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To labor as an Indian travels: what the Spokane Indians taught the Eells and Walkers, early missionaries on the Columbia Plateau

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TO LABOR AS AN INDIAN TRAVELS: WHAT THE SPOKAN INDIANS TAUGHT
THE EELLS AND WALKERS, EARLY MISSIONARIES ON THE COLUMBIA
PLATEAU

A Thesis

Presented to

Eastern Washington University

Cheney, Washington

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree

Master of Arts

By

Pippin J. Rubin

Spring 2013

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MASTER'S THESIS

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Abstract

Between 1838 and 1848, two New England families interacted and lived among a small band of Spokane Indians. During their time together, both groups learned much from each other. The story of how the Eells and Walkers related to the Spokane is different from other missionary tales. Their peaceful existence and daily cultural exchanges shines a gentler light on this era of transition on the Columbia Plateau. Their story should not distract from what occurred elsewhere in the Oregon Country during the 1830s and 1840s, but its telling gives a fuller and thus a more accurate picture of what took place during the missionary era of the West.

The research involved in the telling of this story comes primarily from the written words of the Walkers and Eells. The journals, letters, and memoirs left behind by the missionaries give a detailed accounting of what happened at the Tshimakain Mission Station on a daily basis. To supplement the missionaries' words, I relied on ethnographies written about the Spokane and other peoples of the Columbia Plateau. Taken together they explain how, why, and in what ways the Tshimakain missionaries adopted, adapted, and relied on the lifeways of the Spokane.

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To me the following words are the most important of any in this entire document. A project of this size cannot be done by one person and so I have a number of people to thank for their encouragement and support over the last three years. Firstly, I must recognize the expertise and wisdom of my instructors at Eastern Washington University, who have included: Liping Zhu, Jerry Galm, Bill Youngs, Michael Conlin, Larry Cebula, Kathleen Huttenmaier, Ann Le Bar, Laura Phillips, and Edward Slack. Thank you all for the kind words and a good push in the right direction. Others who have been of great assistance over the years include: Michelle Brandkamp (the glue that holds the EWU History Department together), Pat Mueller who works wonders at the WSU MASC, and Drs. Linda Bradley, Trevor Bond, and Mary Collins of WSU who were kind enough to share with me their treasured Walker Collection. A special thank you goes to Jane Davey who week after week lugged heavy boxes to a table for me to thumb through for hours and performed numerous miracles in the MAC Archives. My most recent champions are Jack Nisbet and Ann McCrea who have been kind enough to share their knowledge with me and all who read this. There is no way I can ever properly thank my family for all they have done for me throughout this long journey, but I will try. Mom, thanks for being my Chief Research Assistant and introducing me to Mary Walker and Myra Eells. Diana and Benjamin thank you for not-so-quietly putting up with mommy having to work on her thesis. Mike, there is no way I could have done this without you. You have carried me in more ways than one. You are my superhero and I love you to infinity and beyond. Finally, I acknowledge the God who has allowed me to live to complete this project and who continues His work of making me a better person than I was yesterday.

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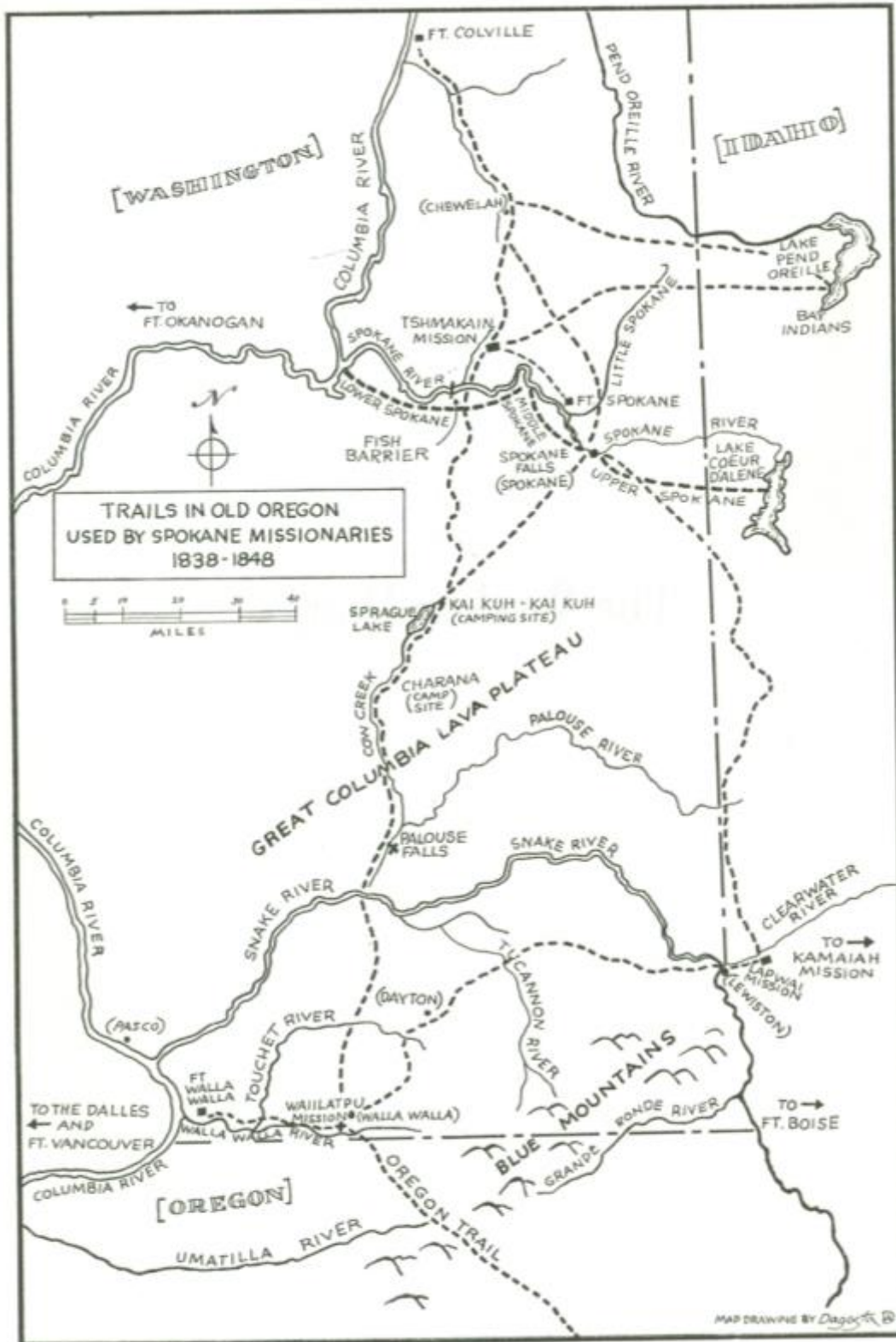
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Map 1- Trails of Old Oregon Used by Spokane Missionaries 1838-1848. Clifford Merrill Drury and Elkanah Walker, *Nine Years with the Spokane Indians: The Diary, 1838-1848, of Elkanah Walker* (Glendale, CA: A. H. Clark, 1976), 18.

Introduction

In the mid-nineteenth century, two very different sets of cultures encountered one another on the Columbia Plateau. One had lived on the land as far back as memory could stretch. The other was slowly expanding across the continent. The native people had developed a way of life that fit the climate and environment of the Columbia Plateau. The newcomers were accustomed to bending the environment to meet their needs. The native peoples bore the names Walla Walla, Umatilla, Tetawken (Cayuse), Nimiipuu (Nez Perce), Okanagan, Palus, Sqeliz (Spokan), and Cowlitz. The newcomers were New Englanders, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Catholics, and Methodists.

Much has been written about what happened when these cultures began to take up the same space. Most historians focus on what went wrong partly because so many enormous, irreparable mistakes were made by both sides of the cultural divide. But so much focus on the negative has created a skewed vision of what truly took place. Taking the focus off of the tragedies that occurred and looking at what else was happening on the Plateau during this pivotal era gives a more accurate view of this significant time.

Many historians have concentrated on the violence between two sets of missionaries, Narcissa and Marcus Whitman and Eliza and Henry Spalding, and the peoples they ministered to, the Cayuse and the Nez Perce. The massacre of the Whitmans and the radicalness of Henry Spalding have inspired numerous books, academic papers, and are the basis of much of the modern understanding of life on the Columbia Plateau in the mid-1800s. The violence and animosity between these native peoples and the missionaries was real, but it is an error to hold them up as representative of the entire era. Two other missionary couples, Elkanah and Mary Walker and Cushing

and Myra Eells, were part of the same missionary organization at the same time and came to the West with the same purpose of ministering to the native peoples of the Plateau, but the Eells and Walkers had a very different experience from that of the Spaldings and Whitmans. The Spokane, to whom the Walkers and Eells ministered, reacted quite differently to the missionaries in their midst, and the missionaries likewise interacted quite differently with the Spokane. The relationship between the Spokane and their missionaries was a peaceful one defined by an exchange of cultures but has largely been ignored by historians.

Consistently, historians have painted a picture that depicts Protestant missionaries as out-of-touch ideologs holding stubbornly to their ways never acknowledging that indigenous cultures had value. One of the most influential books on the subject is *Prophetic Worlds* written by Professor Christopher Miller. In it, he articulates the perspective that many Western historians have toward the missionaries who lived on the Columbia Plateau. In his book, he states that the missionaries “were totally incapable of looking at Indian cultures objectively; even in the field viewing the cultures firsthand, they could not learn from their experiences.” The written records left behind by the Eells and Walkers prove this to be untrue. This paper will prove that the missionaries did learn from the Spokane, that they even went as far as to adopt some of the lifeways of the Spokane. Miller goes on to write that the missionaries’ “ethnocentricity was reflected in the missionaries refusal even to investigate the cultures they were invading.”¹ This may have been true of other missionaries on the Plateau but it was not true of those who lived with the Spokane. The Walkers and Eells were curious about the ways of the Spokane and

¹ Christopher L. Miller, *Prophetic Worlds: Indians and Whites on the Columbia Plateau* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1985), 87.

actively inquired and wrote about the culture they had been invited to live with. Exploring what happened at the Tshimakain Mission Station provides greater understanding of who the missionaries were and how they were acculturated by the peoples of the Plateau.

In the spring of 1839, Myra and Cushing Eells along with Mary, Elkanah, and Cyrus Walker began to live along Chamokane Creek forty miles northwest of present-day Spokane, Washington.² This group of New England Congregationalists had been sent across the continent by the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions to minister to the native peoples of the Columbia Plateau.³ For nine years, they interacted with Spokane Indians. During that time, the lives of the Walkers and Eells were affected by their neighbors as they learned the Spokane's methods for living on the Plateau. Relying on the missionaries' letters and memoirs, the Walkers' personal journals, and ethnographies of the Spokane people, this paper will explore how this small group of missionaries adopted, adapted, and relied on the lifeways of the Spokane.

The Tshimakain Mission was chosen for study for a number of reasons. Firstly, there is a large volume of primary materials dealing with the everyday lives of the missionaries giving insight into what they ate, wore, and did on a regular basis. The

² When referring to the creek, "Chamokane" will be used because that is how it is labeled on modern maps. When referring to the mission station, the "Tshimakain" spelling will be used, because that is the spelling that the Walkers, as well as modern historians, use most consistently. There have been a number of different spellings, including but not limited to Chamokane, Tchimakaine, and Chimokaine. Trying to translate an unwritten language into written English was a challenge exacerbated by the fact that the Spokane language uses sounds not represented by the English alphabet. The same challenge was true for the missionaries' treatment of Spokane proper names for individual people and places.

³ "Columbia Plateau" refers to a region of western North America that lies between the Cascade Mountains and the Rocky Mountains, and the Fraser River in British Columbia and northern Oregon. The area is also referred to as the Columbia-Fraser Plateau or simply as the Plateau. Anthropologists distinguish Plateau culture from those of the surrounding area.

relative isolation of the mission from a large number of other Euro-Americans allowed and forced the New Englanders to learn from the native populations. The sizes of the populations are also important to this study. Four missionaries actively living with a few hundred Spokans would have had a hard time barricading themselves from cross-cultural influences. The final element that makes Tshimakain useful for study is the length of time the missionaries lived there. Nine years was long enough for the two groups to become fully acquainted. As time passed, the missionaries learned more and more from the Spokane and circumstances were such that over time they increasingly adopted the lifeways of the Spokane. A shorter period of time would not have produced enough data for study and a longer stretch of time could have produced too much information to be processed in a paper of this length. Given these reasons, the lives of the Tshimakain missionaries are useful subjects to explore in detail the effects of cultural exchange on the lives of the New England missionaries during a time of transition on the Columbia Plateau.

Given the length of this study a number of topics could not be explored but will be mentioned briefly to give context to other events. The history of the Columbia Plateau prior to the arrival of the missionaries will not be thoroughly covered. Historian Albert Furtwangler has written a fascinating depiction of the events that occurred in the United States that drew missionaries' attentions to the Pacific Northwest. His work is based on a number of primary sources and his diligent analysis of those sources has resulted in an in-depth examination of the events that brought missionaries to the West.⁴ For a detailed exploration of what events were occurring on the Columbia Plateau prior to the arrival of

⁴ Albert Furtwangler, *Bringing Indians to the Book* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005).

missionaries, the interested reader should consult Larry Cebula's *Plateau Indians and the Quest for Spiritual Power, 1700-1850*, and also Christopher Miller's *Prophetic Worlds*.⁵

There are a large number of indigenous peoples and missionaries of the region who are not the focus of this study. Many books have depicted the lives of other regional missionaries such as Jason Lee, Marcus and Narcissa Whitman, Henry and Eliza Spalding, Fathers De Smet, Blanchet, and Demers, but will only be given passing mention in this study. The two main tribes ministered to by other American Board missionaries were the Cayuse and the Nez Perce. These peoples had very little interaction with the Walkers and Eells and so are not part of this study though they were influential players on the southern Columbia Plateau.⁶ The need to keep this study manageable required the exclusion of missionaries elsewhere in the world as well as hundreds of aboriginal peoples around the globe. A comparative study would be fascinating but much too large for the scope of this study.

Though a number of ethnohistories have been written about the Spokane, this in-depth study of their relationship with the Walkers and Eells shines a new light on the

⁵ Larry Cebula, *Plateau Indians and the Quest for Spiritual Power, 1700-1850* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003). Christopher L. Miller, *Prophetic Worlds: Indians and Whites on the Columbia Plateau* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1985).

⁶ A number of books have been written about the Nez Perce and the Cayuse peoples, including the following: Samuel Black, "*Faithful to Their Tribe & Friends*": *Samuel Black's 1829 Fort Nez Percés Report*, ed. Dennis W. Baird, Northwest Historical Manuscript Series (Moscow: University of Idaho Library, 2000); Jeffrey Charles Reichwein, *Emergence of Native American Nationalism in the Columbia Plateau* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1990); Theodore Stern, *Chiefs & Chief Traders: Indian Relations at Fort Nez Percés, 1818-1855* (Corvallis, OR: Oregon State University Press, 1993); ---, *Chiefs & Change in the Oregon Country: Indian Relations at Fort Nez Percés, 1818-1855*, Vol. 2, (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 1996); Mary Kathleen Branson, "A Comparative Study of the Flathead, Cayuse and Nez Perce Tribes in Reference to the Pattern of Acceptance and Rejection to the Missionaries in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," (Master's Thesis, Portland State University, 1995); Alvin M. Josephy, Jr., *The Nez Perce Indians and the Opening of the Northwest* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965); Deward E. Walker, Jr., *Conflict & Schism in Nez Perce Acculturation: A Study of Religion and Politics* (Moscow, ID: University of Idaho Press, 1985); Ronald K. Fisher, *Thunder in the Mountains: The Story of the Nez Perce War* (Coeur d'Alene, ID: Alpha Omega, 1992); L. V. McWhorter, *Hear Me, My Chiefs! Nez Perce History and Legend* (Caldwell, ID: Caxton Printers, 1992); Robert H. Ruby and John A. Brown, *The Cayuse Indians: Imperial Tribesmen of Old Oregon*, *The Civilization of the American Indian* 120, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972).

lives of the Spokane during this important time of transition on the Columbia Plateau. The majority of texts that discuss the missionary era of the Pacific Northwest focus on how the lives of the Indians were impacted by the missionaries. In this paper, that idea will be turned around and what impact the Indians had on the lives of the missionaries will be revealed.

The Walkers and Eells have been the subject of a small number of books. Clifford Drury in the mid-1900s published the Walkers' journals and wrote a biography of Mary and Elkanah Walker. Their granddaughter, Ruth Karr McKee, wrote biographies of Mary that included a number of passages from Mary's personal papers. Myron Eells wrote a biography of his father, Cushing Eells, which dedicated only a chapter to the time he spent at Tshimakain. Beyond those texts, N. W. Durham wrote the most extensive history of the Walkers and Eells in 1912 as part of his *History of the City of Spokane and Spokane Country Washington*.⁷ None of these texts though explore how the missionaries were influenced by the Spokane. They cover the major things that happened to the Walkers and Eells, but ignore the impact the Spokane had on the daily lives of the missionaries. The everyday interactions between these two groups show a complicated relationship in which both parties were active participants.

The following study will focus on specific ways that the Eells and Walker families became acculturated into the Spokane culture. Material evidence includes how the missionaries adapted construction methods, clothing, and food from the Scqesciobni. Non-material evidence comes from the missionaries' adoption of the Salish language as well as the effects mission life had on their children. This study does not radically

⁷ N. W. Durham, *History of the City of Spokane and Spokane Country Washington: From its Earliest Settlement to the Present Time* (Spokane: S. J. Clarke Publishing, 1912).

change the history of the era but does reveal unexplored yet important aspects of the cultural exchange that occurred when Indians and missionaries encountered one another on the Columbia Plateau.

Chapter 1 -- Before Tshimakain Mission

To understand what happened at Tshimakain between 1838 and 1847, it is important to explore the influences and motivations of the participants. All were born just as Euro-Americans began to take a serious interest in the Pacific Northwest. While the missionaries were receiving a formal education in New England, Euro-Americans made their initial appearances on the Columbia Plateau. In 1810, the Northwest Fur Company constructed the first trading post amongst the Spokane at the confluence of the Spokane and Little Spokane Rivers.¹ The traders brought new languages, religions, agriculture, and material goods. Events thousands of miles apart were occurring that would throw cultures together in such a way that all would be altered.

When the Walkers and Eells left for their mission field in 1838, the United States of America was growing. Their eventual home at Chamokane Creek was located on the Columbia Plateau in an area that the missionaries knew as the Oregon Country. The official ownership of the land was still being negotiated by the British and American governments. Elsewhere, Texas had declared itself an independent country and had yet to become part of the United States. Another region that had yet to become part of the United States was California. A man named John Sutter accompanied the missionaries to Oregon. From there he traveled to California where he built a lumber mill. Ten years later gold was discovered near Sutter's mill setting off the California Gold Rush and a race that crossed the continent. The Oregon Trail had not been developed when the missionaries journeyed across the Rockies. Mary Walker, Myra Eells, and two other women in their party were the second group of white women to cross North America

¹ Robert Ruby and John A. Brown, *The Spokane Indians, Children of the Sun*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970), 38.

north of Mexico. Some of the areas they traveled through were owned by Mexico and the missionaries were required by law to carry official US passports in case they were stopped by Mexican officials. In another seven years, John O'Sullivan would coin the phrase "Manifest Destiny" which would describe the steady march of Americans across the continent. The actions of the Eells, Walkers, and their fellow missionaries encouraged the expansion of the United States from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

Other events were occurring in the United States that would impact the life of the missionaries. Martin Van Buren had recently replaced Andrew Jackson as President of the United States and enforced the removal of the Cherokee and other native peoples from the American Southeast. The treatment of such minorities would have a significant influence on the Walkers and Eells. The American Civil War was still two decades away but concerns for the plight of slaves were beginning to simmer in the New England towns where the missionaries lived. New England was just beginning to develop radical groups who would clamor for temperance, abolition, and equality for all. The Walkers and Eells carried such ideals with them to the Columbia Plateau.

Much of what is known about the Tshimakain Mission comes from documents written by the missionaries themselves or by their descendants. Mary and Elkanah Walker wrote separate journals while at Tshimakain. In the mid-1900s, the historian Clifford Drury collected and transcribed these journals. Prior to and contemporaneously with Drury's publications, the descendants of the Walkers and Eells wrote biographies and memorials to their missionary ancestors. These were based on family lore, personal letters, and memories written down long after the fact. Because of these works, it is

possible to stitch together a picture of the lives of the Tshimakain missionaries before and after they came to the Columbia Plateau.

To know the other players in this story, the Spokans, is a bit more of a challenge. During the missionary era, the Spokane did not have a written language with which to record their history. Oral stories have been passed down over the years, but histories of the individuals the missionaries interacted with on a daily basis have been lost to time. The brief mentions of such individuals in the missionaries' papers give little to construct biographies from. The result is that the Spokans must be taken as a whole, a mass of faceless, sometimes, nameless characters who taught and were taught by the missionaries.

Mary Richardson Walker kept a daily journal for most of her adult life and is one of the main sources for this study. She was born on April 1, 1811, in West Baldwin, Maine. Her ancestors had lived in New England for nearly two hundred years and were members of the Congregational Church which was an extension of the religion of the Pilgrims who arrived in Massachusetts in 1620. Mary was the eldest of ten children. The skills she learned on a small family farm helping care for her younger siblings prepared her for raising her own brood of eight children in the wilds of Oregon. "Not only did she learn how to cook, spin, and sew, she also mastered the art of making soap, dipping candles, cleaning tripe, and making cheese."² These skills would sustain her family through the isolation and poverty of mission life.

² Clifford Merrill Drury and Elkanah Walker, *Nine Years with the Spokane Indians: The Diary, 1838-1848, of Elkanah Walker* (Glendale, CA: A. H. Clark, 1976), 30.

I have quoted letters, journals, and other similar sources exactly as they are in the original, and have not included editorial interruptions to indicate obvious misspellings and other errors.

Mary did not desire an ordinary life. At the age of nineteen, she attended Maine Wesleyan Seminary and worked as a schoolteacher to pay for classes. Mary began to feel “that she was meant for ‘nobler work’ than teaching school and working at traditional domestic tasks.”³ The mundane life of marrying a farmer, giving birth to a dozen children, and never leaving the kitchen or New England was not what she wanted from life. On December 5, 1836, Mary wrote a letter of application to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), hoping to be accepted as a mission teacher. The Board’s secretary, William Armstrong, wrote Mary, “At present I do not know of any station in the missions of the Board abroad to which the Committee think of sending unmarried females.”⁴ To be a missionary, Mary had to marry a missionary.

Through some matchmaking done by Armstrong, Mary Richardson met a young minister named Elkanah Walker. Elkanah had been born on August 7, 1805, in North Yarmouth, Maine. The Walker family was not financially well off and included fourteen children. Elkanah spent his youth laboring on the family farm. The skills he gained were essential when he moved to Oregon and built a new life from scratch on the frontier.⁵ He was the only male American Board missionary that served on the Columbia Plateau that had had previous experience on a farm.

Working on the family farm kept Elkanah from any formal schooling until he was twenty-seven years old. He was much older and poorer than his fellow students, but he had made up his mind to become a missionary. “His willingness to begin at the bottom

³ Patricia V. Horner, “Mary Richardson Walker: The Shattered Dreams of a Missionary Woman,” *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 32, no. 3 (1982): 23.

⁴ Drury and Walker, *Nine Years*, 32.

⁵ Drury and Walker, *Nine Years*, 28.

of the required education program reveals a stubborn streak in his character which was manifested throughout his ministry with the Spokane Indians.”⁶ Elkanah was motivated and completed a four-year program in two years at the Kimball Union Academy in Meriden, New Hampshire. Immediately after graduating, he enrolled in Bangor Theological Seminary.

When he first arrived in Bangor, Elkanah became involved with Maine’s nascent state-wide anti-slavery society. In an article published in William Lloyd Garrison’s newspaper *The Liberator*, Elkanah was listed among the participants of a convention held in Augusta, Maine, on the fifteenth of October, 1834. At the meeting, he would have heard the famous English abolitionist George Thompson speak and voted to establish a “Manual Labor High School for the special benefit of the children of colored persons.”⁷ Only a few years later, Elkanah would establish such a school on the Columbia Plateau for the benefit of Spokane children. Perhaps, he was motivated by the conventions’ conviction that “in order to improve the condition of our colored population, it is the duty of the benevolent to seek out young colored persons and encourage and assist them in preparing for the various professions and employments of life.” A history of the Anti-Slavery Movement written in 1886 listed “E. Walker” as one of the signers of the constitution of the Maine Antislavery Society.⁸ Mob violence against abolitionists, especially in Maine, meant Elkanah’s participation was not done on a whim but demonstrated his belief in the “immediate and entire extinction of Slavery.” His desire to improve the lives of others inspired Elkanah to become a missionary.

⁶ Drury and Walker, *Nine Years*, 29.

⁷ “Maine Anti-Slavery Convention,” *Liberator*, November 1, 1834.

⁸ Rev. Austin Willey, *The History of the Antislavery Cause in State and Nation* (Portland, ME: Brown Thurston and Hoyt, Fogg & Donham, 1886), 49.

In his final year at the Seminary, Elkanah began to lay the groundwork for his appointment as a missionary to foreign lands. On January 9, 1837, Elkanah wrote his first letter to the ABCFM. In it he expressed that he felt it was his duty to become a foreign missionary and that he saw it as “engaging in a cause in which I can be most extensively useful to the world.”⁹ A month later, Elkanah received notice from the Board that he had been assigned to minister to the Zulus of South Africa and could expect to ship out by early autumn. Elkanah now had his dream job and was preparing to go forth and do good work. When asked by Elkanah what more he needed to do to prepare for his mission, Secretary Armstrong advised him to get married and sent him information about Mary Richardson. From this point on Mary and Elkanah’s stories were entwined.

On April 22, 1837, Mary and Elkanah met for the first time. A couple of days later they were engaged to be married. The ABCFM advised them to not marry until immediately before leaving for the mission field and so they postponed their wedding day. Circumstances in the greater world were playing out that would have major influences on the lives of Mary and Elkanah. The financial Panic of 1837 had a negative effect on the coffers of the ABCFM. The Board could not afford to send out new missionaries. Armstrong informed Elkanah that his appointment would be delayed for the foreseeable future and emphasized again that he and Mary should not be married until right before they were to leave for the missionary field. Meanwhile, William Gray returned from Oregon. Gray had traveled with Marcus and Narcissa Whitman and Henry and Eliza Spalding the preceding summer and helped establish the first ABCFM missions in the Oregon Country. He had explored the area and returned with requests from the

⁹ Clifford Merrill Drury, *Elkanah and Mary Walker: Pioneers Among the Spokanes* (Caldwell, ID: Caxton Printers, 1940), 34.

Spokane Indians and the missionaries for more teachers. The Board considered the request. Because tribal violence had begun in South Africa, the Board deemed it too dangerous to send missionaries to that location. Instead, they decided to send their newest recruits, Elkanah Walker and Cushing Eells, to Oregon to fulfill Gray's request.¹⁰ This was a significant revision of their plans, but Mary and Elkanah felt it was God's will and quickly prepared to travel across the width of North America.

The decision of the American Board also affected another promising missionary and began a friendship that would tie the Walker and Eells families together for decades. That missionary was Cushing Eells. When he was born on February 16, 1810, his parents were living in Blandford, Massachusetts. Cushing had nine siblings which strained the finances of the Eells family.¹¹ The fact that Cushing had to rely on scholarships to go to school suggests that the family was not well-off.¹² Cushing was educated at the Monson Academy and Williams College in Massachusetts, graduating in 1834. From there he moved to Connecticut where he graduated from the Hartford Theological Seminary at the age of twenty-four.¹³

A number of significant events in Cushing's college years shaped the rest of his life. While at the Seminary, Cushing joined a club for those interested in participating in either foreign or domestic missions. The group was called the Society of Inquiry on Missions but was also known as the Mills Society after Samuel J. Mills who founded the

¹⁰ Drury and Walker, *Nine Years*, 39.

¹¹ Myron Eells, *Marcus Whitman, Pathfinder and Patriot* (Seattle: Alice Harriman, 1909), 327.

¹² Myron Eells, *Father Eells: Or, The Results of Fifty-Five Years of Missionary Labors in Washington and Oregon; a Biography of Rev. Cushing Eells, D.D.* (Chicago: Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society, 1894), 27.

¹³ Eells, *Marcus Whitman*, 327.

group in 1808. The Society's meetings convinced Cushing that he had to become a missionary. Also at this time he met two young couples who were on their way to the Zulu Mission in Africa, whose experiences sparked in Cushing an interest in African missions.¹⁴ The result was that Cushing applied to the ABCFM and was appointed to go to South Africa and minister to the Zulus. On October 25, 1837, Cushing was ordained a minister of the Congregational Church and so began the profession that he would labor at until his death in 1893. When Cushing got the same letter that Elkanah received changing his assignment from Africa to the Columbia Plateau, Cushing recalled articles he had read in missionary publications which told of four Indians who had traveled from west of the Rockies to St. Louis in search of the Bible.¹⁵ Excited by the idea of Indians asking for teachers and with the ABCFM's decision to cancel all missions to South Africa because of violence there, Cushing chose to go to Oregon.

One more life-shaping event that Cushing experienced while at college was meeting his future wife, Myra Fairbanks. While taking a break from his studies, Cushing taught school in Myra's hometown of Holden, Massachusetts.¹⁶ Sometime during his stay in Holden, he and Myra became acquainted. "A common interest in foreign missions probably helped to draw them together. When Cushing proposed marriage, he asked whether she would be willing to join him in the life of a foreign missionary. Myra is reported to have replied: 'I doubt that you could have asked anyone who would be

¹⁴ Eells, *Father Eells*, 29

¹⁵ Drury and Walker, *Nine Years*, 39. One of the most in-depth modern histories of this small band of Indians is *Bringing Indians to the Book* written by the historian Albert Furtwangler, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005).

¹⁶ Eells, *Father Eells*, 31

more willing.”¹⁷ Thus began a partnership that would last decades and survive many trials and thousands of miles of trail.

Myra Fairbanks being born in Holden, Massachusetts, on May 26, 1805, had a traditional New England upbringing. Her parents were Joshua and Sally Fairbanks and she was the oldest of eight children.¹⁸ Her father was a deacon in the local Congregational church. In her family home, Myra learned much that would be useful when she reached Oregon. “She was adept at handcrafts and sewing.”¹⁹ Myra often did sewing for the Walkers, especially items that took extra skills that Mary did not have. From packages the Eells received in Oregon from Myra’s family, it can be assumed that “she had more wealth and culture at home than the other missionary women.”²⁰

Myra’s interest in mission work seems to have been influenced by the pastor of the church she attended in Holden. Reverend Horatio Bardwell had worked as a missionary in India before coming to Holden. One of the first things he did when he took up his post was to establish the Gentlemen’s and Ladies’ Missionary Association.²¹ In 1823, Myra joined the Association. During Myra’s time in Holden, four people from her church went as missionaries to Africa, Syria, and the Hawaiian Islands, as well as to the Choctaw Indians of the Southeast.²² In such an atmosphere, Myra was inspired to become a foreign missionary. In 1828, Myra received a teacher’s certificate from a

¹⁷ Clifford Drury, *On to Oregon: The Diaries of Mary Walker & Myra Eells* (1963; repr., Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 47.

¹⁸ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 47.

¹⁹ Laurie M. Carlson, *On Sidesaddles to Heaven: The Women of the Rocky Mountain Mission* (Caldwell, ID: Caxton Printers, 1998), 123.

²⁰ Carlson, 123.

²¹ “Mrs. Myra F. Eells,” *Transactions of the Sixteenth Annual Reunion of the Oregon Pioneer Association for 1888* (Portland, OR: Himes the Printer, 1889), 79.

²² *Ibid.*

seminary in Wethersfield, Connecticut.²³ She went on to be a teacher. The events of her life from then until her introduction to Cushing Eells are unclear.

After Cushing proposed marriage and applied to the ABCFM, Myra and Cushing's lives were similar to that of Mary and Elkanah Walker's. Mary and Myra both went back to school to bone up on skills they felt they would need as missionary wives.²⁴ Given the same advice from the Board that Mary and Elkanah had received, Myra and Cushing delayed their wedding until the eve of their departure for the mission field. The betrothed couple experienced the same disappointment when told that the Board would not be able to send them to Africa. Similarly, they heard of William Gray's search for missionaries to go to Oregon and agreed to make the change in destination if it meant they could be missionaries sooner rather than later. Though they had not met yet, the Eells and the Walkers for the next decade would celebrate their wedding anniversaries together on March 5. The day after their wedding, Myra and Cushing Eells began their long journey to Oregon.

Unlike the Walkers, there is little primary information about the Eells. In a letter written by Cushing and Myra's son, Edwin Eells, to the historian William Lewis, Edwin explains that the journal Cushing kept while at Tshimakain was destroyed during a house fire in 1872.²⁵ The only section of Cushing's journal to survive was mailed to Greene and reported the tense months surrounding the missionaries' decision to leave Tshimakain. Myra kept a journal during their journey to Oregon but stopped when she arrived at Waiilatpu. Few of their letters exist. This lack of written documents from the

²³ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 47.

²⁴ Carlson, 123.

²⁵ Edwin Eells to William Lewis, March 29, 1916, box 2, William Stanley Lewis Papers (Ms 25), Eastern Washington State Historical Society/Northwest Museum of Arts & Culture, Spokane, WA.

missionary period of the Eells' lives means much of how they viewed their time at Tshimakain must be discerned indirectly from other sources. Myron Eells, one of the couple's two sons, published a book titled *Father Eells* about Cushing Eells in 1896. Some of the material for the book was from Cushing's "Reminiscences," which were written shortly before his death in 1893. Ida Eells also wrote a biography of her grandmother, Myra Eells, titled *Mother Eells*, yet it was never published. The result is that little is known about Myra and Cushing Eells while they lived and ministered beside Mary and Elkanah Walker for nine years at Tshimakain.

The Walkers and Eells would live only yards apart for more than a decade. Their mission to minister to the Indians of the Columbia Plateau drew them together. They would labor shoulder-to-shoulder and separately to sustain their growing families and to fulfill their mission. Births, deaths, illnesses, and anniversaries would be shared. At times they would get on each other's nerves, have disagreements, and stop talking but in the end they helped and cared for one another. The ability of the Walkers and Eells to collaborate made them unique amongst the American Board missionaries in Oregon who had a tendency to irritate one another. Isolated from other whites by miles and miles of land inhabited by Indians with whom they could barely communicate brought the missionaries closer together and immersed them in another culture. Their common struggle to learn the Spokane language and to live within what to the missionaries was a completely alien culture and environment forged a bond between the families that was never broken.

Not only the United States but also the Columbia Plateau was in the midst of change during the first half of the nineteenth century. For thousands of years, people had lived off the land and utilized its resources to feed, cloth, and shelter themselves. During the late 1700s, a new people began to move into the region and a new name was given to the wider region. It was dubbed the Oregon Country. These new people were Euro-American explorers and traders looking for untapped sources of animal furs they could sell to Europeans, Asians, and Americans. The men brought with them peculiar tools, foods, and diseases. The fur traders built small outposts to establish trade with the people who lived on the Columbia Plateau. They sent East stories of the peoples of the Oregon Country. These stories reached the ears and eyes of Christian missionaries living in New England. At this time, the Oregon Country was as foreign to New England as Africa and Asia were. In some ways, it was easier to travel to the coasts of Africa and Asia than it was to venture to the Columbia Plateau.

Despite such challenges, missionaries began to arrive in the Oregon Country. In 1834, Jason and Daniel Lee established the first Methodist mission in Oregon. Two years later, Marcus and Narcissa Whitman and Eliza and Henry Spalding constructed the first American Board mission stations in the region. The Euro-American population was small when the Eells and Walkers arrived. According to Cyrus Walker, there were thirteen white settlements in the Pacific Northwest in 1838. Besides employees of the Hudson's Bay Company, "fifty-one Americans [were] in the same region to welcome them, of whom thirty were connected either with the Methodist missions or those of the

American board”.²⁶ Jesuit priests arrived shortly after the Walkers and Eells. All of the missionaries sent home glowing accounts of Oregon’s climate and resources. These eventually set off a stampede of Americans who would flood into the region staying primarily to the south of the Columbia River but eventually spreading out onto the Columbia Plateau.

The unchecked spread of Americans into the region was one of the prime reasons why the ABCFM sent missionaries to the Columbia Plateau. On March 18, 1838, the ABCFM held a farewell service for the Walkers and Eells. At the public meeting, Dr. David Greene, who was the missionaries’ ABCFM supervisor, delivered a lengthy speech giving the missionaries their final instructions. The speech was later published in the ABCFM’s *Missionary Herald*. Greene spent much of his time describing the geography of the region and its prospects as a place of future settlement. The following excerpt explains the mindset and the purpose of the missionaries as they began their journey to Oregon:

But it is the aboriginal population of this territory in which you are specially interested, and to whose benefit you are consecrating your lives. The Committee call your attention to the natural features and capabilities of the country, to the attractions which it holds out to enterprising foreign settlers, to its political relations, and the prospect of its future importance as embracing a commercial and powerful nation, for the purpose of pressing on your minds the more deeply the critical situation of the present occupants of the soil, and leading you to make more prompt and strenuous exertions, and to offer more fervent prayers, that the gospel may have free course among them before the intercourse of unprincipled men shall corrupt them by their vices, or the grasping hand of avarice shall despoil them of their lands, and either exterminate them at once, or by successive steps, perfidiously drive them, filled with prejudice against all who bear

²⁶ Cyrus Hamlin Walker, “Memories of Old Oregon or 77 Years in the Pacific Northwest,” 1913-1914, box 2, pages 6-7, William Stanley Lewis Papers (Ms 25), Eastern Washington State Historical Society/Northwest Museum of Arts & Culture, Spokane, WA.

the name of white men, back to the mountain fastnesses, almost inaccessible to Christian benevolence.²⁷

The Eells and Walkers were going west not only to save the souls of Indians but to protect them from the greed and ignorance of whites.

The 1830s were a dark time for the ABCFM and the Indians they ministered to in the American Southeast. Beginning in 1831, the Choctaw, the Seminoles, the Creek, the Chickasaws and the Cherokees were forced to leave their lands and move west of the Mississippi River. The Board had witnessed first-hand what happened to aboriginal peoples when whites began to settle near them. Members of the Board had stood beside the Cherokees in court and had fought for the Cherokees' rights to maintain their homes and ways of life. Samuel Worcester was an ABCFM missionary who was jailed by the state of Georgia while trying to minister to the Cherokees. In the court case *Worcester v. Georgia*, the Supreme Court ruled that Indian nations were sovereign entities and had the rights of any such nation. In the end, the missionaries could only watch while the US government ignored the Court's ruling and forced the Cherokees to walk what became known as the Trail of Tears. Because of their avid interest in foreign missions, the Walkers would have read the reports written by the Cherokee and Choctaw missions. They would have been familiar with the negative consequences of white settlement near native tribes. In his directives to them, Greene explained how large numbers of the tribes in the Oregon Country had been decimated by "wars provoked by the traders, and by the diseases, the murderous weapons, and the more murderous liquors."²⁸ Greene stated that

²⁷ "Mission to the Indians West of the Rocky Mountains," *The Missionary Herald*, no. 34 (1838): 282-283. See Appendix I for an extended excerpt from Greene's speech.

²⁸ "Mission to the Indians," 283.

because so many native people were dying so quickly, there was a pressing need to intervene both physically and spiritually on the behalf of the natives.

Reverend Greene was motivated by guilt. In his sermon, he related how the native peoples of North America had been mistreated by whites ever since the first immigrants arrived from Europe. Recent events made it apparent that the rights of Indians were not going to be protected by the federal government. It was the missionaries' duty to do what they could to prepare and protect their fellow human beings in any way they could. The ABCFM could see the writing on the wall and knew that the same ill treatment and dishonest dealing done to Indians in the past would be done again. The Board hoped to get ahead of the wave of settlers that was destined to wash over the West and consume the land and resources of the Indians who lived there. Greene gave an extensive history of wrongs done by Euro-Americans against the native peoples of the United States. It was a moral imperative that the missionaries did what they could to prepare the Indians of Oregon for the coming invasion, but Greene also emphasized that it would take a long time to transform a culture. A realistic view missed by many idealists, including the Eells and Walkers.

This ideology was packed away with the missionaries' Bibles, Indian rubber coats, and garden seeds. It was apparent in the missionaries' dislike of fur trappers and military expeditions that they felt were bad influences on the Spokans and had treated Indians poorly. The Walkers and Eells did not promote white settlement in the Spokan region and, in later days, did what they could to protect the Spokans from the US military. Respect for native cultures and a vision of future hardships for such cultures propelled the Walkers and Eells to teach the Spokans to read, write, and speak English

while they themselves learned the Spokane language and labored to transform it into a written language which they then gave back to the Spokans. Taking Greene's words to heart, the Walkers and the Eells adopted Spokane foods and clothing while at the same time teaching the Spokane to plow, plant, and harvest New England crops striving to prepare the Spokane for the inevitable moment when they would be pushed on to reservations and forced to give up their traditional ways. Despite Greene's statement that the process of adopting new cultural ways would take generations, the Walkers and Eells were often frustrated by the extremely slow pace of their work, wishing to see results sooner than realistically could be expected.

The missionaries were not the only ones who were preparing for the arrival of Euro-Americans. Many of the native peoples of the Columbia Plateau who had begun to trade and interact with Euro-Americans were actively seeking knowledge of these foreign peoples. The Spokane were one such group who reached out to Christian missionaries seeking instruction in the lifeways of these foreigners and especially the religious beliefs and ceremonies of these newcomers. Because of their thirst for knowledge, the Spokans pressed the Walkers and Eells to settle at Tshimakain. The Spokans welcomed, helped, and taught the missionaries their traditional ways while learning what they could from the missionaries.

It is not possible to give precise portraits of the individuals the Walkers and Eells lived with along the banks of Chamokane Creek. Very few, if any, written records exist for the hundreds of Spokans the missionaries interacted with during their nine years there. The scope of this paper makes it impossible to give the detailed description the Spokane

people deserve. Great studies and histories of the Spokan people have been written over the last half-century and include: David Wynecoop's *Children of the Sun: A History of the Spokane Indians*, Robert Ruby and John Brown's *The Spokane Indians: Children of the Sun*, and John Alan Ross's *The Spokan Indians*.

For most of the people the missionaries were in contact with, all we have are near facsimiles of their names. The Walkers' journals contain dozens of names of people they traded with, worked with, instructed and were instructed by. The missionaries were not trained linguists and many of the sounds of the Spokan language were not easily represented by the English alphabet. The missionaries did the best they could, with the resources they had, to write down the names of people they lived with. For the vast majority of Spokans, the missionaries used their given name, but there were a handful of people they used nicknames for. Many of the nicknames they used were inherited from the fur traders who introduced the missionaries to the Indians. These names were often offensive and show the traders disrespectful nature. They included Mufflehead, Simpleton, and the Old Fool. Others were physically descriptive nicknames such as Little Man, Old Man, and One-Eyed Man. Still to others the missionaries gave names of respect, for example Teacher, Charles, and Solomon.

The Walkers and Eells distinguished the people they lived with from other peoples in the region. The missionaries lived closely enough with them to see them as a separate people from other Spokan bands. When Elkanah printed a primer of the Spokan language he addressed it to the Sitskaisitlinish. Today the Lower Spokan go by the name Scqesciobni.²⁹ In their journals the Walkers often made references to "our people" and

²⁹ The term Scqesciobni will be used throughout this text. Further variations and spellings of the name are: *Stsêkastsib*, *StkastsibLEn*, *StkastsibLEnic*, *Scqecibzni*, *Chekisschee*, *Tskaistsihlni*, *Che-kis-chee*, *Scaite*

“the people” when writing about the Scqesciobni. When the missionaries referred to the Spokans, they typically meant the Indians belonging to the bands of the Middle and Upper Spokans. Today all of the peoples descended from these groups are simply referred to as the Spokans. Because the Walker journals lack details of the affiliations of specific individuals, in this paper the modern use of the term “Spokan” will be used and when it is unclear in the journals as to the affiliation of any given peoples the generic term Indian will be used.

A contemporary description of the personality of the Scqesciobni was recorded by Robert Johnson. In 1841, Lieutenant Robert E. Johnson led a small group of scientific explorers onto the Columbia Plateau. Johnson was part of Lieutenant Charles Wilkes’ expedition that had been commissioned by the United States government and given the assignment of mapping and describing as much of the Pacific as they could. After five years of exploring, the expedition’s findings were published as the *Narrative of the U. S. Exploring Expedition*. During Johnson’s journey, he visited with the missionaries at Tshimakain. Given that his party only spent a few days amongst the Spokan Indians and did not understand the Spokan language, much of the information Johnson wrote about the Spokans most likely came from his conversations with the Walkers and Eells. They explained to Johnson that the Spokans were impulsive and “impatient of restraint.” Though the Spokan were “quick-tempered” they did not have a “vengeful spirit.” Johnson seemed impressed that “indeed it is esteemed a merit to be patient under an injury.” “Public opinion has a very powerful influence upon them,” which sometimes worked in the missionaries favor and sometimes not. According to Johnson, the Spokan

Cuthinish, Skai-schil-tbnish. From, John Alan Ross, *The Spokan Indians* (Spokane, WA: Michael J. Ross, 2011), 29, and Ruby and Brown, *The Spokane Indians*, 9.

language was “peculiarly adapted” to the art of ridicule and was an effective tool used to influence the behavior of others. Despite this, he noted that Spokans rarely fought each other. When it came to leadership, Johnson explained that “generosity and wealth are the two qualifications that give most consequence; after these, comes noble blood.”³⁰ The Walkers and Eells also gave Johnson information on the beliefs and medicine rites of the Spokan, as well as, their social and family structures and seasonal movements. Johnson’s ethnographic descriptions are the earliest published on the Spokan.

The Spokan’s tendency to ridicule was reported by Elkanah in a number of his writings. During his time at Tshimakain, Elkanah corresponded with missionaries from around the world. In their lengthy letters, the missionaries would exchange anthropological descriptions as well as commiserate on the difficulties of being a missionary in a foreign land. In one such letter to an American Board missionary stationed in Hawaii, Levi Chamberlain, and dated September 1842, Elkanah gave a detailed description of the medicine rites of the Spokans. Following this description, Elkanah expressed how frustrating it was to get the Spokans to give up such traditional rites and ceremonies. “If they are told that such and such things are forbidden by the word of God, they reply Why?...We must do as we always have done. If we do not, we shall be laught at & we shall be ashamed & not dare to go among the people.”³¹ Chief Spokane Garry, who had been educated at Red River and was a leader of the Middle and Upper Spokans, would sometimes visit the missionaries at Tshimakain. In June of 1843, after Garry had left the mission, Cushing told Elkanah Garry had related to him “that it

³⁰ Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition. During the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842* (Philadelphia: C. Sherman, 1844), 4: 484.

³¹ Elkanah Walker to Levi Chamberlain, September 1842, box 6, folder 2, William Stanley Lewis Papers (Ms 25), Eastern Washington State Historical Society/Northwest Museum of Arts & Culture, Spokane, WA.

was the people who drove him off, not being able to withstand their ridicule.”³² Elkanah was sensitive and at times took offense at the Spokans’ sarcasm and joking at his expense. His journals have a number of bitter passages venting about such encounters.

In a letter to Chamberlain dated February 9, 1844, Elkanah gave another description of the Scqesciobni. This passage was written after Elkanah had been interacting with them for over five years and is telling of his attitude toward “his people:”

It is impossible for them [Indians who wished to give up their traditional ways] to withstand the sarcasm of the people. If any one has anything, he must regard it as common property & thus they have no inducement to try to elevate themselves. They are slaves in every sense of the word. Slaves to their superstitions & slaves to one another. If any one should make a profession of religion, I hardly know what he would do. He would require much grace to bear up under the reproach that would very likely to be heaped upon him. This people had to be reprov'd for their sins. They dislike the truths of the gospel & they say why [they stay] so few winter with us is [that] they do not like to be told they are wicked. I believe after all there [they] are very much like the whites, not much worse or much better & that it does not require any greater energy of the Spirit to convert them. Perhaps they have not so much selfishness as the whites & not so much tact at concealing the bad traits of their character & to help them on to show themselves out fully.³³

Reverend David Greene had warned the missionaries that it would take generations for any people to change their culture because of such obstacles. Yet, the missionaries were still often frustrated with the slow pace of their work. As the above passage demonstrates, Elkanah and Mary often wrote of how similar the Scqesciobni were to white people. Perhaps this is why the missionaries were willing to learn from the Spokane.

³² Drury and Walker, *Nine Years*, 245.

³³ Elkanah Walker to Levi Chamberlain, February 8, 1844, box 6, folder 2, William Stanley Lewis Papers (Ms 25), Eastern Washington State Historical Society/Northwest Museum of Arts & Culture, Spokane, WA.

It is difficult to determine the exact population of the Scqesciobni. They traveled much of the year, and individuals and groups would regularly come and go from the mission. In 1827, John Work, an employee of the Hudson's Bay Company, recorded "that the Scait[t]e Cuthinish (Lower Spokanes) consisted of sixty-six men, seventy women, forty-nine boys, and fifty-two girls. They lived at the lower falls under the leadership of their principal chief, Big Head."³⁴ The historians Ruby and Brown explained that "Tshimakain was the center of a circle whose radius extended sixty miles and included some two thousand souls, many of whom seldom broke out of the circle."³⁵ The missionaries did not leave a precise count of the Scqesciobni population.

Calvin Martin, in his study of Indians in eastern Canada, has the following warning for his readers:

It is necessary to make . . . clarifications lest the reader get the erroneous impression that the native societies occupying this huge swath of land were culturally and socially homogeneous. There were, indeed, many congruencies among them, especially in their abstract culture, but these must not be taken for granted. One of the more valuable lessons that ethnologists have taught historians is that they should pay closer attention to cultural boundaries separating aboriginal societies.³⁶

The same admonition should be applied to any study done of the indigenous peoples of the Pacific Northwest. At the time that the Tshimakain missionaries arrived, the Columbia Plateau was inhabited by a number of distinct peoples. History, geography, and personalities made the Spokane in many ways different from the Plains Indians to

³⁴ Ruby and Brown, *The Spokane Indians*, 57.

³⁵ Ruby and Brown, *The Spokane Indians*, 66.

³⁶ Calvin Martin, *Keepers of the Game: Indian-Animal Relationships and the Fur Trade* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 6.

their east, the Great Basin Indians to their south, the Coastal Indians to the west, and even different from their closest neighbors on the Plateau.³⁷

The spoken word can be a powerful divider and definer of peoples. The Spokan are part of a language group designated as Salish, while the Nez Perce and the Cayuse, who lived to the Spokan's immediate south and were ministered to by the Spaldings and the Whitmans, are part of another family of languages called Sahaptian.³⁸ The Whitmans and the Spaldings, and the Walkers and the Eells were working together to minister to the Indians of the Columbia Plateau. But because their constituents spoke different languages, the missionaries could not aid one another when doing the work of translating the local languages. Even amongst the Spokan peoples, those who lived near Tshimakain were considered distinct from other Spokan peoples. The Spokan are generally divided into the non-Indian designations of Upper, Middle, and Lower Spokan, with the Lower Spokan living in the vicinity of Chamokane Creek. According to Edward Curtis, who

³⁷ A number of ethnographies both modern and contemporary discuss the Spokan peoples. Edward S. Curtis, *The Yakima, The Klickitat, Salishan Tribes of the Interior, the Kutenai* (Vol. 7 of *The North American Indian*. Cambridge, MA: University Press, 1911); Horatio Hale, *Ethnography and Philology* (1846; repr., Ridgewood, N. J.: Gregg Press, 1968); Verne Ray, "Native Villages and Groupings of the Columbia Basin," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 27, no. 2 (April 1936): 99-152; James Alexander Teit and Franz Boas, "The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateaus," *Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1930); United States Indian Claims Commission and Stuart A. Chalfant, *Ethnohistorical Reports on Aboriginal Land Use and Occupancy: Spokan Indians, Palus Indians, Columbia Salish, Wenatchi Salish* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1970); Deward E. Walker and Sylvester L. Lahren, *Anthropological Guide for the Coulee Dam National Recreation Area* (University of Idaho Anthropological Research Manuscript Series 33. Moscow, ID: Laboratory of Anthropology, University of Idaho, 1977); Captain Wilson, "Report on the Indian Tribes Inhabiting the Country in the Vicinity of the 49th Parallel of North Latitude," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London* 4 (1866): 275-332. David Agee Horr, ed., *American Indian Ethnohistory: Indians of the Northwest: Interior Salish and Eastern Washington Indians IV* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1974); John Alan Ross, *The Spokan Indians* (Spokane, WA: Michael J. Ross, 2011); Robert H. Ruby and John A. Brown, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of the Pacific Northwest* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986); ---, *Indians of the Pacific Northwest: A History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981); ---, *The Spokane Indians, Children of the Sun*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970); David C. Wynecoop, *Children of the Sun: A History of the Spokane Indians*, (Wellpinit, WA: David Wynecoop, 1969).

³⁸ Alvin M. Josephy, Jr., *The Nez Perce Indians and the Opening of the Northwest* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), 20.

photographed and visited the Spokane peoples in the early 1900s, the Scqesciobni band spoke a “slightly different” dialect than other Spokane bands.³⁹ The anthropologist, John Ross explains that the Lower Spokane spoke Central Interior Salish while other Spokane bands spoke Interior Northern Salish.⁴⁰ Because language helps form people’s impressions of their world, the fact that the Lower Spokane had a slightly different language than other Spokane bands lends weight to the idea that the Lower Spokane was a distinct group.

In his ethnohistory of the Spokane compiled between 1951 and 1954, Stuart A. Chalfant dedicated seven-pages to how differing anthropologists have divided up the Spokane peoples, demonstrating how hard it is to distinguish one group of people from another.⁴¹ The difficulties of defining the Spokane peoples go back to the earliest encounters between the Spokans and Euro-Americans. A description given by George Gibbs during Isaac Stevens’s 1854 survey of the area has the following description:

The name [Spokan is] applied by the whites to a number of small bands....These bands are eight in number: the Sin-slik-hoo-ish, on the great plain above the crossings of the Coeur d’Alene [Spokane] river; the Sintootoolish [South Spokane], on the river above the forks; the Sma-hoo-men-a-ish [Upper Spokane], (Spokenish) at the forks; the Skai-schil-t’nish, at the old Chemakane mission [on Chamokane Creek]; the Ske-chei-a-mouse, above them on the Colville trail; the Schu-el-stish [Colville?]; the Sin-poil-schne [Sanpoil], and Sin-spee-lish [Nespelem], on the Columbia river.⁴²

According to Clifford Drury, the editor of the Walkers’ journals, Elkanah Walker did not refer to the people he worked with as Spokans but instead called them the Scqesciobni

³⁹ Curtis, 55.

⁴⁰ Ross, *The Spokane Indians*, 18.

⁴¹ Stuart A. Chalfant, “An Ethnohistorical Report on Aboriginal Land Use and Occupancy by the Spokane Indians,” in *American Indian Ethnohistory: Indians of the Northwest: Interior Salish and Eastern Washington Indians IV*, ed. David Agee Horr (New York: Garland Publishing, 1974), 84-90.

⁴² Horr, 13.

and distinguished them from other Spokane peoples. This shows that the Walkers, who had daily contact with the Spokane, detected the distinctiveness of the various Spokane bands.⁴³

The people who lived on the plain near Chamokane Creek had their own language, social structure, and ways of life that were distinct from those of their neighbors. They shared much of their culture with other peoples in the area, but the lifeways of the Scqesciobni were distinct enough to be distinguished from that of others. To assume that they reacted to missionaries in the same manner as other indigenous peoples is speculative.

In his “Reminiscences,” Cushing Eells gave the following description of the leader of the Scqesciobni:

The Chief of the lower Spokane Indians was distinguishable. With a fine physical form, and large mental powers, he was extensively recognized as a chief of commanding influence. His Indian name was Se-lim-klim-a-lok-u-lah. It was appropriate for one occupying the position accorded to him. The traders applied the French words translated Big Head, not with the American reproachful significance, but indicative of intellectual capacity. Not long after Rev. H. H. Spalding located among the Nez Percés, said chief went there for the purpose of obtaining divine knowledge. His deportment reminded Mr. S. of Cornelius of scripture biography, consequently he added the third name Cornelius.⁴⁴

Giving him yet another name, Elkanah and Mary preferred to call him Old Chief.

According to the artist John Mix Stanley, who painted a portrait of Old Chief, his name

⁴³ Drury and Walker, *Nine Years*, 83n.

Angelo Anastasio in *Ethnohistory of the Spokane Indians*, states: “This band is undoubtedly the Tsakaititlin (or Tsaititlin) of [Horatio] Hale, which he located along the lower part of the Spokane River, and the Scaitseeuthinish of [John] Work (1830) located at the lower falls.” In, *American Indian Ethnohistory: Indians of the Northwest: Interior Salish and Eastern Washington Indians IV*, ed. David Agee Horr (New York: Garland Publishing, 1974), 161.

⁴⁴ Cushing Eells, “Reminiscences,” 1882-1892, box 4, folder 28, page 28, Clifford M. Drury Collection (Ms 17), Eastern Washington State Historical Society/Northwest Museum of Arts & Culture, Spokane, WA.

was “Se-lim-coom-clu-lock or Raven Chief.”⁴⁵ Horatio Hale, the philologist of the Wilkes Expedition, recorded Old Chief’s name as *Silim-h?itl-milokalok* or “the Master-Raven” and his people were the *Tsakaitlitlin*.⁴⁶

Lt. Johnson was so impressed with Old Chief that he dedicated several paragraphs to describing the leader of the Scqesciobni. Johnson spelled the Old Chief’s name Silimxnotylmilakabok. He said that Old Chief became chief “by his shrewdness,” and that because of the structure of Spokane society the chief had more influence than power. “For his commands are often opposed with impunity by the lowest vagabond, and he himself is sometimes personally insulted without fear or danger of punishment.” Johnson estimated the Old Chief’s age to be sixty and said he was “tall and slender, with a dignified carriage...He has an expression of intelligence and self-possession, which impresses a visiter very favourably.” A sign that Johnson was getting much of his information from the missionaries was illustrated in the final line of his description of the chief: “he is represented as being very pious; and as far as outward appearances and loud praying go, is certainly entitled to be so considered.”⁴⁷ Old Chief’s piousness was often a point of conflict for him and the missionaries. He, like most people, did not like it when his failings were pointed out.

Old Chief told Johnson of a prophecy his people had believed in for over fifty years. When Old Chief was about ten years old, a volcanic eruption in the Cascade Mountains caused six inches of volcanic ash to fall like snow on his village.⁴⁸ Not

⁴⁵ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 334.

⁴⁶ Hale, 211.

⁴⁷ Wilkes, 467.

⁴⁸ Historian Larry Cebula’s book, *Plateau Indians and the Quest for Spiritual Power, 1700-1850*, has a lengthy discussion of how this volcanic eruption in 1790 affected the religious beliefs of the native peoples living in the region.

knowing the cause of such a strange phenomenon, people were terrified that the world was coming to an end. A medicine-man calmed the people's fears by telling them "“Soon...there will come from the rising sun a different kind of men from any you have yet seen, who will bring with them a book, and will teach you every thing, and after that the world will fall to pieces.””⁴⁹ Johnson argued that the story could not be completely true because he believed that the Spokans would have had contact with whites either directly or indirectly at the time the prophecy was made. Whether Old Chief's story was true or not, Johnson stated that “now that its actual fulfillment, as they say, has come to pass, it has acquired greater force, and is employed by them [the Indians] as an argument why the tribes should embrace the Christian religion.”⁵⁰ Old Chief's actions demonstrate that he believed the prophecy.

Old Chief actively worked to get access to the prophesized book and people. Even before missionaries arrived in Oregon, Old Chief had sent his son to a mission school at Red River in Canada. He was part of a second group of Indian boys from the region to be sent there for an education. The most famous of these boys was Spokane Garry. Old Chief's son was given the name Spokan Berens and died at Red River in 1834 without ever returning home. Despite his son's death, Old Chief sent another of his sons to Lapwai to be educated by the Spaldings.⁵¹ During his exploratory trip of 1837, William Gray of the American Board met Old Chief and told him of the missionaries' intentions to establish another mission station. A year later, the chief argued that Gray had promised to establish a mission among the Scqesciobni. When he was informed that

⁴⁹ Wilkes, 467.

⁵⁰ Wilkes, 468.

⁵¹ Eells, "Reminiscences," 28. Cushing Eells stated that this son was given the Christian name, Lot. After Old Chief's death, Lot became chief of the Lower Spokans but then was killed in battle with the Blackfeet. Lot's brother was Whis-tel-pu-sum, who also went by the name Lot.

new missionaries were to arrive at Waiilatpu in the autumn of 1838, he traveled to the mission in hopes of convincing some of them to settle with his people.⁵² When the missionary reinforcement arrived at Waiilatpu, Old Chief was present to greet the new teachers. Mary wrote in her journal that he “said he was ignorant but he wished to be instructed & have his people [instructed.]”⁵³ Throughout their lives, Old Chief and his sons fought to get teachers for their people.

The relationship between Old Chief and the missionaries would fluctuate over the nine years they lived near one another. They would exchange gifts and spend time in each other’s homes. Mutual respect was evidenced by how they treated one another. Elkanah would plow Old Chief’s fields, while Old Chief would help Elkanah harvest his crops. The missionaries relied on Old Chief’s benevolence to allow them to live among his people. Unlike some Indians of the Columbia Plateau, Old Chief never threatened the missionaries in any way. He taught the missionaries as much as they taught him. His cooperation made the exchange of cultures possible.

Like the general population, the missionary community of Oregon contained some diversity. By the 1830s, missionaries of every kind had spread throughout the world trying to reach every segment of humanity. One of the most inaccessible areas of the world at the time was the Columbia Plateau. To reach the area, a person had two choices. One was to board a sailing ship and brave the long voyage from the eastern United States around the tip of South America and up the coast to the Columbia River then travel several days inland to reach the missionary field. This trip was both

⁵² Drury and Walker, *Nine Years*, 64.

⁵³ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 117.

expensive and dangerous. The second option for a missionary was to travel overland from the eastern United States across the Great Plains and the Rocky Mountains to the Columbia River. In the 1830s, this route had been less traveled than the ocean route but was cheaper and equally as dangerous. The first white women to travel the land route and cross the Rocky Mountains were the American Board missionaries Narcissa Whitman and Eliza Spalding in 1836. A second party of female ABCFM missionaries followed them two years later, including Mary Gray, Sarah Smith, Myra Eells, and Mary Walker. By traveling such a long distance over land that was sparsely populated, the Columbia Plateau missionaries had a very different experience from that of other missionary women who sailed on ships to their mission sites. Women who sailed to their assignments were able to travel with all of their belongings, whereas the American Board missionaries to the Oregon Country were required to send a large portion of their property by ship around the horn. Because of a limited number of pack animals, the missionaries traveling overland could only carry their most essential items. Once they finished their journey, they had to wait months for the rest of their luggage to arrive.

Once in the Oregon Country, three major missionary organizations ministered to the Indians. The first to establish missions in Oregon were the Methodists. Jason Lee and his nephew Daniel Lee traveled overland to build a mission on the Willamette River in 1834. Following them in 1836 were members of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions who would build a chain of mission stations on the Columbia Plateau.⁵⁴ These pioneers were William Gray, Henry and Eliza Spalding, and

⁵⁴ The ABCFM was a joint mission made up of Presbyterians and Congregationalists. For more information on the other ABCFM members of the Columbia Plateau mission read: Clifford Merrill Drury, ed, *The Mountains We Have Crossed: Diaries and Letters of the Oregon Mission, 1838* (1966; repr., Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999).

Marcus and Narcissa Whitman.⁵⁵ The following year, Gray returned to the United States to gather reinforcements. In 1838, Gray led his new wife Mary, as well as, Sarah and Asa Smith, Myra and Cushing Eells, and Mary and Elkanah Walker across the continent to the Columbia Plateau. In the same year, two Jesuit priests, Francis Norbert Blanchet and Modeste Demers traveled through Canada to reach the Oregon Country and established the first Catholic missions in the region.⁵⁶ The Catholics, Methodist, and American Board missionaries competed for the attention of the native peoples of Oregon.

The marital status of the missionaries generated some of the most significant differences between the missions. The Jesuits were by the strictures of their religious order not allowed to have wives. The Methodist and ABCFM missionaries were often encouraged to marry and have children. This simple difference had profound effects on how the missionaries ran their missions. Without wives or children to care for, the Catholic missionaries could travel freely and easily live in camps with the Indians to whom they ministered. The Methodists, partly because of their families, stayed closer to the lower Columbia and within easy access of the protection and products of Fort Vancouver. The ABCFM missionaries by contrast lived in more isolated and remote areas than the Methodists but did not regularly live in camps with Indians as the Catholics did because of a need to be near their families. Here was an important

For general information about the ABCFM read: Clifton Jackson Phillips, *Protestant America and the Pagan World: The First Half Century of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1810-1860*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969). Beginning in 1821, the ABCFM also published an annual journal titled *The Missionary Herald*.

⁵⁵ Further readings on the Whitman and Spaldings: Henry Harmon Spalding and Asa Bowen Smith, *The Diaries and Letters of Henry H. Spalding and Asa Bowen Smith Relating to the Nez Percé Mission, 1838-1842* (Glendale, CA: A. H. Clark, 1958). Narcissa Prentiss Whitman, *The Letters of Narcissa Whitman* (Fairfield, WA: Ye Galleon Press, 1986). Clifford Merrill Drury, *Where Wagons Could Go: Narcissa Whitman and Eliza Spalding* (1963; repr., Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997). ---, *Henry Harmon Spalding* (Caldwell, ID: Caxton Printers, 1936). ---, *Marcus Whitman, M. D., Pioneer and Martyr* (Caldwell, ID: Caxton Printers, 1937).

⁵⁶ Cecil P. Dryden, *Give All to Oregon: Missionary Pioneers of the Far West* (New York: Hastings House, 1968), 170.

difference between the Tshimakain Station and the other ABCFM stations. The Whitmans, Spaldings, Grays, and Smiths all stayed in their homes and required the Indians to come to them. The Walkers and the Eells at Tshimakain established their mission station at one of the major Scqesciobni campsites in the center of the Scqesciobni's seasonal movements. As a result, they lived near the Scqesciobni the majority of the year. When the Scqesciobni moved to their camas grounds or to a river to catch salmon, Elkanah and Cushing went with them for days at a time. In short, the Walkers and Eells did not expect the Spokans to come to them; instead, they went to where the Spokans were and ministered to them in their lodges.⁵⁷

Another marriage-related difference was the need to farm. Without a wife and children to support, the Jesuit missionaries were able to eat what the Indians ate and sleep where the Indians slept. The Protestant missionaries had to provide food and shelter for their growing families. To the Protestants this meant farming. Historian Albert Furtwangler explained that "the Lees saw that they would have to postpone their lofty aims in order to meet pressing needs of their own."⁵⁸ The Methodist immediately began to build houses and plant crops. This was true as well for the Tshimakain missionaries. The ABCFM expected their missionaries to be self-sufficient; as a result, much of the missionaries' time was taken up by farming and maintaining a home on the frontier. The ABCFM missionaries often complained that their other work limited how much time they could dedicate to learning the Indians' languages and ministering to them which was what they had traveled across the continent to do. On May 16, 1839, Mary despaired:

⁵⁷ A number of references to such activities can be found in the journals and papers of the ABCFM missionaries. For example, in his journal Elkanah Walker wrote: "Sunday 3 [July 1842]. Spent the day at the river. Mr. E[ells]. at the camas ground. Had a pretty good congregation." Drury and Walker, *Nine Years*, 199.

⁵⁸ Furtwangler, 64.

“Regret I am able to devote so little attention to the language.”⁵⁹ Months later, Mary wrote, “today I have washed & so I am all the time busy about something. But is this kind of labor all a missionary has to do?”⁶⁰ Hindered in doing the work they had made significant sacrifices for caused the missionaries to become frustrated and at times led them to despondency. The result was that the Jesuits were able to spend much more time actively ministering to native peoples than the Protestant minister-farmers were.

Whether or not to encourage American immigration to the Oregon Country was a decision that divided the missionaries of the region. The Tshimakain missionaries did not encourage immigration to the Oregon Country. Neither did the Catholics who were focused on ministering to the Indians and a few French traders. The Methodists came out to preach to the Indians, but Jason Lee soon after arriving in Oregon realized that married men with families could be useful for creating a stable mission. In a letter dated February 6, 1835, Lee told a friend, “I have requested the Board not to send any more *single men*, but to send men with *families*....A greater favour could not be bestowed upon this country, than to send to it pious, industrious, inteligent females.”⁶¹ The Methodist missionaries encouraged whites to immigrate to Oregon and concentrated much of their efforts on ministering to the white community.⁶² The ABCFM missionaries also did not come out with the intent of promoting white immigration to Oregon.⁶³ Yet in 1843, after

⁵⁹ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 156.

⁶⁰ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 165.

⁶¹ Cornelius J. Brosnan, *Jason Lee: Prophet of the New Oregon* (New York: Macmillian, 1932), 73.

⁶² Furtwangler, 65.

⁶³ In a farewell sermon, the Reverend David Greene, the Secretary of the ABCFM in charge of the Oregon Mission, on March 18, 1838, gave the following directions to the Walkers and the Eells: “The Committee call your attention to the natural features and capabilities of the country, to the attractions which it holds out to enterprising foreign settlers, to its political relations, and the prospect of its future importance as embracing a commercial and powerful nation, for the purpose of pressing on your minds the more deeply the critical situation of the present occupants of the soil, and leading you to make more prompt and

making a trip back East to keep the ABCFM from drastically reorganizing the Columbia Plateau Mission, Marcus Whitman returned with a party of one thousand immigrants who had crammed their belongings into two hundred wagons.⁶⁴ The route Whitman took would become known as the Oregon Trail, and the Whitman Station at Waiilatpu would become a minor stop on the trail. In later years, the Whitmans ministered more to the needs of travelers than to those of the Cayuse to whom they originally had come to minister. On the other hand, the Walkers feared what the inevitable influx of whites would do to the Spokane and did not encourage whites to settle at Tshimakain.

Personal conflicts abounded among the American Board missionaries. The Whitmans, Grays, Spaldings, and Smiths were always bickering with one another and, as a result, established stations separated by many miles. The Walkers and Eells were considered the peacemakers of the ABCFM mission chain.⁶⁵ Though they had an occasional disagreement, the Walkers and Eells lived only yards away from each other

strenuous exertions, and to offer more fervent prayers, that the gospel may have free course among them before the intercourse of unprincipled men shall corrupt them by their vices, or the grasping hand of avarice shall despoil them of their lands, and either exterminate them at once, or by successive steps, perfidiously drive them, filled with prejudice against all who bear the name of white men, back to the mountain fastnesses, almost inaccessible to christian benevolence.” From “Mission to the Indians West of the Rocky Mountains,” *The Missionary Herald*, Vol. 34 (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1838), 282-283.

⁶⁴ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 242.

Squabbling amongst the ABCFM missionaries had led the American Board to the decision to close all of the existing stations on the Columbia Plateau except for the Tshimakain Station and to fire everyone except for Whitman, Walker, and Eells. For a brief overview of this incident and Whitman’s journey to the East, read Clinton A. Snowden, *History of Washington: The Rise and Progress of an American State*, Vol. 2 (New York: Century History, 1909). A longer and more detailed description of the events that led up to Whitman’s journey east are in Clifford Merrill Drury, *Marcus and Narcissa Whitman, and the Opening of Old Oregon* Vol. 1 (Glendale, CA: A. H. Clark, 1973) 425-476. A copy of the original letter sent from the Board to Spalding discussing Spalding’s dismissal and the closing of stations is included in Spalding and Smith, 357-8.

⁶⁵ During some of the mission’s tensest times, Elkanah was elected Moderator by the group and Cushing scribe. See Drury and Walker, *Nine Years*, 158, 173.

for nine years in friendship. After they left Tshimakain, their bond was so strong that they spent years living near each other in Oregon.⁶⁶

Finally, the Tshimakain missionaries were different from the other ABCFM missionaries because of their relationship with those to whom they ministered. All of the other ABCFM stations suffered because of vandalism perpetrated by Indians and ill feelings between the Indians and the missionaries. The Tshimakain missionaries did not have such troubles and lived peacefully with the Spokan for nine years. Their bond was demonstrated by the actions of the Spokan. When the Whitman Massacre occurred and the Cayuse threatened to murder the Tshimakain missionaries, the Spokan pledged to protect the Walkers and Eells.⁶⁷ When the Tshimakain Station was closed by the ABCFM, the Spokan asked the missionaries to stay. When the Walkers and the Eells were living in Oregon, the Spokan sent a delegation to ask them to return to Tshimakain.⁶⁸ Restrictions put in place by the United States government during the Indian Wars kept the Tshimakain missionaries from returning to the Spokan until well after their children were enrolled in schools which tied the missionaries to the Willamette Valley. Overall, the Tshimakain missionaries and the Spokan people had a positive partnership.

⁶⁶ Journal of Mary Richardson Walker, September 1848-January 1879, Clifford M. Drury Collection (Ms 17), Eastern Washington State Historical Society/Northwest Museum of Arts & Culture, Spokane, WA.

⁶⁷ In the days after the news of the Whitman Massacre reached Tshimakain, Elkanah wrote; "I had many calls to day & had considerable talk with three of the principal men. They all assured me that we had nothing at present to fear from the Indians below." Drury and Walker, *Nine Years*, 428.

⁶⁸ On January 6, 1851, Mary Walker wrote in her journal; "Mr. Walker gave an account of a late interview with our Indians who are very desirous we should return to teach them again." Journal, September 1848-January 1879, Drury Collection, 46. See also Drury and Walker, *Nine Years*, 497.

This complicated relationship began on August 30, 1838, when the Walkers and Eells first shook hands with Old Chief at Waiilatpu.⁶⁹ After nearly six months and thousands of miles of travel, the missionaries were still exhausted but were excited to finally be in the mission field. Two days later, the missionaries met together and decided how to distribute the American Board reinforcements. The Eells and Walkers would found a new mission station among the Spokane while the other missionaries would be divided between the Lapwai and Waiilatpu Stations. Elkanah and Cushing would go on an exploratory tour of the region north of Waiilatpu in search of a proper location for a new missionary station.

Soon after the decision was made, Cushing and Elkanah, guided by an Indian named Topas, headed north to determine the best location for the new mission station. During their journey, they travelled to Fort Colvile and visited the Pend d' Oreille tribe east of the fort.⁷⁰ Following the advice of Old Chief, the missionaries decided to locate the new station along Chamokane Creek near a semi-permanent Scqesciobni village. Borrowing tools from Fort Colvile, the Scqesciobni and the missionaries began to construct two small cabins for the missionary couples to live in. Fall quickly began to feel like winter, and Cushing and Elkanah decided to return to Waiilatpu before snow began to fall.

⁶⁹ Drury and Walker, *Nine Years*, 64.

⁷⁰ The original spelling of Fort Colvile contained only one "l" in the second syllable. The present-day city is Colville, WA.

In the present day, the words "Pend d'Oreille" refer to the aboriginal people who have lived for centuries along the shores of the "Pend Oreille" Lake and River.

Chapter 2 -- Building a Place to Live

When Elkanah and Cushing reached Waiilatpu and their wives on October 13, 1838, they brought both joy and disappointment with them. There was the great pleasure of rejoining their missionary brothers and sisters and delight for their encouraging encounters with the peoples of the Plateau. But there was also the regrettable news that the Tshimakain cabins were uninhabitable. This meant that the Eells and Walkers would have to spend the winter at Waiilatpu. Accommodations there were already crowded. In the two years that the Whitmans had lived at Waiilatpu, they had constructed only one house and it was designed to hold one family. It would now be forced to house at least seventeen people. The adobe house consisted of three rooms and two bedrooms and covered a mere 1,500 square feet.¹ The cramped conditions added to the tension that already existed amongst the missionaries.

December brought a number of changes in the small house. On the fourth, Asa and Sarah Smith moved out of the Whitman home into an unfinished structure nearby. This allowed the Walkers to have the small amount of privacy allowed by the curtained off lean-to the Smiths had occupied. The move was timely. Three days later on December 7, Mary gave birth to her first child, Cyrus Hamlin Walker.² The Whitmans spent much of January and February traveling and thus some of the tension at Waiilatpu was relieved though a dozen people still occupied the sparse T-shaped dwelling.

The tension was finally relieved when Old Chief and a small number of men and women from his band arrived on February 26, 1839, to escort the Eells and Walkers to

¹ Drury and Walker, *Nine Years*, 93.

² Drury, *On to Oregon*, 135-136.

the Tshimakain Mission Station.³ The previous fall the two parties had made arrangements for the Scqesciobni to travel to Waiilatpu to aid the missionaries in transporting their belongings to their new home on Chamokane Creek.⁴ Drury calculated that the missionaries “must have had at least 2,500 pounds of luggage. This included such items as a tent, cooking utensils, food, clothing, bedding, farming tools, personal effects, and a few boards to be used for making furniture after their arrival.”⁵ Drury further pointed out that these were few supplies to begin a new life in the wilderness. “We have reason to marvel at their indomitable courage and their complete trust in the goodwill of the natives for their safety and protection.”⁶ The missionaries confidence in the Old Chief must have been reassured by the fact that he arrived at the set time and with plenty of horses to aid the missionaries in their move.

Exactly one year after leaving their homes in New England, the Walkers and Eells packed their belongings and began a journey to their new home on the Tshimakain Plain. March 5, 1839, was also the Walkers’ and the Eells’s first wedding anniversaries. Much had changed in a year and now they were setting out to complete the mission they had so long prepared for. It took them two weeks to travel to Tshimakain. But despite snow, mud, and the challenges of traveling with a three-month-old child, the party was excited to begin their new lives together with the Spokan.

Soon after arriving at Tshimakain, Mary wrote a long, detailed description of her new home in a letter to her parents. “It is some 60, or 80 miles, from our nearest [Euro-American] neighbor.” The primitive cabins were small wooden boxes without a proper

³ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 146.

⁴ Eells, “Reminiscences,” 28.

⁵ Drury and Walker, *Nine Years*, 104.

⁶ Drury and Walker, *Nine Years*, 104.

door, window, or chimney.⁷ Attempting to paint a mental picture for her far-off family, Mary described how the mission station stood “at the western end of a plain on the verge of a pine wood. The plain is 6 or 8 mls. long, elliptical or somewhat crescent form.”⁸ Over the winter, the Scqesciobni had constructed cabin crude roofs of grass and tree boughs. They had also filled the gaps between the logs to make the cabins warmer.⁹ Temporarily, the Eells were living in a tent while the Walkers were in one of the “log pens” as Myra Eells described them.¹⁰ When the party arrived at Tshimakain they were almost out of food. Solomon traveled to Fort Colville to get provisions. Upon his return, he informed the missionaries that McDonald had invited the women and baby Cyrus to stay at the fort while their houses were being finished. Myra, Mary, and Cyrus spent the next month living in relative comfort at Fort Colville, while Cushing and Elkanah stayed at Tshimakain to oversee and aid the Scqesciobni in the completion of the missionaries’ cabins.

An enormous amount of labor went into the missionaries’ construction projects. Without a saw mill to produce finished lumber or money to purchase it from the Hudson’s Bay Company, all construction materials had to be gathered and made by hand. Much of this work was done by the Spokane whom the missionaries paid with food and trade goods. Initially, the missionary and his hired men would go out into the nearby forest and select trees of the proper size for whatever project they were currently working on. An ax would be used to fell a sufficient number of trees. Then mules or horses

⁷ Long after the construction, Cushing Eells recorded on page 24 of his “Reminiscences” that the logs used to construct the original cabins were fourteen feet long.

⁸ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 150.

⁹ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 150.

¹⁰ Drury and Walker, *Nine Years*, 107.

would be harnessed to the fallen logs and dragged to the saw pit. All limbs were trimmed or hewed from the logs. At this point, the sawyers took over.

In his memoirs, Cyrus Walker described the process by which rough logs were formed into planks which were then used to make everything from cabin floors to fences. According to Cyrus, “the method used was evidently that which, in later years, we called ‘whip sawing’ – one man standing in a pit, another on the log, which was on a frame, and working a saw up and down between them.”¹¹ The work required two men to work in tandem for long hours. On February 23, 1842, Elkanah noted that “the men had done quite well with the saw to day. They made five boards.”¹² The fact that a good day’s labor produced only five boards means that to build a structure of any size the Spokane sawyers had to saw logs for weeks. The biggest production day that Elkanah recorded generated fifteen boards.¹³ Elkanah made dozens of references to Spokane men sawing logs for him. Typically, the Spokans would saw for a week then did other work for a few months then went back to sawing for a week or two. Timber work went on year round. Twice, once in February of 1842 and again in December of 1844, Elkanah noted that they had constructed a shelter over the saw pit using Indian mats so that work could continue during inclement weather. Such work produced lumber for fences, buildings, and furniture. Throughout their time at Tshimakain, the missionaries depended on Spokane sawyers to supply them with cut lumber. Without the Spokans’ willingness to work for the missionaries, the missionaries would not have been able to construct any buildings.

Keeping the rustic cabins warm was also essential to making the missionaries comfortable. To achieve this, one of the most important technologies the missionaries

¹¹ Walker, “Memories of Old Oregon,” 7-8.

¹² Drury and Walker, *Nine Years*, 184.

¹³ Drury and Walker, *Nine Years*, 306.

learned from the Spokane was the use of woven mats. Though the exterior walls of their houses were chinked with a mixture of mud, moss, and grass, the mats crafted by Spokane women from tules, also known as bulrushes, were used for insulation in every room of the missionaries' houses. The missionaries observed how the Spokane constructed their homes. Cattail and tule mats were used for building everything from the roof to the floor. The pithy interior of the tule stem made them light weight and perfect insulators. If cared for properly, mats were usable for many years.¹⁴ The Walkers never mention making the mats themselves so the Spokans must have given or traded the mats to the missionaries.

The Spokane people used tule mats for a variety of purposes. The mats were woven together by interlacing long tule stalks and sewing the edges with hemp. Finished mats were used as food trays, seat backs, linings for storage pits, covering earth ovens, as temporary interior walls, and even wrapping corpses. In the summer, a single layer of mats were used to cover a lodge, but when the temperatures dropped in the winter, multiple layers were used to keep the cold out.¹⁵ The adventurer Ross Cox in the early 1800s recorded that the houses of the Spokane “were oblong, others conical; and were covered with mats or skins, according to the wealth of the proprietor.”¹⁶ During the summer of 1841, while traveling with the Wilkes Expedition, the naturalist Charles Pickering described a Spokane village “containing about twenty lodges, and perhaps three hundred natives...Some of the lodges were, as usual, of mats.”¹⁷ The missionaries spent

¹⁴ Ross, *The Spokane Indians*, 250-251.

¹⁵ Teit and Boas, 58.

¹⁶ Ross Cox, *Columbia River, or, Scenes and Adventures During a Residence of Six Years on the Western Side of the Rocky Mountains Among Various Tribes of Indians Hitherto Unknown, Together with a Journey Across the American Continent*, Vol. 1 (London: H. Colburn and R. Bentley, 1832), 182.

¹⁷ Charles Pickering, *The Races of Man: and their Geographical Distribution*, vol. 9 of *United States Exploring Expedition During the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, Under the Command of Charles Wilkes, U. S. N.* (Philadelphia: C. Sherman, 1848), 34.

much of their time in the lodges of the Spokan and knew how tule mats were used to keep a dwelling warm.

The Walkers and the Eells used tule mats to line the walls, roofs, and floors of the houses they occupied at Tshimakain. As an example, when Elkanah and the Spokan constructed the second Walker home the roof of the new cabin was made of planks with grass and mats placed underneath for insulation.¹⁸ Once a year, Mary would take the mats off the walls and clean them outdoors to remove a year's worth of dirt and soot from them. Because of their durability, she was able to keep using the same mats year after year. In October of 1846, Mary got tired of her bedroom being cold and while Elkanah was on a trip to Fort Colvile she tore up the floor.¹⁹ She then laid mats on the bare ground to act as insulation and replaced the floorboards as she had seen the Spokan do.²⁰ The tule mats proved to be a danger as well as a necessity.

A mixture of an open hearth, candles, flammable building materials, and small children meant the missionaries' cabins were constantly at risk of burning to the ground. The worst house fire the missionaries experienced was on January 11, 1841, when the Eells's cabin caught on fire. The fire was "started when one of the mats, used to line the walls of the cabin, was ignited by a spark from the fireplace."²¹ In a letter to the American Board, Cushing described the fire: "being mostly lined with rush-mats, and having no inside doors, except cloths hung up, the flame spread so rapidly that it went through every part of the building before an article was removed."²² Though in this one

¹⁸ Drury and Walker, *Nine Years*, 246.

¹⁹ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 302.

²⁰ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 302.

²¹ Drury and Walker, *Nine Years*, 130n.

²² "Loss of Mission-House by Fire—State of the Mission," *The Missionary Herald* no. 37 (1841): 435.

instance the tule mats were a problem, throughout the nine years the missionaries lived at Tshimakain they used the mats they acquired from the Spokane to insulate their homes.

One of the only household decorations Mary mentioned in her journals was used in her bedroom. She fastened tapa cloth to the ceiling.²³ The tapa was most likely a gift from fellow American Board missionaries in the Hawaiian Islands.²⁴ It is telling of Mary's character that such a conservative Congregationalist put a colorful, impractical decoration in her own private space to cover the drab tule mats lining her ceiling.

For the first five years, the missionaries and the Spokans worshipped together in a ceremonial long-house constructed by the Spokane. The Spokane desired knowledge and the missionaries were eager to teach and so the chapel where such interactions occurred became the heart of the mission station. Here the missionaries and Spokans worshipped God and conducted lessons on a range of topics, including writing and reading English and Spokane, science, math, and history. In a letter to the American Board dated February 25, 1840, Cushing explained that "while the weather continued warm, the place for worship was under some pine trees; but as it became cold, a house was prepared entirely by the people, expressly for worship." To him the long house "resemble[d] somewhat in form, the roof of a house in New England" though the "angle at the top [was] much smaller than that of" houses of his day. A frame made of four or five inch diameter poles was covered by tule mats in the same manner the Scqesciobni made their lodges. The Walkers' journals have no descriptions of this first "chapel" at Tshimakain, but Elkanah did mention that it was "smoky," which was a condition he often encountered in the

²³ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 286.

²⁴ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 276-277.

individual lodges of the Spokane.²⁵ In Cushing's reminiscences, he wrote that the long-house "was 12 to 15 feet wide, and 30 to 40 feet in length."²⁶ Without this meeting place constructed by the Spokane, the missionaries, who had limited building skills and materials, would not have had a structure big enough to hold their services in for many years. Cushing added that "most of the Indian houses [were] made in the same way."²⁷ Because he included this afterthought, his description of a long-house can be compared to that of anthropologists and explorers who have studied the region.

Modern day anthropologists have documented how a Spokane-style long-house of this era was constructed. Firstly, a shallow pit approximately fifty centimeters deep was dug to create a floor area about twenty feet by forty feet. Secondly, several long poles approximately twenty-five feet in length were prepared by cutting a V-shaped notch in the thicker end of each pole. Two such poles were then tied together at their unnotched ends. A dozen or more of these large V-shaped pairs were fitted into evenly-spaced holes dug around the perimeter of the floor. Narrower diameter poles were tied horizontally to the upright V-shaped pairs to create stability. Next, the thinner ends of six or more poles were tied together. The untied ends were spread apart to form a half circle. This half-circle section was then tied to one end of the long-house to create a rounded end. This was repeated to create the opposite end as well. Entryways were built into these rounded ends. Finally, the structure was covered with woven mats which were lashed to the frame.²⁸ In the winter, extra layers of mats were attached to the walls and dirt was

²⁵ Drury and Walker, *Nine Years*, 296.

²⁶ Eells, "Reminiscences," 41.

²⁷ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 152.

²⁸ Ross, *The Spokane Indians*, 208.

banked around the exterior of the long-house.²⁹ The missionaries used a similar technique to insulate their cabins each fall.

Such long-houses were commonly built where ever the Spokane lived for an extended period of time. Across the Columbia Plateau, the long-house was used as “a gathering place or general meeting house for the people of the village and as a winter dance house. It was also used for the accommodation of visitors.”³⁰ Such a structure was easily transformed into a chapel or schoolhouse for the missionaries’ purposes. The long-house constructed by the Scqesciobni at the Tshimakain Station was used for many years until it was eventually replaced by a more durable log chapel also built by Scqesciobni under Elkanah’s direction.

The Spokans’ eagerness for religious instruction was demonstrated by the fact that they built a long-house especially for the missionaries at Tshimakain. Without the structure, there would not have been a building large enough to hold the congregation which when the Spokane were on the Plain met twice a day and three times on Sunday. The chapel long-house was the locus of communication between the Spokane and the missionaries. The fact that the missionaries accepted the Spokane-style long-house as a place of worship and did not demand that they build a log structure right away demonstrated that the missionaries were willing to adopt and adapt the ways of the Spokane.

Spokan Indians provided a variety of building materials for the missionaries. Mary filled her bed ticks with feathers collected by Spokans. The original windows were

²⁹ Teit and Boas, 59.

³⁰ Teit and Boas, 59.

covered with deer hides provided by Spokans. The tule mats that lined the walls of the missionaries' cabins were produced by the Spokans. The lumber, stone, mud, and clay used to construct the station were gathered by the Spokans. Without the Spokans material assistance, the Tshimakain Mission would not have been possible. If the missionaries had not been willing to adapt and use these materials, the mission station would not have abided for nine years.

Spokan men and women helped the missionaries construct a variety of structures. These included barns, storage sheds, wood sheds, henhouses, and outhouses. Spokan women also helped with smaller construction projects such as making rugs and bed ticks. Without the labor of the Spokan, the Walkers and Eells could not have lived among them.

The missionaries adopted and adapted the Indians' lodges, long-houses, and tule mats for their own purposes. Because the missionaries were planning to stay in one location for many years, they built log houses to dwell in and barns to store feed for their livestock rather than building temporary lodges such as the semi-nomadic Spokan lived in. The Spokan provided the materials, the labor, and sometimes the technology to construct the missionary station. The missionaries accepted these contributions and because they did they were able to build a place to live on the Columbia Plateau.

Chapter 3 – Foods and Diet

The consumption of food is an integral part of life. Not only is food fuel for the human body but it also acts as a link to human culture. At Tshimakain, the procurement, preparation, and storage of foodstuffs demanded much of the missionaries' time, energy, and resources. Every meal they ate was a reminder to the Walkers and Eells that they were not living in New England anymore. While growing up in New England, the missionaries had a steady diet of bread and butter, ham and beans, and potatoes and onions. Cheese was frequently on the dinner table. Beef, pork, and mutton were consumed on a regular basis. When they lived in Maine, Mary and Elkanah regularly ate wild game and fresh fish. Turkeys, geese, chickens, ducks, and partridges were on the menu quite often. Vegetables, or "garden sauce" as Elkanah referred to them, would have included carrots, potatoes, peas, parsnips, onions, corn, cabbages, beans, squashes, pumpkins, rhubarb, turnips, and cucumbers. Apples, pears, peaches, cranberries, lemons, and quinces were consumed in tarts, pies, jams, and jellies. Sugar, molasses, yeast, vinegar, soda, salt, and flour could be bought at the village store for a minimal cost. Tea, coffee, and lemonade were the beverages of choice. The Walkers and the Eells were strong believers in temperance and so alcoholic beverages were reserved for medicinal purposes. To the missionaries these foods would have been the tastes of home. Food connected them to the families and friends they had left behind. Particular foods were associated with festive family gatherings, for example mince pies on Thanksgiving Day, plum pudding on birthdays, and wedding cake at weddings. Food defined who the missionaries were as much as language, clothing, and customs did, and the transformation of their diet reflected the general reshaping of the Walkers and Eells.

In New England, the missionaries were taught to eat certain foods and to prepare them as their ancestors had for decades, if not centuries. Mary and Myra grew up learning to bake tarts, pies, and bread. They knew how to churn butter and make cheese. From their mothers and grandmothers, they had learned to pickle and preserve fruits, vegetables, and meats. Elkanah knew how to butcher cattle and prepare the meat. When they moved to the Columbia Plateau, the missionaries were in an unfamiliar environment surrounded by a culture other than their own. They could not easily obtain such everyday New England foods as chickens, sugar, and apples. Foods they were unaccustomed to eating and cooking had to replace their standard New England fare. Though the missionaries tenaciously held on to their traditional tastes, over time they incorporated native foods into their diets.

Very quickly, the missionaries realized they lacked the secular skills they needed to survive on the Columbia Plateau. According to Elkanah, “ministers make poor farmers.”¹ He proclaimed this to Rev. David Greene, the Secretary of the ABCFM, in a letter written in September 1840, during the second harvest at Tshimakain. Elkanah spoke from experience. He was the only member of the American Board’s Oregon Country mission who had worked on a farm, and after two growing seasons, he was willing to acknowledge his inadequacies as a farmer.² The missionaries had come to the Columbia Plateau to preach and teach, not to be farmers. Their educations had included Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, but not how to plow fields and raise livestock. Of all of the missionaries, Elkanah had had the most experience performing farmwork and caring for

¹ Drury and Walker, *Nine Years*, 125.

² Drury and Walker, *Nine Years*, 125.

animals, and he admitted he was not very good at it. To the missionaries' misfortune, the ABCFM expected missionaries to produce the majority of their food. An additional benefit to the missionaries' farming activities was that the Spokane would be given an example of how to farm. The American Board believed learning to farm would help the Spokane to survive when their lands were invaded and occupied by Americans, which recent history indicated would happen within a generation. With less land to live on and cut off from their traditional hunting and gathering sites, the Spokane would have to learn new skills to obtain enough food to continue to live on the Columbia Plateau. The missionaries believed agriculture was the only avenue that would save Indians from annihilation. Unfortunately, the climate on the Tshimakain Plain, which was being influenced by the waning years of the Little Ice Age, would have challenged an experienced farmer, but for the inexperienced missionaries, it was a disaster.

In some ways, Tshimakain was a good place to farm. There was plenty of level ground. The soil was fertile enough to grow crops, especially after manure was plowed into the open ground. The area's springs provided plenty of water that the missionaries used to irrigate their gardens. There was plenty of sunshine throughout the year and temperatures rarely were greater than 90 degrees. The problem was not the days, it was the nights. They could be cold, very cold.

Year after year, cold nighttime temperatures resulted in injuring or killing the missionaries' vegetables. On August 31, 1845, Mary recorded in her diary that "June July & Aug. have [been] without frost. The longest period I think without frost since we came to this country."³ As her role as the family cook, Mary kept a close eye on the vegetable garden and diligently noted whenever a killing frost damaged her plants. In her

³ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 285.

first year at Tshimakain, just as the produce was ripening, a cold August night destroyed her garden, an essential source of nutrition for the missionaries, and wiped out months of labor in one swift stroke.⁴ In the coming years, hard frosts hit on May 26, June 1 and 5, July 3, 11, 25, August 30, and September 6. Myron Eells wrote that “only about once in three years could they [the missionaries] raise corn and tender vegetables, some years there having been frost every month.”⁵ The short and erratic growing season meant the missionaries could grow very few of the vegetables they were accustomed to eating. The missionaries became dependent on the roots and berries the Spokane gathered to supply much needed dietary nutrients. Rather than illustrating for the Spokane how rewarding it could be to cultivate American gardens, the missionaries demonstrated that farming could be a frustrating, labor-intensive waste of time.

Still, the Spokane did get a lot of experience by helping the missionaries in their garden. They helped the missionaries to spread manure on the fields to fertilize the plants. They weeded, watered, and tended the plants throughout the short growing season. The Spokane had a hand in the harvesting of potatoes, oats, and corn, as well as the garden vegetables such as peas, pumpkins, squash, tomatoes, green beans, turnips, onions, cabbage, beets, melons, radishes, cucumbers, and beans. Workers helped dry, winnow, and store produce. The Walkers’ diaries are filled with accounts of Spokane men, women, girls and boys working with the missionaries. Two examples from Mary’s diary come from September 1839. First, Mary described how she had “husked the corn, the Indians [helped.] Twenty boys spread it on the house top” to dry. Then the next day,

⁴ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 172.

⁵ Eells, *Father Eells*, 89.

she had “plenty of Indians cutting pumpkins to dry.”⁶ The missionaries relied on the Spokans to help them gather and store enough food to sustain the mission families throughout the year.

Some foods, such as potatoes and flour, had additional value as trade goods. The Spokan were willing to trade native roots, berries, and wild game for such foodstuffs. As the years went by, the missionaries ate more and more of the local berries and roots. Throughout the spring and summer, Mary spent time day after day trading with the Spokan to get roots and berries. On May 29, 1846, Mary wrote, “The Indians have been calling all day to get medicine & trade popo.⁷ I grudged to spend so much time but wished for some roots & did not like to disoblige the people.”⁸ The missionaries had to adapt to the Spokans’ ways of trading. Mary could not just walk down the street and pay a merchant a couple of pennies for a pound of berries. The Spokan used a form of bartering which demanded both time and patience. Elkanah often was frustrated by the process, but Mary knew that if she was to obtain the foodstuffs she needed she would have to adopt the Spokans’ methods of economic negotiations.⁹

Mary traded for a variety of berries, including strawberries, huckleberries, “mountain berries,” “[choke] cherries,” “sepet or whortleberries,” gooseberries, sour berries, service berries, and thornberries. The Spokan gathered nearly three dozen species of berries, most of which the missionaries had never encountered before.¹⁰ On a journey across the Columbia Plateau in June of 1842, Mary wrote, “We find plenty of

⁶ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 175.

⁷ A type of white camas.

⁸ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 296.

⁹ Appendix IV of this paper contains a chart outlining the basic nutritional value of a common Plateau Indian diet.

¹⁰ Ross, *The Spokan Indians*, 344.

berries, red, yellow & black currents and one kind of berry resembling them that I have never seen before.”¹¹ At least five species of currants were harvested by the Spokan.¹² Ross wrote that “the mountain serviceberry and the valley serviceberry were the most extensively used berries by the Spokan,” and Mary’s journals indicate she used them frequently.¹³ What Mary referred to as “sepet or whortleberries” was most likely the lowbush or dwarf bilberry, a type of huckleberry. According to Ross, “some early whites referred to huckleberries as whortleberries,” and the Spokan name for the dwarf bilberry is *ssipt* which is phonetically similar to “sepet.” These berries were easily preserved and which explains why Mary bought such a large quantity.¹⁴ Black and red thornberries, also known as hawthorn berries, were harvested in late August and were known for their “astringent flavor.”¹⁵ Elkanah gave the Spokan name for thornberries to be *Sacholak*.¹⁶

The harvesting, preparing, and storing of berries was done primarily by the women of the Columbia Plateau. The missionaries rarely harvested berries but instead traded with the Spokan to get them.¹⁷ Many types of berries were consumed while they were fresh, yet the most important berries were those that could be preserved for consumption during the winter months. These included red and black chokecherries,

¹¹ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 232.

¹² Ross, *The Spokan Indians*, 348.

¹³ Ross, *The Spokan Indians*, 345.

¹⁴ Ross, *The Spokan Indians*, 346.

¹⁵ Ross, *The Spokan Indians*, 347.

¹⁶ Drury and Walker, *Nine Years*, 413.

¹⁷ The missionaries’ unfamiliarity with the native berries sometimes resulted in illness when they picked their own berries. On a journey from Waiilatpu to Tshimakain, the missionaries picked and consumed some berries. The party had to stop unexpectedly because Myra became quite ill with diarrhea. Mary attributed her illness to “some berries” she had eaten. Drury, *On to Oregon*, 232.

The missionaries traded a variety of items in exchange for berries and other foodstuffs. One example comes from Mary’s journal in which she noted a single day’s business: “Simpleton came for medicine & to trade berries. Let him have an old shirt. Soshenamalt came & traded a pr. of leggins for berries. Some half dozen women came who had been for sour berries of which I traded about two bushels. Paid at about the rate of 15 loads for ten qt. pail full. Paid two handkerchiefs, one yard calico, one pr. leggins, one old half shawl, one old shirt [of] Cyrus & one [of] Elkanah, & an awl, a few beads, a bit of soap, some needles & thread.” Drury, *On to Oregon*, 318.

Valley serviceberries, and huckleberries.¹⁸ “According to ethno-nutritionists, slow-drying huckleberries allows them to retain their vitamin C” which was an essential part of the lean winter diet.¹⁹

Mary rarely detailed how she cared for the berries she purchased from the Scqesciobni, except for once. In the middle of summer in 1847, nearly a week after procuring a large quantity she recorded that she had “commenced winnowing berries. Winowed about three bushels of service berries, 40 qts. of sepet & 16 of sour berries.”²⁰ After drying the berries outside, she winnowed the berries to get rid of dried leaves and dirt that had mixed with the drying berries. The berries were dried and then stored in either woven baskets or buckskin sacks. Mary kept one such basket for the rest of her life.

There were many ways to serve berries. Mary and Myra made berry cakes, pies, plum pudding, tarts, preserves, syrup, and vinegar. The missionaries observed how the

¹⁸ Ross, *The Spokan Indians*, 344.

¹⁹ Ruth Kirk and Richard D. Daugherty, *Archaeology in Washington* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007), 70.

On the Columbia Plateau, the preservation of huckleberries was done near the picking fields. Archaeologists have identified the distinctive scars on cedar trees where Indians removed strips of bark to make berry baskets. “Resins in the bark helped prevent spoilage.” (Kirk and Daugherty, 70) The Spokan “dried [berries] on large berry racks, often within the berry camp to reduce weight and volume prior to carrying the harvest to a camp or village for storage.” Tule mats were placed on a framework of lodge poles creating a platform approximately “4 to 5 m[eters] long and...one meter wide.” The Spokan “would collectively spread their day’s harvest on the mats, atop the waist-high drying racks to facilitate sorting. Racks were ideally located in shaded areas to discourage fermenting and spoilage. Flies were presumably kept away by the camp’s children, and adults who maintained smoke fires from slow-burning rotten logs.” (Ross, *The Spokan Indians*, 432.) Archaeological evidence and first-hand accounts describe a slightly different method used by many peoples of the Columbia Plateau and could have been used by the Scqesciobni. “An Indian woman selected a log, scooped out the earth along one side of it, and from this trench built up a parallel ridge about three feet from the log. The slope of the ridge on the side facing the log would be approximately 45 degrees. Upon this she would place a tule mat or some other suitable covering and put a row of stones along the lower edge. Then she spreads a thin layer of berries over the mat and set the log afire.” Occasionally, the berries were stirred by a “long-bladed oar-like paddle” to insure that all were properly dried. It would take all day for the berries to dry and required constant vigilance to keep the fire under control. (Roy M. Filloon, “Huckleberry Pilgrimage,” Reprinted from *Pacific Discovery* 5 (1952): 4-13, Rootsweb, <http://www.homepages.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~westklic/pilgrimage.html> (accessed October 13, 2012).

²⁰ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 319.

Scqesciobni pounded berries into dense hand-sized cakes for storage, and these may be what Mary meant when she wrote about making “berry cakes.” Mary’s lack of ingredients she was familiar with using in recipes caused her to be creative and at times substitute local ingredients for traditional ingredients, such as on November 14, 1846, when she “made some good pies by adding sepet to pumpkin, prepared & baked in other respects as usual.”²¹ Later, when Mary needed vinegar for cooking she pressed and boiled thornberries to make some.²² Currants were commonly used in New England desserts, and so the missionaries incorporated local currants into their old home recipes to make new, yet familiar, dishes. Some berries were tasted best plain. The Walker’s often had a bowl of berries, such as red chokecherries at meal time. As time passed and the Walker family grew, Mary traded with the Spokane to get larger and larger quantities of berries to feed her family. According to her journals, Mary purchased over 300 quarts of berries during the summer of 1847. The berries the Spokane ate became the berries the Walkers and Eells ate. Their taste for Columbia Plateau berries endured. Mary’s journal reveals that the Walkers continued to purchase berries from the Spokane and other tribes after they moved to Oregon City.

The Scqesciobni consumed a variety of native plant roots and while at Tshimakain so did the missionaries. Before and during the time the missionaries lived on the Columbia Plateau, Spokane women harvested over 250 species of plants over the course of a year.²³ Nutritionists and ethnographers calculate that “roots apparently provided Columbia Plateau families with more than half of their diet.” Roots were

²¹ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 303.

²² Drury, *On to Oregon*, 320.

²³ Ross, *The Spokane Indians*, 336.

important because the amount of calories gained from consuming them exceeded that of the effort to obtain them.

The Spokan and other peoples of the Columbia Plateau harvested an incredible assortment of root species. Biscuitroot, bitterroot, and camas were the most common tubers the Spokan ate though they were not the only ones that the Spokan harvested.²⁴ They also gathered balsamroot, Indian potato, wild onions, lily roots, and wild hyacinth.²⁵ Women were the primary caretakers of root vegetables. After performing sacred ceremonies, they would harvest the roots from late spring to mid-summer. One of the most important properties of root vegetables was the fact that they could be stored away and eaten during the lean months of winter. Roots were hung from rafters to dry. They were also baked in earthen ovens until they were soft enough to be ground to a pulp using a mortar and pestle. The pulp was then formed into cakes to be dried. Roots were cached in storage pits that pocketed the Columbia Plateau. “An individual family typically dug, processed, and stored as much as two metric tons of roots for annual use.”²⁶

Archaeological evidence has shown that earthen ovens were used throughout the Columbia Plateau.²⁷ During their nine years with the Spokan Indians, the missionaries often witnessed the harvesting and processing of roots. Whether the missionaries purchased raw or preserved roots is unknown, but they did purchase large quantities of

²⁴ Kirk and Daugherty, 66-67. Samuel Parker, the first member of the ABCFM to visit the Spokan, was always careful to describe the taste of new foodstuffs he encountered. He described camas as having the “form of an onion” and “a taste resembling licorice.” Biscuitroot he claimed tasted “like a sweet potato” and was “a tolerable substitute for bread.” Samuel Parker, *Journal of an Exploring Tour Beyond the Rocky Mountains, Under the Direction of the A.B.C.F.M.: Containing a Description of the Geography, Geology, Climate, Productions of the Country, and the Numbers, Manners, and Customs of the Natives: With a Map of the Oregon Territory*, 4th ed. (Ithaca, NY: Andrus, Woodruff, and Gauntlett, 1844), 225.

²⁵ Alston V. Thoms, “Plateau Root Foods,” in *Archaeology of Prehistoric Native America: An Encyclopedia*, eds. Guy Gibbon and Kenneth M. Ames (New York: Garland Publishing, 1998), 664.

²⁶ Thoms, 666.

²⁷ Thoms, 666. As will be discussed later, the missionaries had the opportunity to witness the Spokan using such ovens for the cooking of roots.

root vegetables from the Spokane and would have been familiar with the native methods of food preservation.

The local roots were so foreign to her that Mary simply referred to all species generically as “roots” rarely distinguishing one from another. With there being such a large variety of local roots, Mary had to depend on the Spokane to provide her with nonpoisonous species. Consuming the wrong plant could have serious consequences, as Mary discovered on a journey from Waiilatpu to Tshimakain in May 1845. Mary recorded that she “dug a root which I mistook for camas & found it to be an emetic.”²⁸ After six years of experience with camas roots, Mary was still fooled by the plethora of roots on the Columbia Plateau.

Mary generally considered camas to be benign. This is proven by the fact that she gave camas to her nine-month-old son to chew on when he was teething.²⁹ Camas was a part of Mary and Myra’s life from the moment they left Waiilatpu. On her initial trip to Tshimakain, Mary observed Spokane women digging camas roots, later she wrote that “Cornelius’ wife was baking bread, strange bread.”³⁰ This was camas root which turns black when baked and was often pounded then baked like loaves of bread. The Walkers often referred to “poh poh” which was the Scqesciobni word for cooked white camas.³¹ According to Ross, Spokane women often baked camas over night while they were camping in the root fields or when traveling, such as Mary observed on her initial journey to Tshimakain.³² Cooking camas converts its sugars to fructose making it digestible.³³

²⁸ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 282.

²⁹ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 171.

³⁰ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 149.

³¹ Ross, *The Spokane Indians*, 338, 432.

³² Ross, *The Spokane Indians*, 423.

³³ Kirk and Daugherty, 67.

When she could, Mary got out of her cabin and observed how the Spokan cooked local foods. On June 5, 1841, Mary wrote that she and her family “went to see the Indians take their food from the oven. Found it very good eating. It was the little onion they call *sa* and the moss. They gave us some.”³⁴ This is similar to a method Ross described by which the Spokan cooked camas and tree moss “together in an earth oven so that a jelly-like mass was formed, which was then spread on hides to dry before storing for winter in soft hide bags, a mixture often used to make broth.”³⁵ Mary did not make it clear as to whether or not she ever used this method, but she did trade for camas and moss regularly and had an oven to bake it in.

One of the few specific roots Mary named was bitterroot.³⁶ Cyrus Walker in his later days recalled, “North of the mission buildings was a gravelly prairie on which grew the ‘bitter root’ or ‘rock rose’ as it is often called in Eastern Oregon....It has a sprangly root, and the Indians dug it, stripped off its covering, dried it and used the root for food.”³⁷ The Spokan often boiled bitterroot, but at other times, they would make it into a powder which was added to soups.³⁸ Samuel Parker, the first member of the ABCFM to visit the Columbia Plateau, described bitterroot as follows, “grows on dry ground, is fusiform, and though not pleasant to the taste, is very conducive to health.”³⁹ He also mentioned that it was often mixed with other foods. It is possible that Mary used

³⁴ Journal of Mary Richardson Walker, March 5, 1838 to October 1, 1848, Clifford M. Drury Collection (Ms 17), Eastern Washington State Historical Society/Northwest Museum of Arts & Culture, Spokane, WA (hereafter cited as MRW Journal 1838-1848).

³⁵ Ross, *The Spokan Indians*, 338.

³⁶ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 261.

³⁷ Walker, “Memories of Old Oregon,” 10.

³⁸ Ross, *The Spokan Indians*, 341.

³⁹ Parker, 225. The medicinal uses of bitterroot ranged from curing a sore throat to increasing milk flow after childbirth to dermatological sores. University of Michigan-Dearborn, “Native American Ethnobotany,” <http://herb.umd.umich.edu> (accessed October 20, 2012).

bitterroot in a similar manner because she often watched Scqesciobni women prepare food.

In her journals, Mary did not go into detail how she incorporated native plants into her family's diet, but the amount of roots she purchased from the Spokane proves that she did. The missionaries stored roots in their cellars similar to how the peoples of the Columbia Plateau kept theirs in underground storage pits covered by tule mats and rocks. Storage was important because roots were what sustained both the Spokane and the missionaries throughout the cold winters on the Tshimakain Plain. In New England, root vegetables would have been a significant portion of her diet and with the failure of such imported crops on the Tshimakain Plain, Mary came to rely on the roots that grew naturally on the Columbia Plateau and were given to her by the Spokane.

The missionaries had better luck growing wheat than vegetables. The natural grassland of the Tshimakain Plain lent itself to growing grains such as wheat and oats. The wheat was resistant to the adverse effects of frost and was not hampered by a short growing season as other crops the missionaries grew were. Bread and other foods made from flour were staples of the New England diet and were the mainstay of the missionaries' meals. Three to four times a week, Mary spent time baking. She baked bread, tarts, pies, biscuits, doughnuts, pound cake, corn cakes, fried cakes, and on one occasion a wedding cake. She would bake a dozen or more loaves of bread at a time. For the first four years at the mission, all of Mary's baking was done in a small tin oven they had carried with them across the continent. The small metal box was placed amongst the hot coals of the fire to bake the bread. When the Walkers moved into their

second home, Elkanah constructed a proper oven that was built into the kitchen hearth. Flour in some form was consumed at every meal in the missionaries' homes and was an essential part of their lives.

To produce one's own flour is a long, labor-intensive process. The Spokane helped the missionaries accomplish every step of the process. Each spring, land had to be prepared. For the first few years, the thick sod had to be broken and removed so wheat could be sown. In later years, the remains of the previous year's crop had to be removed before plowing could begin. Spokane women helped the missionaries to do this task.⁴⁰ These women saved Elkanah days of back-breaking work. Elkanah did the majority of the plowing for himself, the Eells, and the Scqesciobni. Yet on at least one occasion, Elkanah hired a Spokane man who "handled the plough quite well."⁴¹ Often, Elkanah plowed the fields of individual Spokans in exchange for their help with his work. Without their labor, he would not have been able to clear as much land and would have had to plant less wheat which would have meant less food for his ever-growing family.

The plow was a key tool for the missionaries. It broke up the hard ground and made it possible to plant large areas of wheat, corn, and other crops. The missionaries needed strong, flexible wood to make their plowshares useable. Recognizing his own lack of knowledge about the local forest, Elkanah asked Old Chief for help selecting the proper wood for the job.⁴² With the plows assembled, the missionaries next needed to fabricate harnesses. The plows were drawn by teams of mules who were harnessed to the plows. Every winter, the missionaries would trade with the Spokane to get buckskins and buffalo hides that they would use to make new harnesses and whips. The missionaries

⁴⁰ Drury and Walker, *Nine Years*, 348.

⁴¹ Drury and Walker, *Nine Years*, 310.

⁴² Drury and Walker, *Nine Years*, 144.

learned from the Spokan how to sew with sinew and make ropes and straps using the natural resources that the Spokan were familiar with.⁴³ After the plowing was done, Elkanah would sow the wheat. To keep birds from eating the seed and to speed the growth of the wheat, Elkanah used a harrow to mix the seed into the topsoil. At least a quarter of the time, he hired a Spokan to harrow in the seed while he sowed. This saved Elkanah time and seed.

As the years went by, the missionaries were able to plant more and more wheat which required more and more labor to maintain and harvest it. During the growing season, Elkanah hired Spokans to pull the thistles out of the wheat. Then in late July or August, he hired Spokans to help him reap, bundle, and haul the wheat. The tools used to harvest the wheat were few and rather simple. Cyrus Walker recalled, "I used to watch my father cut the grain with the old fashioned hand sickle or reaping hook, laying the grain in bundles, making awkward work binding it with some of the wisps of the wheat."⁴⁴ Elkanah recorded that he also used a scythe which would have allowed him to cut a wider swath of wheat than the small hand sickle would have. As his harvests grew in size, Elkanah hired more Spokans for more days to assist him in his work. Without the labor of the Spokans, the missionaries would not have been able to harvest as much wheat and hence would not have had as much flour to use in baking food.

After the wheat was bundled and hauled to the farmyard, it had to be threshed and winnowed to separate the kernels of wheat from the wheat shaft. Cushing explained that the wheat was "threshed by hand, cleaned with the wind or a large milk pan after the

⁴³ Eells, "Reminiscences," 31.

⁴⁴ Walker, "Memories of Old Oregon," 9.

manner of a scripture fan.”⁴⁵ Cyrus wrote that “the grain was threshed with a flail.”⁴⁶

The missionaries stored the wheat, and whenever their supply of flour was running low hired Indians to thresh and winnow more. The work took hours if not days to complete and the missionaries relied on the assistance of the Spokan to get the work done.

The Tshimakain Mission Station did not have a flour mill. When the missionaries needed flour, they transported grain either to the mill at Lapwai or to one at Fort Colville to get it ground in to flour. The trip to Colville took five days round trip and a trip to Lapwai took at least two weeks. When Elkanah made a trip to get the grain ground, he hired one or two Spokans to travel with him to help him care for the pack animals, build camps, and for companionship. After it was processed, the flour was loaded into sacks for transportation and storage. “The flour sacks were of buckskin, for it was cheaper than cloth, as well as more enduring,” according to Myron Eells who said his father still had one in his possession.⁴⁷ The missionaries purchased the buckskin or the finished bags from the Spokan. The missionaries also used native baskets to carry and store foodstuffs. While at Fort Colville or another mission station, other foodstuffs and trade items were obtained by the missionaries who then relied on Spokans to help them transport their foodstuffs to Tshimakain.

The missionaries consumed meat from a variety of sources. Closest to home, they raised farm animals for consumption. Once a year, each family butchered an ox. This

⁴⁵ Eells, “Reminiscences,” 32. “Scripture fan” is another term for a winnowing fan, which is a shallow rectangular or square basket that has a strong rim on three sides and gently slopes toward the rimless edge. Wheat is placed in the winnowing fan and gently tossed in the air in such a way that the lightweight chaff blows away from the heavier grain.

⁴⁶ Walker, “Memories of Old Oregon,” 9.

⁴⁷ Eells, *Father Eells*, 70.

was a major chore that involved days of work to preserve the meat and transform other parts of the ox into useful products such as tallow for candles. Mary raised chickens and collected their eggs daily, but often the Indians' dogs infiltrated the chicken yard and killed a few of her stock, creating a sudden, unexpected decrease in the size of her flock. Mary was frustrated by these unpredictable drops in a protein source that she considered a staple. For one year, the Eells and the Walkers each raised a single pig. They only did it once so it can be supposed that the missionaries considered the expense greater than the return when it came to pig farming. For the majority of their time at Tshimakain, the Eells and Walkers procured any mutton and pork they consumed from either Lapwai or Ft. Colville. Elkanah rarely mentioned hunting game and even less often noted catching any, so he was not a source of wild game for the family.⁴⁸ The missionaries' diets were supplemented with meat procured through trade with or as gifts from the Spokane. Living on the Columbia Plateau, they were introduced to local species of salmon, duck, grouse, and trout, as well as buffalo from the Great Plains. These and other Spokane foods became essential parts of the Tshimakain missionaries' lives.

One of the unique foods of the West that the missionaries had never before encountered was buffalo meat. For a period of time on their transcontinental journey, their diet was dominated by the rich gamey meat and wreaked havoc with Elkanah's digestive system. But eventually, buffalo meat and especially buffalo tongue "were considered a great delicacy" by the Tshimakain missionaries, and on the Columbia Plateau, they ate it whenever they were given the opportunity.⁴⁹ During Elkanah and Cushing's initial exploratory trek in search of a suitable location for a northern mission,

⁴⁸ There is no evidence that Cushing hunted for the Eells family, and there is no record of Cushing giving any wild game to the Walker family.

⁴⁹ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 181n.

Indians gave Elkanah a gift of two buffalo tongues because he had let it be known how “very fond” he was of it. Unfortunately, that night a dog got into the missionaries food cache and ate up the majority of their meat supply including the buffalo tongues. Elkanah noted, “We regretted the loss of our tongues more than anything else.”⁵⁰ During this time, the Indians of the Columbia Plateau made yearly journeys to the Great Plains to hunt buffalo. When the hunting parties returned, there were feasts and celebrations. On these occasions, the Walkers received gifts of buffalo meat from both the Hudson’s Bay Company and from the Spokan. It is not clear how much buffalo the Walkers regularly received but on May 13, 1840, Mary noted that she had salted about two dozen buffalo tongues.⁵¹ On another occasion, a chief from “the Bay” brought them “28 buffalo tongues & some dried meat.”⁵² A month before, the wife of Old Chief gave the Walkers some buffalo, but Elkanah predicted that she was “doubtless expecting much in return.”⁵³ In December of 1844, an employee of the HBC named McPherson gave the Walkers “two bales of buffalo meat.”⁵⁴ Drury reasoned that, “possibly two bales constituted the load for a pack horse, which would mean from 200 to 250 pounds.”⁵⁵ The Walkers note only once that they traded for buffalo tongues.⁵⁶ Mary adapted her traditional ways of salting meat to preserve buffalo meat. Buffalo was not the only meat the missionaries got from the Spokan.⁵⁷

⁵⁰ Drury and Walker, *Nine Years*, 82.

⁵¹ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 191.

⁵² Drury and Walker, *Nine Years*, 150.

⁵³ Drury and Walker, *Nine Years*, 145.

⁵⁴ Drury and Walker, *Nine Years*, 297.

⁵⁵ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 275n.

⁵⁶ Drury and Walker, *Nine Years*, 191.

⁵⁷ There are gaps of time when the Walkers did not have buffalo meat. The most telling was after the devastating winter of 1846-1847 when so many of the Spokans’ horses died, and they could not travel to the hunting grounds east of the Rocky Mountains. The missionaries were not dependent on buffalo meat for survival, but they had adopted a taste for it. They relied on the Indians’ hunting expeditions to supply

Other types of wild game were also important to the missionaries. Whether the missionaries were too busy to go hunting or were just really bad at it, we do not know. Elkanah recorded only one hunting expedition he went on, and it turned out to be more of a vacation from his missionary duties than a true search for food.⁵⁸ During the winter of 1841-1842, a young man named Mungo Mevway lived and worked with the Walkers at Tshimakain. The Walkers often noted Mungo spending time hunting but only once did he bring home anything. So the missionaries depended on the Spokane to supply the mission station with wild game. Mary only occasionally mentions eating venison, but often she hired Spokans to hunt ducks and other fowl for her dinner table. Mary noted purchasing “partridges.”⁵⁹ The historian Clifford Drury explained that “the gray partridge was not introduced into Washington until 1906. Most likely Mary was referring to the sage grouse.”⁶⁰ Unfamiliar with grouse, she thought of it as a partridge and prepared it as such. Elkanah noted on August 19, 1847, “We had a chicken pie made out of partridges [sage grouse].”⁶¹ This is a good example of how the missionaries adopted and adapted the foodways of the Spokane. Mary relied on the Spokane to get her a variety of meats and when she acquired such meats she adapted her New England recipes to use what she had on hand.

Fish was a major food source for the peoples of the Columbia Plateau and so became one for the Tshimakain missionaries as well. Ten miles south of the Tshimakain Mission was a narrow portion of the Spokane River that the missionaries called “the

them with such a delicacy. The buffalo meat that the HBC gave to the Walkers was procured by the HBC through trade with the Indians that had journeyed over the Rockies to hunt buffalo.

⁵⁸ Drury and Walker, *Nine Years*, 129.

⁵⁹ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 318-319.

⁶⁰ Drury and Walker, *Nine Years*, 408n.

⁶¹ Drury and Walker, *Nine Years*, 412.

Barrier.” Hundreds of Indians gathered there each year to harvest thousands of fish, the majority of which were salmon. “Four species of salmon—coho, Chinook, pink, and chum—were taken in great numbers. Other fish taken were different species of trout, whitefish, lamprey, chub fish, sturgeon, and suckers.”⁶² Various tools including nets, traps, harpoons, and hooks were used to catch fish. “Some fish were eaten immediately, but most were dried on racks and stored in tule bags, placed high in low-limbed ponderosa trees, on prominent rock islands, or in sealed talus pits for winter consumption.”⁶³ Salmon was as important as a trade item as it was as a food source.

Each June and July, the Walkers noted either trading with individual Spokans for salmon or receiving gifts of salmon from the Spokane.⁶⁴ It is difficult to determine the exact amount of salmon and other fish the missionaries ate, but some clues in their journals point to it being a substantial part of their diet. On one occasion, Mary noted that she had “bound up about 100 pieces of [dried] salmon.”⁶⁵ It is not possible to discern from the journals whether this was a common occurrence or not though there is proof that the missionaries kept a stock of dried fish. In February 1845, Elkanah mentioned paying some Indians “two [loads] of potatoes & two of fish.”⁶⁶ Again in February of 1848, Elkanah wrote that he had sent dried salmon to Old Chief to feed his guests.⁶⁷ Given that these incidents occurred in the depths of winter, it is likely that the fish were not fresh but instead were smoked as was the local method of preserving fish. The missionaries valued salmon both as a food and as a form of currency; often they received goods and services

⁶² John Alan Ross, “Spokane,” in *Plateau*, ed. Deward Walker, vol. 12 of *Handbook of North American Indians*, ed. William C. Sturtevant (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1998), 274.

⁶³ John Alan Ross, “Spokane,” in *Plateau*.

⁶⁴ In her biography of her grandmother, Ida Eells wrote that, the missionaries got “salmon and venison from the Indians.” Eells, “Mother Eells,” 32.

⁶⁵ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 324.

⁶⁶ Drury and Walker, *Nine Years*, 305.

⁶⁷ Drury and Walker, *Nine Years*, 448.

from individual Spokans in exchange for salmon. Trade allowed the missionaries to acquire the ingredients needed to create foods from New England that they longed for, such as cheese.

Mary's effort to make cheese is a great example of how the missionaries blended their old lives with their new. As a young girl in Maine, Mary had learned to make cheese and apparently had a fondness for it because making cheese without traditional ingredients, especially rennet, took a lot of work, perseverance, and imagination. Rennet is a complex of enzymes that is typically extracted from the lining of the fourth stomach of a calf. When added to fresh milk, rennet causes curds to separate from whey making cheese.⁶⁸ In *Father Eells*, Myron Eells included a letter from Myra Eells to her family back in New England. In it, she related the process of trial and error she and Mary had to endure before succeeding in making cheese at Tshimakain. Over the course of years, the two women obtained beef rennet first from Mrs. McDonald of Fort Colville then from Marcus Whitman of Waiilatpu. But for undisclosed reasons, both attempts failed. Myra went on to write, "Just to prove how necessity can invent new ways when old ones are not at hand... Mrs. Walker thought that perhaps young deer's rennet would do." Sometime later after discussing it with the Spokane, "an Indian brought...one which we tried, and it did well." Myra knew that her family would ask, "Why did you not have calves' rennet?" Her answer was that amongst the missionaries "a general feeling has prevailed that calves must not be killed."⁶⁹ The missionaries had so few cattle; they could not afford to butcher a calf just to make cheese. Calves were much more valuable

⁶⁸ The enzyme in rennet that causes the curds and whey to separate is chymosin. Chymosin also helps an infant mammal to digest mother's milk, thus a juvenile mammal's stomach contains more chymosin than an adult mammal's stomach. This why Mary and Myra were not able to use the fourth stomach of a butchered ox to make cheese.

⁶⁹ Eells, *Father Eells*, 122.

when they had grown to maturity and could be used as a source of milk and meat. Once she discovered that deer rennet could be used to make cheese, Mary made cheeses on a regular basis. As discussed above, the missionaries were dependent on the Spokan for venison and so it can be supposed that Mary depended on the Spokan to provide her with deer rennet.⁷⁰

People spend most of their days doing whatever it takes to get food, whether that is hunting and gathering or farming or working a job to earn enough money to buy food at a store. Whatever a people's method for procuring food is, that method has the overwhelming power to shape their culture. Not just their diets were altered when they moved to the Columbia Plateau but also the way the Eells and Walkers went about their mission was impacted by the way the Scqesciobni procured foodstuffs.

The life of the Tshimakain missionaries were significantly influenced by the frequent movements of the Scqesciobni which was caused by the environment of the Columbia Plateau which required the Scqesciobni to move from one place to another to gather foodstuffs. In an article written for publication in the ABCFM's journal *The Missionary Herald*, Cushing Eells detailed the cyclical life of the Scqesciobni. Cushing explained that the Scqesciobni were "somewhat regular in their removings" and were rarely more than sixty miles from the mission station. This meant that the missionaries had "no great difficulty, at almost any time, in knowing where to find a good

⁷⁰ Apparently, not everyone was a fan of Mary's cheeses. On June 6, 1846, Elkanah wrote that there was no fresh milk because the calves had gotten to the cows before Mary could milk them. As a result, "Mrs. W. did not make much cheese to day. I was rather glad than sorry." Whether it was the process or the cheese itself Elkanah did not like is unclear. Drury and Walker, *Nine Years*, 353.

collection.”⁷¹ The Walkers’ journals are filled with references to either Cushing or Elkanah or both going to the *poh poh* fields or to the fishermen’s camps or to wherever the Scqesciobni were located to preach to them especially on Sundays. Sometimes they would split up and one would go to the river while the other went to the *poh poh* fields. In this way, the missionaries adapted to the Scqesciobni’s cyclical lifestyle.

In *The Missionary Herald*, Cushing related the movements of the Scqesciobni. In April, the Scqesciobni would dig *poh poh* and then spend a month at Tshimakain after which they moved south to the camas fields.⁷² Then in June, the salmon would begin to reach the Little Falls of the Spokane River just six miles from the mission station. The mission families at times made a daytrip to see a thousand persons and “from four to eight hundred salmon...taken in a day, weighing variously from ten to forty pounds apiece.” The salmon run would end around the beginning of August and the Scqesciobni then focused on harvesting camas until the salmon came down the river in October.⁷³

The regular movements of the Scqesciobni affected how the missionaries practiced their ministries and ran their households. Further on in the article, Cushing recorded that from November to February “near two hundred [Scqesciobni] have remained with us almost constantly.” From March to November, he estimated that between fifteen and fifty stayed near the mission station. Visitors from other bands and tribes frequently spent a week or more at Tshimakain throughout the year. These visitors brought trade goods and news. The constant movement dictated by the environment and the need for food was foreign to the New Englanders. They adjusted to it by going to the

⁷¹ Cushing Eells, “Oregon Indians, Letters From the Missionaries at the Several Stations,” *The Missionary Herald* 36 (1840): 437.

⁷² The missionaries recorded the name of the camas grounds as *Seakwakin*.

⁷³ Cushing failed to mention that Scqesciobni women also spent much of the summer picking berries some of which found their way into the Walker and Eells’s diets.

people where they were, but this took Elkanah and Cushing away from their families and their farms for days at a time, hampering their own food production and placing extra work on their wives. Living in New England before the refrigeration era, the missionaries were used to the fact that some foods were only obtainable at certain times of year, such as berries in summer, but when they had to depend on the hunting and gathering skills of the Scqesciobni to provide a large portion of their diet, the missionaries were forced to live a life tied to the cyclical lifeways of the Scqesciobni.

On September 12, 1839, Elkanah wrote a letter to the American Board's David Greene reporting his observations of the Spokan's lifeways and an update on the missionaries' living conditions. He had been living with the Spokan for six months. His first harvest had been completed and Elkanah admitted it would "probably" be sufficient to feed the missionaries through the winter which he had been informed could be "very severe." Addressing the purpose for which he had been sent to the Columbia Plateau, Elkanah expressed that he considered the number one obstacle to the conversion of the Spokan to Protestantism was the nomadic lifestyle of the Spokan which was due to their seasonal cycle of food gathering. "One of the great hindrances to their settling & cultivating the soil will be their extreme fondness for their native roots. Give them as much food as you say & of the best kind & they will not be contented unless they can have some of their native roots."⁷⁴ Nine years later, Elkanah was nearly as dependent on those same roots as the Spokan were. New England farming on the Tshimakain Plain was not possible. Bits and pieces worked, such as growing wheat and potatoes, but the Walker's crops were not enough to sustain their growing family. The environment and

⁷⁴ Drury and Walker, *Nine Years*, 114.

the missionaries' limited skills meant they could not produce enough food to sustain themselves. They relied on the foodstuffs and the food-gathering skills of the Spokan.

The missionaries constantly encouraged the Spokan to adopt farming, but they never demanded it of the Spokan. The missionaries had seen what happened to native peoples when American immigrants moved into their lands. They knew similar calamities would soon befall the Spokan. They wanted to cushion the blow and prepare the Spokan to live on less land. Though they encouraged the Spokan to stay in one place and farm, at the same time the missionaries became as dependent on the nomadic ways of the Spokan as the Spokan were. Necessity and an acquired taste for their foods caused the missionaries to adopt, adapt, and rely on the foodways of the Spokan.

The Spokan influenced every aspect of the Tshimakain missionaries' foodways. Without the aid of the Spokan, the Walkers and Eells would not have been able to grow New England crops on the Tshimakain Plain. Their help was needed from the planting of crops, to the harvesting of crops, to the transportation of finished flour from distant mills. Because the missionaries could not produce enough New England foods to sustain them throughout the year, they depended on native foodstuffs to supplement their diets. Beyond filling their stomachs, the Spokan influenced the lives of the missionaries through their seasonal movements which affected how the Walkers and Eells went about achieving their greater purpose of ministering and teaching the Spokan. Whether it was by their labor, their foodstuffs, or their nomadic lifestyle, the Spokan had a significant impact on the diet of the missionaries

Chapter 4 -- Clothing

A simple pair of moccasins, one tiny set of buckskin moccasins, they measure six inches long, two inches wide, with a three inch cuff. A small cord of buckskin snakes its way in and out of small puncture holes evenly spaced around the lower edge of the cuff. Fine, skillful stitches of sinew hold the moccasins together. The heel is flat and square without a tail. Anthropologist James Teit stated that “a moccasin with short tongue and seam down the front of the foot was in vogue among the Spokane, but seems to have been rare among the other [Flathead] tribes.”¹ Flopped over the front of the shoe is a square cut piece of hide that looks like a tongue. Grafted over the top of this tongue is a matching piece of red coarse fabric. These shoes were made to warm the feet of an infant. The soles show no wear, for the young child would not have been able to walk. Yet the cuffs show wear. One cuff has been replaced with a new piece of hide that does not match the rest. Mary kept these simple pair of moccasins. It is easy to imagine that five-month-old John Walker wore them the day the Walkers and Eells made their final farewells at Tshimakain. The craftsmanship is superb and it is apparent that they were stitched together with affection and hope for the new life they clothed.

This simple pair of moccasins are now stored at Washington State University with other artifacts from Mary Walker’s life. She held on to this single set of moccasins for over forty years and her family for many years beyond that. Most likely the Eells and Walkers had left Tshimakain with more moccasins because the missionary children primarily wore moccasins while at the mission. But there must have been something special about this pair that made Mary keep them all those years. One of the shoes has

¹ Teit and Boas, 334.

small holes in the red fabric of the tongue. Moths are the prime suspects for this vandalism. After moving to Forest Grove, Oregon, Mary noted that while she was “hunting moths” she discovered the moths had been “reveling among old moccasins.”² Despite their efforts, Mary found a way to thwart the ravenous ways of the moths and protected the small pair of shoes because she cherished them and her memories of Tshimakain.

On the Columbia Plateau in the 1840s, women did the majority of clothes making. Mary and Myra brought needles, threads, and ideas of proper clothing with them across the continent. When they settled at Tshimakain, they met Spokane women who had similar societal roles as the makers of their families’ clothes. These women from two different cultures sat together and sewed. Mary’s journals are filled with entry after entry depicting her sitting by the fire in her small cabin alongside Spokane women sewing and mending stockings, cloaks, coats, shawls, aprons, pants, moccasins, bonnets, caps, mittens, gloves, dresses, and drawers. They all came to learn new techniques and designs, to use new tools and materials, and create pieces of clothing that were new to them. Mary learned to use buckskin, sinew thread, and an awl. The Spokane learned to use Merino fabric, silk thread, and straight pins. The Spokane learned to knit mittens and darn stockings; while Mary learned to make moccasins and leggings.

Moccasins were the first type of clothing that the missionaries adopted when they arrived in Oregon. On his initial trip to Fort Colville less than a month after arriving on the Columbia Plateau, Elkanah noted that after walking on the broken basalt along the trail his “feet were quite tender [because of] large holes in my moccasins.”³ Apparently

² Journal, September 1848-January 1879, Drury Collection, 43.

³ Drury, *Nine Years*, 74.

his shoes were in a noticeably poor condition for when he arrived at Fort Colville, the Chief Factor Archibald McDonald gave Elkanah two pairs of moccasins.⁴

This adoption of moccasins was not that much of a stretch for Elkanah. His ancestors had lived on the New England frontier for over a hundred years. The historian James Axtell described how English immigrants of the late 1600s and early 1700s began to mimic the Indians of New England by wearing moccasins. “Moccasins were superior in the woods because they were cheap to make, easy to repair, quickly winterized by stuffing them with deer’s hair, dry leaves, or grass, and as silent as the deer from whose skin they were made.”⁵ For the previous century, the missionaries’ ancestors had returned to wearing hard-soled, leather New England style boots, but in the absence of such shoes, the Tshimakain missionaries quickly adopted the use of moccasins just as their ancestors had when they lived on the frontier.

From Mary’s journals, it appears that she often cut moccasins out of buckskin but then relied on Spokane women to sew them for her. On May 14, 1841, Mary noted that she had “used an awl in sewing for the first time.”⁶ Yet eight years later, while mending moccasins in Oregon, she wrote, “think I shall soon learn to use an awl.”⁷ Either Mary was a slow learner or as her journals testify, she regularly hired Spokane women to make moccasins for her family. The biggest order Mary had filled was on January 13, 1847, when she paid a woman forty-five loads of ammunition to make thirteen pairs of moccasins. By then, the Walker family had seven pairs of feet to keep shod. Thirteen pair may seem to be a large number, but five days later Mary was once again cutting out

⁴ Drury, *Nine Years*, 76.

⁵ James Axtell, *Natives and Newcomers: The Cultural Origins of North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 324.

⁶ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 213.

⁷ Journal, September 1848-January 1879, Drury Collection, 3.

shoes and sending them to her “shoemaker.”⁸ Typically Mary’s hired women did the work in her cabin while she worked on other tasks such as sewing dresses or frocks for her growing family.

Sewing produced more than articles of clothing, it also created positive relationships between the Scqesciobni and the missionaries. Having hired girls and women in her home for multiple hours a day and for weeks and weeks, allowed Mary to have an intimate friendship with some. Mary often wrote of working with Sillapal, Kwantepetser, and Shoshenamalt.⁹ The frequency by which these women appear in Mary’s journal and the fact that she gave them gifts on occasion indicate that Mary liked them and felt they were competent help. The final pair of moccasins Mary held on to all those years could have been made by Shoshenamalt who worked with Mary throughout the tense winter of 1847-1848. Shoshenamalt had been employed by Mary off and on from her earliest days at Tshimakain and appears to have been one of her favorites.

Moccasins were customized in a number of ways. The red fabric used to decorate the tiny moccasins could have been a special touch Shoshenamalt put in herself or it could have been Mary’s idea to decorate the infant’s shoes. Either way the blending of the red fabric and buckskin to make moccasins is a great example of how the Spokane culture and the New England culture merged on the Tshimakain Plain. Ross cites that Spokane women often incorporated red flannel into their clothing as an embellishment especially for a “special occasion and for ceremonial dancing.”¹⁰ Whatever the origin of the patch of red flannel, it gave the moccasins a distinct look. Another way the Walkers’

⁸ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 306.

⁹ Mary’s spelling for names varied. Kwantepetser was also spelled Kmantetretse. Shoshenamalt was also spelled Lo-she-na-mal, Sosphenamalt, Soshenamalt, and Sopshenamal. According to Mary the children called Shoshenamalt, Sopermal. Drury, *On to Oregon*, 272.

¹⁰ Ross, *The Spokane Indians*, 479.

moccasins were decorated with quills. Occasionally, Mary traded to get quills to decorate shoes.¹¹ The Spokane often sewed dyed quills to the tongue of moccasins.¹² Though Mary's conservative background would have limited how much decoration she would have put on clothing, she apparently liked the look of porcupine quills enough to trade her precious soap for it.

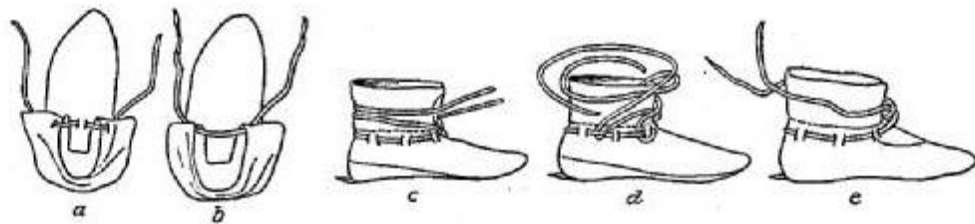


FIGURE 27.—Moccasins, Spokane

Figure 1 Teit drawing of Spokane Moccasins

The moccasins held in the Walker collection at WSU have a rather unique design. They have a seam down the front. Typically, moccasins of the Columbia Plateau had seams around the outside of the foot. Teit in his studies done in the early twentieth century learned that “a moccasin with short tongue and seam down the front of the foot was in vogue among the Spokane, but seems to have been rare among the other tribes.”¹³ This is an important fact because some of the provenance of the moccasins has been lost over time.

Teit's footnotes indicate that he had seen drawings of similar moccasins in a study done by Clark Wissler. Wissler's book on the material culture of the Blackfoot Indians contains a number of detailed drawings. The drawing Teit refers to is a match for the Walker moccasins. Wissler described their construction:

¹¹ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 312.

¹² Ross, *The Spokane Indians*, 480.

¹³ Teit and Boas, 334.

This type of moccasin is made from a simple pattern but the sewing, or bringing together of the parts, is complicated. Two pieces of soft tanned leather are required, consisting of a piece marked *a*, the upper and sole combined; and a smaller piece for the tongue which is inset far enough down the front of the upper to cover the instep. The pattern for the upper is folded along the dotted line and those edges marked *c* to *d* are sewed together after the point produced by the folding, has been trimmed off, which brings the seam down the centre of the foot, under the toes. The inset piece is now sewed into the opening, between that part marked *c* and *d* which is in the centre and the two points at *f* and *e* on either side. The distance along the edge between *e* and *f* being greater than that on the inset piece between *g* and *h* it is overcome by a series of small “gathers” which are remarkable for their regularity and neatness, in some cases each fold being emphasized by a pointed implement. The heel seam is made by sewing the edges *i* and *j* together, the trailer *k*, being cut off, which forms an inverted T-shaped seam.

In most cases, the sides of the moccasins are not high enough and ankle flaps or extensions have been sewed on, from two to ten inches in width. The common form of lacing is employed.¹⁴

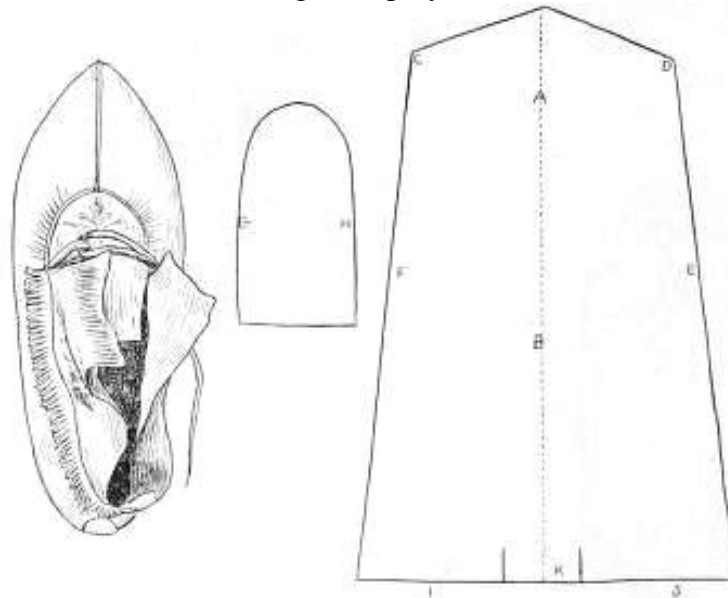


Fig. 91 (1-4814). Moccasin Pattern No. 11.

Figure 2 Wissler Moccasin Drawing

The fact that the pattern was easy to cut out explains why Mary did this part of the process. The complexity of the sewing explains why she hired Spokane women to do that part of the process. From Mary’s own comments and actions, it is apparent that she was

¹⁴ Clark Wissler, *Material Culture of the Blackfoot Indians* (New York: The Trustees, 1910), p. 144-145, <http://www.archive.org/stream/materialcultureo00wiss> (accessed May 1, 2012).

a competent tailor but not a highly skilled one. She often had Myra's help to complete the most complicated of sewing projects such as spencers. Hiring Spokane women to sew moccasins and other leather clothing is proof that Mary knew her limits and was willing to rely on the skills of others when necessary.

Mary often traded to get the materials to make clothing for her family. Elkanah rarely brought home a deer from his rare hunting expeditions and none of the missionaries mention treating skins to use them for clothing. As a result, the missionaries had to trade to get prepared buckskin. The biggest purchase Mary records occurred on December 2, 1845. She was trading with a man named Finley who was of mixed blood and lived near present-day Chewelah, Washington. Her record of the transaction gives some insight into what Mary needed and what she had to give up:

Traded this morning with one of the Finleys. Brought nine prs. of shoes & seven deer skins for which I paid a kettle, knife, spoon, fire steel, a few pins & needles, a shawl, an old coat of C[yrus]'s & an old dress of my own & a pice of Baize worth 20 loads. He seemed pleased with his trade & I am sure the skins & shoes are worth more than I gave for them & probably the things are worth more to him than He paid for them.¹⁵

The missionaries often traded to get clothing and clothing materials but also used such things to get what they needed such as labor, roots, and berries. Not only did Mary use buckskin in lieu of manufactured fabrics, she also used sinew instead of manufactured thread on occasion. Lacking the time or skills necessary, once again Mary relied on the Spokane to provide her with what she needed. During the winter of 1844-1845, Mary hired an "old blind woman...to make some sinew thread."¹⁶ This strong thread was needed to make clothing out of buckskin.

¹⁵ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 288.

¹⁶ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 276.

All members of the Walker clan wore buckskin. Cyrus Walker, who was nearly ten years old when he and his family left Tshimakain in 1848, recalled that as a child he wore mostly buckskin: “Before coming to Oregon City we children were never fully clothed as became civilization. I never before had on a pair of leather shoes, either wearing moccasins or going barefoot, and my usual garb had been buckskin shirt and pants.”¹⁷ Mary and her seamstresses made buckskin shirts, leggings, dresses, pantaloons, and coats, and perhaps buckskin gloves and caps. We know Elkanah had a buckskin coat because at one point dogs ate it. Mary even had some undergarments made of leather. A year after leaving Tshimakain, Mary wrote that she had “concluded to lay aside the leather girdle I have worn for several years.”¹⁸ Her conservative New England ideas of proper dress forced Mary to wear a girdle even on the frontier, but the scarcity of women’s intimate apparel in the region most likely forced her to use her ingenuity to create an acceptable substitute for the boned corset she would have worn in Maine.

Another custom the missionaries embraced was the wearing of buckskin leggings. Leggings were in the Spokane style of having turned out seams while pantaloons were in the New England style of turned in seams with narrow legs. In her journal, Mary mentioned both leggings and pantaloons. Mary would have been familiar with the term leggings because Indians of the Eastern Woodlands wore similar apparel. Leggings were worn with a long shirt that hung to the wearer’s mid-thigh or knees. It is unclear if any of the Walkers wore leggings but they often used them in trade for other goods and services, and so it appears they had possession of them and may have worn such garments.¹⁹

¹⁷ Walker, “Memories of Old Oregon,” 37.

¹⁸ Journal, September 1848-January 1879, Drury Collection, 12.

¹⁹ Isaac Weld who traveled through the southeastern Canada and northeastern United States in the late eighteenth century, described leggings of the region as “formed so as to sit close to the limbs, like the

The male missionaries also wore buckskin pantaloons. If they were in the American style of the times, pantaloons would have looked similar to leggings but would have come up to the waist with a front flap and with the seams turned in. In the early 1800s, pantaloons “were tight-fitting and extended to the ankle, where they buttoned to achieve a fit like a legging. Straps would extend under the instep, over the stocking, to keep the pantaloons leg taut and smooth.”²⁰ Elkanah had worn pantaloons most of his life and would have been comfortable in them and Mary would have had experience in making them. Mary taught Spokane women how to make them as well. In December of 1842, she taught Shoshenamalt how “to darn stockings and turn seams.”²¹ A couple of months later Mary noted that a Spokane woman had completed a pair of pantaloons for Elkanah then later on one for Cyrus who at three years old had begun to wear the same clothes as his father. Lacking a more durable fabric, the missionaries made their pantaloons from native buckskin.²²

modern pantaloons; but the edges of the cloth annexed to the seam, instead of being turned in, are left on the outside, and are ornamented with beads, ribands, &c. when the leggings are intended for dress... The leggings are kept up by means of two strings, one on the outside of each thigh, which are fastened to a third, that is tied round the waist.” Mary applied the term “leggings” to a similar type of apparel worn by the Spokane. According to Ross, “Spokane men and women traditionally wore *leggings* during the winter.” Explaining how leggings were worn Ross continues, “Each leg had a separate undecorated cover without fringe, the bottom end being stuffed into the wearer’s moccasins, or tied about the wearer’s ankles, and each leg section was sewn on the outside to prevent the seam from chafing against one’s legs.” This was similar to what Weld observed in the East. “Each individual legging was supported by a suspended belt made from plaited mountain goat hair, or a *buckskin tie string* about 5 cm in width with one end sewn to the legging, and the other end wrapped about the wearer’s G-string.” Isaac Weld, *Travels Through the States of North America: And the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, During the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797* (London: printed for John Stockdale, 1799), vol. 2, p. 233, http://www.archive.org/stream/cihm_49845 (accessed May 1, 2012). Ross, *The Spokane Indians*, 478-479.

²⁰ Ann Buermann Wass and Michelle Webb Fandrich, *Clothing Through American History: The Federal Era Through Antebellum, 1786-1860* (Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood Press, 2010), 346.

²¹ MRW Journal 1838-1848.

²² As much as the missionaries adopted and adapted the clothing lifeways of the Spokane, they still held on to much of their own lifeways and sometimes passed this on to the Spokane. Mary spent her leisure time, what little there was of it, reading magazines and books from back east. Often they were a year or two old by the time she got them, but still she liked to keep up on modern fashions. Occasionally, she would come upon a new style and be inspired to try it, and then she and her Spokane girlfriends would spend a week or two producing something besides the ordinary pants, shirts, and shoes they were constantly

To say that Mary relied on the help of Spokane women to get her sewing done is an understatement. Sewing was a constant, time-consuming, menial task that Mary often dreaded. On occasion, Mary would confide to her journal her frustrations, “mending, mending, day after day, stitch, stitch”²³ and again, “When shall I ever get done mending?”²⁴ As her family grew so did her sewing tasks. The historian Jane Nylander described the work New England women did to keep their families clothed: “They had to anticipate the needs of growing children, compensate for wear and tear, and make sure that everybody would be warm in wintertime. In order to do this, they had to make or acquire fabrics, select styles, develop and fit patterns, cut out garments, sew miles of fine seams, construct buttonholes, make and trim caps and bonnets, knit stockings and garters, employ specialized and supplemental help if needed, and supervise the work of others.”²⁵ Mary’s journals are filled with references to overseeing the work of Spokane women who were doing sewing for her. With all of the tasks she had to complete in a day, it would have been impossible for Mary to have done all of the sewing on her own. During the winter of 1844-1845, Sillapal spent a number of weeks sewing for the Walkers. When it was time for Sillapal to move on, Mary wrote that she did not “know [how] I shall get along when she leaves me.”²⁶ Her journals make it clear that Mary regularly relied on the sewing expertise of Spokane women.

Clothing and sewing materials were a major part of trade between Mary and the Spokane. She often traded old and new finished clothing, fabric, thread, and needles in

sewing. One spring they made bonnets, another gloves, still another handkerchiefs. These variations must have helped break up the monotony of constantly making and repairing clothes, and would have allowed for more creativity than everyday work clothes permitted.

²³ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 300.

²⁴ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 311.

²⁵ Nylander, 149.

²⁶ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 277.

exchange for Spokan foods and labor. Mary's record keeping would have pleased an accountant. One day she would note that she had traded an old shirt to get roots, and on another, she would explain that a specific person had helped her do laundry in exchange for a pair of leggings.²⁷ The following passage gives a good idea of the variety of items that were traded on a regular basis:

S[illapal] came with the dress she has been making. I paid her with an old dress and an apron, 25 loads worth. Simpleton came for medicine & to trade berries. Let him have an old shirt. Soshenamalt came & traded a pr. of leggings for berries. Some half dozen women came who had been for sour berries of which I traded about two bushels. Paid at about the rate of 15 loads for ten qt. pail full. Paid two handkerchiefs, one yard calico, one pr. leggings, one old half shawl, one old shirt [of] Cyrus & one [of] Elkanah, & an awl, a few beads, a bit of soap, some needles & thread.²⁸

Because the Walkers relied on trade with the Spokan, clothing and cloth became more than just a way to cover their bodies. They became a form of currency.

These practices continued after the missionaries moved to Oregon City. In August of 1848, only a couple of months after their move, Mary noted at least three occasions when she had exchanged clothing for berries. Mary's tone implied that berries were more expensive in Oregon City than on the Tshimakain Plain. She noted getting "less than half a bushel" for a shirt and "often can get only twelve quarts for a shirt."²⁹ Mary now had to compete with other whites who were vying for the same foodstuffs.

For a time, the missionaries continued to wear moccasins after leaving Tshimakain. The one direct reference Mary made to the fact that she wore moccasins comes from this time period. On January 18, 1849, Abigail had "sewed on the paks to my own [Mary's] moccasins which were ripping off." The day before Mary noted that she

²⁷ MRW Journal 1838-1848, Nov. 27, 1845.

²⁸ MRW Journal 1838-1848, July 13, 1847.

²⁹ MRW Journal 1838-1848, 292.

had “mended moccasins for John.”³⁰ John was the youngest of the Walkers at the time having been born only twelve months earlier. The moccasins that now reside at WSU could have been his. The repair done to them could have been done by Mary in Oregon where he and she were still wearing moccasins.

The adoption of Indian clothing styles is the most tangible evidence that the Tshimakain missionaries became acculturated to the Spokane ways. In his biography of Elkanah and Mary Walker, Clifford Drury mentioned that “seldom if ever did the children of the missionaries at Tshimakain wear American-made shoes. From financial necessity and perhaps from convenience they adopted many of the customs of the Indians.”³¹ The Tshimakain missionaries wore buckskin moccasins, pants, shirts, and coats. They relied on the Spokane to do some of their sewing. Whether it was sinew thread or buckskin they needed, the missionaries relied on the Spokane to provide the materials to make clothes. In turn, clothes were traded with the Spokane to buy Indian food and labor. In general Protestant missionaries have been pictured as staunch conservatives living on the American frontier who dressed exactly as they had in New England and demanded that Indians give up their traditional clothing and instead dress like Protestant Americans. This may be true for some, but it was not true of the American Board missionaries who ministered to the Spokane. Mary may have worn Merino or silk dresses and petticoats but she also wore buckskin dresses and moccasins. Elkanah wore a spencer and drawers but he also spent most of his time in buckskin pants, shirts, and moccasins. The children wore cotton diapers and frocks when little but quickly began to wear buckskin and never had buttoned gaiters as their contemporaries in

³⁰ Journal, September 1848-January 1879, Drury Collection, 3.

³¹ Drury, *Elkanah and Mary Walker*, 147.

New England would have worn. At the same time, the Spokane willingly traded to get Euro-American clothing. At Tshimakain, there was an open and free-flowing exchange of clothing styles between the Spokans and the missionaries. They each held on to their traditions while simultaneously adopting and adapting those of the other.

Chapter 5 -- Baskets

Further evidence that the Tshimakain missionaries adapted the lifeways of the Spokane is the fact that Mary kept and used Indian baskets for the rest of her life. Washington State University has in its collections five baskets that belonged to Mary Walker. From her journals and family history, it is known that she used these items in her everyday life. It is not possible to know all of the ways that she used them or if they were made by the Scqesciobni, but what follows is an account of what is known.

The first mention of baskets Mary made in her journals was written on March 12, 1841, and demonstrates how the missionaries adopted Spokane technology to meet their needs. On that day, she “exchanged a burnt basin for a soap basket with the Chief’s wife.”¹ Whether the basket was used to carry or store soap or utilized in the making of soap is unclear. According to the historian Jane Nylander, American women of the era made two types of soap, hard and soft. “Hard soap was favored for laundry and soft soap for washing floors,” both of which were regular chores for Mary.² As a child in New England, Mary would have learned that soapmaking was a lengthy process. First wood ash and lime were placed in the bottom of a barrel, and then water was poured over them. Slowly, the mixture would drip from a hole near the bottom of the barrel, across a grooved lystone, and into a bucket.³ Large cooking baskets constructed by the Spokane could have stood in for the barrel or the bucket in this process. Barrels and buckets were

¹ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 208.

² Nylander, 136.

³ Nylander, 136. To make lye, Mary needed ashes, lots and lots of ashes. In *The Skillful Housewife’s Book* printed in 1846, Mrs. L. G. Abell wrote how to make soap at home. She said, “To make a barrel of soap it will require five or six bushels of ashes.”³ Mrs. L. G. Abell, *The Skillful Housewife’s Book; or, Complete Guide to Domestic Cookery, Taste, Comfort and Economy* (Orange Judd & Company, 1852), 186. This explains Mary and Elkanah’s numerous references to getting the aid of Spokans to create ashes.

rare and valued items for the Walkers. It is possible she did not have one available to make soap and instead used a native cooking basket which would have been watertight. The “soap basket” could also have been used to store the soap in. Nylander explains that soft soap was “semiliquid” and “was [the] most easily made but least economical to use.”⁴ Two month after she traded for the “soap basket” Mary described how she had “tried divers experiments in making soap.”⁵ Not having familiar ingredients and tools Mary may have been forced to make soft soap which she would have needed a waterproof container to store it in. Either way Mary used a Spokane basket to perform a New England chore.

Twice more Mary noted the acquisition of native containers. In late 1842, she “traded a nice bag of old Solomon, gave him seventeen loads for it, & a few feathers in it.”⁶ Given the price Mary paid, this bag is most likely not the small flat bag in the WSU collection, but demonstrates that Mary did trade to acquire such items. The last mention in Mary’s journals of Indian baskets was recorded in September of 1846. Mary listed “Indian baskets” amongst the gifts given to the Walkers by the Fort Colville Chief Factor John Lee Lewes. Being an employee of the Hudson’s Bay Company, Lewes’ Indian baskets could have come from anywhere in the HBC’s widespread trade network. To identify the origin of the Walker baskets requires an extensive amount of research.

⁴ Nylander, 136.

⁵ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 212. Coming back from the poh poh fields (poh poh is a root vegetable that the Spokane collected as part of their yearly cycle of food gathering) in the spring of 1841, Cushing Eells brought with him something that made Mary very excited, soda. “Soda softened the water and eliminated the usual need for three or more separate sudsings.” (Nylander, 137.) This reduced the time it took Mary and the Spokans she hired to do her laundry. At times the soda was supplied by the Spokane. Elkanah in his journal noted on October 12, 1841, “The Old Chief came in to night & brought in the soda.” (Drury, *Nine Years*, 169.) The Spokane provided both the labor and the supplies necessary for making soap.

⁶ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 241.

Determining the origin of the Walker baskets is complicated by the dearth of examples of known Spokane baskets. Few examples are housed in the area's institutions and little has been written specifically about Spokane basketry. Determining the origin of the Walker baskets is important for the establishing that they were remembrances of their days as missionaries and that Mary continued to use Spokane ways after she left the Columbia Plateau. Another complication is the fact that throughout Mary's lifetime the Walker family worked with different Indian peoples.

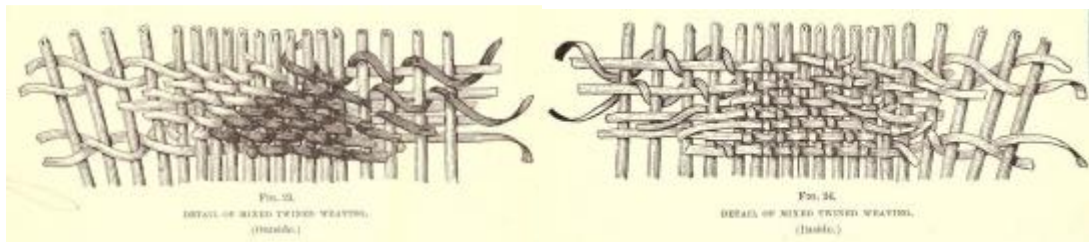


Figure 3 Drawings showing twining pattern from inside and outside of basket. *Aboriginal American Basketry, 237.*



Figure 4 Picture showing interior of Basket A.



Figure 5 Rim of Basket C



Figure 6 Basket D

On the Columbia Plateau, two of the most common basketmaking techniques were twining and coiling. Spokane basketmakers used both.⁷ The majority of the Walker baskets are examples of twining. When twining, the weaver crosses two vertical threads while weaving them around horizontal threads.⁸ This technique is evidenced by the patterns on Baskets A, C, and D. Coiling is done by wrapping bundles of splints with a flexible sewing material to form a coil. With the use of an awl, the sewing material pierces the coil beneath it attaching the coils to one another. Basket B of the Walker collection is an example of a special kind of coiling called imbrication. The pioneering anthropologist Otis Mason explained that the splints were made of “cedar or spruce root, while the sewing is done with the outer and tough portion of the root; the stitches pass over the upper bundle of splints and are locked with those underneath.” Mason went on to explain that when a design is applied using imbrication, the ornamentation “is not something added, or overlaid, or sewed on, but is a part of the texture effected in the progress of the manufacture.” A “strip of colored bark or grass is laid down and caught under a passing stitch; before another stitch is taken this one is bent forward to cover the last stitch, doubled on itself so as to be underneath the next stitch, and so with each one it is bent backward and forward so that the sewing is entirely concealed.”⁹ The result is a surface that is similar to that of a cob of corn, with rows of rounded rectangular lumps

⁷ Ross, *The Spokane Indians*, 445.

⁸ Silvia Koros, “Northwest Coast Basketry,” Burke Museum, <http://www.burkemuseum.org/static/baskets/Teachersguideforbasketry.htm> (accessed January 26, 2013).

⁹ Otis Tufton Mason, “Aboriginal American Basketry: Studies in a Textile Art Without Machinery,” in *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, Showing the Operations, Expenditures, and Condition of the Institution for the Year Ending June 30, 1902: Report of the U.S. National Museum* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), 255.

pressed closely together. The technique was widely used by many Salish peoples including the Spokane.¹⁰

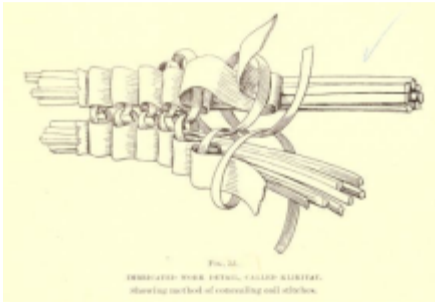


Figure 7 Detail of imbrication. *Aboriginal American Basketry*, 254. Figure 8 Finished imbrication. *Aboriginal American Basketry*, 255.



Figure 9 Detail of Basket B



Figure 10 Basket B

Two different techniques were utilized to decorate the twined objects in the Walker collection. The baskets were decorated using a technique called overlay while the bag is an example of false embroidery. The overlay technique is accomplished by adding a third weft of a different color which is woven to cover the vertical threads. The overlaid threads lay in the same direction as the twining and can be seen on the inside and the outside of the basket.¹¹ Baskets A, C, and D were decorated using the overlay technique. The twined flat bag in the collection was decorated using false embroidery. False embroidery is done similar to overlay but the colored weft is woven on to the outside of the bag and cannot be seen on the inside of the bag. The decoration also slants in the opposite direction as the rest of the weave.¹² Mary Schlick, an expert on basketry

¹⁰ Mason, 256.

¹¹ Koros, "Northwest Coast Basketry."

¹² Koros, "Northwest Coast Basketry."

of the Columbia Plateau, stated that false embroidery was often used to decorate bags similar to the one in the Walker collection.¹³



Figure 11 Small flat bag.

The Spokane made a variety of baskets and bags. They included coiled, round, and rectangular baskets, as well as, flat bags and woven cedar baskets. Bark baskets were made of pine, cedar, cottonwood, and birch.¹⁴ It is possible that the Walker baskets were manufactured by the Spokane. Their embellishments are not indicative of any specific Columbia Plateau tribe but are similar to designs created by the tribes that surrounded the Spokane. Spokane designs included parallelograms diamonds, stars, triangles, and horizontal bands.¹⁵ The Walker artifacts include examples of most of these details. Designs were often unique to the woman who wove the item and without more confirmed examples of Spokane designs, it is not possible to rule whether or not the baskets were created by the Scqesciobni.

The original uses of the Walker baskets can only be supposed. Mary did not leave a record in her journals of how she used the baskets and bags, except for the mention of a “soap basket.” Drury obtained the baskets from the Walker family in 1939 and then entrusted them to WSU. Drury interviewed the Walkers’ children and grandchildren. After those interviews, he wrote that the Indian baskets were “undoubtedly made by the

¹³ Mary Dodds Schlick, *Columbia River Basketry: Gift of the Ancestors, Gift of the Earth* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994), 62.

¹⁴ Ross, *The Spokane Indians*, 447.

¹⁵ Ross, *The Spokane Indians*, 252.

Spokane Indians nearly a century ago, which Mrs. Walker used in her home. One was used for a sewing basket. One contained a pair of baby moccasins.”¹⁶ In Drury’s files held by the Northwest Museum of Arts and Culture in Spokane, Washington, one of Drury’s students later wrote a letter to WSU enquiring after the baskets. In the letter, it was stated that Drury had labeled each basket “telling the purpose for which it was used.”¹⁷ Unfortunately, those labels have become separated from the baskets. Without evidence to the contrary, it is possible Mary may have used them in a similar manner as the Spokan, but it is clear that she did adapt them to her needs.

An exploration of how the Spokan used baskets will shed light on how the missionaries may have used them. As was the case for most possessions of both the Spokan and the missionaries, a single basket had many uses. Baskets were used to gather, transport, prepare, cook and store foodstuffs. Rectangular baskets such as Basket B were used to store roots or dried meat and fish, all of which the Walkers kept and ate. The small, rounded baskets such as Baskets A and C were used as eating bowls or for the storage of small items. Small, flat bags, like the one in the Walker collection, were used to hold sewing materials. “When a [Spokan] woman received visitors or visited others, her work ethic and domestic responsibilities required that she always carried on her person a sewing pouch and necessary materials so that she could remain productive even while socializing.”¹⁸ New England women had a similar practice and Mary was constantly mending clothes. It is possible she used the small bag to carry her sewing things in just as Spokan women did.

¹⁶ Drury, *Elkanah and Mary Walker*, 253.

¹⁷ “Correspondence Relating to Objects Once Owned by Elkanah & Mary Walker,” Box 7, Folder 48, Clifford M. Drury Collection, (Ms 17) Eastern Washington State Historical Society/Northwest Museum of Arts & Culture, Spokane, WA.

¹⁸ Ross, *The Spokan Indians*, 447.



Figure 12 Bottom of Basket D



Figure 13 Rim detail of Basket D

Basket D is an interesting artifact. At first it appears to have the shape of an acorn squash, but then other clues indicate it was more than just a basket. First, it has two tassels which extend from the starting point of the basket. Tassels ordinarily adorned domed shaped hats that women in the Spokane region wore. According to the anthropologists Herman Haerberlin and James Teit, “the chief producers [of such hats] were all the Sahaptin tribes, the Wasco, Wishram, Cayuse, Columbia, Sanpoil, Spokane, & Coeur d’Alene.”¹⁹ Further on the anthropologists pointed out that the “Fez-shaped caps of the Nez Perce type were made by the Klickitat and according to them were worn by the women of all the surrounding tribes, including...the Spokane.”²⁰ The hats were constructed of hemp twine, and elk grass and willow bark were used to create decorative patterns on the. This corresponds to the construction of Basket D. The circular border on the top and bottom of the design field is consistent with hats designed by Columbia Plateau peoples. Also basket hats were commonly imbricated with geometric shapes similar to those on Basket D.²¹ Though the design in this case was done by overlay, it is definitively geometric in nature. The last clue that Basket D may be more than it seems is its rim. The present rim is obviously not original and has been crudely added to the brim of the basket. Without this add-on, the basket could have the fez shape common to twined basket hats of the region.

¹⁹ Herman Karl Haerberlin, James Alexander Teit, Helen H. Roberts, and Franz Boas *Coiled Basketry in British Columbia and Surrounding Region* (Washington: G. P. O., 1928), 139.

²⁰ Haerberlin et al., 354-5.

²¹ Ross, *The Spokane Indians*, 482.

If Basket D was in fact a hat and not a basket, it would indicate that Mary had a close relationship with the Scqesciobni. Such hats were worn only on special occasions.

²² Mary would have known the significance of a ceremonial hat and the fact that she kept it for decades indicates that she valued it. If she were given a basket hat by the Spokane women, it would indicate that they honored and respected her and thought of her as more than just a foreign missionary.

What can be learned from such a small collection of artifacts? A comparative study has shown that the Walker baskets are in the style of others from the Columbia Plateau. It may be impossible to determine conclusively that the baskets were produced by Scqesciobni women yet their shape, design, construction methods and materials all indicate that they came from the region in which the Scqesciobni lived. Whether they were given to Mary or bought by her matters little, she had them and kept them. When the missionaries left Tshimakain, they could carry very little with them. The fact that Mary selected these items and then protected and used them for decades indicates that she valued the baskets. They were both keepsakes and tools to be used. These small pieces of the past were part of Mary's desire to hold onto a cherished time in her life when she lived amongst a unique people who she shared her life and faith with while pursuing her life's purpose. The baskets reminded her of those friends and a higher calling she once answered.

²² Ross, *The Spokane Indians*, 482.

Chapter 6 -- Learning a Language

The historian Albert Furtwangler wrote an insightful book which examined what happened when the native peoples of the Pacific Northwest encountered Euro-American explorers and missionaries in the early 1800s. One people were completely dependent on the written word, and the other had no concept of literacy. The way each group viewed the world was affected by this complex difference. Euro-Americans believed and valued what they read and were constantly writing, whether it was lists, letters, or journal entries, in an attempt to remember what they had seen or heard or experienced. Their culture was contained on pieces of paper, whereas Indian cultures were stored in the collective memory of their people. Indians depended on face-to-face communication while Euro-Americans did not. When two such different world views meet, neither can be quite the same after the encounter.

The terms that we use to describe people are powerful. Furtwangler warned that terms such as “preliterate or illiterate or even nonliterate” are inaccurate, “because they [Northwest Indians] lived through generations without any notion of literacy, any need of it, or any remote contact with it.” Also such terms carry with them, whether consciously or unconsciously, a certain amount of moral judgment and imply literate cultures are superior to other cultures. Furtwangler instead suggests that “it is fair and useful to describe their societies as *oral* or connected by voices.”¹

Oral traditions hold the awesome power to motivate and influence both individuals and entire cultures. Such a significant example from the Scqesciobni oral

¹ Furtwangler, 115-116. The italics are his not mine.

tradition was recorded by Mary Walker. Old Chief told her of a prophecy he had heard when he was a child. According to the prophecy “there would be people coming to them of a different color & wearing a different kind of clothes, speaking a different language & they would bring books with them & teach them & after that the world would be destroyed.” Going on, Mary explained that when the earliest fur traders came to the region that the Scqesciobni believed “the prophesy was fulfilled.” As Mary wrote, this explained “why they [Indians] thought so much of anything that came to them in the form of a book and clearly shows why they had so much veneration for a piece of paper with the image of a man drawn on it...They went so far as actually to worship it and make offerings to the one who had it.”² This reverence for the written word was utilized by the missionaries in their attempts to transform the Scqesciobni into a literate people.

The Walkers and Eells were in some ways hindered by their own literacy. All four had advanced American educations. Cushing and Elkanah had studied Greek, Roman, and Hebrew, but had had written texts to assist them in their learning. There was no written text for any Salish language, let alone the specific dialect used by the Scqesciobni to aid them in learning this foreign language. The missionaries’ alphabetic knowledge was limited to the twenty-six letters of the English language. Many of those symbols represented sounds that did not exist in the Salish language, and the Salish language had numerous sounds not represented by the English alphabet. This made it difficult for the missionaries to convert oral Salish into a written form using only symbols available to an English printer. Lastly, the comfort the missionaries received from the written word often drew them away from the challenge of learning a new language.

² Ruth Karr McKee, ed., *Mary Richardson Walker: Her Book* (Caldwell, ID: Caxton Printers, 1945), 254.

Early on, Elkanah despaired at his lack of progress with learning the Scqesciobni language, and Mary, who also chastised herself for a lack of diligence in her studies, sympathized with him and admitted that “it will require a great deal of self-denial to let books lay on the shelf and attend to learning an unwritten language.”³

But they did “attend to learning an unwritten language.” The missionaries learned the Salish language from a variety of sources. Their primary teachers were the Scqesciobni whom they lived amongst for nine years, but their earliest Salish teacher was actually a Sahaptian. During the winter they spent at Waiilatpu, the Walkers and Eells were taught by a Nez Perce whom they called Lawyer. Lawyer was fluent in both Nez Perce, a Sahaptian language, and Salish as well as knowing some English. Other important sources of words were traders of mixed blood who had learned English and Salish as children, as well as, Euro-American traders who had been on the Columbia Plateau longer than the missionaries. These individuals would be valuable instructors throughout the missionaries’ time at Tshimakain, but because of their separation from the Scqesciobni, their ability to teach the missionaries the Scqesciobni language was limited.

The Walkers and Eells’ language lessons began immediately upon their arrival at Waiilatpu in the fall of 1838. Dozens of Indians had gathered at the mission station to greet the new missionaries. As mentioned before, the first conversation between the Walkers and Old Chief consisted of his request for teachers because “he wished to be instructed & have his people [instructed].”⁴ Having these be the first words they heard spoken in Salish must have excited the missionaries who had just completed a transcontinental journey with the goal of teaching new things to people in faraway lands.

³ Mary Walker to Elkanah Walker, Fort Colvile, 1839, in *Mary Richardson Walker: Her Book*, ed. Ruth Karr McKee (Caldwell, ID: Caxton Printers, 1945), 193.

⁴ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 117.

When Elkanah and Cushing ventured forth to find a suitable location for another mission station, they were immersed in the Salish language for the first time. As recorded in his journal, some of the first Salish words Elkanah learned were numbers and nouns. Decades later, Cushing related that to start with he was taught two words, *Stem squest*, which translates to “What name?” He would “point to an object and say, *Stem squest?* and the name of the substantive would be enunciated.”⁵ In this way, the missionaries learned a variety of nouns.

Salish was a challenge for the missionaries because it consisted of various sounds they were unfamiliar with and some which were subtle and produced in a manner uncommon to English speakers. Even after four years with the Scqesciobni, Elkanah confided to his journal that it was still “very difficult to catch the sounds they make.”⁶ Cushing recorded that “the Spokane language is harsh guttural. A person after hearing conversation conducted in that language said, ‘It makes me think of people husking corn.’”⁷

Also the grammatical rules of Salish were quite different from that of English or any other language the missionaries had studied. In his biography of his father, Myron Eells expanded on some of the elements of Salish that tripped up the missionaries. For instance, plurals of nouns were made in a variety of ways. Sometimes a plural was formed by repeating a sound, such as “the word for man, *skul-tu-mi-hu*, becomes in the plural *skul-skul-tu-mi-hu*...but woman, *sem-ain*, is *pal-pil-kwi* in the plural.” The missionaries were also confused by the lack of comparatives or superlatives when comparing two things. “If two horses are placed side by side, one is bad and the other is

⁵ Eells, “Reminiscences,” 39.

⁶ Drury and Walker, *Nine Years*, 224.

⁷ Eells, “Reminiscences,” 40.

good; but if the better of the two is compared with another still better, it becomes bad and the latter is called good.” Causing further confusion for the missionaries was the fact that “phrases are very common, but not compounded according to rule. It was necessary to learn them by the power of memory, and these in a great measure take the place of grammar. In these phrases many contractions take place, and occasional changes of letters evidently for the sake of euphony.”⁸ Myron’s perspective is interesting because he spent his early childhood with the Sq̓esciobni and learned their language alongside English and in later life was a minister among the Coastal Salish peoples of the Puget Sound.

Once they had decided to put all of their efforts into learning the Sq̓esciobni language, they quickly discovered that it would be a difficult task. Firstly, the missionaries were not trained linguists so they had difficulties hearing the subtleties of the language and even more trouble figuring out the rules of the language than more trouble writing it down in a fashion so they could study it and remember it. Additionally, life on the Columbia Plateau was demanding. Their days were filled with chores, physical labor and religious studies. Finding time to study the language was a challenge. Finally, the act of learning was also a challenge or, as Mary often put it, “stretched her mind.”

At times, the missionaries despaired their lack of progress and chastised themselves for not desiring to work harder. During the spring of 1839, Mary expressed her personal angst. “If I felt a sincere interest in the salvation of the heathen, should I not be more engaged in acquiring the language that I might be able to instruct them? But instead of engaging with interest in its acquisition, I am more ready to engage in almost

⁸ Eells, *Father Eells*, 89-90.

anything else.” She prayed that “from this time forth may my attention be directed to the language & may I be willing to forego other studies when they interfere with this. May I realize now the awful responsibility that rests upon me.”⁹ As time passed and she had more and more of her own children to care for, she had less opportunities to work on the language, but she still endeavored to learn more and more words.

Except for a short time while living at Waiilatpu, Mary did not receive formal lessons in the language as Elkanah and Cushing did. Instead, Mary found other ways to learn the language. Frequently, she picked up words while engaged in labor with the Scqesciobni. For instance, she would note in her journal that she had learned some new words while ironing her laundry.¹⁰ Sometimes she was wary of her sources, such as when she noted that a boy she employed was “a good one to get words from. Fear he may not be as correct as some one older would be.”¹¹ At other times, her joy of learning the language comes out as when she described spending time with her cabin filled with Scqesciobni women, “sitting right here all day with half a dozen women at my feet talking & listening to them & writing words as fast as I could get them till I can hardly recollect where I am.”¹² On another occasion, Mary demonstrated how different an oral culture could be from a culture that depends on writing: “I listened till I was half amazed to day to an old woman who attempted to make me understand their method of computing time. I got ten divisions of the day, the changes of the moon & its names.”¹³ Apparently, Mary became rather proficient in the Salish language as was demonstrated

⁹ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 153.

¹⁰ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 170.

¹¹ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 165.

¹² Drury, *On to Oregon*, 166.

¹³ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 169. Mary’s handwritten Scqesciobni-English dictionary is presently preserved in the Spokane Public Library’s Northwest Room.

before in her negotiating with Old Chief to acquire horses for the Wilkes Expedition, but also she mentioned an incident that occurred in the spring of 1843: “An Indian just now accosted me insultingly but suppose he [was] doing it in sport thinking I would not understand what he said.”¹⁴ Mary was able to both understand his words but also his intention which takes more than a rudimentary understanding of a language.

Given that the missionaries’ primary purpose was to give religious instruction to the Scqesciobni, Elkanah and Cushing daily strove to learn their dialect of Salish and reduce it to written form. Besides their everyday interactions with the Scqesciobni during which new words and phrases were learned, Cushing and Elkanah sat down with some individuals and had formal lessons during which the missionaries learned specific words and rules of grammar. Their primary teachers were Old Chief and a man Elkanah referred to with respect as the Teacher.¹⁵ Both of these men spent hours and hours instructing and working with the missionaries over the nine years they lived at Tshimakain helping to develop a written form of the Scqesciobni language.

The missionaries’ instructors were not perfect. In a letter to Rev. Greene, written in September 1839, Elkanah explained that one of the challenges to learning the language was the fact that Old Chief was “old” and “his teeth [were] mostly gone & [as a result] his pronunciation [was] very bad.”¹⁶ Their instructors also moved seasonally with their people, as a result, the missionaries would be without formal instruction for weeks at a time. Occasionally, the missionaries and the teachers would have a difference of opinion and that would form a schism that would stop instruction for a while as well. For

¹⁴ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 249.

¹⁵ Ironically, the Teacher’s real name has not been determined by historians even though the missionaries commonly recorded and referred to Indians using their native names which they spelled phonetically.

¹⁶ Drury and Walker, *Nine Years*, 112.

instance, during the winter of 1846, Elkanah and the Teacher had a serious disagreement about the validity of the Scqesciobni's medicine rites. The blow-up came at a critical time as Elkanah recorded in his journal: "The Indians have been kind to us as we could wish. We have done more at translating than ever before, but I fear we shall not be able to do much more as at present my Teacher is offended." These troubles rarely lasted long. A month later, the Teacher was once more helping Elkanah translate the Book of Matthew into Scqesciobni.

Another instructor the missionaries had high hopes of employing was Spokane Garry. He was the son of a Middle Spokane chief and had spent four years in a Hudson's Bay Company's school at the Red River settlement in Canada. He returned to his people in 1829 with knowledge of Christianity and English. When Samuel Parker was exploring the Columbia Plateau in 1835, he met Garry and employed him as an interpreter for a religious service.¹⁷ With knowledge of this, the Eells and Walkers eagerly anticipated Garry's assistance. Still there is no mention of him visiting the missionaries until December 1840, more than two years after their arrival on the Tshimakain Plain, and after that he was an infrequent visitor. At times he would refuse to help at all, yet at other times he helped the missionaries translate the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments into Salish and expressed a desire "to learn to read his own language."¹⁸ The summer of 1843 was the last time Garry assisted the missionaries in translating. At that time he expressed to Cushing that "the people...drove him off, [because he was not]...able to withstand their ridicule."¹⁹

¹⁷ Parker, 301.

¹⁸ Drury and Walker, *Nine Years*, 243.

¹⁹ Drury and Walker, *Nine Years*, 245.

The act of learning the Scqesciobni language brought the two cultures closer together. Sometimes the missionaries would go to the Teacher's or Old Chief's lodges and sit on woven mats around an open fire and labor to convert what they heard into English letters on a piece of rough paper. Other times, Old Chief or the Teacher would come to the Walker's cabin and sit at a wooden table near a warm hearth while the missionaries squinted in the flicker of candlelight and developed a written language for the Scqesciobni. These hours spent in one another's homes exposed each to the most intimate aspects of their cultures and created a fuller understanding of one another.

According to the Walkers' granddaughter, Ruth Karr McKee, Elkanah told a story of one such encounter. "The [Old] Chief was having difficulty in getting his tongue around a new word. Elkanah said to him: 'You follow the white man's way, eat his food, then you get his words, too.' A few days later, the situation was reversed." Elkanah was having trouble pronouncing a Spokane word. Displaying his wit, Old Chief "pulled out a 'wee beastie'" from his hair and "offered him to the missionary, saying, 'You eat him, you get Indian words all right.'"²⁰ This story shows both the prejudice Elkanah brought with him from the East and also the closeness and joking nature of his relationship with Old Chief. The fact that Elkanah retold this story demonstrates the humility that missionary life gave him and the fondness with which he remembered it.

There were two major activities related to language that the missionaries undertook at Tshimakain. One was the acquisition of the oral language and the other was the formation of a written language for the Scqesciobni. Each activity had its own

²⁰ McKee, 195-196.

challenges but the ultimate purpose of both was to teach the Scqesciobni about the Congregationalist form of Christianity. The missionaries worked on these activities simultaneously. They were constantly speaking, listening, and writing the Scqesciobni form of Salish. The constant need to communicate drove the missionaries to stretch their minds.

The missionaries' focus on religious teachings was demonstrated by the Scqesciobni words they chose to write down. Mary's hand-written dictionary includes the Scqesciobni words for: to steal, to lie, to be peaceable, deaf ears, blind, unbelief, spirit, soul, to repent, prodigal, proud, and humble. A short list of words included with the transcript of the Book of Matthew which Elkanah translated into Scqesciobni contains the Scqesciobni words for: to be angry, to save, to be with child, God, angel, gold, the mother of a boy, and star. All of which are essential for telling the life story of Jesus Christ. These words were not ones used in everyday chatter but were key to the teachings of the Congregationalist Church, and because of that, the missionaries recorded these specific words.

The missionaries began religious services immediately upon contact with the Salish. At first, they depended on drawing pictures on the ground or on pieces of paper as visual aids while also using hand signals in a primitive form of sign language to convey the abstract and concrete ideas they wished to convey to the Salish. They also depended on interpreters and rehearsers during religious services. Interpreters were men who knew an adequate amount of English to be able to translate what the missionaries said in English into Salish. More often the missionaries employed what they termed "rehearsers." In his "Reminiscences," Cushing explained how this was done. Prior to a

service, Elkanah or Cushing would meet with an Indian who had a better than average ability to communicate with the missionaries. “To him individually the contents of the selected portion [of a Bible lesson] would be given by free conversation. Thus he would become possessed of the essential statements and ideas.” During a service, the rehearser would “with correct apprehension of the thought to be conveyed...be able to improve somewhat upon the language used by the teacher.”²¹ To some extent the missionaries used such interpreters and rehearsers throughout their time at Tshimakain, though by the spring of 1845, Elkanah must have had some mastery of the language because he recorded in his journal that he had not used a rehearser during the previous winter.²² The missionaries often felt confined by the use of such aids because it was necessary for them to interrupt the missionaries’ flow while speaking, plus the missionaries worried that the interpretation given the people would be incorrect but without a firm knowledge of the language the missionaries could not know for sure if the people were being told. Still without such interpreters or rehearsers it would have been even harder for the missionaries to teach the Sq̄esciobni about Christianity.

The missionaries quickly began to develop a written form of Salish. A month after arriving at Waiilatpu, Mary began a handwritten dictionary for her own use.²³ In their journals, they began to use Salish words such as *Skilu* for people and *skiam* for milk, and frequently, the missionaries wrote out Indian names phonetically rather than changing their names to something easier for them to spell.²⁴ The previous fall Rev.

²¹ Eells, “Reminiscences,” 40.

²² Drury and Walker, *Nine Years*, 308.

²³ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 130.

²⁴ Work on developing a primer and translating portions of the Bible began in earnest during the summer of 1839, when the Columbia Mission obtained a printing press from the Honolulu Mission of the ABCFM. A printing press plus all of the required tools and paper were shipped to Lapwai, where Spalding had a special building constructed to house this incredibly vital tool. With a printing press, the missionaries

Greene had sent the Mission instructions to begin recording the native languages of the region. To aid them in this, Greene included a copy of an essay written by John Pickering entitled, “An Essay on a Uniform Orthography for the Indian Languages of North America.” In the early 1800s, American intellectuals became concerned that the native languages of North America were disappearing, and so they took it upon themselves to record such languages. Missionaries throughout the Americas at different times in different places had attempted to write down native languages, but without a common set of rules, each used different symbols to represent the same sounds and it became quite confusing to know the true sounds as they were written down by random missionaries. Pickering saw that such a cacophony of styles was not helpful, and so, he proposed a set of rules to be followed by all who wished to develop written languages for oral societies. His essay became the standard for all of the American Board’s missions. This short essay was also the only training the Walkers and Eells had in the field of linguistics.

Many hours were involved in the formation of the first book printed in the Scqesciobni language. Cushing, Elkanah, and Old Chief spent many days throughout the month of November 1842 compiling a number of lessons to be printed as a primer for the Scqesciobni. At the end of the month, Elkanah traveled to Lapwai to print the book. When he arrived, he found that Henry Spalding was ill and could not help him with the printing press. Undeterred, Elkanah with the assistance of an Indian printed 250 copies of the sixteen-page primer in ten days. Elkanah admitted that there were a number of errors in the book partly from his lack of experience working with a printing press. Upon

could mass produce teaching materials rather than continuing to write out all lessons by hand. Their work was still limited by the fact that the press only had traditional English punctuation symbols and the letters A to Z which did not adequately represent all of the sounds in the Spokane language.

returning to Tshimakain Station, Elkanah, with Mary's help, sewed the pages together and bound them with deer skin they had obtained from the Spokane. A week later he opened a new session of school by handing out eleven copies of the primer.²⁵ This was the only book the Tshimakain missionaries printed.²⁶

Without the assistance of the Spokane peoples and their patience, the Tshimakain missionaries would never have learned to speak Salish nor have been able to create the earliest written form of the language. Throughout their time at Tshimakain, the Scqesciobni tried to teach the missionaries their language and the missionaries continued to struggle to understand it. During the last, stress-filled winter the missionaries spent at Tshimakain, even after news of the Whitman Massacre, Elkanah worked with the Teacher to translate the Book of Matthew into Scqesciobni so Elkanah could read the Gospels to the Scqesciobni in their own language. Also in these last, terrifying days, Elkanah noted that he did "not understand their language as they would have it understood."²⁷ Yet through their efforts each learned something of the others' culture.

²⁵ Drury and Walker, *Nine Years*, 218.

²⁶ Yet it was not the only writing they translated into Scqesciobni. After completing the primer, Elkanah turned to translating the Book of Matthew. As mentioned before the missionaries also translated the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments into Salish. While Elkanah and Cushing worked on the primer, Mary translated hymns into Scqesciobni. Cushing went even further and wrote a short, original hymn in the Scqesciobni language, which became quite popular. Eells, *Father Eells*, 104.

²⁷ Drury and Walker, *Nine Years*, 448.

Chapter 7 -- Living With the Spokane

The Tshimakain missionaries' lives were intimately entwined with those who they ministered to. Though the New Englanders had a fixed home base and the Scqesciobni moved with the seasons, it was more noteworthy when no Indians were at the mission than when they were present. Every day for nine years, Indians interacted with the Tshimakain missionaries. Through those interactions both parties were changed. The Walkers and Eells became dependent on the Indians in ways neither would have expected.

Indian runners were the missionaries' link to the world outside their tiny valley. Regularly, Indians carried and brought back verbal messages and written correspondence between the missionaries and the regions' peoples, forts, and mission stations. The Indians' dependence on oral communication forced the missionaries to adopt some of the mentality and methods of the local peoples, such as trusting the spoken word and creating concise messages that could be easily transmitted by oral couriers to oral receivers without error. The letters and packages Indian mail carriers brought to the station kept the New Englanders apprised of events in the California and the East, both on family and federal levels. News included the death of Mary's mother and the unexpected death of President William Henry Harrison. Dozens of newspapers and missionary publications along with personal letters from fellow missionaries in the Hawaiian Islands and Turkey eased and intensified the missionaries' sense of isolation. Most tragically, it was their dear Scqesciobni friend, Solomon, who delivered the first report of the Whitman Massacre which would eventually drive the missionaries from Tshimakain. Indian

messengers made it possible for the Eells and Walkers to stay in touch with those as close as Fort Colvile and as far away as Turkey.

The missionaries spent much of their time traveling. Elkanah or Cushing would be gone for days if not weeks at a time. Occasionally, the entire Walker or Eells family would go on a trip. On only two occasions did all of the Walkers and Eells leave the mission station. Reasons for these travels included ministering to the Scqesciobni in the poh poh fields or the falls during the fishing season, traveling to Fort Colvile for supplies, ministering to other tribes at the mouth of the Little Spokane River or Lake Ponderay, and attending the annual ABCFM meeting held each summer during which decisions affecting the whole Oregon mission were made. Indians helped the missionaries in two ways during these episodes. First, the missionaries hired Indians to travel with them to help with camp duties. Secondly, Indians were hired to help the missionary wives with their domestic labors and for assistance if there was an emergency in the absence of their husbands. The Old Chief or Solomon was entrusted with the care and protection of the mission station when all of the missionaries were gone. Without the assistance of Indians, it would have been quite difficult if not impossible for the missionaries to travel away from the mission station.¹

When Scqesciobni were camped nearby, the missionaries spent time in their lodges. Especially, when Elkanah was focused on learning the Spokane language, he would spend every evening in the lodge of either Old Chief or Teacher. Mary and her

¹ The Tshimakain missionaries participated in many facets of the Scqesciobni's lives. They doctored the sick and injured. Mary helped deliver babies. Their journals note a number of funerals the Walkers and Eells attended. Most touching is Mary's account of the slow death of one of her dear friends, Kwantepetser, who had worked in her home and finally died of consumption. Elkanah and Mary's grief at Kwantepetser's death and of many others demonstrated the missionaries' emotional connection to the Scqesciobni.

children visited the lodges and on one occasion she noted that “their homes appear very comfortable & I thought we could live in them very comfortably.”² Such an attitude indicates that Mary trusted the Scqesciobni. As mentioned before, trade between Indians and the missionaries was a common activity and further demonstrates the acculturation of the missionaries. Foodstuffs were often traded but cattle and horses were as well. Indians gave labor, animal skins (but not trade furs), foodstuffs such as salmon and roots, clothing, and, specifically for Mary, scientific specimens. In exchange, the missionaries gave labor, foodstuffs, ammunition, medicine, Euro-American tools and household items, beads, and clothing. The missionaries’ frequently referred to paying Indians “loads.” This was reference to a single ball and charge of gunpowder. In his memoirs, Cyrus Walker explained how a “load” was determined: “To measure a charge of powder, the ball was placed in the palm of the hand and covered with powder.” Cyrus went on to write that “many a time I saw my father or Mr. Eells pay off Indians for work with powder and ball as above indicated, so many rounds of ammunition, as it were.”³ Trade was essential for the survival of the missionaries. Without the willingness of Indians to give their labor and foodstuffs to the missionaries, the Walkers and Eells would have run out of food. The missionaries quickly became dependent on trade with the regions’ native peoples.

An incident occurred on June 15, 1841, that proved Mary was an adept trader and had a good understanding of the Spokane language and culture. While Elkanah and Cushing were away at a regional American Board meeting in Waiilatpu, a detachment from the Wilkes Expedition arrived at Tshimakain. They were in need of horses to

² Drury, *On to Oregon*, 206. Second “very comfortably” from unabridged version.

³ Walker, “Memories of Old Oregon,” 10.

continue their journey and attempted to purchase some from the Scqesciobni. Lieutenant Robert E. Johnson spent the entire morning in negotiations with Old Chief. In her journal, Mary explained that she “had to do most of the talking” because Johnson was not familiar with the Spokane language. Given her conservative upbringing in New England where women were to defer to the authority of men and to be demure and quiet, Mary must have felt quite awkward during the negotiations between two men of authority. Finally, Mary had had enough. Afterward, she wrote that “we were a long time parleying with the Chief but seemed to come to nothing [then] I assumed an air of earnestness & told the Chief the man was in haste to be gone & wished to bring his horses quick & say what he would take &c.” The result was that Mary “succeeded in obtaining three of the chief’s best horses” for Johnson and his party. In exchange, Johnson gave Old Chief a written order to give to McDonald at Fort Colville “for nine blankets, one capote, & one shirt.” After Johnson’s party left Tshimakain, “the Chief complimented me [Mary] very highly for my eloquence. Said I talked as powerfully as Mr. Walker, or E[ells] would have done & that the gentlemen would not have got the horses but for me.”⁴

Because the primary pieces of evidence for the tale of life at the Tshimakain Mission were recorded by the adult missionaries, the voices of the majority of players are not heard. The most obvious absence is that of the Indians with whom the missionaries daily interacted with, but also absent are the voices of the missionary children. Much later in time, when the missionary children were old-time pioneers, they like many others reminisced about life during the early days of Oregon, but these are the distant echoes of

⁴ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 215.

childhood. But even if we do not have their childhood voices recorded, we do have glimpses and glimmers of what their lives must have been like.

Much of what is known of the children's lives is filtered through Mary's view of events. When she arrived on the Columbia Plateau in 1838, Mary was twenty-seven years old, newly married, and approximately six-months pregnant. She was beginning a new chapter in her life. Her journal is filled with the anxieties and joys of a new mother. Being the eldest of ten children, Mary had experience handling babies, but her journal demonstrates her sense of responsibility for the care of her children. The majority of what is known about the children has to do with Cyrus Walker. Being the first born of the Tshimakain missionaries, many of his firsts were recorded and Mary confided her innermost thoughts of motherhood to her journal. Separated from her family and friends and other women in the same stage of life meant she vented to her journal on a regular basis. With the birth of each of Mary's children, less and less pages were devoted to motherhood as the newness wore off and her time became consumed with childcare and domestic work. Yet, the children were always there and were influenced by the people they lived with including the Scqesciobni whose culture they were immersed in.

As an adult, Cyrus told of how his childhood was spent playing with Scqesciobni children, yet he was unable to recount his earliest experiences with Indians which occurred when he was less than a month old. Cyrus was born on December 7, 1838, at the Waiilatpu Mission Station while over a dozen people were residing in one very cramped domicile. Within days, Mary noted that there was something wrong with her breasts. The trouble worsened and eventually Mary had to give up breastfeeding Cyrus because it was too painful and her milk supply dried up. Mary attempted a number of

solutions including pumping her breast. When that was to no avail, she reluctantly agreed to allow Narcissa Whitman breastfeed Cyrus. Narcissa was still breastfeeding her two-year-old daughter Alice at the time though she weaned Alice so Cyrus could have a greater supply of milk. In a letter to her family, Mary hinted at some tension that developed from Narcissa's actions. Narcissa "refused to let me [Mary] have a bottle to feed him with cow milk" not to be deterred Mary "made out to find one & so fed him. But they had only the milk of a cow that was nearly dry & so unsuitable that I was afraid it would kill him."⁵ On December 29, Mary noted that she tried "very hard to invent artificial nipples. Do not succeed. Feel very much unreconciled to the idea of being unable to nurse my babe."⁶ The following day, Mary "nurse[d] him mostly with a bottle," and emoted "How do I know but the want of means to nurse my babe may be the greatest of blessings?"⁷

Finally, a solution to Mary's problem was revealed. For the next ten weeks, Cyrus was nursed by an Indian mother. Residing at Waiilatpu was a mountain man, Charles Compo and his Nez Perce wife and infant child.⁸ Compo had escorted Parker on his initial journey from the Rocky Mountains to Fort Colville and had been employed by the Hudson's Bay Company. Just days before the missionary reinforcements arrived at Waiilatpu in the fall of 1838, Charles Compo had been inducted as a member of first Congregational Church of Oregon. French was his first language, but he also spoke English, Nez Perce, and Flathead languages.⁹ Mary came to trust Mrs. Compo (her first

⁵ Drury, *Elkanah and Mary Walker*, 257.

⁶ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 139.

⁷ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 139.

⁸ Charles Compo's name was also spelled "Campo" and "Campeau" depending on who was writing it. "Compo" is how the missionaries wrote his name.

⁹ Clifford Merrill Drury, ed., *The Diaries and Letters of Henry H. Spalding and Asa Bowen Smith Relating to the Nez Perce Mission, 1838-1842* (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark, 1958), 23.

name is unknown), and as she wrote to her family, “fortunately an Indian woman...had a babe three weeks you[n]ger than mine & milk enough for her child & half enough for mine so with her aid I got along nicely.”¹⁰ Mrs. Compo continued to nurse Cyrus three times a day until the Walkers left for Tshimakain in March.¹¹

Mary’s willingness to have her child nursed by an Indian is telling of Mary’s beliefs. She had left her home behind and traveled across the continent to minister to a foreign people. Mrs. Compo had not been her first choice but quickly was preferred over the only white breast available, Narcissa Whitman’s. It was a time of growth for Mary and she was a woman of conflict. She had traveled across the continent to do what she could to insure a better life for another people and had married a man who was a part of the early days of the abolition movement in America. Yet she wrote in her journal on January 6, 1839, that she was “glad my babe can be supplied with milk tho it comes from a black breast.”¹² This is the only negative reference Mary wrote in regards to Cyrus being breastfed by a Nez Perce woman. In her letter to her family and friends, she did not hide or disparage the fact that he was nursed by an Indian. One line in her journal indicates that she recognized a racial difference but her daily actions indicate that she was not bothered by it. From this time on, the care of Cyrus and the other Walker children was entrusted to Indians.

After moving to Tshimakain, the Walkers hired Scqesciobni females to help Mary with childcare. Thus, the missionary children interacted with Scqesciobni on a daily basis in a personal and intimate way. On Tuesday, May 28, 1839, Mary wrote in her journal, “I take very little care of Cyrus now except to dress & feed him. He cries to go

¹⁰ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 139.

¹¹ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 143.

¹² Drury, *On to Oregon*, 141.

from me to them [Spokane girls] but when tired & hungry is glad to come back.”¹³ Later that summer Mary wrote, “[Cyrus] is off with the Indians from morning till night except when he requires washing, feeding & dressing.” At the time, Cyrus was only seven months old. By September of 1839, it appears that Mary and Cyrus were quite attached to Kwantepetser, a Spokane woman who Mary paid to help them. When Kwantepetser left for a few days, Mary mentioned a change in Cyrus’s disposition; “He is not so full of glee as formerly, appears more sober & is frequently inclined to repose quietly in my arms.”¹⁴ In May of 1842, the Walker family, which had grown to five, took a journey to the Waiilatpu Station. The entire trip took a few weeks. Mary brought Kwantepetser along to assist her with the children, and Cyrus rode a horse with Kwantepetser for the 300-mile round-trip journey.¹⁵ While Cyrus was critically ill with scarlet fever in January of 1844, Mary had an Indian helper sit with him while the rest of the family had supper.¹⁶ It is apparent that Mary trusted the Scqesciobni with her most valued treasures, her children. By the time the missionaries left Tshimakain in 1848, they had eight children all under the age of nine. Without the aid of the Spokane, the missionaries would not have been able to raise their children at the station and instead would have had to move to a town or have shipped their children off to family or school elsewhere.

The missionary children were immersed in the Scqesciobni culture during their most formative years, and this influence was revealed in a variety of ways. The Walker and Eells children primarily played with Indian children. When he was only nine months old, Mary noted that Cyrus threw a fit and “cried to go out” when he saw an Indian

¹³ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 157.

¹⁴ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 174.

¹⁵ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 229.

¹⁶ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 263.

outside.¹⁷ Still before he could walk, Mary recorded that Cyrus had “taken a fancy to a little girl not much larger than himself who has amused him by creeping from our house to the other many times a day.”¹⁸ An example of how assimilated Cyrus was to the Spokane culture occurred shortly after the birth of Abigail, the Walker’s second child and only daughter. Mary described how Cyrus was interacting with Abigail. “He seems to admire his sister & kisses her altho he has scarcely been prevailed on to kiss any one else.” Mary then noted an important detail of his behavior, “Being at loss how to [show] his kind feelings, the other day he put his fingers in her hair & then in his mouth in imitation, no doubt, of an Indian looking [for lice in] another’s head. He probably sees them doing thus & supposes them discharging to each other an act of kindness.”¹⁹ This was not the only way that Cyrus adopted the ways of the Scqesciobni.

Cyrus and the other children spent much of their time outside of their small, cramped homes. As an adult, Cyrus told of how “for a number of years my playmates of near my own age were all Indian boys, and sometimes I would get into a ‘scrap’ with them, but no blood was ever drawn as I remember.”²⁰ This is interesting, because the only fight Mary mentioned Cyrus getting into occurred in Oregon City a month after they moved there.²¹ As mentioned before, Cyrus was quite fluent in the Spokane language, and another skill he learned from his playmates was to use a bow and arrow. He related that his “principal pastime when I grew to be large enough to use a bow and arrows was to roam through the adjacent wooded hills hunting birds and squirrels. My father was very indulgent and kept me well supplied with bows and arrows, purchased from the

¹⁷ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 171.

¹⁸ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 176.

¹⁹ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 193.

²⁰ Walker, “Memories of Old Oregon,” 12.

²¹ Journal, September 1848-January 1879, Drury Collection, 292.

Indians.”²² This fact is corroborated by Elkanah’s journal in which in the spring of 1847, he noted that he had traded to get another bow and more arrows.²³ The children’s clothing reflected the rugged outdoor life that they lived. Cyrus explained that “before coming to Oregon City we children were never fully clothed as became civilization. I never before had on a pair of leather shoes, either wearing moccasins or going barefoot, and my usual garb had been buckskin shirt and pants.”²⁴

Their early experiences and their parents’ examples shaped the missionary children’s adult lives. Myron and Edwin Eells spent their adulthood working on the Skokomish Indian Reservation in Washington State, Edwin as an Indian Agent and Myron as a missionary and anthropologist. According to Myron Eells in an article written in 1900, “Cyrus H., Marcus W., John R., Levi C. and Samuel T. have followed in their parents’ footsteps more or less by engaging in Christian work among the Indians.”²⁵ Four of the Walker children went on to work as Indian Agents and teachers in Indian boarding schools located in Oregon. Joseph Walker spent nearly fifty years as a missionary in China, and John Walker helped start a Presbyterian church in Hoquiam, Washington. The fact that so many of the Eells and Walker children selected careers that involved working with Indians demonstrates that they had a positive experience and wished to continue their parents’ dream of helping Indians weather the cultural storm caused by the flow of Euro-American immigrants into the Pacific Northwest.

²² Walker, “Memories of Old Oregon,” 14.

²³ Drury and Walker, *Nine Years*, 395.

²⁴ Walker, “Memories of Old Oregon,” 37 ¾.

²⁵ Myron Eells, “The First Book Written in the State of Washington,” *Washington Historian* Vol. 1(July 1900): 159.

Living on the frontier, one's health was always a tenuous thing. The Eells and Walkers had no formal training in medicine beyond the common knowledge a young girl received by observing older women. The nearest doctor was a five day horseback ride away. A segment of the Walker's library was donated to WSU in the mid-1900s. Amidst theological works and children's schoolbooks were a number of medical texts, including John Burns' 1810 edition of *Burns's Principles of Midwifery*, the 1806 copy of Michael Underwood's *Treatise on the Diseases of Children*, and the 1834 edition of George Wood and Franklin Bache's classic *Dispensatory of the United States of America*. Though when illness and injury afflicted the missionaries, they had to rely more on commonsense than anything else.

Often the missionaries were handing out medicines and advice to the Indians, but occasionally the missionaries learned from the Indians. Mary continued to have trouble with her breasts after giving birth to her next three children. After the birth of Abigail in the spring of 1840, Mary noted that she "applied hot rocks to my breast which seem to afford much relief."²⁶ Two years later after the birth of Marcus, she explained that this was "an Indian medicine & the best I can find" to soothe her painful breasts.²⁷ The most experienced mothers Mary could get advice from at Tshimakain were Spokane women, and because their methods worked, she used them.

As time passed, the missionaries became more acquainted with the lifeways of the Scqesciobni. One of the most significant things the missionaries did was participate in sweathouse rituals. Also known as sweatlodges or as Elkanah called the process a sweat bath, the sweathouse housed activities that connected members of families and

²⁶ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 192.

²⁷ Drury, *On to Oregon*, 228.

communities together. The fact that Elkanah partook in sweatbaths says a lot about him and the Scqesciobni. The sweathouse “was universally considered as always being sacred when occupied” and “was used for various sacred and profane occasions.” These included “curing, socializing, physical and spiritual cleansing, social control, enculturation...and even foreseeing an impending doom.”²⁸ On at least one occasion, Elkanah entered the sweathouse for its curative properties. It was winter and he had been sick for several days. Then he recorded in his journal that he “had took a good steam which did me much good.”²⁹ The timing of another steambath was significant. It occurred during the time period between the Whitman Massacre and the missionaries’ decision to leave Tshimakain. Elkanah was having intense daily conversations with the local Indians about whether he should stay or leave Tshimakain. During this stressful time, he chose to take a steambath, perhaps to have a private conversation with some select men or to calm his nerves or to fortify his bond with the Scqesciobni. It is impossible to know how much, if any, of the sweathouse rituals Elkanah participated in, but the fact that the Scqesciobni thought highly enough of him to allow him in to a sacred space demonstrates their view of Elkanah, and the fact that Elkanah was willing to enter what he knew the Scqesciobni thought of as a spiritually powerful space demonstrates the lengths he was willing to go to connect with them and to feel better both physically and emotionally.

During their nine years at the Tshimakain Station, the lives of the Walkers were significantly impacted by the Spokane people who lived and worked with them. There was a constant give and take between the two parties. The Walkers would demonstrate

²⁸ Ross, *The Spokane Indians*, 668.

²⁹ Drury and Walker, *Nine Years*, 338.

the domestic skills they had learned in New England, and the Spokane would show the Walkers how to adapt such skills to the Columbia Plateau. Time and time again, the Walker journals prove that the missionaries would not have been able to survive in such an isolated and rough country without the assistance of the Spokane. Day after day, the missionaries and the Spokane worked side by side to scrape a living out of the land surrounding Tshimakain Creek.

Conclusion

The Tshimakain missionaries were immersed in the Spokan culture for more than nine years and probably knew and understood it better than any other non-Indian. The missionaries often complimented the Scqesciobni on their quickness of mind and intelligence, yet the Scqesciobni were unable to fully convert the missionaries to their way of life. Mary learned how the Scqesciobni computed time, yet she continued to rely on the Julian calendar. Elkanah was able to write in detail about the Spokan's religious ceremonies and beliefs, but he left the Columbia Plateau as strict a Congregationalist as he had been when he first arrived. Yet in some ways the Spokan did change the way the Walkers and the Eells looked at the world.

A year after moving to Chamokane Creek, Mary recorded a profound statement that gives insight into her ideals and beliefs. Her epiphany was as follows: "Have been thinking to-day how much we ought to labor as an Indian travels, keeping our eye intent on the landmark, not elated with success nor discouraged with adverse appearance."¹ This simple statement is charged with significance. First, in an era of extreme prejudice against non-whites, it is evident that Mary found value in the Spokan culture. She did not dismiss and devalue their ideas and ways of life. Instead, she objectively looked at them and found merit. Secondly, she respected the ways of others enough to acknowledge that some were better than her own and that she could learn from them. It is evident from how Mary and the other Tshimakain missionaries lived that they valued aspects of the Spokan culture adapting them to fit their needs.

¹ MRW Journal 1838-1848.

The Walkers and Eells had to keep their “eye on the landmark” because their lives were filled with both success and adversity. At times, they were elated by the large number of Scqesciobni who attended church services or school or planted crops. At others, they were disappointed by how few participated. Health concerns nearly drove Elkanah and Myra from the field, yet seven missionary babies were successfully born at Tshimakain Station. Elkanah developed a crude written form of the Scqesciobni language, but it was hard, frustrating work constantly interrupted and postponed by the everyday demands of life on the Columbia Plateau. Through it all, the Eells and Walkers continued to strive toward their goals of saving the souls of others and preparing the Scqesciobni for the coming invasion of white settlers they could not prevent.

It is not surprising that the Tshimakain missionaries were changed by their experiences on the Columbia Plateau. For nearly ten years, the Tshimakain missionaries lived with the Spokane, and during that time they came to rely on many of the lifeways of the Spokane peoples, especially when it came to construction projects. From the very beginning, Old Chief helped Cushing and Elkanah select a site on which to build a mission station. Over time, with the aid of the Spokane, the missionaries built homes, fences, barns, and gardens. Woven mats insulated the missionaries’ homes the same as they warmed the homes of the Scqesciobni. Without the longhouse that the Spokane constructed for the station, there would not have been a place to hold school and church. Because they were willing to trade, Spokane labor did everything from repairing the Walker’s chimney when it collapsed to making cedar shingles for the barn roof.

Shelter is not all that people need to survive. On a daily basis, the missionaries consumed food that had in one way or another been affected by the Spokane. From the

outset, the missionaries observed the Indian women cooking roots and fish and were introduced to new tastes and methods of cooking. With time, salmon and venison became regular parts of the missionaries' meals. Even more so, roots and berries became staples of their diets. Again the Spokan's willingness to trade was essential, for the missionaries lacked the time or expertise to harvest such foods on their own. Spokans aided the Walkers and Eells in every aspect of their farming, from herding livestock to preparing wheat fields to harvesting crops. With so much work to be done, the missionaries would have been hard pressed to provide food for their families without the aid of the Spokan.

When it came to clothing, the male missionaries and their children often wore the same styles as the Spokan. Moccasins, leggings, and buckskin shirts were the common, everyday garb for Cushing and Elkanah and their boys when they grew big enough. Mary even wore dresses made of buckskin. She spent hours in front of the fire cutting out moccasins for Spokan women to sew for her. The Spokan provided both the raw materials for clothing as well as the finished products.

The Spokan touched the lives of the Walkers and Eells in a variety of ways. From the very beginning, the Scqesciobni taught the missionaries their dialect of the Salish language. The missionaries' ministry would have been impossible without the linguistic help of the Spokan. The missionaries spent hours and hours absorbing the Spokan language then more hours trying to write it down. Without their Spokan teachers the Eells and Walkers would never have learned their language. Beyond that, the Spokan provided the missionaries with guides, mail carriers, and companions. From Mary's journals, we know that Indians helped her daily to accomplish the unending list of duties

that had to be done to maintain a New England family on the frontier. Spokane men and women helped her do laundry, care for her children, make soap and candles, scrub the floors, and whitewash the walls. The missionary children played with the Spokane children and learned their games. In so many ways, the missionaries' lives were influenced by the Spokane culture.

James Axtell, while a professor of history at the College of William and Mary, wrote a number of articles and books on Indian peoples of the American Northeast. During the early 1980s, he was one of the preeminent historians to research and write extensively about how Native Americans of northeastern United States affected the lives and culture of European colonists in the pre-Revolutionary Era. Some of what he discovered can be applied to the relationship the Spokane had with the Tshimakain missionaries. As Axtell pointed out in *The European and the Indian*, for the earliest European colonists the environment that they entered “was new, strange, and even dangerous—except to the natives who had learned to live with it over centuries.” It was natural for the missionaries as well as “the colonists to borrow some of the Indians’ time-tested skills, techniques, and technology for coping with the frontier environment.”² The Eells and Walkers did this by wearing moccasins and snowshoes and eating camas root and native berries. Such cultural changes were new to the missionaries, but were similar to the cultural adaptations their ancestors had made when they arrived on the eastern coast of North America in the seventeenth century.

² James Axtell, *The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 284.

Acculturation does not mean completely giving up one culture and replacing it with another. Instead, it means to assimilate or take on the traits of another culture while not giving up one's own culture, or in this specific case, as Axtell puts it, "Indian *means* were simply borrowed and adapted to English *ends*." The missionaries remained at heart New Englanders yet were influenced and affected by the Spokane culture. The Tshimakain missionaries wore Spokane moccasins for the same reasons that English colonists had worn Atlantic Coast Indian moccasins, to protect their feet and keep them warm in the absence of hard-soled shoes. Like their European ancestors who had colonized the East Coast, the Walkers and Eells used Indian ways "not because they were Indian but because they *worked*." Axtell went on to explain that such ways "were not borrowed in cultural context, as parts of larger, integrated complexes. They were taken piecemeal, while the native values, functions, and structures that surrounded them were ignored."³ The Walkers and Eells had not come with the idea of adopting the cultural ways of the Spokane; they had come with quite the opposite in mind. Yet, when push came to shove, they choose precisely what elements of the Spokane culture they would adapt to their own needs. The same was true of the Spokane when they adapted American ways into their culture. Humans all over the world have survived by adapting to the environments in which they live.

A true test of what the missionaries learned from the Spokane was what pieces the Eells and Walkers held on to when their environment changed. Their move from Tshimakain to Oregon City involved a significant cultural shift. In the ten years since the Walkers and Eells had arrived in the Oregon Country much had changed. By 1848, life in the Willamette Valley could be lived much as it was in New England. Mary continued

³ Axtell, *The European and the Indian*, 285. The italics are Axtell's.

to keep her journal sporadically after leaving the mission field, and from her entries written in the months after the two families moved to Oregon City, it is apparent that a number of adjustments had to be made by the ex-missionaries. Firstly, the missionary families needed money. They had no food stores, no land, no savings, and only the material goods they carried with them. In Oregon City, the missionaries had to pay rent, buy food, and purchase American style clothing so that they could fit into society. The older children entered formal schools and churches for the first time.⁴ There was significant social pressure to conform to cultural norms that the children had only second-hand knowledge of. Mary's journal entries record a flurry of clothes making and purchasing as well as the purchase of such things as pocket knives for the boys. Moccasins gave way to leather button-up boots, and buckskin leggings were replaced with woolen trousers. The children's playmates were now white English speakers, which in Cyrus' case resulted in a number of fights as he adjusted to the new norms. Initially, their daily pattern was disturbed by the need for money. Elkanah and Cushing became wage laborers instead of ministers. Instead of their lives revolving around morning and evening religious services, they were buffeted by what work the men could get on a day-to-day basis. With time, the Eells and Walkers became acculturated, but there was a significant period of adjustment for the families.

Still, the missionaries held on to some of their Spokane ways. Mary continued to trade with Indians to get berries and roots and domestic help. She and Abigail repaired moccasins. As is evidenced by the collection at WSU, Mary used Indian baskets for the rest of her life. Without use, the Spokane language began to fade in their minds, though over the years Elkanah and Cushing were able to piece together enough words to

⁴ Cyrus had attended school at Waiilatpu briefly.

communicate with visiting Spokans and decades later Cyrus Walker could still remember a few words of the language he had learned as a child. Their interest in the welfare of the Spokane never waned though their ability to directly aid them was limited. Their experiences on the Columbia Plateau forever influenced the lives of the Eells and Walkers.

The material changes the missionaries underwent are easy to document. It is the changes in their attitudes and ways of thinking that are hard to pinpoint. Their actions in later years prove they sought to better the lives of Indians as the American culture engulfed them. The missionaries continued to meet with and minister to Indians for the rest of their lives. They helped to establish a vocational school for Indians at which some Spokane children received an education. Further evidence of an effect on the missionaries is that their children went on to work closely with Indian tribes throughout the Pacific Northwest. The parents passed on to their children a respect for Indians and their cultures as well as a sense of responsibility to do what they could to help these displaced peoples.

What made it possible for the missionaries to adopt the lifeways of the Spokane? First, the Tshimakain Mission Station's isolation meant the Eells and Walkers were immersed in the Spokane culture. During their ten years as missionaries, none of them returned East or even visited the burgeoning settlements at Vancouver or Oregon City. This drastically restricted their contact with their home culture. Myra and Mary were extremely isolated, leaving the mission station on average once a year. They were also cut off from accustomed foodstuffs, clothing, and household items. Without such material goods, the missionaries had to use whatever was on hand. The lengthy delay in

correspondence from the East also created cultural and personal isolation. Yet at the same time, the lack of others to judge them may have freed the missionaries to make the cultural changes that were necessary to survive both physically and emotionally on the frontier. With no alternatives, the Tshimakain missionaries were sometimes forced by necessity to adopt the ways of the Spokane.

The American Board's policy that their missionaries had to be self-sufficient also encouraged the missionaries to adopt the ways of the Spokane. The Board had neither funds nor volunteers to send to the Tshimakain missionaries. In their absence, the Walkers and Eells had to depend on the Spokane to support them with the labor required to make a home on the frontier. With more money the missionaries could have bought more supplies from the HBC. With layworkers from New England, the missionaries would have had more hands to do the labor of carving an American home out of the forest. But with only two male missionaries who were poor farmers to do the work, they had to rely on the labor of hired Indians to produce food and make shelters for their families. The climate made it difficult to cultivate an American-style garden and without funds to buy foodstuffs from the HBC, the Eells and Walkers came to depend more and more on the berries and roots harvested by local Indians to supplement their diet. Because of insufficient support from the ABCFM, the missionaries relied on the Spokane to help them live along Chamokane Creek.

The third thing that made it possible for the Tshimakain missionaries to adopt the lifestyle of the Spokane was the attitudes of all of those involved. The Spokane were willing to share their knowledge and material goods, while the missionaries were willing to accept their help. Often the missionaries paid for the assistance of the Spokane, but the

price was decided upon through fair negotiations and compromise. The missionaries were not so die-hard as to refuse to wear Indian clothing or eat Indian food when the alternative was nakedness and starvation. There is evidence that even before they ventured west the missionaries were less prejudiced than their contemporaries. The fact that they gave up their comfortable homes in New England to help people they had never met in a land far from civilization shows that they were open-minded. While they were wearing Spokane clothing, the missionaries did not require the Spokane to give up their traditional clothing or cut their hair to look like white men. The missionaries even made a moral compromise that temporarily allowed the Spokane members of their congregation to continue to practice polygamy though it was against Congregational and United States law. The attitudes of the Scqesciobni were also important to the process. They could have picked up and moved away, completely avoiding the missionaries if they had wished, but instead they stuck by the missionaries through the good times and bad, times of accord and times of contention. Their willingness to teach and work with the missionaries made it possible for Tshimakain Station to stay open for nearly a decade. Both parties, in their own ways, were liberal and tolerant of the other and this made cultural exchange possible.

Although these two missionary families did not immediately change the outcome of the missionary work on the Columbia Plateau, what they did among the Spokane at least reveals an important aspect of the cultural exchange that existed between Plateau peoples and missionaries. The relationship between the Tshimakain missionaries and the Spokane was an exception to the rule that says Protestant missionaries in the West had poor relations with native peoples. It is true that the Tshimakain missionaries did not

convert even one Spokane to the Congregational Church, but in the decades following their departure numerous Spokans became followers of the Protestant faith and established churches on and near the Spokane Reservation. The Spokane never perpetrated any acts of violence against the Tshimakain missionaries, while other Indian peoples reacted with hostility to missionaries elsewhere. The Tshimakain missionaries did not encourage white settlement in the region as other missionaries did. The Walkers and Eells did promote agriculture amongst the Spokane partly because individual Spokans asked for such instruction and partly to prepare the Spokane for the inevitable day when white settlers would enter their valley and forcibly change the Spokane's way of life. The truth is that these people from two different cultures for a time willingly exchanged ideas incorporating what was useful to them into their own lives.

The fact that some missionaries refused to accept the lifeways of Indians does not change the fact that the Walkers and Eells did. That a few tribes had violent reactions to missionaries does not wipe out the fact that the Spokane did not. The relationship that the Spokane and the Tshimakain missionaries had establishes the positive spirit of some who lived on the Columbia Plateau. The missionary period was not completely filled with victims and darkness as some historians would lead us to believe, but at times involved people who reached out to one another in friendship with the goal of improving the world they lived in. Incorporating the details of what happened at the Tshimakain Mission Station into the history of the Columbia Plateau gives a more balanced and truer vision of the missionary era than is presently circulating. Holding the Tshimakain Mission up as a representative of the era to the exclusion of others would be as wrong as focusing solely on the Whitman Massacre, as some do. Looking at both stories, as well as a plethora of

other stories that involve other native peoples and denominations, demonstrates that the missionary era was a multifaceted, complicated time on the Columbia Plateau with numerous players with varying motivations and ultimately differing outcomes.

APPENDIX I

Excerpt from Dr. David Greene's Farwell Speech

The following speech was given by Dr. David Greene during a farewell service held in New York City on the eve of the Walkers and Eells' departure for the West. The date was March 18, 1838, and overall is an interesting document outlining what little was known about the West. The first half of the speech is a description of the route the missionaries would take as well as a grand telling of the environment and climate they would encounter once they reached their destination. For our purposes, I will skip over these sections and only transcribe the last half of the speech which reveals the mindset of the missionaries as they went forth into a foreign land. The full text can be read online at Google Books. "Mission to the Indians West of the Rocky Mountains," *The Missionary Herald*, no. 34 (1838): 280-283.

MISSION TO THE INDIANS WEST OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS

(We pick up the speech following a brief history of Euro-American activity in the Oregon Country.)

Within the last few years a new interest seems to be awakened among our citizens in regard to this extensive and important country; and probably, if the political relations of it were settled definitely, colonies would be established there with little delay. But by a convention made in the year 1818, between the British government and that of the United States, and renewed in 1827, it was agreed that the territory west of the mountains should be left open to the citizens of both nations for the space of ten years. That period has now expired without a renewal of the stipulation, or any arrangements having been made by either government for taking a more formal possession, or exercising jurisdiction over the disputed territory. What the resolutions recently introduced into our own Congress may result in is uncertain. There can be little doubt, however, that at no distant day flourishing settlements, the germs of a great and powerful nation, will be seen scattered along the shores of the Pacific, and through the fertile valleys of the interior. The mildness of the climate, the fertility of the soil, and the abundance and variety of its productions, the forest of valuable timber which abound along the coast, the excellent fish which fill the rivers, and the openings for trade, especially for the productions of such a country, which abound in almost every part of the Pacific and Indian oceans, obviously mark out this territory as the seat of a nation of great commercial importance.

But it is the aboriginal population of this territory in which you are specially interested, and to whose benefit you are consecrating your lives. The Committee call your attention to the natural features and capabilities of the country, to the attractions which it holds out to enterprising foreign settlers, to its political relations, and the prospect of its future importance as embracing a commercial and powerful nation, for the purpose of pressing on your minds the more deeply the critical situation of the present occupants of the soil, and leading you to make more prompt and strenuous exertions, and to offer more fervent prayers, that the gospel may have free course among them before the intercourse of unprincipled men shall corrupt them by their vices, or the grasping

hand of avarice shall despoil them of their lands, and either exterminate them at once, or by successive steps, perfidiously drive them, filled with prejudice against all who bear the name of white men, back to the mountain fastnesses, almost inaccessible to christian benevolence.

Respecting most of the tribes occupying the country to which you are destined, we possess little information worthy to be relied upon. When first visited, in 1790, the country, especially along the coast, was regarded as being populous for an Indian country; and though the numbers were undoubtedly diminished by the wars provoked by the traders, and by the diseases, the murderous weapons, and the more murderous liquors, which were introduced among them from this source, yet large tribes were then found along the shores. Lewis and Clarke, however, suppose that at least fifteen years earlier than the date first named, the small-pox, that destroyer of every savage people which it visits, and which is even now said to be depopulating whole tribes east of the mountains, had swept over most of these western tribes. The old Indians, scarred by the disease, told the mournful tale, and pointed out the ruins of villages, then visible, which had been thus unpeopled. These explorers enumerate thirty-nine tribes, which they visited, or of which they received accounts, embracing in all about 80,000 souls. This estimate probably embraced but a part of the tribes occupying the country west of the mountains, which is usually regarded as belonging to the United States; and with respect to the numbers of these, can be considered but an approximation to the truth.

The Rev. Mr. Parker, who visited the country two years ago, under the direction of the Board, mentions nineteen tribes residing between the mountains and the falls of the Columbia, embracing about 20,000 souls; and between thirty and forty bands below the falls, and stretching along the coast between the forty-second and fifty-fifth parallels of latitude, numbering about 36,000; making the whole Indian population between those parallels, and west of the mountains, about 56,000. But in these estimates also, nothing more than an approximation to accuracy can be expected. All recent travelers agree that six or eight years ago another wasting disease swept along the coast, cutting down from one half to three quarters of many tribes, and leaving others almost extinct. The terrible disease which is now raging among the tribes on the head waters of the Missouri, and northerly towards lake Winnepeg, according to recent intelligence, which appears to be entitled to credit, has probably proved fatal to 25,000 of these neglected and injured men, sweeping them from their beautiful prairies by thousands at a stroke. The overflowing scourge is now passing through, and who can tell where it shall be stayed? What the Lord proposes to do with this unhappy race is known only to him. He brought us to their shores, bearing in our hands the gospel, and all the other means requisite to secure to them intelligence and happiness in this life, and holiness and salvation in the life to come; he has kept them lying as it were at our doors for two centuries; given us access to them and influence over them, to see whither we would stretch forth our hand to befriend and save them and after waiting long, and seeing that, excepting a few feeble and intermitted efforts, we have done nothing but defraud, and oppress, and waste them, he seems now to be taking from us the opportunity of performing this work of mercy, and is calling them to the judgment, not to testify to our beneficence and paternal care, but to our persevering indifference and wrongs. Never did another Christian people have so noble a race of savage men placed so within their reach and control, to whom they might impart the blessings of civilization and Christianity, and whom they might *preserve to all future*

ages, a monument of the elevating and improving tendency of their arts, and the purifying and saving efficacy of their religion. How have we executed this philanthropic trust? Go back and search for the many tribes which covered New England and the Middle and Southern States two centuries ago, and which by contact with us have vanished from the earth like the morning dew, --and there find a reply. Instead of remaining, honorable monuments of our good faith and guardian care, the story of their wrongs and extermination must go down to all future ages, a memorial of our perfidy and abuse. What true friend of his country but must weep at the thought, how great our honor might have been, and how great our shame is!

But, even at this late day, we must do what we can. A few remain. Let us, as far as possible, make amends for past neglect, by increased exertions in future. If they are all to be hurried from the earth, and after an age or two more, not a tribe is to remain, let us offer Christ and salvation to as many as we can reach, hoping to prepare a remnant, at least, to enter a better land above, and thus mitigate the curse which impends over us for our past injustice and neglected duty.

But it is said daily, Do what you will for the Indian, he will be an Indian still. If it is meant that their habits and character cannot be changed in a year, or completely in a single generation, it may be true; and so it is true of every other race of men. But if it be meant that a persevering course of kindness and instruction will not effect this change, the implied charge is both unphilosophical and unchristian, and it is in opposition to historical facts. What band of savage men were ever more rapidly and thoroughly transformed in character and habits, than Elliot's colony at Natick? The Stockbridge Indians, a large portion of the Senecas and Tuscaroras, the Cherokees and the Choctaws, are living examples of this transformation. Men who bring this charge, expect too much, and expect it too soon; without reflecting how entire the change must be, in taste, estimates of things, habits, prejudices and prepossessions; and without reflecting how ill-adapted, inadequate, and intermitted have been the means used to effect the change. It is fairly questionable whether any race of men were ever more able to understand the disadvantages of their own habits and manner of life, or more ready to adopt a change which appeared to them practicable, than are the North American Indians.

APPENDIX II

Scqesciobni Translations

When the Walkers and Eells attempted to transform Scqesciobni into a written language they had many challenges. Not being trained linguists topping the list. Over the last few decades an amazing amount of progress has been made in the recovery and recording of Interior Salish languages. In 1989, Barry Carlson and Pauline Flett published the first modern Spokane-English dictionary. Since then Tachini Pete has published an English-Salish dictionary. Both texts are great sources for those wishing to learn Interior Salish. The problem with looking at the original translations made by the missionaries in the 1840s is that they were playing with a different set of rules. The Tshimakain missionaries were following Pickering's lead, while modern linguists have a whole new standard to represent the variety of sounds included in Salish. A further challenge when looking at these documents is that the Tshimakain missionaries were translating the Scqesciobni sub-dialect of Spokane which is a dialect of Interior Salish. I am including a transcription of the different materials that the Walkers and Eells translated hoping that someone with more knowledge of linguistics can translate the missionaries' words into modern Salish and English.

The Spokane Primer or Etshiit Thlu Sitskai Thlu Siais Thlu Sitskaisitlinish

The Spokane Primer was the only document that the Tshimakain missionaries massed produced. Over the period of a week, the book was printed on a small press at the Lapwai Mission Station. Henry Spalding, who had experience with the press, was to do the printing for Elkanah, but he was ill and so Elkanah, with the assistance of an Indian, did the publishing himself. Mary considered the results to be "a marvellous little book" despite the fact that "there are misprints" due to Elkanah's lack of expertise as a printer. (*On to Oregon*, 241.) The original was consisted of sixteen pages, each of which contained only 2¾ x 3¾ inches of typed material. What follows is a simulation of the original formatting of the book.

Page 1

Etshiit Thlu Sitskai Thlu Siais Thlu Sitskaisitlinish. Lapwai: 1842.

Page 2

Key to the alphabet

A pronounced as *a* *o* and *n* in the following words:-father, hall, man, what, not and hut.

E pronounced as *a* in hate and *e* in men.

I " as *e* in we and *i* in pin.

O " as *o* in note.

U " as *oo* in moon.

The following are pronounced as in English:- Y B D F G H J K L M N P R S T V
W Z.

AI pronounced as *i* in pine.

AU “ as *ou* in our.

IU “ as *u* in pure.

C “ as *tsh*.

A E I O U Y B C D F G

H J K L M N P R S T V

W Z

a e i o u y b c d f g h j k

l m n p r s t v w z.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 30 40

Page 3

SIAIS I

Tam	Taks	Ta	Tats
Taps	Sa	She	Sits
Sha	Si	Sub	Sakh
Pi	Naks	Paks	Aks
Naks	Thlut	Thlu	Thlaks
Juds	Sut	Lnt	Kalts
Kais	Kailt	Kluh	Kwant
Kis	Malt	Saulk	Spum
Kots	Kos	Ko	Nam
Ma	Skwest	Pus	Ki
Sups	Paits	Kwiks	Kwin
Paps	Kwaps	Thlaps	Kaks
In	Em	Ets	Es
Thlak	Ci	Ca	Cat
Cim	Kin		

Inko Esel Celes Mus Silikst Takanikst
Sispilc Haanam Hahanut Opinikst
Cinaks Cisel Cikekeles Cimusams Kitsil--
silikst Kitakanikst Kisilpilc Cihaanam Ci-
hahanut Ciopinikst.

Pin u she Putu she Thlu pi acan?
Thlu kasipi. Nam kasipi. Tam yetlhwa.

Page 4

SIAIS II.

Coshim	simthlik	Hailip
Pu tu	su et	stu lu

sits kai	Kwam kan	Ni wals
stem ish	Mul ish	Ta kwai
It si	I thlu	Kwai nah
I cu	Pi stem	Pi selt
Pis let	Kwit unt	Au ent
Si pi	Kwats kan	I tish
I tish	I tuk	Lukwa
Ho pit	Ya yat	Kwit sik
Kai im	Si tuh	Sit sam
spil kain	shil im	shil ap

SIAIS. III

Ko ku sam	sit si malt	sas kle hum
Ta pa min	Ta pin tam	Ta pin sut
Ci pik lau sam	Ats ska hai tin	Lu lu ish
Cis u lau	In ta kus	An a wi
Kak ai ik	Po ti lish	Ets cats aus
su pu lau	Hwa ko min	Nin ci min

Ceks hatish tamisai. Hois kwiks hat--
esh eshwalithwa. Thlu anas hatish eshwa-
qithwa. Kaks inhoim. Kaks alip. Putlams.

Page 5

SIAIS IV.

HOHWIWETS THLU MIAPELAS.

Imilakwa thlia stulu. Etskitsunakh. In-
ikwaskat thlu etshilkikiks thlia stulu
kwempt eltenkitshinsinsut. kwempt tilisha
owets hailish u aps halhalt uaps skokwai-
ats. In halhalt thlu aks cikolimen. In
skwokwaiats kwa kwaits siitshish; nathli
icim thlithlu in skwokwaiats: uthlu ishal-
halt nathli ihal. Cam thlia haist; uthlu
taia. Klami kwi taia. Puti klamai kwi
kwaukot. Puti haist. Ihaist. Nakwa
tams haist. Thlu taia. Kluh hois. kla-
mi ki eltamish. Taks tams. Ko eltams
Hau cicasia? Tama haist. hau iapiaut?
Sa taia. Mena cicet? Etshwa lekut.
Mena papahat? Etshwa i kwau.

Page 6

SIAIS V.

Pin koyia kin hasilsut. wanawi kwi
cisilisut. Uts pul skinkint lup skailu?

Tama pap spupuus: ep spuus thlaxsl in papahatin. Tam akl in kwaukotin' Tama? uts thlu hwihwaulth? Tamsa nakwa skailu, Paits ci stemamish? Kwaits ci semish? Tam sa; ki es klaskahaiish. Hoiwi o koskahaiiwi. Hois o koskahaiish. Hois klaskahaiish. Hois sihaskahaiish. Klami ilisha metstapapstap. Klami ilisha metstapapstau. Lekan wets stepsapstau? Lekan ustepapstap? Tica thlu o kai stepapstam. Pistem was etskai? Piselt wistkai Utsam koh shintau? Nam shinsin. Kluh nam kai shishe. Kluh shanthlulet.

Page 7

SIAIS VI.

Ta kaks hois ahai kaik shanthlulit.

Wa nah em taks tams; kaks hois.

Pistem thlu skailu ust timawalish thlu skailtiks thlut stipais? Kwas kutlent tan shilimin? Kwas amtam eks siitlin? Tent suet aks tumisti as sitsam? Tam. Is kakitsan. Mena tilihwals? etshwa katlinun

Stem thlats ats am? Ta. Tamkis ithlu.

Tats mistan. Ma she kwilihop! In stem aks tumistis yia? Naks spuus anawi. Ta kinap spuus. Hoi kwalikwa(?)t.

Kwis suplamistam ceks hoish ticathlu. Tickan kin shistaks? Ticasha kwiks in shistakish. Klami eltpilcminstakwi.

Mil haist thlu Kaikolinsutin. Taia thlu kai skailu. Etsintelsis okai hwillhwet.

Etsintelsis okai kelil. She thlu nah in telsi thlu Kaikolensutin etsia sasip.

Page 8

SIAIS VII

(picture of a sailing ship)

TET U IT

Kaks citlkaiim thlu tetuit thlu kapi tklu in kai stulu;okai suentam wa puti itetuit kla kwempt hashaisaktish in spuus Kwept shinilts hwaiit thlu ult kathts.

She thlu stetaautish.

Thlu in sinkalkatis thlu liaus thln nepl silsil. Kwempt etshamankims thlu epsilsil

thlutiliaus. Wa thlu inkwalak kwempt etshita kwitunt hamani thlu epsilsil thluti laus Kwempt hwitlsiltam thlithlu shillmin thlut liaus. Kwempt hwistiliwist thlithlu tetuit etshilimish. Thlu hamani thlutiliaus kwempt shiltas. Etshwistilwis thlu liaus u wikis thlu etshilimish. Kwempt thlithlu inult in situhs sultumish kwempt sutis; suet thlu shilintas thlu etshita? Kwempt sutis thlithlu etsia utl kathts,

Page 9

Tam kainpila. Kempt suntam thlu stetautish thlutiliaus, anawia. Kwempt thlu stetautish; hau ceksyakwistish. Nathli is ets inhailam thlu eks siyakwist kwempt hol she u sutish koyia kinapshilap

Kwempt lampt thlu spuus thlu liaus nathli tats yakwisast thlu skosaalts.

Kwempt hoi potilish: kwempt thlithlu tetuit; kwempt, kwitunt ilimihum. kwemps Kwempt she thlu etshailt kai liau kai suapish.

STA MAL TISH

Kaks citlkaiim thlu stamaltish. Ep spum thlu stamaltish. Ikwiakwa thlu kwitlet. Ipakapiak thlu kwitlet. Iklcitcatlu thlu kwitlet. Etskaikaialu thlu kwitlet. Eplkahamin. Iiultpilishkin u wishwishshinalishkin. Kahakwiapiliskin u hwi hwitsupilishkin.

She thlu haist ikwikwipilishkin thlu sutlimapilishkin. She thlu haist thlu kaha-mish thlu stamaltish suwishimin.

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SIAIS VIII

Pililt thlu katist thlu stamaltish. Haist kakaishinalu nathli kasipi tas timawaliish nathli klitalu Wa haist inshithlakham thlu stamaltish ush skaiams thlu imil haist. Haist thlu skaiam in etsia kituntsintin thlu ko etsiitlin.

Puti nah kai sitsimalt o kaits sustam

thlu skaiam kwempt ka kwamaksmentam
Kwempt tilshe opantik ka hamanik.
She lakl juds thluk skailu ilishe em kwi
kaits ahailish. Tent skaiam uts kol tak-
kitsinuh.

SIAIS IX

Wikis thlu Kaikolensutin thlu in etsa-
moka thlut Mosis. Ilisha kwitunt etsin-
hailams thlut Mosis. Hols haist thlu
Kaikolensutin.

Wa kla citlkolaisis thlu spuus thlu Mo-
sis u puti tats estams kwaukots. Ma
tasap sitskai thlu Kaikolensutin thlu in
Mosis nathli thlu iputu ushe kwempt haist

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KAIKOLENSUTINS SITSKAI

(picture of an open Bible with a bird hovering over it)

Ma she ta kakl inhwilhwiltin thlu sits-
kai. o kakl suksinsutin tica kakl inhwil-
hwiltin. Sakh kwi nah sitskai thlu kakl
inhwilhwiltin sakh taks hwilhwilt thlu Mo-
sis Wa tam katl inhwilhwiltis thlu sits-
kai o hamaniks thlut Mosis nathli kais
insuklulitis tica kaks inhwilhwiltin tica in-
owist o wets musilis thlu Mosis thlu hwil-
hwilts tam hols cocomult tam hols haistish
pin nathli klats mistas thlu nanawis thlu

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kilshitam thlut Jisas Kaaist.

SIAIS X

Shim ilimihumthlu Mosis thlutent sini.
kwailus. Nathli sits intels Kaikolensutin
u ilimihum u thlu Mosis. Hols etskas-
hwapalems hols etspakams thlus inkwail.
us hol she us intels thlu Kaikolensutin
katl ilimihumish thlu Mosis

Thlu ta suet nathli sits intels thlut Kai-
kolensutin. Ma sakh she thlu kaits pa-
kam thlus inikwailus. Tam hols hwait-
amish thlu inshithlaksam uts sits intels

thlu Kaikolensutin in cinaks em katl ilimihum. Tam hols hashaisinimistam thlut sinkwailus u ilimihum thlu Mosis pin hols sotsoistas thlus inkwailus u pakams. Hols paks haits thlus inkwailus

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tica Kaikolensutin Suet thlu nah ilimihum em tats pakams thlus inkwailus wa na sutis thlu skailu she thlithlu ilimihum u tats pakams thlus inikwailus kwempt ta kaits hait ta Mosis.

SIAIS XI

Thlu in etshiit thlaks kolis thlu Kaikolensutin etsmilukumulau etscimilukumas-kat Kwampt icim etsia thlu in citlkaitik.

puti thlu ilisha etsia itsiutsi etswiskolis.

Tap intilshatis thlu skailu. Kwempt nau hwihwaiult taps intilshatis tats hampulau thlu puti inasilau

Kwempt sits intels Kaikolensutin wiamilish thlu saulk naks hampulauish kwempt tilisha us ahailish kwempt iwinu thlu malt. Kwempt intels thlu Kaikolensutin aks eselish thlu ihal inko katl ilimihum cihalhalt inko in skwokwaiats. Kwempt tili-

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sha us etsahailish

Kwempt intels thlu Kaikolensutin aks skwaamish thlu esilsil iliult thlu etsilyil kwempt kwapsiakalkish kwempt supulau

Puti wiskolis etsia tica inowist thlu in stulu in saulk ta kwempt suhkwalakams Kwempt es sutis kaks kolam thlu skailu kaks taauentlis

Kwempt kolentam cinaks skaltimihu thlutent malt. Cam thlu skaitiks thlu kol thlutent malt Sinpispisaktis uts thluinsutam kwempt tiwish sinhapaus o kwempt hwilhwilt Nathli tent Kaikolensutin kai tiwish sinhapaus thlu kai skailu nathli tas kelil Kaikolensutin kwempt tas kelil thlu kai sinhapaus

Puti etskolis thlu skaltimihu u kla au-

is thlaks skwest Adam Tam hais eks cina-
naks thlithlu Kwempt iapitsistam

Kwempt intels thlu Kaikolensutin ko-
listam katl kinsutis inko kup spuams
Kwempt sits intels aks itsish kwempt
kwitunt its thlu Adam kwempt kwailtam
thlu inkwalak thlu calps kwempt tilisha
o kolentam simam katl nathnohs

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SIAIS X.II

Kwempt hwitsiltam thlu Adam. Kwempt
kolentam thlut Kaikolensutin thlaks in-
kwalkatis kwaish thlu cisel tica sinkwal-
katin kwempt tilisha u inshithlak-
sam thlu spiakalk kwempt sunam thlu ci
sel etsia thlia aks itlinamp cam yia in-
kwalak thluetshita taks ithlintap is cikhai-
napila.

SIAIS XII

Kwempt ikitameiu thlithlu cisel. Wa ili-
sha owets ahailt o tas es saash. Puti
thlts haist thlithlu cisel. Kwempt tats mi-
stas thlu taia. Hai kwempt tilisha u citl-
auauokunam thlutent taia.

Was cikhainapilentam wa suntam she
thlu nah itlintap pi kelil. Wa yia thlus
kwalkwailt thlu Kaikolsutin kwempt tas
saunahs. Hai kwempt ithlis. Hai tilisha
o kwaukotam thlu spuus. Thlut siutsi it-
sithlis us haist thlu spuus. Put inko es
halhalimist o tilisha o kwaukotam thlu spu-

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ns. Nathli ilishe sets ahailt thlu spuus thlu
Adam kwempt kwitunt kwaukot thlu skai-
lu nathli kaimilkamstam thlu etsia cicik-
hainapila thlut Kaikelensutin u ta kaisau-
nas. In etsia o ka halimistamin in cicik
hainapila.

SIAIS

Tam piks nakominwauish thluk skailu.
Tam kwiks hathatsimish thluk skailu.
Tam kwiks siyakwisti thluk skailu.
Tam kwiks sinakwisti.
She thlia es kwalikwailts Kaikolensutin
Taks tam. She thlu na tamtams thluk
skailu nam tica ulip kwiks tahalus.
HAISTAMS.

First Four Chapters of the Gospel of Matthew

The following is taken from Clifford Drury's *Elkanah and Mary Walker: Pioneers Among the Spokanes*. It appears in Appendix 3, pages 270-274. The first part is a note written by Myron Eells and included with the original which is housed at Whitman College in Walla Walla, Washington.

A Translation of the Gospel according to Matthew from the original Greek into the Flathead language by Rev. Elkanah Walker Missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, in accordance with a vote of the Oregon Mission passed at a meeting holden May 1845.

Jan. 1st 1846

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. MATTHEW

CHAP. I

1. Tlu kaiamintin tlu tshapaustin tlu Jesus Christ, tlu is skosa, tlu David, tlu is skosa tlu Abraham.
2. Kwempt tint Abraham o kolel tlu Isaac; kwempt tint Isaac o kolel tlu Jacob; kwempt tint Jacob o kolel tlu Judas ult sensas;
3. Kwempt Judas o kolel tlu Phares kwempt Zara tlutint Thamar; kwempt tint Phares o kolel tlu Esrom; kwempt tint Esrom o kolel tlu Aram;
4. Kwempt Aram o kolel tlu Aminadab; kwempt Aminadab o kolel tlu Nassom; kwempt tint Nassom Salmon;
5. Kwempt tint Salmon o kolel tlu Booz tlutint Rechab; kwempt Booz o kolel tlu Obed tlutint Ruth; kwempt tint Obed o kolel tlu Jesse.
6. Kwempt Jesse o kolel tlu David ilimihum; kwempt tint David ilimihum; o kolel tlu Solomon nahanah ti Urias;
7. Kwempt tint Solomon o kolel tlu Roboam; kwempt tint Roboam o kolel tlu Abia; kwempt tint Abia o kolel tlu Asa;
8. Kwempt tint Asa o kolel tlu Josaphat; kwempt Josaphat o kolel tlu Joram; kwempt o kolel tlu Ozias;

9. Kwempt tint Ozias o kolel tlu Joatham; kwempt tint Joatham o kolel tlu Achaz; kwempt tint Achaz o kolel tlu Ezekias;
10. Kwempt tint Ezekias o kolel tlu Manapes; kwempt tint Manapes o kolel tlu Amon; kwempt Amon o kolel tlu Josias;
11. Kwempt tint Josias o kolel tlu Jechonias ulth sensas put ahailim o kwanhantam titsha Babylon;
12. Put etsinsheish tlu in Babylon tint Jechonias o kolel Salathiel; kwempt tint Salathiel o kolel tlu Zorobabel;
13. Kwempt tint Zorobabel o kolel tlu Abiud; kwempt Abiud o kolel tlu Eliakim; kwempt tint Eliakim o kolel tlu Azor;
14. Kwempt tint Azor o kolel tlu Sadoc; kwempt tint Sadoc o kolel tlu Achim; kwempt Achim o kolel tlu Eliud;
15. Kwempt tint Eliud o kolel tlu Eleazar; kwempt tint Eleazar o kolel tlu Natthan; kwempt tint Natthan o kolel tlu Jacob;
16. Kwempt tint Jacob o kolel tlu Joseph plus hailuis tlu Mary o telisha titakwaitamintim tlu Jesus tlok skwest tlu Christ.
17. Tlutint Abraham o kwempt hui ints David opinekst tshapaustin elt mis tshapaustin; tlutint David o kwempt houistim titsha Babylon opinekst tshapaustin elt mis tshapaustin; tlutint hoistim titsha Babylon o kwempt houi Christ opinekst tshapaustin elt mis tshapaustin.
18. Yellau kaits a hailish o titakwaitamintam tlu Jesus Christ; puti eksintuh sinshitish tlu Mary plus skois tlu in Joseph; itsiutse etsninahaus, o kla etsintakwaitish tlutint Holy Ghost.
19. Kwempt Joseph plus hailuis itoh tlu spuus, taks inmiapsin plus intels u wakwintam o kwailintam.
20. Put etstshitelpahantam tlu ilisha em kaitsahailt, ma, kikimitsas tlu ilimihum in siits o kitsintam u suntun Joseph skoksaalt tlu David, taks inhailamintu, kwantu tlu Mary akl nakanah, wa kla etsintakwaitish, nathletint Holy Spirit u etsintakwaitish.
21. Nathli nam titakwaitamintam nam auis tlok skwest tlu Jesus nathli ak hwilahwiltam plus inakwailus tlutint skwauskwots.
22. Nathli kla etskwalakwalt tlu suhamipinumps tlu ilimihaum, ilisha o kaitsihailishaks inshistusish.
23. Sutish, ma, tlu stitshimish etsintakwaitish, kwempt titakwaitam, tehwis skoksaalt, kwempt auis tloks skwest Emmanuel, tloks inamitsinish Jehovah etsinsheish in kainpila.
24. Kwempt kailt tlu Joseph, o kwempt inshistusish plus kwalilikwalts plus kikimitsas tlu ilimihum.
25. Kwempt ta miptuauhamis tlu skailtik kwempt titakwaitam tlu in sasitsi tehwis tlu skoksaalt kwempt auis tlok skwest Jesus.

CHAP. II

1. Titakwaitamintam tlu Jesus tlu Bethlehem tlu Judea, put ilisha ilimihum tlu Herod, ma tshihuimintam tlu pahpaht tlutint skwitliptin titsha Jerusalem.
2. U sutish, lekan o titakwaitamintam tlok ilimihum tlu Jews, nathli tlu in skwitliptin o kai wikiltam tlu kokusams, kwempt kaits hui u kaks aus kwitisam.

3. Kwempt sauna tlu Herod tlu ilimihum o etspusilues kwempt etsea tlu Jerusalem in tshinitts.
4. Kwempt hailotis tlu etsea tlu tshimaks tlu suhinayim u suhkaiim u sultumish, lekan tlakl inakolitis tlu Christ.
5. Kwempt suntim tlu in Bethlehem tlu Judea, nathli kla etskwalikwalts tlu suhmipinump.
6. Anawi kwi Bethlehem tlu in sinhaulau tlu in Judea tam anawi ko milth kakauma tlu in silimihum, nahli tin anawi milimihum metskaitsakwapala tlis inakwailu.
7. Tlu Herod inawakwitsintam hailotis tlu pahpaht, kwempt mimit aksaums. Putu pistem o wikintip tlu kokusam.
8. Kwempt kulstam titsha Bethlehem. U suntim huish tshihuiminti hashais akstamintap klukluusintap she tlu na wikintap em taam ko epmimishitap em koia kin hui nauk tsheks aus kwitasish.
9. Kwempt sauna tlu ilimihum kwempt hui ma tlu kokusam kla wikintam tint skwitlipton o nauk elt wikintim kwempt etshiit kikhuimintam put tlu in skinawistamust u tashalish.
10. Kwempt wikintam tlu kokusam kwempt katunt lamplamintam.
11. Kwempt inapilish tlu in situs kwempt wikintam tlu autalt tlu in skois tlu in Mary u tallamis u tshauam kwempt terantas thus skwailt tlu skamnilisut u hwitsilam tlu kokweret tlu frankincense tlu myrrh (hassalk)
12. Kwempt etsinsa lankintam tlu in hoistakap tshihuimintam tlu Herod kwempt tilisha inakwaks o hui titsha stulus.
13. Put elt hui ma o kaisimist tlu ilimihum tlu kikimitsa o o suntim, kailt kwant tlu autalt nauh skois kwempt terokwa titsha Egypt, pantik ilisha kaits insheish nathli Herod aks klukluusams tlu autalt aks pulstams.
14. Kwempt kailt o kwais tlu autalt nauh skois in skokwaiats o imish titsha Egypt.
15. Kwempt ilisha etsinshe o kalil tlu Herod aks inshistusish thus kwaililikwailts, tlu ilimihum tlu suhmipimimps o sutish, tint Egypt o hailetis tlu is skoksaalt.
16. Kwempt Herod mipinus etsyakayakams tlut pahpaht, kwempt katun aimit kwempt kulstam aks sispinuntam etsea tlu sitsimalt tlu in Bethlehem etsea tlu etskaikai put tint asselis pantik putu ilisha o sultumish o wikintam tlu kokusam tlut pahpaht.
17. Kwempt etsinshistus thus kwalilikwailt tlu Jeremiah tlu suhmipinump u sutish.
18. Tlu in Rama ilisha u sauna katun etsaatish u etskwakwish hwal susihwilt etsaat tlu Rachel taks nastuilish tlu spuus nathli sasep tlu susihwilt.
19. Hai kalil tlu Herod ma in Egypt u kaisit, u wikis tlut Joseph tlu kikimitsas tlu ilimihum.
20. U suntim, kailtish, am kwant autalt nauh skois kwempt kwi imish titsha sinhaulau tlu Israel nathli kla kalil tlu etsklukluusish tautault aks pulstams.
21. Kwempt kailt u kwais tlu autault nauh tlu skois kwempt imish titsha sinhaulau tlu Israel.
22. Opin sauna Archelaus elt ilimihum tlu in Judea kwempt etsinhailish tlu kailt huish tlu titsha stulus pin nathli, tlu in skois insilankim tlu Jehovah u nisakam titsha sinhaulau tlu Galilee.
23. Elt kitsh kwempt ilisha etsinshe tlu in etskaikai tlu skwest, tlu Nazareth putu inshistus thus kwalilikwailt tlu suhmipinumps u sutish nam auis Nazarene.

CHAP. III

1. Putu ilisha etskitelkitsh tlu John tlu subbaptizer in tshessulau tlu in Judea tlu in etsinaukanams.
2. Kwempt sutish yamuwi nathli kla etskekiit tlok kilimhwapalish tinowist.
3. Nathli she tlus kwalilikwalt tlu Isaiah tlu suhmpinump u sutish etsukunim tlu tshinaks tlu in tshepulau inhastamaksinti tlu ilimihum, tlokl shushuelts ekslohish tlok sinhwists.
4. U she tlu John u setsam camel tlep spum kwempt siwilitshaus sipi kwempt tlu itish kwempt nauh tiptapashan tlok siitlinam.
5. Kwempt tshihumintam tint Jerusalem kwempt tetsia tlu Judea kwempt tlu in Jordan sahamsinatkwis kwempt etsia.
6. Kwempt tatshimts u baptiza...tlu in Jordan aksinamipimistish tlu in skwankwots.
7. Kwempt tawikis hwaiit tlu Pharisees Sadducees etsthiuim baptizams u p susihwilts tlu in kwailais ta suet u insilamkims u p terrokwa tlutint akl inkwakwintin.
8. Kolinti akltishudamp etsahailt ta kokaits yamish taklsut.
9. Ta paks intels kais etskwalakwaitish kailiau tlu Abraham nathli piessunim katlinuis tlu Kaikolinsutin tint shilsh u kolil tlok susihwilt tlu Abraham.
10. Kla etskitsa tlu shilamin tlu in etsilasil tlu in sohwap na kan em tas kolis tlu haist tlu spiakalt u she tlu kaits shilapish, kwempt she tlu kaits etsintskamanusish
11. Ta koia u baptizalamin tlut saulk pakaits yamish o kla kots kitamist tlu tshinaks tlu milth sisius u she tlu epin shinikinshintin u ietshaam u kwailtin, ta shinilts em baptizamin tlu itikihuksa sinhapaus tlut sorashits.
12. Kla tlu inhukwaustin nam etskilaus kwempt sispakain tlokantam tlu in situh u tlu petshkil ulintam tlu in tshikaspus.
13. Hai tint Galilee u imish tlu Jesus titsha Jordan titsha John aks baptizam. (tlus tshimts tlut John).
14. Opin John tshielhaiiamistamis u sutish sakomi tanowi o ko baptizantu a kots tshihumintu?
15. Kwempt tshitelkwanusin tlut Jesus u suntim taks tamstu nathlu sak she kwempt in etsia wi hakstohish hai kwempt taks tams.
16. Hai kwempt wis baptizantam tlut Jesus hai hui tlutint saulk ma hwal tshinets u tilipaus tlu skikimaskat kwempt wikis tlu sinhapaus tlu Jehovah kwempt stepaminsut etsahailt hatsahotsam kwempt inthlakakalish auskantam.
17. Ma kwempt etsukunim tlu tinowist u sutish ia tlu is skoksaalt in hamanik in tshinilts mi kininhaisilis.

CHAP. IV

1. Kwempt hwal shitusshintim tlut sinhapaus tlu Jesus. Tilisha etsamatalan aks milawaianim tlut devil.
2. Kwempt mislio pinekst ishhalhalt u misliopinekst skokwaiets u kwempt skamaltin.

3. Kwempt kitsintim tlut suhamilawaianim u suntim she tlu na onah skoksaalt tlu Jehovah itas kwalakwailt em kolil tlea shinsh aks kalapulautin.
4. Kwempt tshitelkwanusis u sutish kla ets kaiim tam itshimish tlu sinkwalapulau tlokl kwilahwiltis tlu Skailu o pin etsia tlu skwalakwailts o atskais tlutint spilimitsas tlu Jehovah.
5. Kwempt huistim tlut devil tlu tshinitts titsha itikikihuksa tlu etshaikai tlu in tshimakanathlu tlu (tlu) sinitshauam u tukantam.
6. Kwempt suntim she tlu na skoksaalt tlut Jehovah hui tipaminsutish nathli kla etskaiim etskitsahwapalaistlu skikimitsas kwaks kwanams in kilikals ahai kwiterakasshin.
7. Kwempt suntim tlut Jesus nauh kla etskaiim taks milawaiantu tlu an ilimihum tlu Jehovah.
8. Nauh huistim tlut Devil tlu titsha kwitanakwan kwempt sokwolauiltam etsamilakamulau kwempt tlu hasilisut.
9. Kwempt suntim she tlu na kwistalamis an kotshauantu tetsia thlia em hwitsilsin.
10. Kwempt suntim tlut Jesus huish titshasha elt huish tluk suhmilawaiim nathli kla etskaiim tshaint tlu an ilimihum tlu Jehovah itshinaks tshinelts kwakl tshinsutis.
11. Hai hwilintim tlut devil ma kwempt kitsintim tlu kikimitsa u inhastusintim.
12. Hai lashin tlu Jesus kla inluistim tlu John tlu in klitsit tlu situh u elt imish titsha Galilee.
13. Kwempt hwailintim tlu Nazareth kwempt hui kwempt etsinshe tlu in Capernaum tlu insklpitkwimatkwil intlamasanatkwis tlu in Zabulon tlu Niphthalim.
14. Aks inshistus tlus kwalilikwailts tlu Isaiah tlu suhmipinumps u sutish.
15. Sinhaulau tlu Zabulon sinhaulau tlu Nephthalim kitelthlamsinatkwil etskitelpitklamatkwi kitelkikimulau tlu Jordan (shushwilt titsha silkatkwil kikiit tlu in Jordan tlu Galilee estamnustis.)
16. Glu skailu etskaitlu in itshim u wikintim tlu Katunt ithal tlu she kolaut tlu in kikit tlu in samalakwaias tlu in kalatis u aks halapanuish kokwalanuhish.
17. Hai kwempt telisha o mimiim tlu Jesus u sutish yamuwi nathli klats kikiit tlu etskilimahwapalesh tinowist.
18. Hai etshwist tilues tlu Jesus tlu insatsin tlu in silkwatkwi tlu Galilee u wikis tlu tshesel tlu sinsaaus tlu Simon u she auis tlok skwest tlu Peter u Andrew (tlu sensas) putu etsintskamanatkams tlu haiap nathli suhkunam tlu haiap.
19. Kwempt suntim koshintap nam kolthlimin piekssuhkunam tlu in skailu.
20. Hai hwailintim tlu haiap kwempt kishintam.
21. Hai titisha hwist u nauh wikis tlu tshesel sinsaaus tlu James u John ul skosas tlu Zebedee tlu in klia o kolaut tlu in Zebedee tlu liaus etsinshinusams tlu haiap kwempt hailatis.
22. Hai hwailintim tlu klia u kwempt liaus kwempt kashentam.
23. Kwempt etshwistiluis tlu Jesus tlu in etsia tlu Galilee etsamaiams tlu in sinitshauamin kwempt mimishitam tlus hasmimist...tluts kilimhwapala kwempt pahantas tlu etsia tlu etsuwetish tlu etsia tlu etskitsanalsish tlu in skailu.

SPOKANE WORDS

Aimit—to be angry	Kwalilikwalts—to talk
Anawi—you	Kwanhantan—to carry away, to make a servant
Assel—two	Kwempt—and
Autalt—young child	Lekan (interrog.)—where, when
Elt— <i>with (?) numbers means</i> and	Ma—lo
Etsahailt—like	Mis—four
Etsea—all	Misliopinekst—forty
Etsilasil—tree	Nahanah—wife
Etskwalakwalt—to speak	Nathli—because
Etsintakwaitish—to be with child	Opinekst—ten
Etspusalues—to trouble	Pahpaht—wise
Hailatis—to call	Pantik—years
Hailuis—a husband	Pistem (interrog.)—when
Hui—to come	Pulstams—to kill
Huish—to go	Put—just
Hwaiit—a good many	Saulk—water
Hwilahwiltam—to save	Sauna—to hear
Hwitsilam—to make	Sensas—brethern
Ilimihum—king, chief	Shilamin—axe
Ilisha—there, then	Shilsh—stone
Imish—he went	Sinhaulau—land
Inakwailu—people	Sispakain—wheat
Inawakwitsintam—secretly	Sitsemalt—young children
Inhailamintu—to be afraid	Sispinuntam—to destroy
Inshistusish—to do	Situs—house
Is—his	Skamaltin—to be hungry
Ishalahalt—day	Skois—the mother <i>of a boy</i>
Kaikolinsutin—God	Skoksaalt—son
Kaimintin—book	Skokwaiets—night
Kainpela—us, we	Skokwaiats—by night
Kaitskwapala—to rule	Skosa—son
Kailiau—father	Skwest—name
Kakaumi—small	Skwitsliptin—sunrise
Kalil—to die	Skwauskwots—sins
Kikimetsas—messenger, angel	Sorashits—fire
Kitsintam—dream	Spuus—heart, sour
Kluklusams—to seek	
Koia—me	
Kokusam—star	
Kokweret—gold	
Kolel (?)—to beget	
Kulstam—to send	
Kwait—to arise	
(Kwais—took	
(Kwaist—took	

The Hymn Cushing Eells Wrote for the Spokane

Lam-a-lem, on-a-we Je-ho-vah, Kain-pe-la tas ka-leel, kait-si-ah wheel-a-wheel. Kain-pe-la ets-in-ko-nam kait-schow.

Translation: Thanks thee Jehovah. We not dead, We all a-live. We sing. We pray.

Transcribed from Myron Eells, *Father Eells*, 104.

APPENDIX III: Photographs, Drawings, and Maps



Figure 14 - Mary Walker, 1871.
(<http://washingtoncountyheritage.org/cdm/singleitem/collection/p16047coll2/id/617/rec/16>)

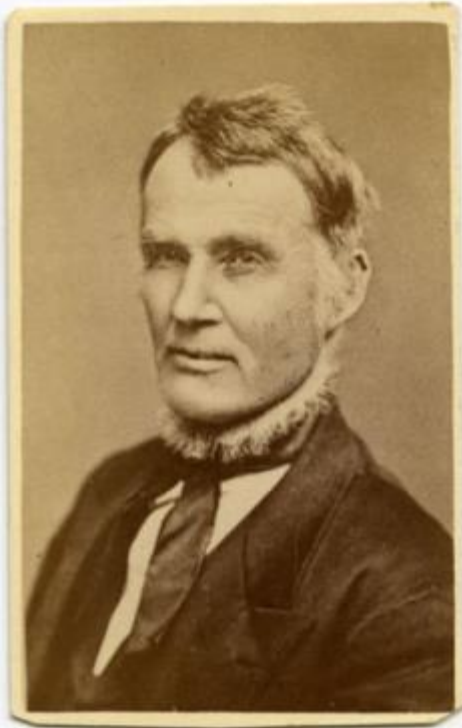


Figure 15 - Reverend Elkanah Walker, 1871.
(<http://washingtoncountyheritage.org/cdm/singleitem/collection/p16047coll2/id/616/rec/4>)



Figure 16 - Mary Walker and her children in front of her home in Forest Grove, Oregon, circa 1895. Mary is seated in front. Standing from left to right are Joseph, John, Cyrus, Marcus, Abigail (Walker) Karr, Levi, and Samuel. The Walker son, Jeremiah, died in 1870. Original photograph is held by WSU MAS



Figure 17 - Reverend Cushing Eells.
(<http://washingtoncountyheritage.org/cdm/singleitem/collection/p16047coll2/id/1505/rec/1>)



Figure 18 - Myra Fairbanks Eells.
(http://www.historylink.org/index.cfm?DisplayPage=output.cfm&file_id=9236)



Figure 19 - Modern Plateau longhouse constructed by Wanapum. (Photo by author, 2012)

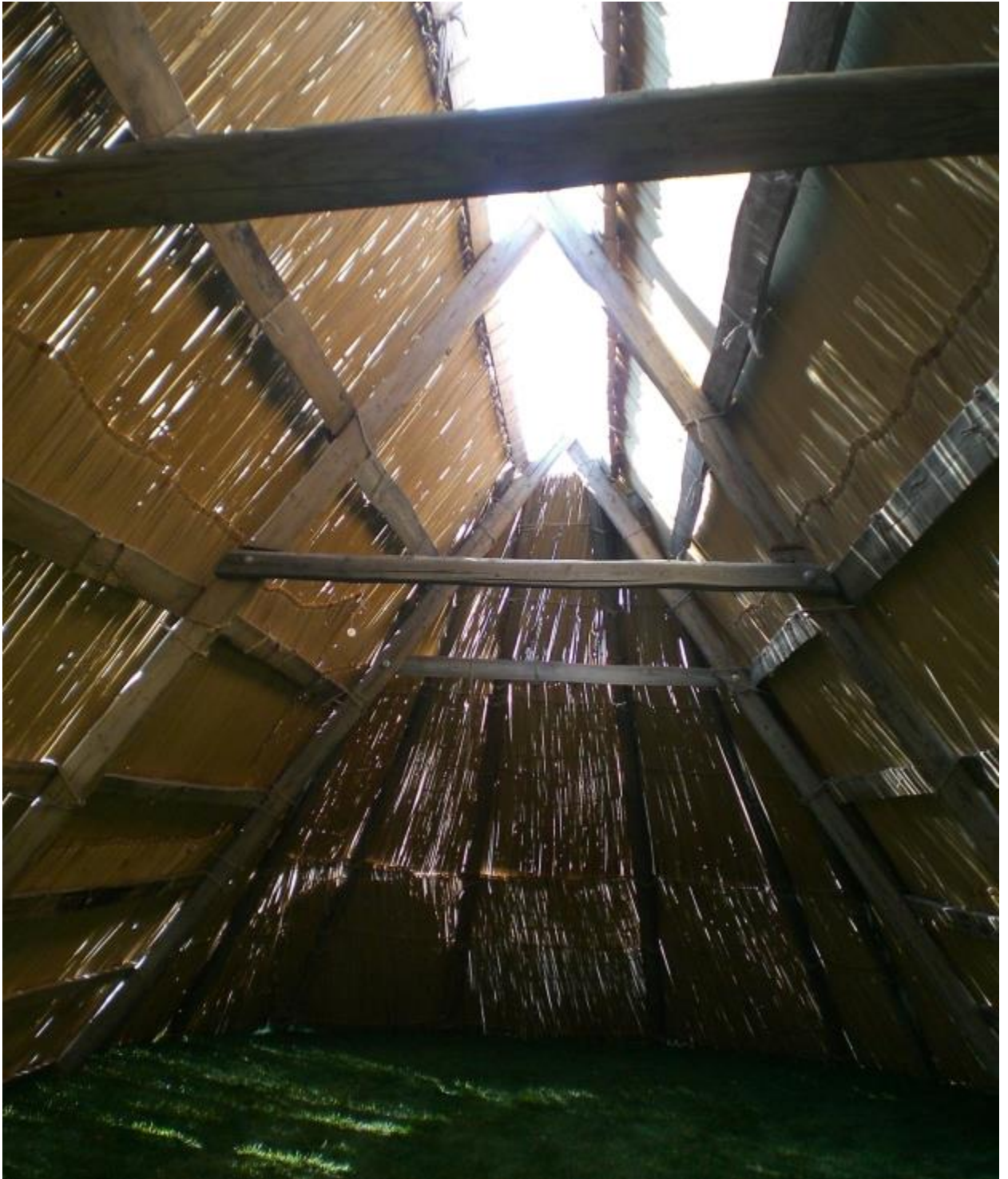


Figure 20 - Interior of Plateau longhouse constructed by Wanapum. (Photo by author, 2012)



Figure 21 - Interior of Plateau longhouse constructed by Wanapum. (Photo by author, 2012)



Ati q...
 Sa qa min to deal
 Yaizega to hide to lie
 Wa qintam to hide away
 Hal hal mint Will not do
 Shen shent Will do
 At in so qish to shine
 At shogiltet to shine out bright
 Eja on to see a person ^{to sight}
 Skittu onep to be cloudy
 Innegila a tribe
 Spilister on to make war
 Kan kaniap to be possible

Figure 22 - Mary Walker's handwritten Spokan-English dictionary created while she was at Tshimakain. Held by the Spokane Public Library Special Collections. (Photo by author, 2013)



Figure 23 - Moccasins from the Walker Collection held by WSU. (Photo by author, 2012)





Figure 24 - Further pictures of moccasins in Walker Collection held by WSU. (Photo by author, 2012)





Figure 25 - Engraving done by John Mix Stanley in 1853 of Tshimakain Mission Station.
 (http://content.lib.washington.edu/cdm4/item_viewer.php?CISOROOT=/loc&CISOPTR=2138)



Figure 26 - Drawing of Tshimakain Mission Station done by Charles A. Meyer circa 1843.
 (<http://ntserver1.wsulibs.wsu.edu/masc/walkerlibrarybiography.htm>)



Figure 27 - Monument erected near location of Tshimakain Mission Station just north of Ford, Washington. (Photo by author, 2011)



Figure 28 - Views to the north and west of Tshimakain location. (Photo by author, 2011)



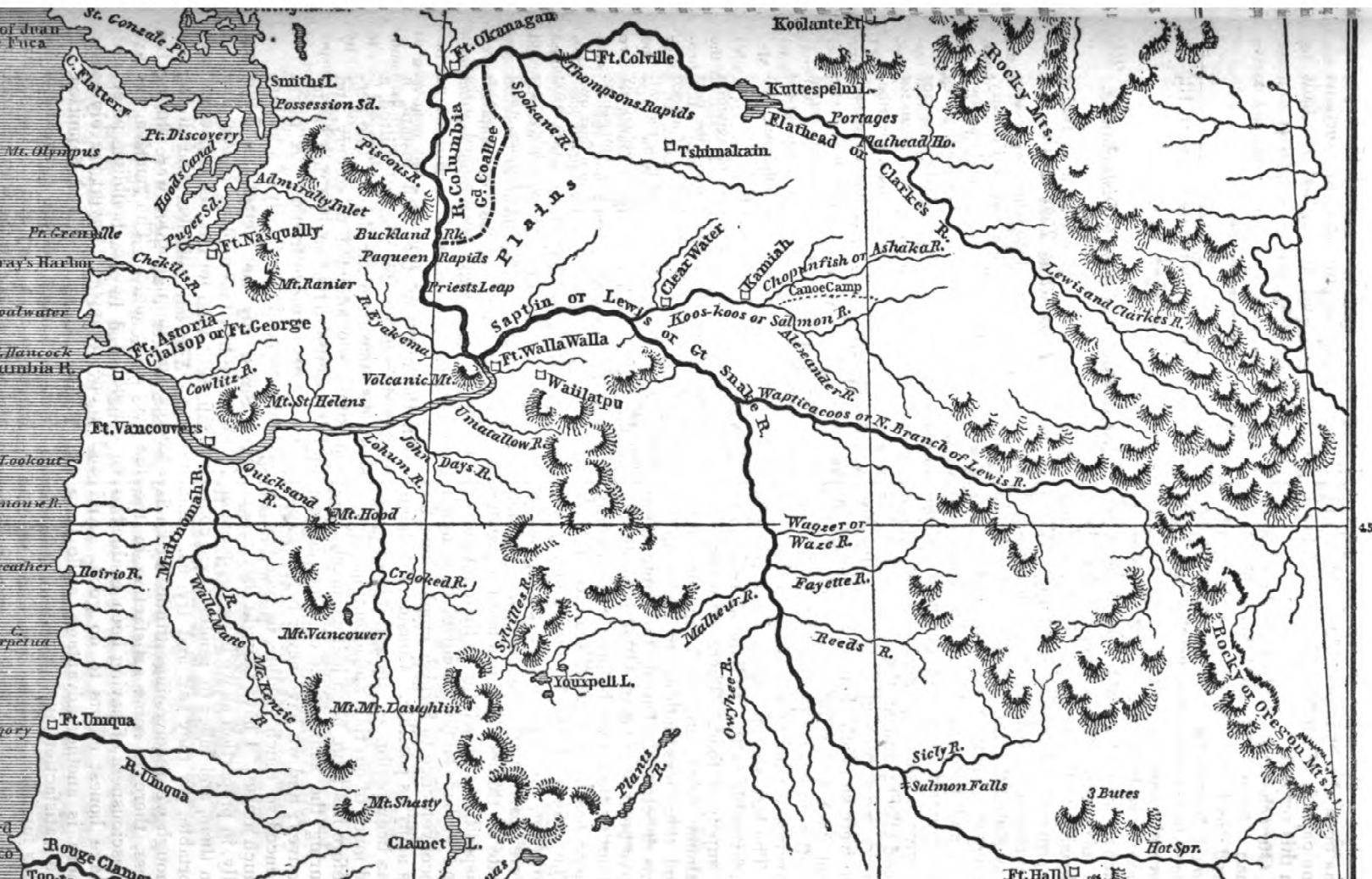
Figure 29 - View to the south of Tshimakain. (Photo by author, 2011)



Figure 30 - What the Tshimakain site looked like in 2011. (Photo by author, 2011)



Figure 31 - Looking west from the hills to the east of Tshimakain. Tshimakain is to the far left. (Photo by author, 2013)



November 1844, vol. 40, page 385.



Figure 32 - Basket D. Part of the Walker Collection held by WSU. (Photos taken by author, 2012)





Figure 33 - Basket C. Part of the Walker Collection held by WSU. (Photos taken by author, 2012)



Figure 34 - Basket B. Part of the Walker Collection held by WSU. (Photos taken by author, 2012)



Figure 35 - Basket A. Part of the Walker Collection held by WSU. (Photos taken by author, 2012)

ETSHEET

THLU

SITSKAI

THLU

SIAIS

THLU

Sitskaisitlinish.



LAPWAI:

1842.

MS
Drury
Box 21
File 21
F

Figure 36 - Front cover of Spokane Primer prepared by Walkers and Eells. Part of the Drury Collection at the Spokane Museum of Arts and Culture Archives.

Appendix IV

The following is a chart that outlines the basic nutritional value of a Plateau diet. It is borrowed from Eugene S. Hunn and James Selam's *Nch'i-Wána, "The Big River": Mid-Columbia Indians and Their Land* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1990), 177. The notes that follow are also Hunn's original notations.

A Sample Traditional Plateau Indian Diet

	Quantity	Calories	Protein	Carbohydrate	Fat	Calcium	Iron	Vitamin C
	(gm)		(gm)	(gm)	(gm)	(mg)	(mg)	(mg)
Bitterroot	500	450	4	108	0.5	223	7.0	--
<i>Lomatium canbyi</i>	500	540	4	130	0.6	179	5.5	--
Camas	300	339	2	81	0.7	151	20.7	--
Roots total	1,300	1,329	10	319	1.8	553	33.2	--
	61%	52%	6%					
Huckleberries	100	62	1	15	0.5	29	0.3	64.5
Plants total	1,400	1,391	11	334	2.3	582	33.5	64.5
	66%	55%	6%					
Salmon	500	850	107	0	43.5	875	4.5	--
Fish Total	23%	33%	64%					
Venison	240	302	50	0	9.6	24	--	--
Animal Total	740	1,152	157	0	53.1	899	4.5	--
	34%	45%	94%					
Grand Total	2,140	2,543	168	334	55.4	1,481	38.0	64.5
RDDA		2,267	45			898	14.0	45.0

Notes: RDDA's are calculated from age and sex specific values in the *Encyclopedia Americana* (International Edition, 1986, volume 20, pg 569), averaging age and sex subgroups, then weighting males, females, and children (<10 years) as equal components of the total population. Nutritional values are from Benson et al. 1973, Keeley et al. 1982, Norton et al. 1984, Hunn 1981, and Watt and Merrill 1963. The quantities of roots are as estimated above. Values whenever possible are for *dried* roots corrected for water content. The quantity of salmon is from Hewes 1973 and Hunn 1981; of huckleberries based on Perkins' observations (n.d. [1838-1843]); and that for venison is based on the assumption that each hunter kills one elk and two mule deer (of average weight) in the course of a year, with a 70% waste factor.

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EDUCATION

M.A., History, Anthropology

Eastern Washington University (expected June 2013)

Committee Members: Liping Zhu, Jerry Galm

B.A.Ed., Secondary Social Studies, English

Eastern Washington University, December 1993

PROFESSIONAL CERTIFICATIONS

Continuing Teacher Certificate, Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction, Olympia, WA Endorsements: 4-12 English, History, Instructional Technology, Social Studies, 2000

Initial Teacher Certificate, Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction, Olympia, WA Endorsements: 4-12 English, History, Social Studies, 1993

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Full-Time Faculty, Medical Lake High School, Medical Lake, WA, 1996-2004

Tutor, Sylvan Learning Center, Spokane, WA, 1995-1996

Part-Time Faculty, Medical Lake High School, Medical Lake, WA, 1993-1996

Tutor, Learning Skills Center, Eastern Washington University, Cheney, WA, 1992-1993

OTHER ACADEMIC EXPERIENCE

Super Teaching Assistant, Eastern Washington University, 2010-2011

Graded papers 3 quarter, gave 2 lectures 1 quarter, conducted book discussion and review sessions 1 quarter

Graduate Research Assistant, Eastern Washington University, 2007-2008

Part of a project to improve writing instruction in university history courses, wrote book reviews, attended weekly meetings, presented to the faculty, developed webpages, reviewed websites and university level writing courses focusing on history writing

COURSES TAUGHT

Current World Problems/Economics, Medical Lake High School, 2003-2004

Current World Problems/Political Science, Medical Lake High School, 2003-2004

Honors World History, Medical Lake High School, 1997-2004

Washington State History, Medical Lake High School, 1998-2003

Political Science, Medical Lake High School, 1998-2003

Honors Sophomore English, Medical Lake High School, 2000-2001

Sophomore English, Medical Lake High School, 1996-1999

Junior English, Medical Lake High School, 1996-1998

PROGRAMS DEVELOPED

Senior Project, Medical Lake High School, 2001-2005

Elements included: work experience, service, senior boards presentations, and portfolio

Freshman Core Class, Medical Lake High School, 2001-2002

Elements included: study skills, career exploration, and integration of freshmen into the high school environment

Senior Community Service Projects, Medical Lake High School, 1999-2000

PRESENTATION

“A Cautionary Tale: A Study of Primary Documents Related to the Execution of John Billington, the Mayflower Murder,” Student Research and Creative Works Symposium, Eastern Washington University, May 15, 2008.

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

Head Senior Class Advisor, Medical Lake High School, 2001-2004

Member, **Attendance Review Committee**, Medical Lake High School, 2001-2004

Member, **Learning Improvement Team**, Medical Lake High School, 2002-2003, 1997-1999

Member, **Social Studies Curriculum Committee**, Medical Lake School District, 2001-2003

Chairperson, **Graduation Requirements Committee**, Medical Lake High School, 2001-2002

Head Freshmen Class Advisor, Medical Lake High School, 1997-1998

Head Advisor, **Multicultural Student Union**, Medical Lake High School, 1996-1998

COMMUNITY SERVICE

Classroom Team Leader, Garfield Alternative Parent Participation Learning Experience, Garfield Elementary School, Spokane, WA, 2012-2013

Judge, Regional History Day, Eastern Washington University, Cheney, WA, 2011-2013

Classroom Assistant, Garfield Elementary School, Spokane, WA, 2010-2012

SCHOLARLY ORGANIZATIONS MEMBERSHIPS

Phi Alpha Theta, National History Honor Society

Phi Kappa Phi, National Honor Society

HONORS AND AWARDS

Scholarship, **Daughters of Pioneers of Washington**, Bonney Lake, WA, 2010

Terry Lokken Award, History Department, Eastern Washington University, Cheney, WA, for highest graduating GPA class of 1994

Dean’s List, seven quarters, 1990-1993

PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Archaeological Field School, University of Idaho, Moscow, ID, 2010