to Rev. D. Greene, 6 February, 1840: in Drury 1958: 124-144, here 134f.
3. Cited in Walker 1968: 10-11, 13.
4. Irving 1893, 2: 75; Townsend 1839: 245.
5. Lewis and Clark 1904-06, 4: 328. Clark's notation (*ibid.*, 6: 115): "13. PISH-QUIT-PAH'S Nation: this N. winter on the waters of the Tapteel river." [A similar notation is made for the Wallawalla.] See also map, Moulton 1983: 73; Yakima; Boyd 1985: 367.
6. One elderly Cayuse woman showed us the hammerstones thus used by her grandmother.
7. Thus Townsend 1839: 246.
8. A dramatic instance was recounted to me by Otis Halfmoon, long-time Nez Perce friend and consultant, involving his paternal great grandfather, nicknamed *him piáxs*, "Strapped Lip," so-called because a lance wound required that his jaw be trussed up.

With his son, and armed only with a stone-bladed fighting knife, he came upon an encampment of the hostile Snakes and, in a mood of pure bravado, entered it. Through signs, he learned from the people—who recognized him from his disfigurement—where the chief's lodge stood, and went in. The occupants pointed him to the place of honor at the rear of the lodge, dressed his son in new clothing, gave him boiling water to drink, which he quaffed without showing the least sign of discomfort, and gave him new leggings and shirt. All this he received warily, squatting, not sitting, with his knife at the ready. Then he and the boy moved toward the doorway. Outside, the people clustered, but they made way for him as he emerged. "They knew him, with his lip strapped: he was the one who killed them with a stick, with a club, never with an arrow." The two walked off, unscathed.

This tale, said Otis Halfmoon, he had first heard from another man, Luke Cowapoo, the Cayuse Roundup chief in the days when I began my research. It might be added that the hero of this *geste* (see Ramsey 1983: 133ff.), who was a member of the *pik'unenma* band from the upper Snake River, was also claimed as an ancestor by Toohoolhoolzote, of Nez Perce War fame (McWhorter 1952: 164).

9. Black 1829: Query 94.
 10. There were oblique modes of criticism. Thus, in reservation times, the Cayuse shaman, Gumcoat, expressed his disapproval of a certain wealthy widow, who, preferring to spend her riches upon herself rather than lavishing them on a man, had bought herself a spanking new carriage. Gumcoat accordingly held a mock name-taking ceremony, highly public, as all such are, and assumed the new name, "Shining Buggy."
 11. Black 1829: Query 66.
 12. *Ibid.*: Query 25. Davenport (1907:118f.) describes a camp of elderly "cast-offs" on the Umatilla Reservation (1862) who were designated by the Cayuse term for old woman. The term Davenport gives, *low-ee-ii*, corresponds to Cayuse *lawáyu*, which Rigsby (1969: 105) glosses as "old woman, widow." However, Black (1829, Vocabulary, fo. 25) equates the Cayuse term *lo-ai-ü* only with "old woman," giving distinct terms for "widow" and "abandoned woman."
- Not only did these unfortunates of Davenport support themselves, but they had taken in some orphan girls to rear as well.
13. *Ibid.*: Query 28.
 14. *Ibid.*: Query 32.
 15. Walker (1967: 14f.) applies the term, stewardship, to such right, to signify that it does not imply exclusive ownership.
 16. Asa B. Smith to Rev. D. Greene, 6 February, 1840: in Drury 1958, pp. 124-144, here 134.
 17. Anastasio 1972; Walker 1967.
 18. Brouillet 1858: 34. A leader on the Umatilla Indian Reservation recently expressed the multiple lines through which he traced his identification with the land and its waters in these telling terms:

On my father's side three tribes are represented: Palouse, from up the Snake River; Wanapum; and the Umatilla. On my mother's side are the people from around the Imnaha River, and her migrating places were around the Wallowa Valley. My mother's father was Nez Perce and Cayuse; he lived right at present-day Thorn Hollow. My roots go back to all that country. My people are buried in all those places. That's why that entire basin—the Snake, the Imnaha, the Umatilla, the Walla Walla—is sacred ground to me. And all the food that comes out of there is sacred too. (Dick 1990: 8-10)
 19. It may be that the leader whom David Thompson met at the Forks of the Snake in 1811 was employing an analogous figure when he said, "in one

day's march we come to the [Blue] Mountains which there, are low; the next day we cross them, and the third day are where we hunt the Bisons . . ." (Thompson 1962: 352). Merriwether Lewis recorded an inversion in Nez Perce rhetoric, when he wrote that The Cutnose, a leader, "said he knew the broken arm [another leader] expected us at his lodge and that he had. . . *two bad horses for us*, metaphorically speaking a present of two good horses." (Lewis and Clark 1904-06, 5: 8).

A comparable usage appears in the utterances of Washani prophets. Hununwe, a woman prophet married to a Wallawalla, is quoted as saying, "[People in the holy place] told me to do these things, so I am doing this for a few days.' (She meant thereby a few years.)" Likewise, it was reported of a Wishram prophet, "He said he was not there to stay long, just five days. But he meant five years." (DuBois 1938: 14, 15).

20. Black 1829: Query 25.
21. Walker 1968: 14.
22. Farnham 1843: 82. A Cayuse family whom Farnham encountered as they returned from sojourning on the Plains had seventeen horses: four were ridden by the couple and their two young sons, two bore the tipi and camp gear, six were loaded with dried meat, and the remaining string of five were spares (*Ibid.*: 79).
23. *Dictionary of Canadianisms* 1967: *maron* [<F *marron*. . .] *Obs.* wild, untrained. Thus a tributary stream emptying into the Umatilla river near Pendleton, where some herds grazed, and which in one document bears the name, Maron Creek, is now known as Wild Horse Creek.
24. Irving 1893, 2: 152, 161-165.
25. Townsend 1839: 245f.
26. Black 1829: Queries 41, 45, 46.
27. While some of the captives reaching The Dalles may indeed have been Modoc, it seems unlikely that those brought there by the Klamath were, for in the main they were Achumawi-Atsugewi from the Pit River drainage in northeastern California, captured in joint Klamath-Modoc raids. Since the Klamath name for the latter, "Moatwas," bears a partial resemblance to that for Modoc, "Moatakni," a confusion between the two is expectable. One such captive, who was taken to wife by a Cayuse, later returned for a visit to the Klamath Reservation, where, it is said, she talked readily with people in their own, and her, tongue. They, to be sure, might have been either Modoc or Pit River, the latter former slaves then enrolled at Klamath.
28. Even alien parentage alone may weigh against an individual. Some critics of the Nez Perce leader, The Lawyer, argued that he should not have been chosen as head chief because his mother was a Flathead.
29. Parker 1844: 251; Narcissa Whitman, in Whitman 1936, 2: 268; Gairdner 1841: 256f.
30. Journal 26, 30 October, 1831.

31. Black 1829. Query 25.
32. As early as 1837, Whitman reported that their youth no longer comprehended Cayuse, all commonly speaking Nez Perce among themselves (in Whitman 1936, 1:279). And Black added to the vocabulary that accompanies his report the comment that the Cayuse entries had often to be gathered from "Underlings about their Camps, [the Cayuse] not wishing to trouble themselves too much. . ." (Black 1829).
33. Alvord 1857: 11.
34. Stern 1953-68.
35. "... the other two chiefs appeared to take precedence of [Tamatappam] in all matters of importance." (Ross 1923: 142).
36. Wheeler 1904, 2: 256-259.
37. Hines 1881: 23f; Whitman 1936, 3: 87; Johansen 1959: 132f., 136.
38. Josephy 1965: 668-669, fn.49; Stern 1953-68.
39. While, on the Umatilla Reservation, I heard the same term, *miáxat*, or its Umatilla or Wallawalla equivalent, applied to both headman and chief, Walker, working on the Nez Perce Reservation, encountered a reduplicated form, a diminutive, for the former, reserving the original term for "chief." (Walker 1968: 16).
40. Black 1829: Queries 61, 62.
41. Walker 1968: 15; see also Chalfant, in Chalfant and Ray 1974: 63.
42. Ray 1936: Stern 1953-68.
43. Smith to Rev. D. Greene, 6 February, 1840: in Drury 1958: 124-144, here 139. The taking of ten scalps was said to qualify a man to become chief.
44. Black 1829: Query 79.
45. Lewis and Clark 1904-06, 4: 328.
46. Davenport 1907: 22.
47. Doty 1919: 121-124.
48. Black 1829: Queries 73, 74.
49. Curtis 1907-30, 17: 61-72. Stern 1953-68.
50. Black 1829: Query 38.
51. Variants of the *ixárip* shaman are attested besides among the Umatilla (Stern 1953-68) and the Western Columbia Sahaptin (Perkins Ms., Diary, 26 August, 1843: Collins Memorial Library, University of Puget Sound, Tacoma.) Curtis (1907-30, 8: 72, fn. 1) states that under variants of the same name, this form of shaman was to be found among the Spokane and other Salishan tribes, both on the coast, from which it is said to have come, and in the interior. Lewis and Clark (1904-06, 3: 100-102) describe a woman who seems to have been in the process of mastering such a Power. Nor is the institution gone: within the past decade a schoolgirl replicated the behavior, perhaps inheriting the Power from an aunt, deceased for some years, who is said to have been *ixáripin* in her time.

52. Journal, 7 May, 1831.
53. Lewis and Clark 1904-06, 3: 136f.; 4: 334.
54. Spier 1935: 7.
55. Teit, in Boas 1917: 80-84. The summary is mine.
56. Walker 1968: 34; see also Walker 1969. Shining Shirt: Turney-High 1937: 41-43. Shining Shirt, a legendary prophet of the Flathead and Kalispel in pre-horse days, had a revelation foretelling the arrival of White men in black robes who would come to teach a religion and make new laws. He was miraculously given a piece of metal with a cross drawn upon it. He then preached a new religion, as revealed to him, and opposed the practice of polygamy. He foretold that the Black Robes would teach the Indians a new life, but that soon thereafter other Whites would come and enslave the Indians. (Haines 1938: 435 places the acquisition of the horse by the Flathead at about 1710-20.)
57. Townsend 1839: 253-254.
58. Whitman 1936, 2: 371. Although from a religious standpoint firearms were regarded as distinct and novel, linguistically they were assimilated to that other projectile weapon, the bow and arrow. In the trilingual vocabulary appended to his ethnographic report, Black (1829) reported that the Nez Perce word for "bow" was also used for "gun," and that for "arrow" for "ball (i.e. bullet)." Today the ancient weapon is distinguished from the modern by prefixing to it the adjective for "common," thus: "bow" *walim ti'muni*, "gun" *ti'muni*; "arrow" *walim cap*, "bullet" *cap*. Thus, it is the innovation which has captured the primary term.
59. For two Nez Perce myths of the afterworld situated terrestrially, see Phinney 1969: "Coyote the Interloper," English translation, pp. 278-282, and "Coyote and the Shadow People," pp. 282-284. (While Phinney recorded these myths in Nez Perce from his mother, her name, Wailatpu, led me to inquire of Alphonse Halfmoon whether she was in fact Cayuse. In reply (letter of April 30, 1990), he recalled meeting Phinney at Lapwai in 1949. When Phinney learned that he came from the Umatilla Indian Reservation, he volunteered the information that his mother had come from there too, and was of Cayuse descent. What component of her tales may have had a Cayuse source must remain in question.)
For a Wyandot expression of the heavenly route, including the doctrine of the roads, see Finley 1840, as quoted in Berkhofer 1972: 116f.

Five

1. Perkins Diary, 4 December, 1843: in UPS, D/II/1. See designation in Loewenberg, 1976, p. 179, n. 37.
2. Journal, 3 April 1831.
3. *Ibid.*, 12 April, 1831.
4. Josephy 1965: 110, 668, n. 49.

5. Bailey 1947: 235, quoting Chief Joseph; McWhorter 1952: 598.
6. Journal, 4 April, 1831.
7. *Ibid.*, 6 April, 1831.
8. Work 1912: 365.
9. Black, 1829, Vocabulary, fo. 22, lists the entry as "Willa Walla," which in his usage also includes the Columbia River Sahaptins. Although Josephy (1965: 58) was told that the name was of Cayuse origin, the Cayuse entry for "frog" in Black is distinct and unrelated.
10. Lewis and Clark 1904-06, 3: 132, n. 1.
11. Ross 1924: 171.
12. Palmer 1906, 30: 106.
13. Palmer 1878: Bancroft Library, Ms. P-A 58.
14. Josephy 1965: 58.
15. Black to McLoughlin, 23 March, 1826: HBC Archives, B 223/b/2 fos. 3d, 4.
16. Haines 1955: 280
17. Trafzer and Scheuerman 1986:172, fn. 10. Cf. Relander 1956:118.
18. In Gray 1870: 189.
19. See Drury 1973, 2, entries under Ish-Ish-kais-kais.
20. See Wheeler 1904, 2: 256. Morice (1905:351f.), while conceding that the volume rests on Ogden's tales of his experiences, gives reasons for believing the author to have been Chief Factor Duncan Finlayson.
21. [Ogden] 1933: 22-27. It may be added that this account is the original of several others, which differ in details, but seem to have been based on the oral accounts of Ogden. Thus, Hines (1881: 185-189), who heard it in 1843 but apparently misunderstood reference to the year ('25), places it twenty-five years earlier, i.e., 1818. Had it taken place at that time, when Ross was master, he must surely have mentioned it. In turn, Bancroft (1882, 1: 289, n. 194; 1884, 2: 274) follows Hines. In 1844, A. C. Anderson, a Company officer and friend of Ogden, retailed another version as he had heard it at Fort Nez Percés, though placing it in 1832 (OHS, Mss. 127, Tappan letter, quoting Anderson). Still another version is given by the artist, Paul Kane (1859: 284-289) as he had heard it in 1847, almost certainly from Ogden. All seem to be dealing with the same event. Yet, though striking, it was not without parallel. Anderson's warrant for placing the event in 1832 may have been based on an incident entered by McGillivray in his journal. Under date of 18 April, 1831, he wrote,

Was informed today, that a Nes Perce's Son had died at a distance from this—for the loss of his child he said, he could not survive the loss, therefore ordered his relations to make a Hole in the ground, and he was buried alive upright in his Grave, along with his Son. The Indian's name is the Grand Cheveux or *Le Pere des quatre grand*

Filles. He had four grown Daughters, and would never allow them to marry.

22. Wheeler 1904, 2: 256-260. Cf. Dye 1902, p. 271, where the name is given as Se-cho-wa, and see *Oregon History Magazine* 37:1, p. 20, for photograph of this individual, Mrs. Dye, and the interpreter Pe-Tow-Ya. Major Moorhouse, Wheeler's intermediary, seems mistakenly to have given the latter name to the old woman.
23. Lewis and Clark 1904-05, 3: 132, n. 1; Wheeler, 1904: 256-260.
24. Ross 1923: 204-206, 213.
25. Splawn 1944: 366.
26. Ross 1923: 142.
27. Ross 1924: 170.
28. *Ibid.*, pp. 223-229.
29. Journal, 28 October, 1831.
30. W. C. McKay opined that the young Wallawalla war leader, The Morning Star, who in 1814 talked his people out of attacking the Nor'Westers, may have been a brother of Piupiumaksmaks (letter to E. E. Dye, 14 July, 1892: OHS, Mss. 1089, E. E. Dye Papers). However, Cox (1957: 194), who recounts the incident, states that Morning Star's father was dead, while Tamatappam continued very much alive.
31. Farnham 1843: 81.
32. Garth 1964.
33. Brouillet 1858: 52.
34. For locations, see Josephy 1965: Map p. 162.
35. Toupin, in Brouillet 1858: 18f.
36. Elliott, in Work, 1914-1915: 91.
37. Josephy 1965: Map p. 162.
38. Work 1914-1915: 93.
39. Josephy 1965: 169.
40. *Idem.*, pp. 168, 181.
41. It would seem to have been his band that Ross (1974) shows on his map as "Calatouche" camp, although in his text (1923: 226) the name is misspelled "Catatouche." It was here that John Clarke in 1813 hanged a villager for stealing his goblet. Ross thought the band Nez Perce, the lowest body of that people on the Snake. Work (1914: 15: 20) situated this "Pelusha" village, with Colatouche as chief, just upriver on the Snake from the mouth of the Palouse river.
The same individual, or a namesake, is the Que-lap-tip and Quillatose of Stevens (1855); as signatory to the Yakima treaty of 1855 his name was rendered Kah-lat-toose (and Koo-lat-toose). See Thompson 1971: 70, fn. 19, and Chalfant, in Chalfant et al. 1974: 191-3.

42. Cf. Trafzer and Scheuerman 1986:4, who state that the Palus of the lower Snake called themselves "Nahahum." Aoki and Rigsby (n.d.) give the term as *naxiyampam*.

Six

1. Galbraith 1957: 3-10; Rich 1959, 2: 401-7. The field officers corresponded to the "wintering partners" of the North West Company.
2. Fleming 1940: 141, 153.
3. Simpson 1968: 65.
4. *Ibid.*: 66.
5. To which he habitually referred as "Walla Walla."
6. The double-ended, clinker-built York boats, developed at York Factory to carry freight on larger rivers, may have been enlarged with time on the Columbia, for McLoughlin's figures are for vessels each with a crew of six and a capacity of somewhat under forty pieces. By contrast, in 1841 the American naval explorer, Captain Charles Wilkes, described the boat as thirty feet long with a beam of 5.5 feet, manned by a crew of eight, and capable of carrying sixty pieces. By that time, also, the manpower of the Columbia-New Caledonia Department was larger, and Peter Skene Ogden, then Chief Factor in charge of New Caledonia, spent six months with the brigade, travelling round-trip between his headquarters at Fort St. James, on Stuart Lake, and Fort Vancouver. It can be seen that transport was a heavy expense in the affairs of the Company: observes Wilkes, a beaver skin worth a quarter at Fort St. James had risen in value to \$2.50—a tenfold increase—by the time it reached Fort Vancouver (Wilkes 1849, 4: 378).
7. McLoughlin to Simpson, 20 March, 1827: HBC Archives D 4/b/120. By way of perspective, it is well to recall that when, nine years earlier, then Nor'Wester Donald McKenzie set about building Fort Nez Percés, he had a force of ninety-five men to overawe the Indians and to construct the post.
8. Sources: Williams 1975: 167ff.; McLoughlin 1948: App. A; McKinlay 1878; Pambrun n.d.; Lent 1963; McLoughlin 1941: 26.
9. Williams 1975: 163.
10. The term, *métis*, here denotes the descendant of a biracial union of which one member was Indian. Of French origin (*métis*, m. sing., *métisse* f. sing.), literally "mixed," (cf. Spanish *mestizo*), it was applied primarily to descendants of French-Indian unions, being modified where other Europeans were involved: thus *métis anglais* designated what otherwise was termed an "English half-breed." I use it in its more general sense following the discussion and usage of Peterson and Brown 1985: see especially pp. 5-6. Compare also Harrison 1985, but especially *Dictionary of Canadianisms* 1967, which capitalizes the entries, *Métis*, *Metis*, and *Métisse*, *Metisse*, in the ethnic and racial sense in which *métis* is used here:

by contrast, the capitalized terms now are used with reference to such politically recognized entities as the Métis Nation.

If it is argued that the capitalization of "White" and "Indian" argues a like treatment for *métis*, we may note that in the first half of the nineteenth century the category was regarded as interstitial, only gradually emerging to acquire an identity of its own.

11. Simpson 1938, 2: 574.
12. 6 October, 1825: in McLoughlin 1941: 12.
13. Quoted in Ogden 1950: xxxv.
14. Simpson 1968: 57f., 128.
15. Williams 1975: 193.
16. *Ibid.*: 192-193.
17. Simpson 1938: 75.
18. *Ibid.*: 75.
19. Campbell 1962: *passim*, quotation, p. 314.
20. Simpson 1947: 152f.
21. Simpson 1938: 451.
22. 27 January, 1831: in McLoughlin 1948: 180f.
23. Ballantyne 1848: 280. The identification of Barnston with Ballantyne's raconteur is made by Dunlop 1941.
24. Williams 1975: 231.
25. Ross 1924: 279.
26. HBC Archives, B 239/k/1 fo. 155d.
27. McLoughlin 1948: 256ff.
28. Williams 1975: 162.
29. *Ibid.*: 190.
30. Robertson 1939: 172, 171, 195.
31. Campbell 1962: 4, 331.
32. Journal, 23 October, 1831.
33. Williams 1975: 224.
34. Atkinson 1940: 393.
35. Pambrun n.d.: 14.
36. *Ibid.*: 29. For another view of Joseph, see Cox 1957: 122, 271, 323, 367.

Seven

1. Ross 1924: 126-127.
2. Simpson 1968: 59-60.
3. *Ibid.*: 58; Gray 1870: 138, who purports to be quoting "a resident."

4. Merk 1968: 131.
5. As Rich (1959, 2: 406f.) puts it, at the time of coalition a Deed Poll was drawn up, allotting 40 shares of the profits to the traders. Those shares were in turn divided into 85 sub-shares, of which each chief factor (there were 25) received two, while each chief trader (there were 28) was to receive one, for a total of 78 sub-shares. The remainder were to go to retired servants for a fixed period, then to supplement a general fund for retired personnel.
6. E.g., Minutes of Temporary Council, 1 July, 1824, Res. 3: in Simpson 1968: 212, also 233.
7. Ballantyne 1848: 33-34; see also Simpson 1968: xlii.
8. Ballantyne 1848: 32f.; Simpson 1968: xliif, 211f.
9. Wilkes 1845, 4: 392 for the form of the contract.
10. As Mrs. Shirlee Anne Smith, then Keeper, HBC Archives, points out (personal communication), this restriction was not limited to the *engagés*.
11. Pambrun n.d.: 4-5.
12. Brown 1980.
13. Journal, 29 March, 1831.
14. He is distinct from the better-known John Grey, who revolted against both Ross and Ogden (Wells 1969).
15. Ross 1923: 293-303.
16. Rigsby 1969: 90; Warner and Munnick 1972: 124.
17. Ogden 1971: 85.
18. Brown 1976.
19. Ross 1956: 18-19.
20. Minutes of Council, York Factory, 10 July, 1924, Res. 103: in Merk 1968: 238.
21. Glazebrook 1938: 427.
22. Garth 1952: 47.
23. Dated 14 August, 1831: in McLoughlin 1948: 210.
24. Larsell 1947: 24-29, 603 sees the 1829-1831 epidemics as typhus compounded by malaria; Cook 1955 identifies it as malaria; Boyd 1985: 112 agrees with Cook.
25. Pambrun n.d.: 28.
26. Journal, 1 July, 1831. The reprimand was given by William Kittson, a temporary replacement.
27. Ross 1924: 224.
28. Black 1829: Query 25. Information on Charpentier's service with Black, Mrs. Shirlee A. Smith, personal communication.
29. Journal, 21 October, 1831.

30. 4 January, 1831: in McLoughlin 1948: 180.
31. 16 March, 1831: in McLoughlin 1948: 188.
32. Journal, 4 February, 1832.
33. To McGillivray, 2 July, 1832; to Pambrun, 1 September, 4 December 1832; general letter, 28 January, 1833; HBC Archives B 221/b/8, fos. 7, 12d, 43d, 45-45d.
34. Journal, 21 May, 1831.
35. *Ibid.*, 22 May, 1831.
36. *Ibid.*, 7 January, 1832.
37. *Ibid.*, 13 July, 1831.
38. *Ibid.*, 14 July, 1831.
39. *Ibid.*, 6, 7 September, 1831.
40. Merk 1968: 58. The suggestion on the use of the moss I owe to Mrs. Shirlee Ann Smith (personal communication).
41. *Ibid.*: 131f.
42. Minutes of Council, 26 June, 1826, Res. 80: in Fleming 1940: 153.
43. Minutes of Council, August, 1822: in Fleming 1940: 153.
44. Minutes of Council, 10 July, 1824, Res. 118: in Fleming 1940: 94f.
45. 10 March, 1825: HBC Archives D 4/5 22.
46. Brown 1980.
47. Letter, Sarah McKinlay to Eva E. Dye, 23 January, 1892: OHS Mss. 1089, E. E. Dye Papers.
48. Robertson 1939: 294. Robertson's deposition, made in London in 1820, concerned that incident in the Athabaska strife between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Nor'Westers in which McGillivray and Black had captured and imprisoned him.
49. Campbell 1962: 302.
50. Wallace 1934: 471.
51. Simpson 1947: 223.
52. John Charles et al. to Simpson, 18 July, 1822: HBC Archives D 4/116/7-8, fos. 123-126.
53. 23 June, 1823: HBC Archives, D 486.
54. Minutes of Council, 10 July, 1824, Res. 117: in Fleming 1940: 91.
55. Douglas to Governor . . . and Committee, 5 October, 1838: HBC Archives, B 223/b/21, fo. 4. Reviewing the rations issued weekly at Fort Vancouver in the 1830s, Hussey (1991: 286) concludes: "These amounts were intended to feed the men only, since rarely were rations provided for families of servants." He adds that, unless employed in some capacity in the fort, Indian wives of servants supplemented their husband's rations by foraging in native fashion.

56. Cowie 1913: 215, 213.
57. Journal, 1 August, 1831.
58. *Ibid.*, 13 June, 1831.
59. Fleming 1940: 230f.
60. Journal, 12 May, 1831.
61. *Ibid.*, 19 May, 1831.
62. *Ibid.*, 30 May, 1831.
63. *Ibid.*, 13 August, 1831.
64. *Ibid.*, 28 September, 1831.
65. The title, remarks Mrs. Shirlee Anne Smith (personal communication), reflects the military rank held by Pierre Pambrun while serving in the defense of Canada during the War of 1812. Townsend was introduced to him by Wyeth by the same title (1839: 155).

Eight

1. Entry of 13 February, 1826: in Ogden 1961:76.
2. Sarah McKinlay to Eva E. Dye, 11 December, 1891: OHS, Mss. 1089, E. E. Dye Papers. Catholic records make Julia either Spokane or Flathead (Warner and Munnick, 1972:52-53).
3. Sarah McKinlay to Eva E. Dye, 20 March, 1892: OHS, Mss. 1089, E. E. Dye Papers. After Ogden passed away in 1854, Julia lived with Archibald and Sarah McKinlay until her death (Elliott 1910:17).
4. Simpson 1968:98.
5. Simpson to McLoughlin, 10 April, 1825: HBC Archives, D 4/5 fos. 22-23d.
6. *Ibid.*, fo. 28.
7. Burpee 1943:15. OHS, Mss. 319.
8. Wyeth 1899:174.
9. Wilkes 1845, 4:349.
10. Journal, 14 October, 1831.
11. *Ibid.*, 27 April, 1831.
12. McLoughlin to Simpson, 20 March, 1831: in McLoughlin 1948:185.
13. Kittson to John Rowand, 12 August, 1830: HBC Archives, D 4/b/125, fo. 50. As Ermatinger wrote to his brother, Edward (16 February, 1831) he had been under severe provocation, since the same Indian had previously seduced the wife of William Kittson, who had been left in his care. Although, he reported, McLoughlin had assured him that "the removal would be nothing against me. . .," the Council, reviewing the affair, censured him for his action. (Ermatinger 1980: 136-8, 159).
14. John Mix Stanley, artist with the Stevens party, depicts what appear to be mat-covered longhouses and a tipi in the foreground of a sketch of the

adobe fort (1853) seen from a northern vantage. This may well be artistic license, since there are other elements in his composition which are fictive (see chapter one, note 34).

15. Townsend 1839: 155f.
16. Wilkes 1845, 3:397; Lewis and Clark 1904-06, 4:335-338.
17. Black 1829: Query 33. Narcissa Whitman was to describe the way in which children about the post maltreated one such unfortunate (Whitman 1936, 2:266).
18. Journal, entries of 7-10, 12 May, 1831.
19. *Ibid.*, 24 June, 14 July, 1831.
20. *Ibid.*, 21 August, 1831.
21. *Ibid.*, 8 April, 1831.
22. *Ibid.*, 14 December, 1831.

Nine

1. Journal, 29 November, 1831.
2. That fall hunts continued to be ritually conditioned is reflected in the fact that Cayuse-Nez Perce hunting parties in the fall ended their quest with the fall of the fifth snow—five being the ritual number for these tribes. The significance of snow in this enterprise is reflected in turn in that cosmology recounted by Samuel Black (p. XX *supra*), that Old Chief brought the snow “to reveal the tracks of game.”
The ritual importance of deer is also reflected by the five ritual classes of foods celebrated each April at the Root Feast on the Umatilla Indian Reservation. They are: water, salmon (for water creatures), venison (for land animals), roots, and berries.
3. Work, 1914-15:184.
4. Cf. Archibald McKinlay to Elwood Evans, 19 January, 1880: YB, Mss. 173, Evans Papers.
5. 18 September, 1834: HBC Archives, B 223/b/10, fo. 47.
6. Wilkes 1845, 4:380. In a portage, the entire cargo as well as the craft were carried around obstacles in the stream, while in a *décharge* the load was merely lightened so that the vessel could be floated past obstructions. These terms, together with “piece,” came into English through Canadian French (*Dictionary of Canadianisms* 1967).
7. Simpson 1968:128f.
8. Simpson 1947:223. David Douglas (1904:348), the naturalist, staying at the fort in 1826, records that, the salmon having temporarily failed, he had recourse to boiled horse-flesh and roasted ground rat.
9. 25 September, 1830: in McLoughlin 1948:130.
10. Farnham 1843:83.

11. Letter, 2 October, 1836: Letters of H. H. and Mrs. Spalding 1912:374.
12. Journal, 24 July, 1831.
13. *Ibid.*, 27 July, 1831.
14. *Ibid.*, 1 September, 1831.
15. *Ibid.*, 25, 31 October, 1831.
16. *Ibid.*, 1, 25 November, 1831.
17. William Kittson to John Rowand, 12 August, 1830: HBC Archives, D 4/b/125. For François Rivet and his family, see Munnick, in Hafen 1965-72, 7: 237-43.

Ten

1. Ray 1974:61-65.
2. Ray 1977; Ray and Freeman 1978.
3. Thompson 1962:45.
4. Ray 1974:63; Ray and Freeman 1978:54
5. Galbraith 1957:432, n. 3.
6. 12 November, 1823: HBC Archives, A 6/b/20.
7. Cowie 1913:279.
8. Simpson 1968:171-174.
9. Galbraith 1957:118.
10. 27 February, 1822: quoted in Galbraith 1957:79.
11. Rich 1959, 2:650-659, 519f., 663ff.
12. Galbraith 1957:99.
13. 16 August, 1829: HBC Archives, B 223/b/5, fo. 16. Galbraith (1957: 139) adds that McLoughlin directed his clerks to demand five MBs for a blanket from interior Indians who came into Fort Vancouver to trade, but apparently without effect.
14. 1 August, 1830: HBC Archives, B 223/b/6, fo. 7d.
15. Rich 1970:16.
16. 16 March, 1831: Rich 1941:228. To reduce the price of goods was, of course, tantamount to increasing the price of the Made Beaver, and thus of all pelts valued by that standard. By and large, as Rich has shown in his essay (Rich 1970), the Company had become convinced that, were the price of beaver to be advanced, the Indians, inelastic in their economic demands, would merely bring in fewer skins, sufficient only to supply their present standard of living.
17. 4 November, 1842: HBC Archives, B 223/b/29. The quality of Company goods had also long been acknowledged a factor in the Indian trade.
18. Simpson 1947:51. With the decline of the Snake Country brigades, the number of horses traded annually dwindled to about one hundred.

19. 17 July, 1826: HBC Archives, B 223/b/2, fo. 14.
20. 14 December, 1831: HBC Archives, B 223/b/7, fo. 10.
21. Journal, 11 November, 1831.
22. 31 March, 1826: HBC Archives, B 223/b/2, fo. 5.
23. Galbraith 1957:99.
24. 5 October, 1829; see also 16 October, 1829: both in McLoughlin 1948:63ff.
25. 23 March, 1826: HBC Archives, b 223/b/2, fo. 4d.
26. 25 July, 1826: *Ibid.*, fo. 42d.
27. 8 August, 1826: *Ibid.*, fo. 15.
28. 15 August, 1826: *Ibid.*, fo 43.
29. 17 September, 1826: *Ibid.*, fo. 36.
30. 12 June, 1827: HBC Archives, B 223/b/3, fo. 3.
31. 21 June, 1828: HBC Archives, B 223/b/4, fo. 14.
32. August, 1828: *Ibid.*, fo. 25.
33. 14 December, 1831: HBC Archives, B 223/b/7, fo. 10.
34. Wilkes 1845, 4: 333.
35. Journal, 19 August, 1831.
36. *Ibid.*, 12 August, 1831.
37. *Ibid.*, 1 May, 1831.
38. *Ibid.*, 19 May, 1831.
39. 30 November, 1830: HBC Archives, B 223/b/6, fos. 25d, 26.
40. Journal, 29 July, 1831.
41. *Ibid.*, 3 May, 1831.
42. E.g., Ray and Freeman 1978: Chapters 6,7; Hutchins 1947; see also Cowie 1913:273-276.
43. Ross 1924:206.
44. Rich 1970:13. In the early trading ritual in the Northern Department on the Bay, the Indian trading captain alone was admitted into the Indian store at the time his followers were bartering through the trading port (Ray and Freeman 1978: 70). Ross makes no mention of this courtesy being extended to visiting chiefs during his administration at Fort Nez Percés.
45. Garth 1952; Ballantyne 1848:38, 51.
46. McKinlay 1878, 1911. Work, 1914-1915:189, 260.
47. Journal, 19, 20 August, 1831. It was in the Indian Hall at Fort Nez Percés that David Douglas, returning from the Colville District, stretched out to sleep, only to be driven forth by that inseparable feature of Indian life of those days, a swarm of fleas (Douglas 1904:345).

48. Black 1829: Query 96.
49. Ray and Freeman 1978: Chapters 6, 7. As against the trading ritual which they analyze for the 17th and 18th century posts on Hudson's Bay, in which the initial presentation by the Indians was made up of furs contributed by members of the party but tendered by their trading captain, the horse presented at Nez Percés by a Cayuse leader was in all probability his own animal. It is likely, however—although we lack details—that some, at least, of the goods he received in return were redistributed among his followers, in the same manner as the trading captains.
50. Journal, 30 March, 1831.
51. *Ibid.*, 10 April, 1831.
52. *Ibid.*, 4 December, 1831.
53. *Ibid.*, 16 October, 24 November, 1831, 23 February, 1832.
54. Ballantyne 1848:38.
55. Cox 1957:234f.
56. OHS Mss. 5002-1, Sketches of Joseph Drayton.
57. Journal, 25 April, 1831.
58. *Ibid.*, 12 November, 1831.
59. *Ibid.*, 16 November, 1831.
60. *Ibid.*, 29 November, 1831.
61. *Ibid.*, 6 February, 1832.
62. *Ibid.*, 7 March, 1832.
63. *Ibid.*, 14 March, 1832.
64. *Ibid.*, 8 November, 1831.
65. A spring-like wire attachment for the ramrod to remove residues from the barrel before reloading.
66. Journal, 22 November, 1831.
67. *Ibid.*, 14 March, 1832.
68. *Ibid.*, 17 January, 1832.
69. *Ibid.*, 30 May, 1831.
70. Work, 1914-1915:92.
71. Journal, 30 March, 1831.
72. Note 68 *supra*.
73. Ogden 1971: 31.
74. *Ibid.*: 48.
75. Quoted in Ogden 1971: 22, n.2.
76. Ross 1924: 248. Of the Chinookans of the lower Columbia, Lewis and Clark (see above, Chapter Two) held quite another opinion.

77. Ross 1924:248f. A similar esteem for regalia was shown by some of the Iroquois trappers. Thus, Ross (1956: 215) recounts how, while he was leading the Snake Country brigade in 1823, several of the Iroquois of his party, encountering some Piegans, had followed them and improvidently bartered away all their ammunition for "a few useless Indian toys, one of which was a headdress of feathers!"
78. Entry of 3 June, 1826: in Ogden 1950:175.

Eleven

1. Ross 1924:229-237.
2. Whitman, 1893:145, 149.
3. Ross 1924:206, Garth 1952.
4. Ross 1924:98, 207.
5. *Ibid.*, 221f.
6. Black 1829: Query 66. Italics in the original.
7. Simpson 1968:127-128, 137. The interpreter, whom Simpson merely identifies as "John," was almost certainly Jean Baptiste Toupin, said to have served in that office at the fort since 1821. He took to wife Madame Dorion, the mother of Baptiste, at the fort about 1824, and by her had two children, born in 1825 and 1826. Despite Simpson's avowed intentions, both John Work's journal (1914-15: 34-5) and Black's correspondence (Black to McLoughlin, 15 August, 1827 [1826]: HBC Archives B/223/b/2 [1826], fo. 43d.) show Toupin still serving locally as interpreter the year after Simpson's visit.
8. Journal, 11 May, 1831.
9. Simpson 1968:67, 71, 86.
10. *Ibid.*, 122; Work, 1914-1915:279, also 105.
11. 20 March, 1827: HBC Archives, D4/b/120; 20 March, 1828: *Ibid.*, D 4/b/121, fo. 109.
12. 23 March, 1826: HBC Archives, B 223/b/2, fos. 3d, 4.
13. McLoughlin to Black, 31 March, 1826: HBC Archives, *ibid.*, fos. 4d, 5.
14. Black to McLoughlin, 22 April, 1826: HBC Archives, *ibid.*, fos. 7, 7d, 8. "Is Ky ouse" is a variant form of "Cayuse," perhaps from the Salish rendition of the name: thus see the Okanogan term, approximately *skeiúuesx*, applied to both the Cayuse and to their associates, the Umatilla and Wallawalla (Teit 1930: 202). See also Irving's (1868) "Skyuse," denoting, however, only the Cayuse.
15. 3 June, 1826: HBC Archives, *ibid.*, fos. 8d, 9.
16. 20 March, 1828: HBC Archives, D 4/b/121, fo. 31.
17. McKinlay to Elwood Evans, 15 October, 1880: YB, Mss. 173, Evans Papers.

18. HBC Archives, B 239/k/1, fo. 204d. Printed in Fleming 1940.
19. Ross 1923:236.
20. Simpson 1968:54.
21. Entry, 28 October, 1824: Ogden 1950:93.
22. 23 March, 1826: HBC Archives, B 223/b/2, fos. 3, 3d.
23. Entry, 22 November, 1825: Ogden 1950:95f.
24. 25 November: *ibid.*, p.96f.
25. 29 November: *ibid.*, p.98.
26. 1 December: *ibid.*, p.98.
27. 5 December: *ibid.*, p. 100.
28. 6 December: *ibid.*, p.101.
29. 11 December: *ibid.*, p. 103.
30. 13 December: *ibid.*, p. 104.
31. 20 December: *ibid.*, p. 106.
32. 23 December: *ibid.*, p. 107.
33. 9 January, 1826: *ibid.*, p.112.
34. 11 January: *ibid.*, p. 113.
35. 20 January: *ibid.*, p. 117.
36. 12 February: *ibid.*, p. 126.
37. 20 March: *ibid.*, p. 144.
38. 21 March: *ibid.*, p. 144.
39. 22 March: *ibid.*, p. 144.
40. 1 April, 13 April: *ibid.*, pp. 150, 155.
41. 7 June: *ibid.*, p. 178.
42. 15 June: *ibid.*, p. 187.
43. 2 June: *ibid.*, p. 174.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 181.
45. 2 June: *ibid.*, p. 194.
46. 25 July, 1826: HBC Archives, B 223/b/2, fo.41.
47. Ogden 1971:5.
48. J.W. Dease to Governor, Chief Factors, and Chief Traders, 21 July, 1825:
in Ogden 1950: 251f., n.1.
49. See note 46: *ibid.*, fos. 41d, 42.
50. Cf. Chance 1973: Table 11, for Company purchases of robes in the Colville
District during Outfits 1825-1830.
51. Ogden 1971:68-70.
52. *Ibid.*:93.
53. *Ibid.*:59.

54. *Ibid.*:159.
55. *Ibid.*:163.
56. *Ibid.*:164.
57. *Ibid.*:2, 181, n.1.
58. *Ibid.*:158.
59. *Ibid.*:25-26.
60. *Ibid.*:4, 43.
61. *Ibid.*:147, 148.
62. Work 1945:3, 73.
63. 9 December, 1833: HBC Archives, B 223/b/9, fo. 23.
64. Work 1945:63.
65. Williams 1975:173, n.1.
66. Journal, 15 June, 1831.
67. *Ibid.*, 15 December, 1831.
68. *Ibid.*, 8 March, 1832.
69. McLoughlin to Dease 6 March, 1833: HBC Archives, B/223/b/8, fos. 48, 48d.
70. Chance 1973:49.
71. Frank Ermatinger to his brother, Edward, 5 March, 1829, in Ermatinger 1980: 93.
72. Watson 1928: 12; Patterson, in Black 1955: xcvi.

Twelve

1. Journal, 29 March, 1831.
2. *Ibid.*, 10 November, 1831.
3. *Ibid.*, 28 April, 1831.
4. *Ibid.*, 13 May, 23, 24 August, 4 September, 1831.
5. Wilkes 1845, 4:395.
6. Lewis and Clark 1902, 2:298-301.
7. Ross 1924:173.
8. *Ibid.*, 210-215.
9. *Ibid.*, 223-233.
10. *Ibid.*, 245, 255.
11. Ross 1956:263-265.
12. Simpson 1968:127f.
13. Dease to Governor, etc., 21 July 1825: in Ogden 1950:251f, n.1.
14. Dease to Governor, etc., 7 April 1826: in Simpson 1968:273.

15. Simpson 1968:54, 55.
16. Bailey 1969.
17. Journal, 13 July, 1831.
18. *Ibid.*, 13 October, 1831.
19. *Ibid.*, 13 January, 1832.
20. *Ibid.*, 12 October, 1831.
21. *Ibid.*, 30 July, 1831.
22. Rich 1970; Ray 1974. Cf. Turner 1891:27, 34-36.
23. Ross 1924:249.
24. Journal, 18 January, 1832.
25. Entry of 13 October, 1833: in Wyeth 1899:173.
26. Douglas 18 October, 1838: in McLoughlin 1941:236.
27. Farnham 1843:81.
28. Wilkes 1845, 4:394.
29. Chance 1973: Table 11.

Thirteen

1. Saum 1965: 40-41.
2. *Ibid.*, 60.
3. McLoughlin to Barnston, 1 August, 30 November, 1830; to Barnston, to McGillivray, both dated 16 March, 1831: in McLoughlin 1948: 121f., 171-173, 188, 189.
4. Journal 3 April, 1831.
5. Simpson 1968: 127, 137.
6. Journal 11 May, 1831.
7. *Ibid.*, 5 April, 1831.
8. *Ibid.*, 12 April, 1831.
9. *Ibid.*, 27 April, 1831.
10. *Ibid.*, 29 April, 1831.
11. *Ibid.*, 11 May, 1831.
12. *Ibid.*, 12 May, 1831.
13. *Ibid.*, 13 May, 1831.
14. *Ibid.*, 22 May, 1831.
15. *Ibid.*, 9 June, 1831.
16. *Ibid.*, 14, 15 June, 1831.
17. *Ibid.*, 15 June, 1831.
18. *Ibid.*, 24, 28 June, 8 July, 1831.
19. *Ibid.*, 13, 23 July, 1831.

20. *Ibid.*, 26 July, 1831.
21. *Ibid.*, 27 July, 1831.
22. *Ibid.*, 28 July, 1831.
23. *Ibid.*, 29, 30 July, 1831.
24. *Ibid.*, 30 July, 1831.
25. *Ibid.*, 2 August, 1831.
26. *Idem.*
27. *Ibid.*, 3, 4, 11 August, 1831.
28. *Ibid.*, 7, 12, 15 August, 1831.
29. *Ibid.*, 17 August, 1831.
30. *Ibid.*, 19 August, 1831.
31. *Ibid.*, 30 August, 5, 9, 10 September, 1831; Pambrun n.d.: 28 gives Sasty's age.
32. *Ibid.*, 27 September 1831.
33. *Ibid.*, 28 September, 1831.
34. *Ibid.*, 4, 8, 10, 12 October, 1831.
35. *Ibid.*, 21 October, 1831.
36. *Ibid.*, 23, 25 October, 1831.
37. *Ibid.*, 24 October, 1831.
38. *Ibid.*, 26 October, 1831.
39. *Idem.*
40. *Ibid.*, 30 October, 1831.
41. *Ibid.*, 2, 5 November, 1831.
42. *Ibid.*, 31 October, 4 November, 1831.
43. Chance 1973: 91.
44. Pambrun n.d.: 35, Sohon's portrait of the Nez Perce chief, The Lawyer, made during the treaty council of Walla Walla in 1855, shows him wearing his chief's hat (Drury 1979: opp. p. 106 cf. 96f.)
45. Chance, *idem.*
46. Journal, 8 November, 1831.
47. *Ibid.*, 11 November, 1831.
48. *Ibid.*, 12, 14 November, 1831.
49. *Ibid.*, 19 November, 1831.
50. *Ibid.*, 21 November, 1831.
51. *Ibid.*, 22, 23, 24, 25 November, 1831.
52. *Ibid.*, 14, 15, 19 November, 1831.
53. *Ibid.*, 20, 23 December, 1831.
54. *Ibid.*, 20, 22, 24, 31 December, 1831.

55. *Ibid.*, 1 January, 1832.
56. *Ibid.*, 2, 3, 9 January, 1832.
57. *Ibid.*, 10 January, 1832.
58. Ross 1924: 226; Journal, 4 November, 1831.
59. *Ibid.*, 20 January, 1832.
60. *Ibid.*, 10, 11, 14 January, 1832.
61. *Ibid.*, 10 January, 1832.
62. *Ibid.*, 11 January, 1832.
63. *Ibid.*, 12 January, 1832.
64. *Ibid.*, 11 January, 1832.
65. *Ibid.*, 11, 12 January, 1832.
66. *Ibid.*, 13 January, 1832.
67. *Idem.*
68. *Ibid.*, 14 January, 1832.
69. *Ibid.*, 15 January, 1832.
70. *Idem.*
71. *Ibid.*, 17 January, 1832.
72. *Ibid.*, 18 January, 1832.
73. *Ibid.*, 20 January, 1832.
74. *Idem.*
75. *Idem.*
76. *Ibid.*, 23, 26 January, 1832.
77. *Ibid.*, 24, 25, 26 January, 1832; McLoughlin to McGillivray, 11 January, 1832: in McLoughlin 1948: 240.
78. *Ibid.*, 29 January, 1832.
79. 10 January, 1832: HBC Archives B 223/b/7, fos. 11d, 12 (The date is evidently incorrect.)
80. Journal, 31 January, 2 February, 1832.
81. *Ibid.*, 4 February, 1832.
82. *Ibid.*, 7 February, 1832.
83. *Ibid.*, 9 February, 1832.
84. *Ibid.*, 9, 10 February, 1832.
85. *Ibid.*, 17 February, 1832.
86. *Ibid.*, 22 February, 1832; McLoughlin to McGillivray, 7 February, 1832: in McLoughlin 1948: 253f.
87. *Ibid.*, 4 March, 1832.
88. *Ibid.*, 5, 6 March, 1832.
89. *Ibid.*, 8 March, 1832.

90. *Ibid.*, 9 March, 1832; McLoughlin to McGillivray, 27 February, 1832: in McLoughlin 1948: 254f.
91. *Ibid.*, 10, 13, 14, 16, 17 March, 1832.
92. In McLoughlin 1948: 261f.
93. In McLoughlin 1948: 256-60, esp. 258f.
94. Simpson to Governor and Committee, 10 August, 1832: HBC Archives, D 4/ fo.20. Italics are mine.
95. Morice 1905: 136, n.1.
96. [McGillivray] 1833. NL-A Ms 496, vol. XII, 34-64. Laut transcripts. The botanist, David Douglas, fresh from provoking a challenge to a duel from Sam Black at Thompson River by his strictures on the mercenary soul of the fur trader, almost joined the expedition in an effort to reach the Russian fur posts to the north, but decided against it at the last moment (Harvey 1947: 199-203).
97. Simpson to McLoughlin, 8 July, 1834: HBC Archives, D4/20.
98. 19 April, 1835: McLoughlin 1944: 79, n. 2.
99. Simpson to McGillivray, 8 December, 1835: HBC Archives, A6/23, fo. 303.
100. W.S., Secretary of the Committee to McGillivray, 10 February, 1937: HBC Archives, A6/24, fos. 135-135.
101. Simpson 1938: 451.
102. Finlayson to Lewes, 29 June, 1840: HBC Archives, B/200/b/12, fo. 29.
103. Simpson 1938: 451.

Fourteen

1. Spicer 1961. The conceptual field is roughly akin to what Sahlins (1985) has more recently termed the "structure of the conjunction." Here the relationship between the eighteenth-century English explorer, Captain James Cook, and his crew, and the Hawaiian islanders represents the meeting of two sets of cultural perspectives in terms of which each group defined the actions and persons of the other.
2. Spicer 1961: 526.
3. Johansen 1946: 19.
4. Douthit 1991.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 53.
6. McKenzie 1942.

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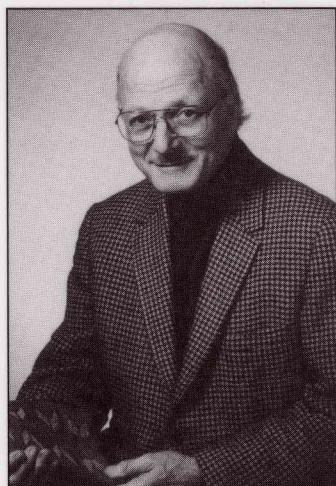
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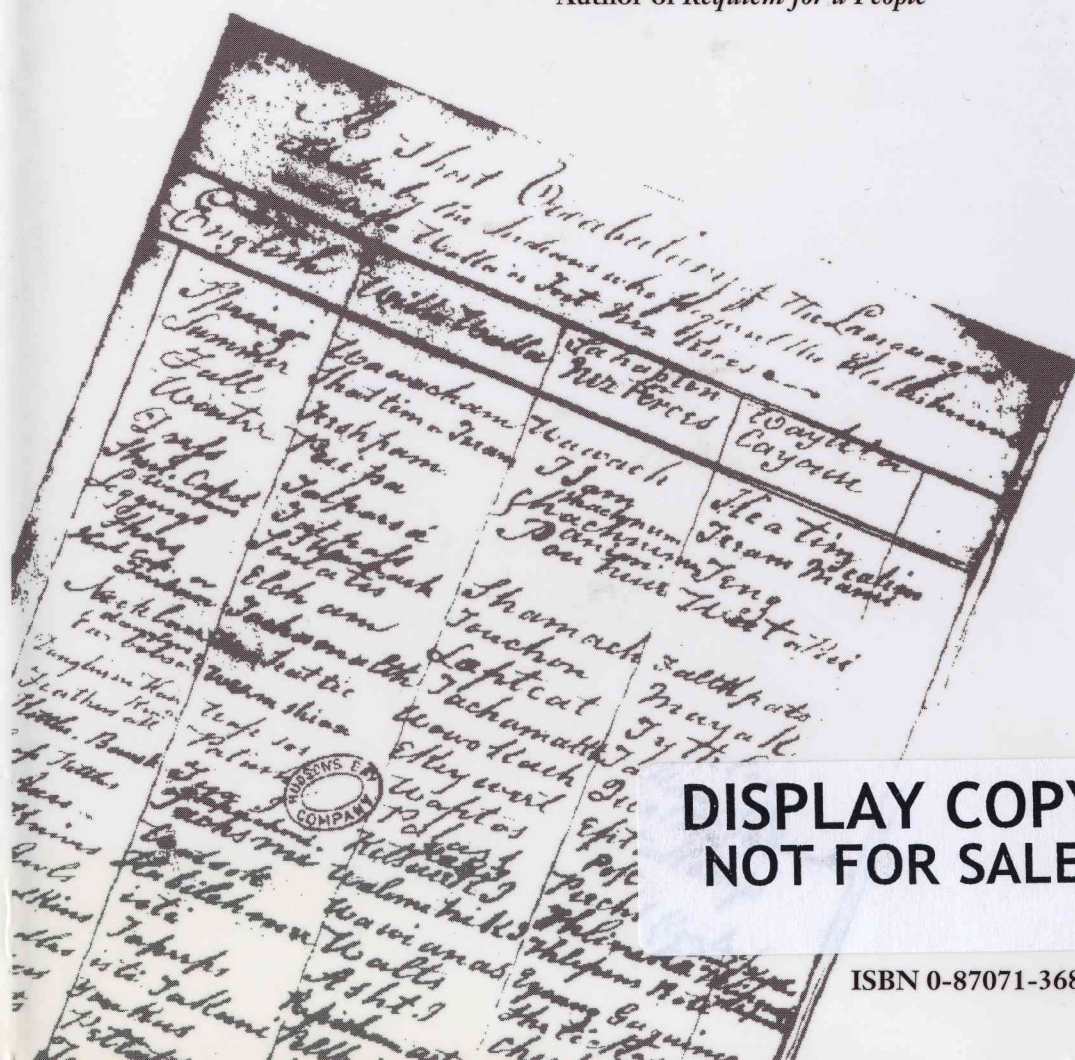
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