

Frenchtown Historical Foundation Research Guide

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Introduction

What is the Frenchtown Historical Foundation Research Guide?

Like an interpretive plan, a research guide defines principles for research and interpretive development for an area of historical interest. It is most commonly developed for internal use by an organization that interacts with visitors, such as a national park.

The need for such reflection is clear. History is not merely the record of past events. It is also the narrative of those events. Perspectives on many issues—race, gender, the environment—have changed since the early 20th century. These changes in how we have told our history are also part of that history, as much as the events themselves. They furthermore serve to caution us about the ways that interpreting the past can perpetuate as well as document injustice or silence.

Improving the quality and accessibility of education about local and regional history is the primary goal of the Frenchtown Historical Foundation Research Guide. Our understanding of our past defines our present experience, and shapes our future relationships. Historical signage educates children, residents and visitors to the valley. Historical interpretation can also connect local topics with larger themes, events, and scholars beyond our valley.

Geographically, this Research Guide focuses on the Walla Walla valley in southeastern Washington state. Temporally, it focuses on the 19th century.

Although developed by the Frenchtown Historical Foundation, this guide seeks to provide a structure that will be of use to historical stakeholders across the entire valley, with the goal of reducing redundancy and increasing accuracy and coordination in historical interpretation.

The guide is provided as a resource and a service. It is not a binding contract, but rather a point of departure for collaboration and further research by both individuals and organizations.

Interpreting Frenchtown: Overview

The layered history of the Frenchtown area in the 19th century corresponds to the layers of history of the Walla Walla Valley as a whole. These layers are not only chronological but also ethnic, linguistic, religious, national, social, economic, technological, and interpretive. Each represents a different, sometimes conflicting, perspective on the history and significance of the region. A layered approach allows for research on specific topics while preserving the overall complexity of Frenchtown history.

Here are some of the stories that intersect with the history of Frenchtown: the ten thousand years of indigenous occupation of the Columbia Plateau, the Lewis and Clark trail, the role of the fur trade, the Whitman Mission, the Oregon Trail, the Battle of 1855 and the 1855 Treaty, the inland gold rush, the sovereign change from territories to states, the allotment of reservation lands, and the agricultural development of Eastern Washington.

Interpreting Frenchtown: Summary of Themes

Theme A: Place

Existing indigenous trade routes determined the locations of fur-trade posts such as Fort Walla Walla. French-Canadian employees of the fur-trade companies settled near the posts with their indigenous wives, creating communities which subsequently served as stops on the Oregon Trail. These early Frenchtowns depended personally and economically on a regional network of resources based on their location and family connections.

Theme B: Practices

Successive land use practices in the Frenchtown area echo larger patterns of land occupation and exploitation enacted throughout the west.

Theme C: Peoples

Early western Frenchtowns were mobile, mixed race, and multilingual. These communities were increasingly isolated by the flood of Protestant settlers, who rejected both their Catholic faith and their intermarriage with Indigenous peoples. When the reservations were allotted at the end of the 19th century, many métis Frenchtown residents relocated, pressured to leave, drawn to the reservations by family ties, or both. Others stayed but were assimilated into white Anglo-Saxon culture.

Theme A: Place

Existing indigenous trade routes determined the locations of fur-trade posts such as Fort Walla Walla. French-Canadian employees of the fur-trade companies settled near the posts with their indigenous wives, creating communities which subsequently served as stops on the Oregon Trail. These early Frenchtowns depended personally and economically on a regional network of resources based on their location and family connections.

The Origins of Western Frenchtowns

Location, location, location. The map of Pacific Northwest Frenchtowns corresponds to the map of 19th-century fur-trade forts, whose locations in turn were based on Indigenous trade routes going back many thousands of years. International fur trade companies such as the Hudson's Bay Company, the North West Company, or the Pacific Fur Company hired both French Canadians *voyageurs* and Indigenous peoples as laborers, guides, trappers, and interpreters. The *voyageur* men paired with and sometimes married Indigenous women. The fur-trading companies depended upon trade with the tribes, and many fur trade marriages served to consolidate political and economical alliances. Expeditions were a family affair, in which French-Canadian men would bring their Native wives along to perform domestic tasks and supervise slaves, as well as guide, trap, or hunt.

A fur trade employee signed on for a specific amount of time, similar to a soldier. Many *voyageur* employees decided to stay in the west with their new families when they finished their contracts. They settled near fur-trade posts, which in turn were often located near their wives' tribes.¹ The resulting Frenchtown communities linked tribal kinship webs to the encroaching European expansion. Any given household likely spoke several Indigenous languages as well as French, and perhaps English. In these small communities, the ethnic, cultural and religious mixing from migration and intermarriage affected every aspect of life.

A Continental Network

For much of the 19th-century, transportation technology was ruled by the natural features of the landscape. Horses, introduced by the Spanish in the 1730s, shaped the lives of the Nez Perce and Cayuse peoples, who owned great herds by the 1800s.² Immigrants and pioneers walked or rode horses or wagons. Gold rush miners came around the Horn in ships; goods and people continued to travel the rivers all through the 19th century. The first transcontinental railroad line was completed in 1869 and connected to San Francisco via Nebraska, Wyoming, and Nevada. The northern transcontinental route to Seattle was completed in 1883; the Walla Walla and Columbia River Railroad was completed in 1877.

By the time a French-canadian *voyageur*, or "traveller" in French, reached Walla Walla, he had already travelled at least three thousand miles on foot, horseback, and by canoe. Catholic Church records and census records tell us that the French Canadian *métis* families in the west continued to range widely across what is now the western United States, long after the end of the fur trade contracts, as economic need and opportunity kept the population moving. French Prairie settlers from the Willamette Valley in Oregon famously went on a cattle-buying expedition to

¹ Jean Barman, *French Canadians, Furs, and Indigenous Women in the Making of the Pacific Northwest* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2014), 157.

² Robert Boyd, ed., *Indians, Fire and the Land in the Pacific Northwest* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 1999), 226.

Mexico Territory (California),³ others left their families behind in pursuit of gold in 1849. Population movements mapped to family and cultural ties as well, as relationships and kin networks from the fur trade era linked Frenchtown communities like French Prairie and Walla Walla through the end of the 19th century.⁴

Theme B: Practices

Successive land use practices in the Frenchtown area echo larger patterns of land occupation and exploitation enacted throughout the west.

Native American Land Use

The Columbia Plateau has been occupied for nearly ten thousand years, long before the arrival of immigrants and pioneers. Tribes like the Cayuse and Walla Wallas were partially nomadic, settling in permanent villages for the winter but moving from camp to camp during the summer months. Some tribes, including the Kalapuya people in today's western Oregon, migrated seasonally to take advantage of the different resources available in different areas.⁵ Native land stewardship on the Plateau included controlled burning to clear land for food plants or else to hunt deer and elk using "fire drives."⁶ Although competition and conflict existed between tribes, they shared the belief that the land could be used but not owned.⁷

French-Canadian Land Use

French-Canadian land-use practices were markedly different from those of the tribes. They brought the "long lot" system (*le rang*) from Canada, (and France before that).⁸ In this system, each farmer claimed a long, thin strip of land abutting a river. This system maximized the number of farms with access to the river, keeping neighbors close and providing everyone with access to the waterway, which doubled as the principal road. Although the Homestead Act divided land ownership by square blocks, a satellite view of the Frenchtown area still shows traces of the long lot system in practice.

Claiming the Land: Settlers, Squatters, & Jumpers

³ Melinda Marie Jetté, *At the Hearth of the Crossed Races: A French-Indian Community in Nineteenth-Century Oregon, 1812-1859* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2015), 89.

⁴ Barman, *French Canadians*, 123.

⁵ David Lewis, "Native American Agricultural Labor," *The Oregon Encyclopedia*, last modified April 7, 2016,

https://oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/native_american_agricultural_labor_in_the_willamette_valley/#.WWaghzO-L-Y.

⁶ Boyd, *Indians, Fire, and the Land*, 2-3.

⁷ Champ Clark Vaughan, *A History of the United States General Land Office in Oregon* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management, 2014), 27.

⁸ Jetté, *At the Hearth*, 52.

The western Frenchtowns predated the establishment of the Oregon Territory in 1848 and the Homestead Act of 1861. French-Canadian men would have negotiated directly with the tribes to use the land, often with their Indigenous in-laws, or else sought permission from the HBC if setting up their farms near a post.⁹ In the Walla Walla Valley, the Cayuse and Walla Walla peoples allowed both the French-Canadian families and the Whitmans to settle next to their winter village. The flood of American settlers during the 1840s and 1850s strained established practices of shared land use, as new immigrants attempted to claim land without regard for previous occupation or agreements.¹⁰

The Donation Land Act of 1850 allowed male white and “half-breed” American citizens (or soon-to-be citizens) to claim up to 320 acres. A settler’s wife could claim another 320 acres. Under the Act, nearly 7500 land claims were patented and 2.6 million acres claimed in Oregon Territory. Provisions allowed French Canadian settlers to claim land they already occupied (often for twenty years or more) by collecting witness statements, but claim-jumping was common. Many pioneers squatted on indigenous land, or “jumped” the claims of *métis* families, proclaiming *métis* land forfeit along with Indian rights. By the time this practice was ruled illegal in 1854, nearly all mixed-race claims in Marion County Oregon had been jumped, some successfully.¹¹

The armed conflict that followed the death of the Whitmans should have ended with the Walla Walla Treaty Council in June of 1855, when representatives for the Nez Perce, Cayuse, Walla Walla, Yakama, and Palouse signed a treaty ceding 6.4 million acres of land to the United States government. However, Washington territorial governor Isaac Stevens and Oregon Territory peace commissioner Joel Palmer did not wait for ratification of the treaty by Congress (in 1859) or keep their promise of a peaceful transition. They announced the region open for settlement just two weeks later, and settler squatters descended upon the Walla Walla Valley in droves. In December of 1855, the vigilante Oregon Mounted Volunteers fought to evict or eliminate the Cayuse and Walla Walla peoples in a four-day battle up and down the Walla Walla River and across the present-day Frenchtown Historic Site. Cayuse leader Peo Peo Mox Mox was taken hostage at the outset and killed and mutilated while in captivity. In 1861, after settlers threatened to hang two young Cayuse men if the tribes did not leave the valley, United States soldiers forcibly evicted the remaining Indigenous people. Although the Homestead Act of 1862 also included a provision that allowed Frenchtown residents to formalize their land claims, their relatives and neighbors were all moved to Umatilla.

Allotting the Reservations

⁹ Jetté, *At the Hearth*, 42.

¹⁰ James R. Gibson, *Farming the Frontier: The Agricultural Opening of the Oregon Country, 1786-1846* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1985), 185.

¹¹ Barman, *French Canadians*, 237-38.

The establishment and allotment of reservation land was another form of the occupation and exploitation of Native lands in the West. Frequently, reservations were established on land “unlikely to appeal to settlers,” leaving the better land for agricultural development by white settlers.¹² In cases where reservation land later proved valuable (for example, with the discovery of gold or oil), settlers and county governments redrew boundary lines in their favor, as when a stream serving as the original upper boundary of the Umatilla agency was diverted by a settler in order to claim timber from reservation lands.¹³

Reservations were also part of assimilationist policies of the U.S. government. Government officials followed in the footsteps of Protestant missionaries, reiterating the goal of “civilizing” the Indians, claiming that it was their “obligation to [Indians] as fellow-men” to help the tribes to be “elevated in the scale of humanity.”¹⁴ Allotments were discussed as “the first vital and fundamental step towards the permanent civilization, Christianization, and true elevation of the Indian.”¹⁵ By forcing Indians to replace traditional lifeways with the fence and the plow, it was thought that they would within a generation be “merged and swallowed up in the mighty and irresistible tide of Caucasian blood,” and that they would “earn their living as other folks,... or be exterminated.”¹⁶ Reservation schools, which forcibly removed Indian children from the “savage” influences of their homes in order to inculcate them with the “civilized habits” of white, Anglo-Saxon culture, were explicitly intended to accelerate this process.¹⁷

Within and beyond the reservations, the environmental impact of settler agricultural practices frequently changed or destroyed the ecosystems upon which the tribes depended for food. Native plant and animal populations declined and wildlife habitats were destroyed.¹⁸ The values and practices of white settlers, which emphasized private property and treated natural resources as inexhaustible, directly contradicted tribal spiritual practices and lifeways.

Theme C: Peoples

Early western Frenchtowns were mobile, mixed race, and multilingual. These communities were increasingly isolated by the flood of Protestant settlers, who rejected both their Catholic faith and their intermarriage with Indigenous peoples. When the

¹² Robert E. Ficken, “After The Treaties: Administering Pacific Northwest Indian Reservations,” *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 106, No. 3 (Fall, 2005), 450; Robert Bunting, “The Environment and Settler Society in Western Oregon,” *Pacific Historical Review* 6, no. 3 (1995): 425.

¹³ Ficken, “After The Treaties,” 452.

¹⁴ Secretary of the Interior Jacob Dolson Cox in 1869, quoted in Ficken, “After The Treaties,” 447.

¹⁵ General Robert Milroy in 1871, quoted in Ficken, “After The Treaties,” 454.

¹⁶ “Indian Question Solved: Government is Taking Steps to Wipe Out Tribal Relations of Red Man,” *The Evening Statesman*, October 24, 1907.

¹⁷ Ficken, “After the Treaties,” 448.

¹⁸ Bunting, Robert, “The Environment and Settler Society in Western Oregon,” *Pacific Historical Review* 6, no. 3 (1995): 425.

reservations were allotted at the end of the 19th century, many Frenchtown residents relocated, pressured to leave, drawn by family ties, or both. Others stayed but were assimilated into white Anglo-Saxon culture.

Missionary Culture Wars

The first missionaries to arrive in the Pacific Northwest were Methodist (Jason Lee in 1834) and Presbyterian (the Whitmans in 1836). By that time, the earliest Frenchtown settlers had been living in the Walla Walla Valley for a decade. However, the first Catholic missionaries didn't arrive in Oregon Territory until 1838, responding to written pleas from the French Prairie Catholics in the Willamette Valley. It would take even longer for Catholic priests to arrive in Frenchtown (A.M.A. Blanchet in 1847).

Catholic and Protestant missionaries competed in the west. Their antagonism was mutual and founded in prejudice and ideological conflict. Father Blanchet's letters document the anti-Catholic sentiments of the Whitmans: "[Marcus Whitman] showed much displeasure at my arrival to these reaches. He spoke of religion, repeated the normal accusations against Catholics, reproached them for the alleged persecutions that the Protestants had endured at their hands...[and said] that he was going to oppose me with all his power; that he didn't like Catholics; and for this reason, would come to our aid with food only if we were starving." He further accused Whitman of attempting to turn Indians and incoming settlers against the Catholic missionaries;¹⁹ the Protestant press in turn accused Catholic priests of inciting the Cayuse to kill the Whitmans.

Both Catholic and Protestant missionaries shared the goal of converting Indigenous peoples, but with distinctly different approaches. Protestant missionaries sought complete cultural assimilation before conversion. In order to be eligible for baptism, Indians were expected to learn English and adopt every aspect of American culture, from clothing to land use to gender relations. Protestant conversion was nearly synonymous with Americanization, as missionaries attempted to transform Indians into blank slates upon which to etch their beliefs.

Catholic missionaries also viewed conversion as the only way to bring "redemption and civilization"²⁰ to the "poor children of nature,"²¹ but their approach was more adaptive. While they openly disapproved of Native practices like polygamy, Catholic missionaries did not require converts to first reject every aspect of their original culture. Instead, they studied Indian languages and incorporated Indian rhetoric and tribal practices into their sermons and liturgies.

¹⁹ A.M.A. Blanchet to Francois Norbert Blanchet, Archbishop of Oregon City, 12 December 1847, in *Selected Letters of Blanchet*, ed. Brown and Killen, 17-8.

²⁰ A.M.A. Blanchet to James Buchanan, Secretary of State, 31 March 1848 in *Selected Letters of A.M.A. Blanchet: Bishop of Walla Walla and Nesqually (1846-1879)*, ed. Roberta Stringham Brown and Patricia O'Connell Killen (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013).

²¹ A.M.A. Blanchet to Members of the Councils of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, Lyons and Paris, March 1848, in *Selected Letters of A.M.A. Blanchet*, ed. Brown and Killen, 33.

In part because of this attitude, Catholic missionaries were somewhat more successful in their spiritual imperialism than their Protestant neighbors; the resulting cultural mixing can be seen clearly in Frenchtown, and on the altar at St. Andrew's to this day.

The missionaries' ability to serve their communities was affected by the rigidity of their conversion practices. Catholic missionaries held a conciliatory attitude towards *mariage a la façon du pays* ("country" marriages between French-Canadians and Indians, done in the absence of church authority) and did not require conversion prior to solemnizing these unions. Protestant missionaries on the other hand both rejected the practice of intermarriage and attacked the custom of *mariage a la façon du pays*, usually requiring conversion before marriage.²²

The Catholic Ladder

Blanchet first developed the Catholic Ladder in the spring of 1839 as a three-dimensional teaching tool for Christian evangelization. The prototype was the "Sahale stick" ("stick from heaven" in Chinook Jargon), a free-standing stick with a system of marks for each significant point of Christian history, including Blanchet's arrival in the west. Protestantism was represented as a withered branch.

The two-dimensional image at the right was developed during a mission to French Prairie in the Willamette Valley in the summer of 1839. Blanchet initially called it a history ladder, "l'échelle historique," which then evolved to the "Catholic Ladder." Blanchet's work among the Native wives and *métis* children of the French-Canadian settlers in the valley relied heavily on this new ladder since most of the women and children were not fluent in French. The 1840 version contains words in French explaining the meaning of the symbols, which is absent in some later editions.

Soon, handmade copies of Father Blanchet's Catholic Ladder were in circulation among Indian and French-Indian communities across the Northwest. It was popular with the Native wives of former French-Canadian fur trappers, and with Indians interested in understanding the traditions of their French-Canadian trading partners and kin. The Catholic Ladder was used in conjunction with formal Catholic catechism to evangelize the region's Native peoples until 1881, when Oregon Catholic officials discontinued its use in favor of the formal catechism. (See *Melinda Jette*.)

The Protestant Ladder

The rivalry between Catholic and Protestant missionaries is evident in the illustrations of the "Protestant Ladder," a teaching poster developed by Henry and Eliza Spalding in 1845 in part to counter the success of the Catholic ladder as a teaching tool. The Catholic path to hell is

²² Sylvia Van Kirk, "Many Tender Ties:" *Women in Fur-Trade Society, 1670-1870* (Winnipeg: Watson & Dwyer Publishing Ltd., 1980), 154 and 157.

illustrated on the left, and the Protestant path to salvation on the right. Spalding's Protestant ladder, despite its more elaborate visuals, was only in use for a short time.

Washani: Dreamer-Prophets of the Columbia Plateau

The Protestant and Catholic missionaries were not operating in a religious vacuum. The Dreamer religion, continuing a long tradition of prophet-leaders on the Columbia Plateau, emerged in force in the latter part of the 19th century, with a small hunchback man named Smohalla as its principal leader.

Smohalla's mission was "to preach a rejection of white culture and a return to Indian social, economic, political, and religious traditions."²³ His spiritual authority was based on two revelation experiences, in which he travelled to the spirit world and returned to life to teach the people. From the second of these experiences he brought back over 120 new songs and new rituals based on seven (drums, singers, days), from whence the other name for the Dreamers, the "Seven Drum Religion."

The Dreamer religion was a cult of gratitude to the Creator organized around traditional food-ways. Although it was adamantly anti-white culture, it was non-violent in its practice and teachings. Curiously, it incorporated ritual elements also used in Christian teachings, and in this resembled the blended approach evident in some Catholic missions, despite its opposition to the French priests.

Washini beliefs can help us to understand the underlying translation problem of the 1855 Treaty. White leaders were negotiating property ownership of inanimate dirt. Tribal leaders were attempting to communicate the sentience and agency of the land, and their uncertainty about man's authority to dispose of it.

Unlike the missionaries, the American government was not initially concerned about the conversion of Native Americans to Christianity. However, the power of the Dreamer religion to organize resistance to assimilation drew its attention, and motivated official backing of the Christianization of the tribes. "Pagan" ceremonies were officially outlawed in 1884; in 1892, open practice of Indian religion was cause for imprisonment.

Smohalla preached against white agricultural practices, comparing it to a physical violation of the mother. Land ownership and cultivation, central tools in the assimilation agenda of the government, were antithetical to Dreamer beliefs, and many refused to go to the reservations or participate in treaty negotiations. According to Smohalla, "Those who cut up the lands or sign papers for lands will be defrauded of their rights and will be punished by God's anger." At one point in the early 1870's, some 2,000 non-treaty Indians from multiple tribes

²³ Clifford E. Trafzer and Margery Ann Beach, "Smohalla, the Washani, and Religion as a Factor in Northwestern Indian History," *American Indian Quarterly* 9, no.3 (Summer 1985), 311.

lived off-reservation at Smohalla's village at Priest Rapids. Odeneal, Indian agent for the Umatilla reservation in 1872, wrote to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to say that "Their model of a man is an Indian; they aspire to be Indians and nothing else." From the white point of view at the time, there was no greater criticism.²⁴

Community Exodus

After the passage of the Dawes Act in 1887, many Frenchtown families left the area to claim allotments on the Umatilla Reservation, thus contributing to the erosion of the Frenchtown community. The Dawes Act carved the reservations into private properties that could then be allotted or claimed by Native or mixed-race individuals. Many Frenchtown wives and children were eligible, and saw the reservation as a way to both get land and escape rising religious and racial prejudice in the valley. The resulting exodus of Frenchtown residents for a time transplanted portions of the Frenchtown community to Umatilla, where they were joined by Cayuse, Umatilla, and Walla Walla *métis* families from other parts of the region. Meanwhile, *métis* families who stayed in Frenchtown would have been increasingly subject to the expanding and homogenizing influence of white Anglo-Saxon culture, as Walla Walla grew and Frenchtown disappeared.

Best Practices

What forms does Frenchtown interpretation take?

Historical interpretation can take many forms. The Frenchtown Historic Site, and the board members of the Frenchtown Historical Foundation, have approached the educational mission of the Foundation from many different angles. These include but may not be limited to:

- Signage and brochures
- Electronic publication of resources and research
- Historical reenactment
- Community events
- Presentations to school and community groups

Best practices in historical signage.

Interpretation is necessarily selective. Selective is reductive. How can we avoid oversimplification when our presentation format (historical signage) limits us to as few as 300 words per topic?

²⁴ Cassandra Tate, "Smohalla (1815?-1895)," HistoryLink, <http://www.historylink.org/File/9481>, accessed September 11, 2018.

- Although the space constraints of historical signage do not allow for footnotes, panels should always be paired with up-to-date online versions that include source citations.
- Avoid anachronisms, which mix up time periods and contexts. Images should be relevant to the text, and their sources cited in the online version.
- 25pt font at 1.3 line spacing provides comfortably legible text for a standing person.
- Consider point of view. Interpretation walks a fine line between fact and perspective. What pieces of evidence do we possess? What were some of the different perspectives on events at the time they took place? If there are perspectives in conflict around an event, how can we put those points of view in dialogue with each other in our interpretative materials?
- Be wary of morally charged language. For example, for many years violence by white settlers was always described as “courageous” or “regrettable,” whereas violence by Native Americans was described as “brutal” or “savage.”
- The history of our region has traditionally been based on written records, which in turn were largely composed by and for white men. Other voices—Native Americans, women, people who did not speak English—are only sparsely preserved the historical record, and require additional effort to be heard. It is our responsibility to make that effort.

Annotated Bibliography

Tribes of the Columbia Plateau

Cash, Phillip Cash, Jennifer Karson Engum, Eugene S. Hunn, and E. Thomas Morning Owl. *Caw Pawa Laakni, They Are Not Forgotten: Sahaptian Place Names Atlas of the Cayuse, Umatilla, and Walla Walla*. Pendleton: Tamástslíkt Cultural Institute, 2015.

The authors describe this book as an “ethnogeographic atlas” of the culture and history of the Cayuse, Umatilla, and Walla Walla tribes. The maps and spellings provided are especially valuable.

Karson, Jennifer, ed. *Wiyaxayxt / Wiyaakaa’awn / As Days Go By: Our History, Our Land, Our People- The Cayuse, Umatilla, and Walla Walla*. Pendleton: Tamástslíkt Cultural Institute, 2014.

Written and edited by members of the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation, this book is a history of the Cayuse, Umatilla, and Walla Walla tribes.

Because many of the authors are members of these tribes, the book provides a valuable voice that would otherwise be missing in much of this bibliography.

Ruby, Robert H. and John A. Brown. *The Cayuse Indians: Imperial Tribesmen of Old Oregon*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972.

Robert H. Ruby and John A. Brown seek to tell the story of the Cayuse people, from their early years through the nineteenth century, when the tribe was forced to move to a reservation. Their evidence comes from and contains useful research and documentation from archival materials. Chapter 4, “A Strange New Thing” is valuable for its descriptions of missionary relations and religious conversion of the Cayuse.

Stern, Theodore. *Chiefs & Change in the Oregon Country: Indian Relations at Fort Nez Percés, 1818-1855*. Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 1996.

Stern’s book is a study of the relationships between Plateau Indians (Cayuse, Nez Percés, Wallawalla, Umatilla), fur traders, missionaries, and settlers. He focuses on the changes the Plateau Indians underwent as these people entered the region. Stern traces these forces of change through to the Willamette Valley and details their impact on the Indians tied to Fort Nez Percés. Stern also describes the fall of the fort during the wars of the 1850s and the end of independent tribal government.

Fur trade, French-Canadians, and *métis* communities

Barman, Jean. *French Canadians, Furs, and Indigenous Women in the Making of the Pacific Northwest*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2014.

Jean Barman focuses on illuminating the historical impacts of French-Canadian men and indigenous women in the Pacific Northwest. This book is useful for its detailed descriptions of the relationships between French Canadians and their indigenous wives, the impacts of their settlement, and the decisions of *métis* descendants in the face of a changing region. It also includes an appendix with biographical excerpts on many of the French-Canadian fur traders.

Foxcurran, Robert, Michel Bouchard, and Sébastien Malette. *Songs Upon the Rivers: The Buried History of the French-Speaking Canadiens and Métis from the Great Lakes and the Mississippi Across to the Pacific*. Montréal: Baraka Books, 2016.

Coauthors Foxurran, Bouchard, and Malette tackle the history of the French-speaking *Canadiens* and their métis communities in North America, from present-day Michigan to Washington. Their work is useful for descriptions of missionary activity, the fur trade, and the communities that French Canadians and Native Americans established in the region, as well as its analysis of the emergence and eventual suppression of a *Métis* national identity.

Hyde, Anne Farrar. *Empires, Nations, and Families: A History of the North American West, 1800-1860*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2011.

Anne Farrar Hyde uses family histories as a frame for the history of the American West, following the connections of various families, several of them mixed-race. It is valuable for specific biographical details about any of those families, as well as for its new lense through which to explore the history of settlement, business, community, and conflict in the West.

Jetté, Melinda Marie. *At the Hearth of the Crossed Races: A French-Indian Community in Nineteenth-Century Oregon, 1812-1859*. Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2015.

Author Jetté discusses the settlement of French-Canadian men and indigenous women at French Prairie in the Willamette Valley. She looks at the relationships between the *métis* families, indigenous tribes, and white (mostly American) settlers through the lense of social history. Jetté also provides some details about specific settlers and for examinations of changing religious and racial attitudes during the 19th century.

Rich, E.E. *The History of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1670-1870*. London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1958.

Rich's history of the Hudson's Bay Company is useful mostly for background on its founding, including descriptions of the structure of the company and the different jobs and positions employees could have.

Van Kirk, Sylvia. *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur-Trade Society, 1670-1870*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983.

In discussing the roles of women in fur-trading communities, Van Kirk sets out to examine the functions and positions of Indian, métis, and white women in the development of fur-trade society. She highlights the vital contributions of Indian women

and their relationships with fur-traders, marriage practices, and racial prejudice in mixed-blood society.

Catholicism and Missionaries in the West

Boyd, Robert T. *People of the Dalles: the Indians of Wascopam Mission: A Historical Ethnography Based on the Papers of the Methodist Missionaries*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996.

Anthropologist Robert T. Boyd wrote this book as a study of Chinookan and Sahaptin Indians and methodist missionaries at the Wascopam Mission in the Dalles. It has some descriptions of religious rivalry among different missionaries (see chapter 10), as well two chapters (9 and 10) on the process of religious change before and after the arrival of missionaries. Note that while there are detailed descriptions of Indian religious and spiritual practices, they are specific to the tribes of the Dalles.

Brown, Roberta Stringham and Patricia O'Connell Killen, eds. *Selected Letters of A.M.A. Blanchet, Bishop of Walla Walla & Nesqually, 1846-1879*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013.

The editors of this volume have compiled the letters of A.M.A. Blanchet, who was the first Catholic missionary to arrive in the Frenchtown area. The letters, along with informative footnotes by the editors, are particularly helpful in understanding the activities and thoughts of Catholic missionaries in Washington Territory.

Hanley, Philip M. *History of the Catholic Ladder*. Edited by Edward J. Kowrach. Fairfield, WA: Ye Galleon Press, 1993.

Author Philip M. Hanley provides a detailed discussion of the creation and usage of the Catholic Ladder, an evangelizing tool created by Catholic missionaries in the 19th century. It contains thorough descriptions of the various versions of the Catholic Ladder, as well as the Protestant Ladder off of which it was based. It is especially helpful in providing detailed labels for the ladders.

Munnick, Harriet Duncan. *Catholic Church Records of the Pacific Northwest; Missions of St. Ann & St. Rose (1847-1888), Walla Walla and Frenchtown (1859-1872), and Frenchtown (1872-1888)*. Portland: Binford & Mort, 1989.

One of several volumes, Munnick's work to collect, translate, and transcribe Catholic church records for the Walla Walla area is an extremely valuable source. Documented in these records are baptisms, burials, and marriages; the records are from the missions of St. Anne (Umatilla), St. Rose (Frenchtown), and St. Patrick's (Walla Walla). Munnick also includes summaries of the mission activities, biographies of prominent families and priests, and photographs.

Pambrun, Sam. "Saint Rose of Frenchtown." *Oregon Catholic Historical Society* 28, no. 2 (Fall 2015): 4-11.

<http://oregoncatholichistoricalsociety.weebly.com/uploads/8/6/5/0/8650634/fall2015newsletter.pdf>.

Sam Pambrun has done thorough research on Frenchtown. His article discusses the St. Rose missions at Frenchtown, and is essential for understanding the chronology and details about the iterations of St. Rose. It also gives a brief history on the Catholic missionaries who came to the Pacific Northwest.

Prucha, Francis Paul. "Two Roads to Conversion: Protestant and Catholic Missionaries in the Pacific Northwest." *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 79, no. 4 (Oct. 1988): 130-137.

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/40490993>.

There were many differences in Catholic and Protestant missionary practices in the Pacific Northwest. The work by Francis Paul Prucha in this article aims to describe these differences, and is specifically useful in understanding the how conversion efforts differed, highlighting that while Catholic and Protestant missionaries had the same goals, they had contrasting approaches.

Pucci, Joseph J., ed. *The Yakima Valley Catholic Centennial; 1847-1947, a Commemoration of the First One Hundred Years of Catholicity in the Yakima Valley*. Moxee: Holy Rosary Church, 1947.

The Holy Rosary Church created this book as a compilation of articles and letters on the history of Catholicism in the Yakima Valley. One article in particular is useful-- it is near the start of the book, entitled "A Brief History of the Origins of the Oblate Mission Among the Yakima Indians." It covers the story of the various missionaries and nuns coming to the region and establishing Catholic missions, including ones near Frenchtown.

Whitehead, Margaret. "Christianity, a Matter of Choice: The Historic Role of Indian Catechists

in Oregon Territory and British Columbia.” *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 72, no.3 (July, 1981): 98-106. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40490699>.

Author Margaret Whitehead presents an argument that most Indians in the Pacific Northwest freely chose to convert to Christianity on the merits of the religion itself. She provides some details about Indians being hired by missionaries as teaching assistants and describes some of the methods missionaries used to teach about their faiths.

19th-Century Life

Bogdan, Janet. “Care or Cure? Childbirth Practices in Nineteenth Century America.” *Feminist Studies* 4, no.2 (June, 1978): 92-99. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3177452>.

Understanding the medical techniques used during childbirth provides a window into frontier life. In her article, Janet Bogdan focuses on the childbirth techniques favored by interventionist doctors during the nineteenth century. She also includes some analysis of the shift from midwives to physicians during the childbirth process as the century went on, along with the shift away from nonintervention in the process.

Peavy, Linda S. and Ursula Smith. *Frontier Children*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999.

Peavy and Smith focus on frontier life through the eyes of children who came West with their families. They discuss children at home, work, and play, along with descriptions of education and health, accompanied by a collection of images of frontier children.

Peavy, Linda S. and Ursula Smith. *Pioneer Women: The Lives of Women on the Frontier*. New York: Smithmark Publishers, 1996.

Coauthors Peavy and Smith seek to document frontier life through the eyes of women who came to settle the American West, also describing the Native American women who formed parts of western communities. They include sections on family life, health, community-building, and pioneer women “in action.”

West, Elliott. *Growing Up with the Country: Childhood on the Far Western Frontier*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989.

Elliott West describes various aspect of childhood life on the frontier, aiming to explain how the children shaped and were shaped by the frontier experience. One chapter in

particular is relevant-- chapter 9, "Suffer the Children," describes the experience of childhood mortality on the frontier. For example, the chapter goes into detail about various diseases and their treatment, including diphtheria.

Reservations, Land, and Conflict

Boyd, Robert, ed. *Indians, Fire and the Land in the Pacific Northwest*. Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 1999.

Edited by Robert Boyd, this collection of essays examines the land use practices of different Indian tribes in the Pacific Northwest. They focus on the use of fire for agricultural, hunting, aesthetic, and ecological purposes and how fire changed the environment.

Bunting, Robert. "The Environment and Settler Society in Western Oregon." *Pacific Historical Review* 64, no. 3 (1995): 413-432. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3641008>.

Bunting explores the impact of white settlers on the environment in Oregon, showing how the settlers' agricultural practices and values changed and often destroyed the environment.

Ficken, Robert E. "After the Treaties: Administering Pacific Northwest Indian Reservations." *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 106, no.3 (2005): 442-461. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20615560>.

Ficken covers the difficulties of administering Indian Reservations, highlighting corruption and mismanagement of the reservations, as well as the underlying assimilationist policies. His article is especially helpful in understanding the exploitative nature of the reservation/allotment system, in showing the attitudes of the United States government toward reservations, and in illustrating why the administrators often failed at their assimilationist goals.

Jackson, John C. *A Little War of Destiny: the First Regiment of Oregon Mounted Volunteers and the Yakima Indian War of 1855-56*. Fairfield: Ye Galleon Press, 1996.

Jackson's book provides an in-depth exploration of the Yakima Indian war of 1855-56, including the battles themselves as well as the conflict that sparked the war.

Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Territories of Washington & Idaho, and

the State of Oregon for the Year of 1870. Fairfield, WA: Ye Galleon Press, 1981.

After the creation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Secretary of Internal Affairs received annual reports by Indian agents who administered Indian reservations in the United States. The 1870 report is just one of many such reports. Of particular relevance are the sections on the Pacific Northwest. The Indian agents describe the condition of the Indians, remarking on the successes and failures of the reservations. This book is especially useful in understanding U.S. government views towards Native Americans and their goals for the reservations (for example, they repeatedly mention the desire to have Indians become farmers). It also includes censuses categorized by tribe.

Vaughan, Champ Clark. *A History of the United States General Land Office in Oregon*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management, 2014.

Champ Clark Vaughan covers the history of non-indigenous settlement of Oregon from the early 1800s to the mid-1900s. This is useful for understanding the details of land claim laws, along with brief descriptions of their impacts on the indigenous populations. He also includes a glossary of terms relating to land claims.