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Names Used Among Native Americans at the Colville Indian Agency: Perspectives from the 1885 Bureau of Indian Affairs Census

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Abstract *In this study we examine the types and frequency of names used among American Indians in a Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) census conducted by the Colville Indian Agency in 1885. In the 1885 Colville census both Native and Euro-American names could be recorded, and our analysis shows that one-quarter of the people were recorded with only a Native name, just under two-thirds were recorded with only a Euro-American name, and just over one-tenth were recorded with both a Native and Euro-American name. Of those Natives reported with a Euro-American name, just over five-sixths were recorded with a traditional Euro-American name. In addition to documenting the overall frequency of various types of names, we examine how these patterns vary by gender, birth cohort, and Native group. Our results show that the frequency of reporting a Native name declined from about seventy percent to just over ten percent across the birth cohorts from 1790–1815 to 1876–1885 while the reporting of traditional Euro-American names increased substantially from about forty percent for the birth cohort of 1790–1815 to about eighty percent for the 1866–1875 birth cohort. There were also sharp distinctions in the frequency of Native and Euro-American names recorded for the different groups. Whereas the names recorded by one specific group were entirely Euro-American, with no Native names, in another group, only a third were recorded with Euro-American names and nearly one-hundred percent were recorded with a Native name. We discuss possible explanations for the differences across gender, across birth cohorts, and across groups, with particular emphasis on the nature of interactions with Euro-Americans.*

Keywords Columbia Plateau Indians, names, culture, developmental idealism.

Introduction

This article is motivated by an interest in the names recorded for American Indians as Natives were influenced by and interacted with Euro-Americans and Euro-American institutions. We are interested in the use of names because they provide a window into the ways in which

Native people rejected, adopted, and resisted the introduction of Euro-American cultural patterns. We examine the use of names in one specific social setting—the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) census conducted in 1885 by the Colville Indian Agency among Natives living on the Columbia Plateau in the eastern part of the state of Washington.

More specifically, we document within the 1885 Colville BIA census the frequency of individuals enumerated with Euro-American names, with American Indian names, and with both Euro-American and Native names. For those recorded with Euro-American names, we document the types of Euro-American names that were recorded. We also examine how the frequency of different types of names varied across Native groups, gender, and year of birth of the individual people. Our investigation of group, gender, and birth cohort differences permits insights into how naming practices at the Colville Agency in 1885 may have been influenced by different patterns of rejection, adoption, and resistance across these dimensions of social position.

We interpret the results of our study within the conceptual and theoretical framework of the developmental idealism perspective formulated and disseminated by Thornton and colleagues (Thornton 2005; Thornton, Dorius, and Swindle 2015). The developmental idealism (DI) framework posits the existence of a DI culture that originated in northwestern Europe and a theory that the spread of this DI culture internationally has had the potential for great influence on the people and societies outside of Europe. The DI culture originated in northwest Europe and contains the beliefs that societies move through a series of hierarchical developmental stages from less to more developed, with Europeans being at the apex of development, even defining what it means to be developed or modern, and Indigenous inhabitants of other regions of the world such as Africa, Australia, and the Americas being at the lowest level of development. These Europeans—and subsequently, Euro-Americans—also believed that developed or modern societies were better than other societies and that the health and standard of living of non-Europeans would be facilitated by adopting the modern culture of Europe.

The theory associated with the DI framework posits that this DI culture has been disseminated widely around the world through many mecha-

nisms, with great potential to disrupt and change the receiving societies. The receiving societies, of course, had their own pre-existing cultures with their own values, beliefs, styles of dress, family structures, and naming patterns that were often very different from DI culture. The introduction of DI culture into such receiving societies can lead to a clash of cultures, with the DI culture often being rejected. There may also be motivation for the acceptance of DI culture as it is often associated with lower mortality and greater wealth and technological capacity. Such adoption of DI culture in a non-European setting can also be facilitated by the power of Euro-Americans to force the adoption of aspects of DI culture. It is also possible for the pre-existing local culture and DI culture to be combined in various syncretic ways.

In our article, we consider how DI culture in the form of Euro-American preference for Euro-American names and antipathy toward Native names was introduced on the Columbia Plateau and how it played out in this setting through patterns of adoption, resistance, and rejection of Euro-American names. In addition, we recognize that adoption, resistance, rejection, and syncretism can be motivated by many different reasons. Also, a particular name pattern may be the result of entirely different interaction strategies. One Native person may use a Euro-American name rather than a Native name in a census setting because he/she truly identifies with the Euro-American name, has a personally positive connotation with the name, and the Native name has a negative meaning. Alternatively, another person may state a Euro-American name or acquiesce to the Euro-American name being recorded in order to curry favor with or avoid sanction from a Euro-American enumerator, to keep one's true name or names unknown to Euro-American authorities, and/or to feign acceptance of the DI culture being promoted by Euro-Americans.

We are not interested in the 1885 Colville Agency census because of its importance in Native history, but because it provides a window

into understanding one of the ways Natives represented themselves to Euro-Americans. We investigate the general issue of the overall use of Euro-American and Native names among those associated with the Colville Agency by focusing on one particular Euro-American institution—the 1885 BIA census. We consider both the distribution of such names and investigate how the recorded names varied by gender, year of birth, and group to obtain insights into how Euro-American names were adopted, rejected, and/or combined with Native names among residents participating in the 1885 Colville census. We also provide possible interpretations for the types of names recorded while at the same time expecting that the distribution of names used in the census would be very different from name usage when Natives were communicating with each other, as well as potentially different in other settings with Euro-Americans.

Our study of the use and reporting of names on the 1885 Colville census is useful because throughout history names have been associated with cultural beliefs, values, and identity. American Indian names often held cosmological, spiritual, and ancestral importance, and the substitution of Euro-American names for Native ones could mean that some of this meaning had been diminished (Ross 2011:127). In addition, the adoption or imposition of a Euro-American name could distance or appear to distance a person away from their Native culture and incorporate them more into Western culture. It is, of course, impossible for our Euro-American research team more than a hundred years later to get inside the heads of the people participating in the 1885 census to know their values, beliefs, motives, and strategies, but we do believe that it is possible through careful consideration of history and context to provide some insight into the pattern of names used in that census.

Before proceeding with the main body of our article, we make a note about our terminology for discussing Native people. Where appropriate, we refer to the individual groups

by their currently common specific names, such as Colville, Spokane, and Nez Perce. At the same time, we need more general terminology to refer to aggregates of Natives at the national and regional levels. For the national level, we use the language of “American Indian” or “Native American,” and for the local level we use the language of “Columbia Plateau Native” or “Colville Native.” We also frequently use the term “Native” as a shorthand term for “American Indian” or “Plateau Native.” We recognize the difficulties presented by this language; for example, before Christopher Columbus, there was no “America,” and India was in Asia. At the same time, vocabulary for aggregates is needed, and we are not aware of more accepted words for the concepts we need to express.

We recognize that the outsiders that came to the Columbia Plateau and Colville region beginning in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries consisted of both Europeans and the descendants of Europeans who we refer to as Euro-Americans. For later periods we generally refer to these two groups as Euro-Americans, although sometimes distinguishing between British, French, Italian, and American. We also sometimes use the language of whites to refer to aggregates of Europeans and Euro-Americans.

We organize the rest of the paper into four main sections. The first section discusses the geographical, historical, social, and cultural background that is necessary to understand and interpret the patterns of name use that we document in the article. The first part of this background section focuses on the Columbia Plateau and the Native groups associated with the Colville Agency. This background section then discusses the coming to the region of Europeans and Euro-Americans, with particular emphasis on the fur trade, Christian missionaries, school teachers, government agents, and army troops. This background section then discusses ways in which the Columbia Plateau Natives may have been motivated to accept Euro-American culture and how Euro-Americans exercised power in attempts to coerce adoption of Euro-American

ways. The background section then considers how the introduction of Euro-Americans and their culture into the Columbia Plateau led to a clash of cultures and the rejection of Euro-American culture. The background section ends with a summary of various elements affecting the use of Euro-American names by Plateau Natives.

The background section is followed by a section concerning data and methods that summarizes our data source—the Bureau of Indian Affairs census program—and our analytical methods. The next section presents our empirical results. We conclude the article with a section of discussion and interpretation.

Geographical, Historical, Social, and Cultural Background

The Columbia Plateau and the Native Groups of the Colville Agency

The Colville Indian Agency in 1885 administered three reservations established by executive order: the Colville and Spokane in present-day eastern Washington and the Coeur d'Alene in present-day northern Idaho, established respectively in 1872, 1881, and 1873 (Ross 2011:71–76; Arnold 2012:3–7). In 1885 the groups “occupying these reservations and the outlying country adjacent thereto are the Colville, Upper, Middle, and Lower Spokanes, Lakes, Okanagans, Nespilums, San Puells, Joseph’s band of Nez Perce’s, Moses’s band of Columbias, Calispels, or Lower Pend d’Oreilles, and the Coeur d’Alénes” (Waters 1885:183¹). These twelve groups represented a subset of Natives historically occupying the Columbia Plateau of the Pacific Northwest in southern British Columbia, western Montana, northern Idaho, and eastern Washington and Oregon.

Although cultural and social differences existed among the Indigenous Columbia Plateau groups, there were numerous similarities that have led anthropologists and historians to group them together as closely related “Columbia Plateau Indians” (Burns 1966; Miller 1985;

Walker 1998; Cebula 2003; Ross 2011). The many elements shared among these Native people include settlement patterns along rivers and lakes, with reliance on fish, game, and root resources for food; extensive kinship ties across the various groups; limited political integration; information and trade networks within and beyond the Plateau; and fairly uniform “religious beliefs and practices focused on the vision quest, shamanism, life-cycle observances, and seasonal celebrations of the annual subsistence cycle” (Walker 1998:3; also Frey 2001:22–49). Although the Natives of the Columbia Plateau had an extensive gendered division of labor before the coming of Europeans, they also had extensive “gender equality with equal access to power, authority, and autonomy” (Ackerman 2003:3; Cebula 2003:16–18).

The Native people of the Columbia Plateau also believed that the world was populated with numerous spirits associated with various objects, including animals, plants, rocks, the sun, and the wind (Miller 1985:15–17; Frey 2001:22–49; Cebula 2003:6–15; McWhorter 2020:295–300). Moreover, Plateau Natives believed that a person could obtain access to these spirits and receive from them protection, information, the curing of disease, control of the weather, and insights in making and implementing decisions (Jessett 1960:37–38; Miller 1985:15–17; Walker 1985:18–30; Josephy 1997:24–27; Cebula 2003:6–15; McWhorter 2020:295–300). Some of these spirits were believed to be strong and others weak, making the Plateau Natives flexible in following the spirit with the most power in positively influencing the lives of people. In addition, just as some spirits were believed to have more power than others, some individuals were believed to have particularly great ability to access the spiritual powers. This perceived universe of powerful supernatural beings who could be a person’s helper made success or failure dependent on these supernatural powers.

Names held great spiritual and familial importance for Columbia Plateau Natives.

¹ As spelled by Sidney D. Waters, the Colville Indian Agent.

Ross (2011:127) indicated that a name for a child was often revealed to a pregnant woman through some supernatural mechanism such as a dream, a vision, or an animal. Like in many societies, names were often passed down in one family through generations, with one common practice being to name a child after a relative who had died (Axtell and Aragon 1997:5–8; Ross 2011:127–129). Names were also linked to success; as Axtell and Aragon pointed out, “The old belief is to have an Indian name to get to The Good Land, The Good Place” (1997:7).

A Plateau newborn was typically given her/his name at the time of birth or soon thereafter. In addition, a person might acquire several different names across the life course. Name changes could occur based on the passing of a relative, a military success, a major life event, or a preference for a new name (Ross 2011:127–129). Name giving ceremonies involving the family and larger community were held at the time infants received their names, and additional ones occurred each time people changed their names (Axtell and Aragon 1997:6–8; Ross 2011:127–129).

The Coming of Europeans and Euro-Americans

The Columbia Plateau Native groups were influenced in many ways by the introduction of European and Euro-American people, horses, trade goods, economy, and diseases. The first wave of Europeans and Euro-Americans into the Columbia Plateau came in the last decade of the eighteenth century and the first decade of the nineteenth century, but European and Euro-American influence was felt much earlier. The expansive trade routes used by the Native Americans allowed European goods and information about Europeans to reach the Plateau by the early 1700s (Cebula 2003:33–36, 41–45). Horses also arrived on the Plateau before white people, broadening the reach of Native economic activities, trade, and information networks (Josephy 1997:28–32; Frey 2001:50–108; Cebula 2003:28–31; Pinkham and Evans 2013:18–23). In addition, the Natives experienced multiple rounds of deadly epidemics before Europeans

and Euro-Americans entered the Plateau (Cebula 2003:36–41).

The first Europeans and Euro-Americans to enter the Columbia Plateau traveled from the east—from Canada came the British exploring groups led by Alexander Mackenzie, Simon Fraser, and David Thompson, and from the United States came the American Corp of Discovery led by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark. These first groups came to the Plateau with a desire to understand the region and its Native inhabitants and to claim the Oregon Territory for their respective countries. Another important motivation of these early travelers was economic—to establish fur trading relations with the Natives. The importance of the fur industry in bringing these explorers to the Plateau is demonstrated by the fact that Mackenzie, Fraser, and Thompson were employees of the North West [Fur] Company headquartered in Montreal, and Lewis and Clark were directly commissioned by the United States government to expand the U.S. fur trade (Jefferson 1803a, 1803b).

The fur industry dominated the interactions of whites and Plateau Indians during the first several decades of the nineteenth century, a dominance that followed the pattern previously experienced in much of North America (Wishart 1992:18–19; Dolin 2010:21–116). The French were very active in the fur business along the St. Lawrence River in the early 1600s, quickly moved across the Great Lakes and down the Mississippi River, and reached to the eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains by the middle of the eighteenth century (Dolin 2010:95–116; Barman 2014:15). With the French defeat in the French and Indian War in 1763, the vast French fur trade ended, but was soon revived with smaller enterprises that consolidated later into the large and powerful North West Company (Merk 1968:xi–xii; Barman 2014:18). Although most of the officers in the North West Company and other fur companies in western North America in the early nineteenth century were British or of British descent, large fractions of the non-leadership personnel were French

Canadians who shared “paternal ancestral origins in what is today Quebec, the French language, [and] adherence to Catholicism” (Barman 2014:5, 59–60). These French Canadians included men with only French ancestors, those with only Native ancestry, and individuals with both French and Native ancestry.

The English founders of New England early in the 1600s quickly became involved in the fur business (Dolin 2010:39–73). Another important British entity in the fur trade was the Hudson’s Bay Company which was incorporated in 1670. A charter from the British government gave this private company a trading monopoly over all the land that drained into Hudson Bay and Hudson Straits, including eastward drainage from the Rocky Mountains (Merk 1968:xi). In 1821 it received British authority to expand west of the Rocky Mountains into Oregon Territory, including today’s Washington, Oregon, and British Columbia (Merk 1968:xi–xii).

The United States was only recognized as a country in 1783 and was a late entry into the fur business (Dolin 2010:122–130). The War of Independence had also damaged the fur business in the new country, and the British refused to turn over important fur posts to the United States until 1796. Yet, when the United States received the Louisiana Territory in 1803 from France, it obtained the fur trading center of St. Louis and subsequently extended its presence far up the Missouri River and into the Columbia Plateau (Josephy 1997:44–45; Dolin 2010:176–180).

The British North West Company established the first fur trading post on the Columbia Plateau in 1807 and then expanded throughout most of the region (Josephy 1997:40–55; Belyea 2007:xvii). In 1811, the American-controlled Pacific Fur Company established Fort Astoria at the mouth of the Columbia River and posts on the Columbia Plateau (Josephy 1997:46–50; Dolin 2010:189–222). This 1811 American effort ended during the War of 1812 when the British took over American operations (Josephy 1997:51). Nevertheless, by the early 1820s, the American fur traders were penetrating the Plateau region,

initiating competition with the British, and holding a Rocky Mountain Rendezvous almost every year from 1825 to 1840 as a place for traders and trappers to meet and exchange goods from the east for furs from the west (Gowans 1985; Stern 1996:28–40).

The reactions of the Plateau Indians to the fur companies varied; some participated in fur trapping more than others (Merk 1968:54, 94–95; Nez Perce Tribe 2003:20–21). However, even for those Natives who did not participate in fur trapping, the whites offered a market for food and horses that attracted many (Cebula 2003:61–68).

The presence of the fur traders, trading posts, and rendezvous provided the Columbia Plateau Natives extensive interaction with whites and Christian Natives from eastern North America (Frey 2001:50–108; Cebula 2003:54–56). When the fur traders arrived on the Plateau, they introduced new forms of sophisticated technology, military weaponry, and material goods of various kinds such as production tools, woven blankets and clothing, and cooking implements. Many Natives were highly impressed with the technology, material goods, and living standards the whites conspicuously displayed; were motivated to obtain them; and spent many years trading their time and goods to the white traders for various commodities. The traders also had relatively low mortality, especially when compared to the contemporary health circumstances of the Plateau Natives who suffered terrible epidemics brought by pathogens from Europe (Cebula 2003:53–75).

The fur trade also provided the Plateau Natives observations concerning the cultural and religious beliefs, values, and practices of the whites. At least some of the trading posts conducted religious services, offered religious instruction, and invited Natives to participate (Stern 1993:110; Cebula 2003:70–72). Many Natives witnessed the religious practices of the whites, including prayer, Bible reading, and the singing of hymns, although often with only vague understanding (Evans 1976:10; Josephy

1997:81–82; Cebula 2003). As part of this experience with whites, the Plateau Natives likely heard some of the fundamental propositions of developmental idealism that Euro-Americans were more advanced or modern than the Natives; that modern society was good; and that the Natives could achieve the technology, wealth, and health of the whites by adopting attributes of white society.

Acceptance and Desire for European and Euro-American Knowledge and Technology

We now turn to a discussion of the range of responses of Columbia Plateau Natives to the coming of Euro-Americans and their culture and social systems exemplifying developmental idealism, looking first at motivations to accept elements of Euro-American culture and later focusing on clashes of culture and resistance to Euro-American culture. The Plateau Native belief system discussed earlier provided a clear foundation for Native understanding of the sources of Euro-American material possessions, technology, and health (Walker 1985:43–44; Cebula 2003:53–68, 131–133; Pinkham and Evans 2013:234–237). Given the Plateau worldview of spiritual forces providing worldly benefits, it was easy for many Natives to attribute Euro-American wealth, health, technology, and military prowess to their knowledge of spirits and ability to access them. The desire for Euro-American technology, armaments, health, and material goods combined with a belief that these attributes were produced by Euro-American spiritual knowledge and power led some Columbia Plateau Natives to accept, welcome, and even seek Euro-American spiritual knowledge and power.

We know that some Natives actively sought out white medical expertise and assistance from the early explorers to the Plateau such as Fraser, Lewis, and Clark (Meriwether Lewis and William Clark quoted in Moulton 2002:177–179, 211–214, 246–249, 272–273; Simon Fraser quoted in Lamb 2007:139; Pinkham and Evans 2013:123–128). This may have been motivated, at least in part, by the epidemics that devastated

the Plateau Natives, calling into question the power of the Natives' spirits and/or the Natives' ability to obtain the spirits' assistance in the new disease world, a phenomenon reported elsewhere in the Americas (Sheehan 1980:166; Axtell 1981:251; Calloway 2003:156). The apparent immunity of whites to many of the diseases that devastated the Natives would have given the Natives reasons to believe that the whites knew of powerful spirits or ways of accessing the spirits that the Natives did not have and that there was power in the Christian religion that the Natives could access.

The desire for white spiritual knowledge and power was also likely reflected in the responses of some Plateau Natives to the organized proselyting efforts of the Hudson's Bay Company, which had in 1821 incorporated within it the North West Company. As part of this 1821 merger agreement, the Company was charged by the British government to provide Natives religious instruction (Josephy 1997:82). In 1824–1825, George Simpson, the governor of the Company, made a cross-country trip to the Pacific Ocean that included discussions of the possibility of missionary and educational work; he reported that several Native leaders expressed delight at the prospect of having Euro-American instructors among them (Merk 1968:106–107). Although the Hudson's Bay Company never sent spiritual instructors to the Plateau, Simpson did request that the Natives send two youths to attend the Anglican missionary school at the Red River Settlement, which would later become Winnipeg, Manitoba. The Native leaders responded very positively to Simpson's request, and two teenage sons of important leaders accompanied Simpson to the Red River School (Jessett 1960:22–26; Josephy 1997:82–85). When the two boys returned home to the Plateau four years later in 1829, they had been baptized Christian, had short haircuts, had Bibles and Books of Common Prayer, dressed as whites, spoke English, and demonstrated knowledge of European society (Jessett 1960:30–33). They returned to the Red River School in 1830, bringing

with them five other Plateau boys (Oliphant 1937:239–240; Josephy 1997:88–89).

By the early 1830s, many Columbia Plateau Natives had learned and implemented substantial amounts of Christian practice (Jessett 1960:47–62). These adopted Christian practices included sabbath observance, Sunday worship, including prayer, confession of sins, holy days, and morning and evening prayers (Jessett 1960:47–62; Cebula 2003:52–87). Although the lack of literacy among the Plateau Natives prevented them from recording their own beliefs, motivations, and practices concerning Euro-American religion during this time, fur traders and missionaries provided extensive documentation that such practices were widespread in the 1830s before the coming of Christian missionaries (Jessett 1960:61–71; Josephy 1997:90–113, 123–127; Cebula 2003:52–87).

The 1830s also witnessed outreach of Columbia Plateau Natives for Euro-American knowledge, expertise, and power (Bischoff 1945:9–11; Josephy 1997:96–98; Frey 2001:62–63; Pinkham and Evans 2013:235). Between 1831 and 1839, the Nez Perce of Northern Idaho and the Salish of Western Montana combined to make four very long and dangerous trips from the Plateau to St. Louis, Missouri, to obtain teachers to bring Euro-American knowledge and technology to the Plateau. The Nez Perce and Salish travelers also indicated that the Spokans, Cayuses, and Kutenais wanted white teachers (Cebula 2003:97).

The 1831–1839 trips to St. Louis by the Columbia Plateau Natives generated a flurry of interest among both Protestants and Catholics, but getting missionaries to the region took several years. In 1836 two Presbyterian missions were established on the Plateau—one among the Cayuses at Wailatpu in present-day eastern Washington by Marcus and Narcissa Whitman and one among the Nez Percés at Lapwai in present-day northern Idaho by Henry and Eliza Spalding. These missionaries were welcomed by many and received requests from some Spokans, Pend d'Oreilles, and Coeur d'Alenes for teachers

in their own areas (Drury 1936:191–201; Josephy 1997:180–181). These missionaries requested additional missionaries, and in 1838 four more Presbyterian couples arrived and established a mission among the Spokan at Tshimakain near present-day Spokane and one among the Nez Perce at Kamiah about sixty miles east of Lapwai (Jessett 1960:74–86; Miller 1985:85–86; Ruby and Brown 2006:62–68).

In 1840, the Jesuit Father Pierre Jean De Smet and his party made an exploratory trip to the Plateau and reported very strong interest among many Salish and Pend d'Oreilles (Evans 1976:26–27; Carriker 1995:31–37). In 1841, De Smet returned to Plateau country with a small team of Jesuit missionaries who established Saint Mary's Mission in western Montana (Bischoff 1945:29–31; Carriker 1995:48). People from other groups, including the Coeur d'Alene, Sanpoil, Kalispels, Kootenai, and Okinagon also expressed interest, and in 1842 the Jesuits established the Sacred Heart Mission among the Coeur d'Alenes (Bischoff 1945:38–41; Evans 1976:36–49; Kowrach 1999:29–37; Frey 2001:63–66; Cebula 2003:98). By 1847, the Jesuits had established a dozen missions on the Columbia Plateau, including missions among the Kalispels, Kutenais, Okanagons, Pend d'Oreilles, and at Kettle Falls, bordering the yet-to-be established Colville reservation (Bischoff 1945:50–63; Cebula 2003:98). These missions resulted in hundreds of baptisms and Native involvement in the construction of mission buildings (Bischoff 1945:50–63; Burns 1966:44–46; Frey 2001:63–66; Fortier 2002:54–65). Many of the Catholic missionaries on the Plateau were Italian, introducing Italian culture and language to the region (McKevitt 1990, 2007; Burns 1966:54–55).

Another example of what appeared to be, at least on the surface, an acceptance of Euro-American ways can be observed in 1878 with the formation of the Deep Creek Colony. This group consisted of Spokans that were included in the BIA Colville Agency census of 1885 (Drury 1949:165–166; Mann 2007:170–172). The Deep Creek Colony was established under

the leadership of William Three Mountains roughly 15 miles away from the main location of the Spokans who resided near the present-day city of Spokane (Mann 2007:169–171).

The Spokans had received extensive Anglican influence from the time that the two Native students had returned to the Columbia Plateau from the Red River School in 1829. And, as mentioned earlier, the Presbyterian Tshimakain Mission had been established near present-day Spokane in the late 1830s, and Three Mountains had lived for a year at the Presbyterian mission as a teenager. With the support of a Presbyterian minister, Henry Cowley, the Deep Creek Colony became a Presbyterian agricultural colony in 1878, with the goal of avoiding forced removal from the area by adopting Euro-American attributes, including patterns of land settlement and private ownership (Drury 1949:167–168; Mann 2007:170–173). In 1880, a Presbyterian Church was organized at the Colony and received support from several Nez Perce ministers who had been trained at the Presbyterian ministerial school operated by Sue and Kate McBeth on the Nez Perce Reservation (Drury 1949:167; Lewis 2003:185–189).

Our discussion to this point may have led readers to conclude that all Columbian Plateau Natives wanted to abandon their historical beliefs and practices and adopt every aspect of Christianity, but that conclusion would be overwhelmingly wrong. Instead, it is likely that the Plateau Natives who accepted elements of Euro-American religion were like many Natives elsewhere who “were inclusivist, ready to incorporate new ideas and ceremonies,” but not ready to “abandon the multitude of ritual practices by which they negotiated the web of relationships that determined the course of everyday life” (Richter 2001). Pinkham and Evans (2013:234) summarized the complex situation among Plateau Natives this way: “it was undoubtedly the hope and belief of the Nimiipuu [Nez Perce] that whatever learning they might acquire would only enhance their existing access to spiritual power. In other words, they were less interested

in converting to Christianity than in adding more spiritual dimensions to their already rich spiritual lives.” The result on the Columbia Plateau for those adopting Euro-American practices was a syncretic religion combining both Christian and Native elements that one fur trader called the “Columbian Religion,” a designation adopted by Cebula (2003:81–82). This syncretic spirituality was sometimes a frustration to the missionaries involved (Drury 1958:107–147).

Resistance and Rejection of European and Euro-American Culture and Society

In addition to the acceptance (or appearances of such) of European and Euro-American ways, there was also strong resistance and energetic, even violent, rejection. In fact, resistance, division, and conflict between Plateau Natives and Euro-Americans surfaced quickly after the establishment of the missions on the Plateau and continued in numerous forms for many decades (Drury 1979:49–59; Josephy 1997:209–214; Cebula 2003:107–109). For example, in 1839, the Presbyterian missionary Henry Spalding recorded his confrontation at Lapwai with two powerful Nez Perce—one of whom appeared to have been an enthusiastic supporter three years earlier when the mission was established. The two Nez Perce pointed out irreconcilable differences existing between the historical practices of the Natives and Christian teachings, and Spalding later expressed his frustration with the claim that many Natives appeared “like another race of beings from what they did when we first came among them” (Spalding quoted in Drury 1979:48–50). Even stronger sentiments were expressed by Pierre DeSmet, the Jesuit missionary to the Plateau, who described some Salish opponents in Montana as being “the most formidable and dangerous adversaries of religion; the ministers of Satan himself... who by their impostures and diabolical arts, always impose on the simple and ignorant” (De Smet 1985:30–31).

Relations between the Columbia Plateau Natives and the Presbyterian missionaries soured even more in the 1840s. This was likely related,

in part, to the completion of the Oregon Trail in 1841 that dramatically increased the flow of Euro-American settlers passing through and settling on the Plateau, disrupting Native lives and putting pressure on Native lands (Josephy 1997:244–247; Cebula 2003:124–127). The Waiilatpu Mission was located on the Oregon Trail, the missionary Whitman led the first Oregon Trail wagon train to make it all the way across the country, and the mission became a resting and resupply point for the increasing stream of emigrants, making the Natives very unhappy about the role of the mission in white encroachment (Drury 1998:242–243). The emigrants also brought with them a measles epidemic that was deadly around Waiilatpu, raising skepticism about the power of the whites and bringing suspicion that the Whitmans were using their power to poison the Cayuses so that they could more easily take their land and horses (Miller 1985:105–106; Drury 1997:161–163; Josephy 1997:250).

In 1846 and 1847, Spalding reported in his letters vandalism and hostility to himself and his family, including fences being destroyed, his house being stoned, his mill dam being torn down, and being threatened at gunpoint (Drury 1958:337). These deteriorating relationships culminated in the 1847 massacre at the Waiilatpu mission by some Cayuses who murdered the Whitmans and several others (Drury 1936:341–347; Miller 1985:92–108; Josephy 1997:240–252; Cebula 2003:126). A group of Nez Perces almost immediately set out to repeat this massacre at Lapwai, but the Spaldings were protected by supportive Nez Perces. Despite this protection, the Spaldings left Lapwai, and all Presbyterian (but not Catholic) missions on the Plateau were permanently closed (Drury 1936:341–350; Josephy 1997:254–262).

The increased numbers of white settlers and their demand for land led the U.S. government in 1855 to pressure the Nez Perces, Yakamas, Cayuses, Walla Wallas, Umatillas, and Salish in Montana to make treaties in which the government took land from the Natives and restricted them to reservations in exchange

for money and goods (Josephy 1997:285–332). The Native leaders strongly resisted, but the government made clear that if the Natives did not agree, they would still be forced to go on reservations but not receive any compensation (Josephy 1997:333–334). Although the treaties were consummated, the Native resentment of the treaties and immediate American violation of the treaty provisions and assurances led to several years of intermittent warfare between the Euro-Americans and Plateau Natives (Jesett 1960:131–152; Burns 1966; Josephy 1997:337–385; Kowrach 1999; Cutler 2016). These included battles with the Yakamas, Cayuses, Walla Wallas, Palouses, and Umatillas soon after the treaties and in 1858 with the Spokans, Coeur d'Alenes, Palouses, and Yakamas.

Less violent forms of resistance and rejection occurred in the 1860s and 1870s as the Columbia Plateau Natives experienced a religious revival to energize their Indigenous beliefs and practices. New Native spiritual leaders, known among the Euro-Americans as Dreamers, arose with renewed influence and a call for revitalization to abandon the customs of the Euro-Americans and to return to old Native ways, an effort that had appeal among many (Miller 1985:118–122; Walker 1985:49–52; Relander 1986; Ruby and Brown 1989; Josephy 1997:434–435).

Chief Joseph Band of Nez Perce

The combination of acceptance, resistance, and rejection of Euro-American culture and society often led to divisions within Native groups, with such divisions existing from almost the beginning among the Nez Perce. For example, many Nez Perce went to great efforts to recruit Euro-American teachers, to welcome the Presbyterian missions at Lapwai and Kamiah, defended the missionaries when they were threatened, and followed Christian teachings and practices (Josephy 1997:289–291). At the same time, many Nez Perce, including powerful leaders, maintained their Native religious orientation, opposed the missionaries, and strongly desired to continue their old Nez Perce culture and religion and to

be left alone by the Euro-Americans (Ruby and Brown 1989:76–77; Axtell and Aragon 1997:13; Josephy 1997:290–291). Although the 1877 war—to be discussed shortly—is often pictured as only a conflict over land, Axtell and Aragon emphasize the cultural and spiritual conflict in that the anti-treaty people “didn’t want to take up any of these new things that they were trying to make our people do, as far as Christianity or spirituality goes, or any other thing” (1997:13).

This particular religious split had a geographical component that was associated with the original distribution of missionary activities among the Nez Perce. The two original Christian missions among the Nez Perce were located at Lapwai and Kamiah, with missionary activity and success concentrated in these two locations and the relatively populated corridor of approximately sixty miles between them (Walker 1985:40; Greene 2000:5–8). Although the Christian missionary reach was felt beyond this core area, coverage outside this area was much less intensive, resulting in a concentration of Christian support in the original corridor between Kamiah and Lapwai, with very little support, even rejection, in outlying areas.

In 1863, Euro-Americans demanded a new treaty with the Nez Perce that would drastically reduce the size of the Nez Perce reservation established in 1855. The proposed new reservation would be headquartered at Lapwai and restricted to the land along the Lapwai-Kamiah corridor, with the result being that it included the land of most of the Christian Nez Perce and little land of the non-Christians. Most of the land to be taken by the Euro-Americans was the territory of non-Christians outside the Lapwai-Kamiah corridor (Drury 1979:208–214; Josephy 1997:419). The treaty was approved and “signed by the Nez Perce leaders who resided within the proposed boundaries of the new reservation, but it was absolutely and flatly denied and rejected by the leaders outside the boundaries of the proposed reservation” (Nez Perce Tribe 2003:42). Anti-treaty leaders believed

that by not endorsing the treaty, it would not affect them, a belief consistent with historical patterns of Nez Perce governance that placed the authority for local decisions with local people.

The treaty was not ratified by the U.S. for several years, and there was a substantial period of adjudication concerning the validity of a treaty that was not approved by those most affected. The anti-treaty Nez Perce living off the reservation continued to do so until the government ruled the treaty to be valid and ordered them to move onto the reservation in 1877 (Nez Perce Tribe 2003:47–48). After many attempts at negotiation and with war being the only alternative, the anti-treaty Nez Perce reluctantly decided to move onto the reservation (Josephy 1997:507–508). However, before they completed the move, a few young men attacked and killed some white settlers who were living nearby (Josephy 1997:512–516; Nez Perce Tribe 2003:48).

This violence so enraged the whites that the U.S. Army was called out, leading to a military conflict, and the anti-treaty Nez Perce fleeing along with their families across parts of three states and eventually trying to evade the U.S. Army by going into Canada (Josephy 1997; Nez Perce Tribe 2003). After travelling more than a thousand miles² and being forced into multiple battles with the U.S. Army, the majority of the anti-treaty Nez Perce was captured near the Montana border with Canada and then moved to Kansas and then to Indian Territory in present day Oklahoma where they suffered extensive hardship, including high mortality (Pearson 2008).

Extensive efforts were made in Indian Territory to convince the anti-treaty Nez Perce to finally abandon their Native ways and accept Christian ways. These included bringing in Christian Nez Perce missionaries who had been trained at the ministerial school operated by Sue and Kate McBeth on the Nez Perce Reservation, establishing a Presbyterian church, organizing a local school, and sending children to government

² <https://www.nps.gov/nepe/learn/historyculture/1877.htm>

boarding schools off the reservation (Lewis 2003:185–189; Pearson 2008:138–145, 223–253). Euro-American names were also assigned to the non-treaty Nez Perce, including some that were English translations of Native names (Pearson 2008:6–7, 126–127).

The survivors of this ordeal remained in Indian Territory until 1885 when, at their request, they were moved to either the Nez Perce Lapwai reservation in Idaho or to the Colville Reservation in Washington. Chief Joseph, who was perceived by the whites as the leader of the anti-treaty Nez Perce, was not allowed to go to Colville, but the others were given the choice to follow Christianity and go to the Nez Perce reservation in Lapwai or to follow the Native faith and go to Colville (Pearson 2008:277–290; McWhorter 2020:290). The Presbyterian minister attached to the Lapwai reservation referred to the group going to Colville as the “unsubdued” and the group going to Lapwai as the “subdued” (Deffenbaugh 1885:73), but it is possible that the Christianity choice for many of those going to Lapwai reflected more a desire to live in Lapwai than a denial of their Native beliefs and practices. The group going to Colville became known as Chief Joseph’s Band of Nez Perce and arrived at the Colville Reservation just weeks before the 1885 Colville Agency census enumeration.

Specific Motivations and Pressure for Adoption of European Names

The presence of Euro-Americans on the Columbia Plateau brought motivation and pressure for Natives to have Euro-American names. The fur traders, missionaries, and others may have used Euro-American names for Natives because those names were more pronounceable for them, and Natives may have adopted Euro-American names to facilitate communication (Ross 2011:127). This was evident as soon as 1805 when Lewis and Clark referred to important Nez Perce leaders with such names as Twisted Hair, Looking Glass, and Cut Nose (Pinkham and Evans 2013:30–35, 118, 126–127). Twisted Hair’s son later received the name Lawyer from Euro-Americans in the

1830s because he was a “talker” who spoke with eloquence and persuasiveness (Drury 1979:19–20). Looking Glass became a strong opponent of Euro-American programs, and Lawyer became a strong advocate.

Missionaries also provided impetus for the adoption of Euro-American names. One of the first actions of the missionaries “was to replace traditional Indian names with ‘Christian names.’ Upon baptism, a name from the Bible, such as Andrew or Debra, would be assigned. The Christian name helped displace the Indian identity from its family ancestry... from which the traditional name was derived, and to associate it instead with the Scriptures” (Frey 2001:69).

The two teenage boys mentioned earlier who left the Plateau in 1825 to attend the Red River Missionary School were given the Euro-American names of Spokane Garry and Coutonais (or Kutenai) Pelly—their first names being the names of their Plateau groups, and their second names being those of Hudson’s Bay Company officials (Josephy 1997:85). Spokane Garry became an important leader and proponent of Christianity. In the 1830s the missionary Henry Spalding gave his first two converts the Biblical names of Joseph and Timothy and provided another Native the Biblical name of Moses (Josephy 1997:189–191; Ruby and Brown 1995:15–18). These three Natives were or became important leaders on the Plateau, with Joseph being the father of the Joseph for whom the Joseph’s Band of Nez Perce was named and the name Moses being applied to the Moses band of Columbians, also a part of the Colville Reservation in 1885. In the 1870s when the government commissioned Christian missionaries to manage reservations, Spalding returned to Lapwai and managed to baptize numerous Natives—both among the Nez Perce in Idaho and the Spokane in Washington, giving them Euro-American names (Drury 1949:53–74, 105–112). A ministerial school for Nez Perce young men operated on the Lapwai Nez Perce Reservation from 1874 to 1932 under the initial leadership of Sue McBeth and her sister Kate McBeth, with the students having such names

as James Hines, Robert Williams, and Archie Lawyer, the latter being the son of Lawyer and the grandson of Twisted Hair (McBeth 1908:88, 115; Lewis 2003:185–189).

Another source of impetus for Euro-American names for Natives on the Columbia Plateau was schools, both missionary and non-missionary. As noted earlier, several students left the Plateau to attend the Red River School, and when Spokane Garry returned home from that school, he established his own school (Stern 1996:8–12). Eliza Spalding also established a school at the Lapwai Mission within two months of the Mission's opening in 1836 (Drury 1997:197–200; Josephy 1997:159–160). Also at the St. Mary's Mission in Montana, children's education was seen as a religious duty (Evans 1976:94–96).

Formal schooling increased over time, and in 1872, the year the Colville reservation was established, the BIA reported 9 schools and 269 students on the Columbia Plateau (Office of Indian Affairs 1872:383–399). Twelve years later, in 1884, the year before the 1885 census, the BIA reported 16 schools and 830 students on the Columbia Plateau, with 5 schools and 193 students being under the Colville Agency itself (Office of Indian Affairs 1884:266–282), increasing the likelihood that Native children would receive English names. Of particular relevance for our purposes is that in this era the schools for Native children generally operated under a policy dubbed “kill the Indian in him, and save the man”; that is, eliminate Native culture, religion, and names and institute Euro-American patterns (Frey 2001:68–74; Reyhner and Eder 2017:143–156).

Another source for Euro-American names was the extensive marriage and childbearing of Native women with Euro-American men (Stern 1993:108–112; Cannell 2010:28–38; Barman 2014:110–116). The fur traders frequently married daughters of Native men—some of them leaders—and these children were very often raised as full members of the Native community (Barman 2014:116–123). This provided motivation for the mixed-ancestry couples to give their children Euro-American names.

Yet another force for the adoption of Euro-American names was the passage of the Dawes Act in 1887 and the subsequent allotment of Native lands to individual Natives and their families (Ross 2011:127). Native families were often required to use a Euro-American name to receive their land allotment, a requirement that would have motivated the acquisition and use of Euro-American names. However, this law and program was passed only in 1887, making it irrelevant for our analysis of names in the 1885 census.

Data and Methods

Bureau of Indian Affairs Census Program

The BIA began conducting annual censuses on American Indian reservations in 1885 (Young-DeMarco 2021). A law was passed (23 Stat. L, 98) requiring BIA agents to conduct annual censuses on most reservations, a pattern that continued through 1940. The BIA censuses were organized along Native group lines rather than by geographical residence as done in the decennial censuses. This particular law only called for Native census data to be summarized at the aggregate level (number of males, females, etc.). It was the BIA itself that issued a directive to government agents instructing them to obtain lists containing information about every individual Native residing within their agencies and to return such lists to the BIA on a yearly basis (BIA Circular 148, April 6, 1885). The example provided within the circular indicated that Natives were to be reported hierarchically within their family units with the head of the household listed first. While the example listed English first names with their corresponding surnames, it did not attempt to assign patronymic Native names to individual Natives; instead individuals were listed with their own unique Native names. The remaining pieces of information to be collected about each person included relationship to the head of household, sex, and age. No methodological instructions were given for how or where to obtain

the desired information or how to subsequently record it on the census sheet.

We earlier mentioned twelve groups under the jurisdiction of the Colville Agency in 1885, but the 1885 Colville census only included five of these groups: the Coeur d'Alene, Calispel, Lake, Joseph's Band of Nez Perce, and the Lower Spokane. The 1885 census also included the Deep Creek Colony of Spokans that we discussed earlier. We do not know why some groups were not included in the census, but it may have been related to an unwillingness to participate. These coverage considerations mean that the 1885 census was not representative of all within the jurisdiction of the Colville Agency.

Hoxie and his colleagues (1992:53), who have worked closely with the 1885 Colville census data, reported that the 1885 Colville census was conducted by Sidney Waters, the Colville Indian agent at the time. Hoxie et al. (1992:6) also reported that there was a relationship between the census and the agency enrollment list, but they did not indicate what that relationship was. As previously noted, there were very few instructions provided for conducting the census, and we do not know how Agent Waters obtained the required information or whether the information was collected by Waters himself. Regardless of how the information was obtained, we do expect that it involved a complex interaction with the Native person providing the requested information for himself/herself and for other members of the family or household. It is likely that the nature of that interaction varied across individuals. Consequently, it is unclear whether the census was produced entirely from direct interactions on the census day between enumerator and each Native person (or their representative), from information obtained through other sources, or from some combination of both.

Lists of Indian names belonging to male household heads had been collected directly from Natives in many agencies for some time and in various configurations and for different purposes, including to allow agents to account for the distribution of subsistence supplies and

for annuity payrolls (Young-DeMarco 2021). In fact, several pages of the 1885 Colville Reservation census may have been partially obtained from sources of this kind because in a number of cases only the male family head was listed by his Native name, implying that the enumerator may have treated that Native name as a family patronym. In any event, we believe the names recorded on the censuses were, arguably, accurate in the sense of how each individual was known to the agent.

Figure 1 contains an image of a page from the BIA census done by the Colville Agency in 1885. The page has five columns; four are titled Indian Name, English Name, Age, and Relation, with the first column reserved for the total number of people in the family (indicated next to the last family member listed). And, contradictory to BIA instructions, the sex of each person on the list was omitted from the 1885 Colville Agency census. Families were listed in rows immediately following each other, and the enumerator filled out one row per person, with entries possible in all columns.

The separate columns on the census form for Indian name and English name allowed the enumerator to make entries in both the Indian Name column and the English Name column for each individual. Although the census example provided by the BIA showed every Native as having both Indian and English names, in practice an individual could be listed in the Indian Name column only, in the English Name column only, in both columns, or in neither column. The recorded names may have been given at birth, but they may also have been given any time between birth and the 1885 census. The recorded names may have been given by the parents, the people themselves, or by somebody else, either Native or Euro-American. In fact, the name recorded on the census may have even been given at the time of the census by the census taker. All entries in the Indian Name column are Native names written using English characters. In addition to the English Name column containing English names, it also included names of French and

NAMES USED AMONG NATIVE AMERICANS AT THE COLVILLE INDIAN AGENCY

Italian origins as well as names that reflect titles, labels, and translations from Native names.

As noted earlier, completion of the census involved potentially complex interactions between the census taker and the Native; this was probably especially complex in the recording of names. The sacred nature of Native names may have created a reluctance on the part of the Native person to mention them. Natives may also have been motivated to report a Euro-American name and not a Native name in order to be seen by the government agent as sufficiently Euro-American to obtain the agent's favor and to avoid his displeasure. In addition, the unfamiliarity with Native names on the part of the agent and the agent's likely difficulty in understanding and recording them may have led to motivations not to record them. These considerations emphasize the fact that the absence of a recorded Indian name does not mean that the individual did not have one, but rather that it was not given by the individ-

ual or that the census taker did not record it. Similarly, the absence of a name in the English Name column does not mean that the person did not have one but that it was either not given or not recorded. At the same time, as we report below, the agent did record many Native names in the Indian Name column of the 1885 Colville census, and the variations in names recorded across gender, birth cohort, and group are both very large and interpretable.

The enumerator filled the age column with the years of age unless the individual was under a year old, in which case the enumerator used months instead of years. If the individual did not give an age or was unsure, the enumerator may have estimated it. To calculate birth cohorts, we subtracted the person's age from 1885. Those people without age recorded are included in all analyses except the birth cohort analysis.

There is evidence of age heaping in the 1885 BIA census dataset as seen by a large proportion of individuals listed with ages that

<u>Census</u>		<u>Lake tribe Indians</u>		
		<u>June 3rd 1885</u>		
<u>Indian Name</u>	<u>English Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Relation</u>	
Oa-ta-chau	Louis	Chief	38	Husband
	Francis		37	Wife
	William		16	daughter
	Patrick		6	son
	Mary Louise		3	daughter
	Quire		1	son
	Baptiste		33	Husband
	Isabelle		30	Wife
	Francis		6	son
	boy		1	"
5	girl baby		3 mos	daughter
	Alvin		25	Husband

Figure 1. Section of 1885 BIA Census of Colville Agency.

end with a “5” or “0” (e.g., “25,” “40”) (Hoxie et al. 1992). To minimize the effects of this problem in our birth cohort analysis, we combined people into birth cohorts of ten-year intervals. However, because of the small number of people in the earliest cohorts, we combined those born between 1790 and 1815 into one cohort of 26 years.

There was not a column on the census form indicating the person’s group, but the enumerator arranged people into labeled sections. Figure 1 shows the beginning of a section for the Lake Indians entitled “Lake tribe Indians,” with individual Lake people listed below and on subsequent sheets, as necessary. Each section of the census form was completed in this manner.

The American Indian Family History Project

The data from 1885 BIA Colville Census were digitized by Hoxie and his colleagues under the auspices of the American Indian Family History Project, which digitized several BIA and Federal decennial censuses from 1885 to 1930 for five groups of Native Americans (Hoxie et al. 1992). In addition to the Colville Agency, these censuses covered the Creek in Oklahoma, the White Earth Chippewa in Minnesota, the Crows in Montana, and Hopis in Arizona. The project documentation, codebooks, and data are available through the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research at the University of Michigan (ICPSR: 3576. <https://doi.org/10.3886/ICPSR03576.v2>).

As mentioned, the 1885 BIA census by the Colville Agency did not directly collect data about the person’s gender. The American Indian Family History Project made a determination, whenever possible of the gender of the person based on relationship terms and names, and added that information to the data file (Hoxie et al. 1992). The 21 individuals whose gender is unknown are included in all analyses except for those focusing on gender.

Results

We begin our presentation of results with Table 1 and the frequency of individuals listed under the English Name column, Indian Name column, both columns, or neither column, to get a picture of the overall frequency with which the 1885 BIA census listed people with Native and English names. Then, we analyze the distribution of different types of recordings in the English Name column.

Our first observation from Table 1 is that entries were made in the Indian Name column or the English Name column—or both—for the overwhelming majority of people. In fact, there were only eighteen individuals—just slightly larger than one percent—who were not listed in either of the name columns.

We see from Row 2 of Table 1 that 63 percent of individuals were listed solely with a name in the English Name column. Another 12 percent were enumerated under both the Indian and

Table 1. Entries in the English and Indian Name Columns.

Entry in:	Frequency	Percent
Indian Name Column Only	351	24.3
English Name Column Only	907	62.9
Both Indian and English Name Columns	167	11.6
Neither Indian or English Name Columns	18	1.2
Total	1,443	100

English Name columns (Row 3). By combining Rows 2 and 3, we see that three-fourths of the population enumerated were listed with a name in the English Name column. These results clearly show that the vast majority of those in the Colville census had names that they and/or the enumerator perceived as needing to be recorded in the English Name column. This indicates that over the course of several decades the people included in the Colville census had adopted or received Euro-American names that could be used in Euro-American settings.

Looking now at the names in the Indian Name column, we see from Row 1 of Table 1 that 24 percent of individuals were listed solely with a name in the Indian Name column. Another 12 percent were enumerated under both the Indian and English Name columns (Row 3), meaning that just over a third of the population was listed as having a Native name (Rows 1 and 3 combined). These results indicate that even in this setting of census taking by the U. S. government where it would have been easy for the census taker to just write down an English name of some sort, more than one-third were recorded with Native names. The relevance of this point can be illustrated by the fact that the enumerator could have simply written down a familiar Euro-American name such Sam, Linda, John, or Sarah rather than interpreting and spelling the less familiar Native names such as “A La Lem Pe Tin,” “Cuai Cu Me Man,” and “Scom E Nar” that were recorded in the Indian Name column. These results indicate a substantial persistence of Native names and their use in Euro-American settings through the first half of the 1880s—about ninety years after Euro-Americans entered the Plateau. We emphasize again that many without a Native name recorded may indeed have had a Native name that was simply not recorded for whatever reason.

³ Other names in this category were Albert Big Star, Fort Trake Charley, Captain Jack, Jack Lawyer, Jacob Snow, Lame John, Old Joe, Little Joseph, Norbert Old, William Bull.

⁴ Other names in this category were Crow Blanket Eagle Blanket, Grizzly Bear, Greenwood, Hawk Hawk, Hunter Blanket, Red Crow, Red Bones, Red Cloud, Red Curlew, Snow, Snow On Her Dress, Wolf Head, Yellow Bull, Yellow Head, Looking Down, Young Up, Come Down, Good Dress, Other Side, Coyote Chief, Old Semo, Pointed Nose, Preacher, Woman Doctor.

We now shift our attention to the types of names recorded in the English Name column. We consider here both those listed only under the English Name column and those listed under both the Indian and English Name columns (Table 1, Rows 2 and 3), resulting in a population of 1,074 people used in this analysis. We thus exclude from this analysis the 369 people for whom nothing is enumerated in the English Name column. In Appendix A we provide a full list of the entries made in the English Name column.

Our review of the full list of names in the English Name column revealed only two names that we interpreted as combining an English name with the name of a Native group—as happened with Spokane Garry. These two names were Louis Lake and Joseph Blackfoot. We did find several people, both male and female, with the surname of Garry, presumably relatives of Spokane Garry.

For further analysis, we divided the universe of 1,074 names in the English Name column into four categories, the first being those we labeled as a “Traditional Euro-American name”—a name that would be mostly familiar to us today. This traditional category not only includes specifically English names, but also names of various European origins such as French and Italian, reflecting the influence of the fur trade, missionary involvement, schools, and other European interventions. The second type is identified as being a “Modified Euro-American Name” and concerns those persons having a Euro-American name accompanied by a translation, characteristic, or job description, such as Sam the Lawyer or Chief Joseph.³ The third category of entries under the English Name column is the group of “Translated” names that are not accompanied by a Euro-American name. These are either descriptive of a profession or a translation of an Indian name such as Crow Blanket, Red Bull, and Little Man Chief.⁴ The fourth type under the English Name column

is the “Relationship” category that includes those enumerated according to their relationship or role in a family. These include entries such as Baby, Baby Girl, Boy, Child, Daughter, Girl, Son, and Wife.

Table 2 shows the distribution of names in the English Name column across the four categories mentioned. These data demonstrate that 84 percent of those in the census who were enumerated under the English Name column were listed with a “Traditional Euro-American Name” (Row 1). Given that 75 percent of the individuals were recorded with a name in the English Name column and that 84 percent of these were recorded with a “Traditional Euro-American name” means that nearly two-thirds of the entire population were familiar enough with Euro-American culture and language to choose or be given a Traditional Euro-American name.

The second most frequent category of names under the English Names column was “Relationship” names, with nearly twelve percent in this category (Row 4 of Table 2). The vast majority, three-fourths, of individuals in this category were between the ages of zero and nine, with many under two years of age. This might indicate reluctance on the part of parents to provide information about their young children to the enumerator. Alternatively, it might

indicate that very young children were not yet old enough to receive one of the other types of English names, but might receive one later when they were more mature. This consideration seems particularly relevant in the case of the 36 individuals enumerated with the names of Baby, Girl Baby, and Baby Girl.

The third and fourth most frequent types of names recorded in the English Names column were the “Translated” and “Modified Euro-American Name” categories. The nearly 3 percent in the Translated category suggests that at least some Colville Natives were continuing to use a translation of a Native name in their dealings with Euro-Americans—again indicating the persistence of Native names into the 1880s. At the same time, the small number using a Translated name, along with the low number using a Modified Euro-American Name, suggests that most people using a Euro-American name had a traditional one.

We now focus our analysis of the names in the English Name column on the most common Euro-American names. For this analysis we examined only the 920 names categorized as Traditional Euro-American Names or as Modified Euro-American names (Table 2, Rows 1 and 2). For this group of names, we list in Table 3 the first names of every male and female that occurred

Table 2. Types of Entries Under English Name Column.⁵

Types of Entries:	Frequency	Percentage
Traditional Euro-American Name	906	84.4
Modified Euro-American Name	14	1.3
Translated	30	2.8
Relationship	124	11.5
Total People Enumerated Under English Name	1,074	100

⁵ Calculations exclude individuals who were listed by an Indian name only (Row 1 in Table 1), and those where no name (Indian or English) was listed (Row 4 in Table 1).

more than once. Some names were spelled slightly differently but were very similar, such as Catherine and Catharine, and we grouped them together as one unique first name. The spelling of the names in Table 3 represents either the most common spelling or the first way it was spelled on the enumerator's list.

For Table 3 we ignored last names and grouped individuals only by their first names. This was because only 92 individuals with Euro-American names had last names listed, and among them were multiple instances of all members of a family sharing that last name in the same way Euro-American last names usually function (data not shown). The rarity of last names in the census shows that the adoption of Euro-American names did not necessarily indicate a complete adoption of the naming practice of first and last names. It could also have been a means of convenience in filling out the census form.

Table 3 displays a wide variety of Euro-American names used on the 1885 Colville census, with a substantial number of names having only two or three people with that name. Other names also only had one person with that name. This likely reflects influences from many different sources. The French influence on the Plateau can be seen in the names listed in Table 3. Names such as Pierre, Francois, and Louise are in the top ten most frequently used names and reflect a strong French presence. The name Baptiste, additionally, is a French name that comes from a Greek word meaning "to dip in liquid," and was the name of St. John the Baptist (<https://www.ancestry.com/name-origin?surname=baptiste>), who baptized Jesus. The prevalence of French names on the Plateau may also be a reflection of the extensive intermarriage of French fur trappers with Native women and their offspring receiving French names.

As we would expect from the large and early Christian missionary presence on the Plateau, the most popular names had their origins in Christianity, with several Biblical names being common. The most common male and female

names were Joseph and Mary, referring to key figures in the Christian New Testament. Other Biblical names included Moses, Jacob, Sarah, Solomon, Benjamin, and Josephine. We mentioned earlier that the missionary Henry Spalding gave his first two converts the names of Timothy and Joseph when they were baptized, and numerous other Natives received Biblical names when they were baptized, and this pattern is likely reflected in the names used.

Naming Patterns by Birth Cohort, Gender, and Group

We now shift our attention to how names in the 1885 BIA census varied by gender, birth cohort, and group, looking first at differentials by gender. Table 4 shows the percentage of males and females enumerated in the census in the English Name column only, Indian Name column only, in both, or in neither. The primary difference between males and females is not the name column in which they were enumerated—Indian or English—but the number of names listed for them. Males were more likely than females to be listed in both the English and Indian Name columns—19% compared to 4% (Row 3). Males also had lower percentages than females of entries only in the Indian Name column and only in the English Name column.

In Table 5 we document the types of names listed for each gender in the English Name column. Traditional Euro-American names made up a very large majority of names in the English Name column for both genders, with males and females being almost equally likely to be listed with a Traditional Euro-American name at 85% and 84%, respectively (Row 1). The number of Translated and Modified Euro-American names are few for both males and females, but a bit higher for males than females.

Females, on the other hand, have double the percentage of Relationship names than males—15 percent versus 7 percent (Row 4). As noted earlier, Relationship names include such labels as Wife, Girl, Boy, and Baby. In addition to the overall difference in the percentage of

Table 3. Name Frequency by Gender.⁶

Male			
Name	Frequency	Name	Frequency
Joseph	38	Moses	4
Louis	37	Abraham	3
John	30	Albert	3
Pierre	25	Antoine*	2
Paul	22	Benjamin	3
Charles	18	Cecil*	2
Alexis	14	Cornelius	3
Aeneas*	12	Daniel	3
Andrew	12	David	3
Luke	12	Henry	3
George	11	Jeremiah	3
Francois	10	Macellus	3
Thomas	10	Marshall	3
Leo	9	Moese	3
William	8	Norbert	3
Peter	7	Anepa	2
Alex	6	Archie	2
Camille	6	Athol	2
Samuel	6	Benoni	2
Baptiste	5	Bernard	2
Edward	5	Bob	2
Emanuel	5	Eneas	2
Jack	5	Isaac	2
Joe	5	Narcisse	2
Michel	5	Parrish	2
Philip	5	Regis	2
Adrian	4	Sebastian	2
Augustus	4	Semo	2
Basil	4	Solomon	2
Jacob	4	Timothy	2
James	4	-	-

⁶ Names that are listed for only one person are not included in the table. Each name with an asterisk has one additional person with the same name, but of the opposite gender. This results in an increase by one of the total number of people who have that name, although it is not reflected in the table.

NAMES USED AMONG NATIVE AMERICANS AT THE COLVILLE INDIAN AGENCY

Table 3. (cont.)

Female			
Name	Frequency	Name	Frequency
Mary	87	Jeanette	4
Susan	23	Margaret	4
Lucy	20	Adelaine	3
Louise	19	Agatha	3
Ann	18	Alice	3
Therese	16	Bridget	3
Catharine	14	Celeste	3
Julia	12	Christine	3
Rosalie	12	Felicity	3
Sophie	12	Josephine	3
Martine	11	Anastasia*	2
Elizabeth	10	Corlett	2
Cecile	9	Frances	2
Nancy	9	Isabel	2
Madeline*	7	Justine	2
Ellen	6	Katharine	2
Harriet	6	Lizzie	2
Sarah	6	Mattie	2
Ursula	6	Pauline	2
Amelia	5	Phoebe Ann	2
Jane	5	Eneas	2
Charlotte	4	-	-

Table 4. Percent of Males and Females with Entries in the English or Indian Name Columns.⁷

Entry in:	Male	Female
Indian Name Column Only	21.1	26.7
English Name Column Only	58.5	67.9
Both Indian and English Name Columns	19.4	3.8
Neither Indian nor English Name Columns	1.0	1.6
Total	100 (721)	100 (701)

⁷ Since the 1885 Colville BIA census did not record an individual’s sex, it was imputed by the Hoxie data processing team based upon relationship to the “head” of household and the individual’s name. Individuals for whom sex could not be determined have been excluded from this analysis.

relationship names, 19 females were enumerated as Wife and no males were enumerated as Husband (results not shown in table). Moreover, all 19 females enumerated as Wife had no Native name listed. In addition, nine more females than males were enumerated with the child label of Girl or Boy (results not shown in table).

We now examine birth cohort differences in the frequency of names used in the 1885 census. The oldest people in this census were born in the late eighteenth century—before direct Euro-American contact on the Columbia Plateau—while the youngest were born just before the 1885 census—after more than three-fourths of a century of Euro-American contact.

To analyze the effects of birth cohort on naming patterns, we used two different name indicators. The first is the percent of individuals with anything listed in the Indian Name column of the census form. The second is the

percent of the total population having either a Traditional Euro-American Name or a Modified Euro-American Name recorded in the English Name column; these are the people listed in Rows 1 and 2 in Table 2. Figure 2 provides the distribution of Native and Euro-American names across the cohorts from 1790 through 1885.

Figure 2 shows that 72 percent of those born before 1816 were reported on the 1885 census with a Native name. The 28 percent not being reported with a Native name is especially interesting because they would have certainly been given a Native name at birth or soon thereafter. Figure 2 also shows that 45 percent of those in this earliest birth cohort were recorded with a Euro-American name, even though they almost certainly would not have had a Euro-American name during infancy. Nevertheless, by 1885 they were recorded with a Euro-American name that they had been given or chose to adopt.

Table 5. Percentage of Population with English Name Entry Types by Gender.⁸

English Name as Enumerated	Male	Female
Traditional Euro-American Name	85.4	84.2
Modified Euro-American Name	2.5	0.0
Translated	4.6	0.8
Relationship	7.5	14.7
Total	100 (562)	100 (503)

⁸ Calculations exclude individuals who were listed by an Indian name only (Row 1 in Table 1), those where no name (Indian or English) was listed (Row 4 in Table 1), and those for whom sex is unknown (Table 4 footnote).

Figure 2 also shows dramatic differences across birth cohorts in the use of both Native and Euro-American names. Compared to the 72 percent of those born before 1816 having a Native name listed, just 12 percent of those born between 1876 and 1885 were enumerated with a Native name. The decline is steady, with each successive cohort having a smaller percentage of the population listed with a Native name. At the same time, the frequency of Euro-American names was about twice as high for the 1866–1875 cohort (nearly 80 percent) than for the 1790–1815 birth cohort (about 45 percent). However, this pattern of increasingly higher incidence of Euro-American names across birth cohorts was reversed with the most recent cohort (1876–1885) having just 54 percent with Euro-American names, a very substantial dip in Euro-American names used that we discuss and interpret in our final section.

We next examine the names recorded on the 1885 Colville census for the six groups discussed earlier: Coeur d'Alene, Calispel, Lake, Deep Creek Colony, Lower Spokane, and Joseph's Band of Nez Perce. As we noted earlier, the different Native groups have had different experiences with Euro-Americans. These group differentials were likely marked by different motivations for adoption, resistance, and rejection of Euro-American ways that, as we discuss and interpret later, were likely manifested in the distribution of names recorded.

Table 6 reports for each of the six groups the percentages of individuals with entries in the Indian Name column only, English Name column only, both English and Indian Name columns, and without an entry in either column. We see from Table 6 that the percentage of individuals recorded with names in the English Name column is exceptionally

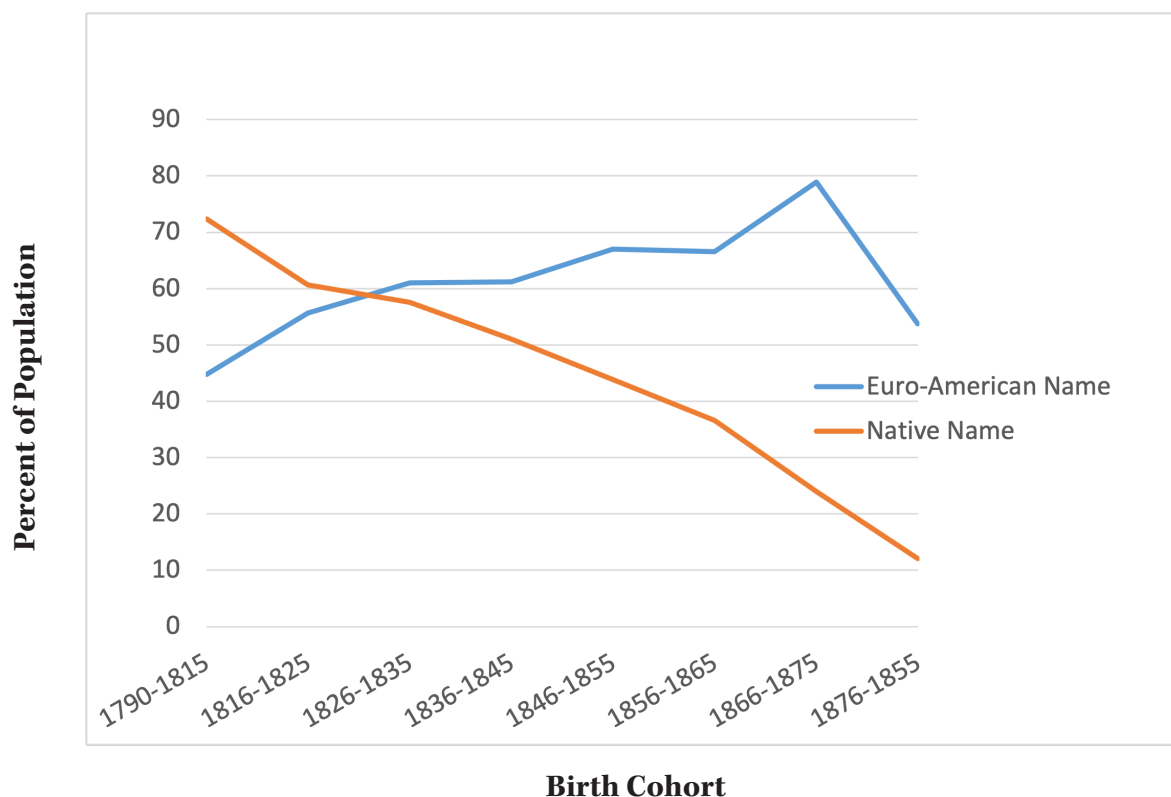


Figure 2. Percent of population in 1885 with Euro-American and Native names by birth cohort.

high for individuals in the Deep Creek Colony, Lake, Coeur d'Alene, and Calispel groups. For each of these 4 groups, nearly 90 percent or more were enumerated in the English Name column alone or in both the English and Indian Name columns (Rows 2 plus 3). Even more remarkably, 99% of the Deep Creek Colony and 80% of the Lake and the Coeur d'Alene populations were enumerated in only the English Name column (Row 2). By contrast, the total percentage of Lower Spokane and Nez Perce listed in the English Name column (Rows 2 plus 3) was much lower, 54% and 33%, respectively.

Table 6 also shows that nearly all the people of Chief Joseph's Band of Nez Perce (98%) were listed as having a Native name. This is considerably higher than the Lower Spokane and Calispel who had just 50% and 44%, respectively. The Coeur d'Alene and Lake had even lower percentages with Indian names (18% and 19%, respectively), and the

Deep Creek Colony had no individuals listed with an Indian name.

In Table 7 we document differences among the groups in the types of names listed in the English Name column. Table 7 shows that each of the four groups with the greatest percentages of English Name column entries—Coeur d'Alene, Calispel, Lake, and Deep Creek Colony—also had at least 85% of those individuals enumerated with Traditional Euro-American names. Even more striking is that essentially everyone enumerated in the English Name column among the Coeur d'Alene and the Deep Creek Colony was listed using a Traditional Euro-American name.

Table 7 also shows that the Chief Joseph Band of Nez Perce and Lower Spokane—the groups least likely to have entries in the English Name column—also had the lowest incidence of Traditional Euro-American names among those listed in the English Name column. Of the individuals listed in the English Name column, only 50 percent of the Nez Perce and 57

Table 6. Percentage of Population with Entries in English and Indian Name Columns by Group.

Entry in:	Deep Creek Colony	Lake	Coeur d'Alene	Calispel	Lower Spokan	Nez Perce
Indian Name Column Only	0.0	11.2	10.6	10.9	44.4	66.7
English Name Column Only	98.5	80.7	80.1	55.8	48.2	2.0
Both Indian and English Name Columns	0.0	7.5	7.5	33.3	5.4	31.3
Neither Indian nor English Name Columns	1.5	0.7	1.8	0.0	2.0	0.0
Number of Cases	67	295	442	138	351	150

percent of the Lower Spokan were listed in the Traditional Euro-American name category. If we add those with a Traditional Euro-American name and Modified Euro-American name, the number with a Euro-American name increases to 62% for the Nez Perce but only to 59% for the Lower Spokan.

The low percentages of Nez Perce and Lower Spokan with a Traditional Euro-American name is even more remarkable when we recall from Rows 2 and 3 of Table 6 that only a third of Nez Perce and just over half of Lower Spokan were listed under the English Name column. This fact, plus the relatively modest levels of Traditional Euro-American names among those listed in the English Name column reported in Table 7 results in the percentages of the entire population of Nez Perce and Lower Spokan

with a Traditional Euro-American name being only 17% and 31%, respectively.⁹

Table 7 also shows that although the Nez Perce and Lower Spokan were fairly similar on the percentage in the English name column that had Traditional Euro-American names, they were very different on the other English column names that were listed. Whereas twelve percent of Nez Perce recorded under the English Name column were enumerated with a Modified Euro-American name, the comparable number for the Lower Spokan was only two percent. In addition, over a third of the Lower Spokan enumerated in the English Name column were listed as having a Relationship name, but only two percent of Nez Perce did so.

⁹ 33.3 percent of Nez Perce had a name in the English name column (Rows 2 and 3 of Table 6), and of these, 50 percent had a traditional Euro-American name (Row 1 of Table 7). The 17 percent of the total Nez Perce population having a traditional Euro-American name was calculated by multiplying .333 times .50 times 100. The 31 percent of the total Spokan population having a traditional Euro-American name was calculated by multiplying .536 times .570 times 100.

Table 7. Percentage of Population with English Name Entry Types by Group.¹⁰

English Name as Enumerated	Deep Creek Colony	Lake	Coeur d’Alene	Calispel	Lower Spokane	Nez Perce
Traditional Euro-American Name	100.0	85.0	99.2	91.1	57.0	50.0
Modified Euro-American Name	0.0	1.9	0.0	0.0	1.6	12.0
Translated	0.0	1.2	0.0	0.8	4.2	3.0
Relationship	0.0	13.1	0.8	8.1	37.2	2.0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of Cases	66	260	387	123	188	50

¹⁰ Calculations exclude individuals who were listed by an Indian name only (Row 1 in Table 6), and those where no name (Indian or English) was listed (Row 4 in Table 6).

Discussion and Interpretation

In this article, we examined the names used for Native Americans in the 1885 Colville census, with the goal of obtaining insights into the nature of Native-White relationships as expressed in name usage. We examined the extent to which Columbia Plateau Natives were recorded on the census in the Indian Name column, the English Name column, in both columns, or in neither column. For those recorded in the English Name column, we investigated the type of name recorded—Traditional Euro-American Name, Modified Euro-American Name, Translated Name, and Relationship Name. We also investigated how the distribution of these names varied by gender, birth cohort, and group.

Although the general distribution of names across the entire Colville Agency population is interesting itself, the most powerful findings relate to the distributions of names by gender,

birth cohort, and group—leading us to focus our discussion and interpretation on the latter materials. At the same time, we acknowledge that we cannot know from a distance of more than a century and across important ethnic differences what the motivations and strategies of the census enumerator and individual Natives were using when the census form was filled out. And, we do not know the important interaction processes between the enumerator and the person being enumerated. We expect that with this census, context and the motivations of both Native Americans and Euro-Americans there would have been pressures to report Euro-American names that would not have existed in other contexts, especially in contexts with only Native people, leading to more Euro-American and fewer Native names in the Colville census. We also emphasize that we are only studying the use of names recorded in a census context and not the names that people had and used in other

contexts. It is highly likely that many Natives with a Native name did not use it in the census enumeration, and, there were also likely Natives that had a Euro-American name who did not use it in the census enumeration.

At the same time, we have seen strong patterns in the data across gender, birth cohort, and group that we think can be interpreted in terms of historical experience and context in 1885. We provide our interpretations below, while recognizing that other interpretations are possible. We also emphasize in writing our tentative interpretation that this is only a first look at Native name usage patterns on the Columbia Plateau under Euro-American influence. There is much research yet to be done on this topic, and in the discussion below, we provide some suggestions for such further research.

We begin our discussion and interpretation of differentials with gender and repeat an earlier observation that the Plateau Natives were noted for their gender egalitarianism accompanied by a gendered division of labor. Euro-American society was also characterized by a gendered division of labor but by less gender egalitarianism. Our results cast light on how this may have played out in the distribution of names recorded in the census.

The data reported earlier indicate that gender did not show strong divides in the distribution of names recorded on the 1885 Colville census. The strongest divides between males and females concerned relatively modest differences in the number of names recorded and the number of Relationship names recorded in the English Name column, with more names recorded altogether for males and more Relationship names recorded for females.

Both of these gender differences may be a result of male Natives playing a larger role than females in dealings with Euro-Americans who themselves were often male. As mentioned earlier, the census enumerator for the 1885 Colville census was male (Hoxie et al. 1992:53) and likely saw the Native males as the heads of the households and dealt with them

more frequently. This aligns with the fact that ration lists for Natives at the time were done according to the head of household or family, which would have likely been considered by whites to be the senior male. As the perceived head of household, the males more frequently than the females would likely have been asked to report information to the enumerator for the entire household or family. In this role, the reporting male may have given two names to the enumerator for himself while finding one name sufficient for other family members.

In addition, both the male white enumerator and the (presumably) male Native reporter of census information may have seen it as more important to record a specific name for the male than the female members of the household. The male Native reporter may also have been more accustomed to giving his name to Euro-Americans, which would increase the likelihood that he would report a unique Euro-American name for himself rather than a Relationship name. This possible explanation is consistent with the fact that 19 females were enumerated as Wife and no males were enumerated as Husband and the fact that more females than males were enumerated with the child label of Girl or Boy. These results suggest the emphasis on obtaining a unique name for males, while settling for a relationship label for females.

As we observed earlier, the differences in names recorded for birth cohorts are very dramatic. Recall that for the earliest cohort, those born between 1790 and 1815, 72 percent were recorded in the census with a Native name and 45 percent were recorded with a Euro-American name. In contrast to that, the 1866–1875 birth cohort was recorded with about one-quarter Native names and nearly 80 percent with a Euro-American name, with relatively steady decreases or increases across cohorts.

Explanation of such dramatic differences across birth cohorts in the names used in the 1885 census requires understanding of the important differences in the social milieu of the different cohorts when they were maturing from

infancy through young adulthood. There had to be differences in the socialization processes and outcomes during the early years of life that persisted through the lifetimes of individuals and affected the ways their names were reported on the 1885 census. Furthermore, these differences in life circumstances and socialization outcomes across cohorts had to have been very substantial to explain the dramatic differences in names documented.

We earlier described the growing presence and involvement of Euro-Americans on the Columbia Plateau across the years when the people in the 1885 census were born and being socialized into adulthood. These included Euro-American fur traders, missionaries, government officials, and schools. Many of these interactions also became very personal, even intimate, as Native women married Euro-American men and bore children together, with significant numbers of young people born and socialized in homes with a Euro-American parent—and for later cohorts, with grandparents, aunts, and uncles who had Euro-American ancestry.

Very fortunately for interpretation of the birth cohort differences in names we know for certain many things about the people in the 1885 census who were born before the first white person entered the Plateau in 1793, and what we know about them would be very nearly the same for those in the entire 1790–1815 birth cohort. We know for a certainty that the people born before 1793 did not have Euro-American parents or grandparents, that their Native parents would have given them Native names with spiritual and familial significance during their infancy, and that there was no chance of them receiving a Euro-American name in infancy. Except for those individuals in this birth cohort who happened to be on the exploration paths of McKenzie, Fraser, Thompson, Lewis, and Clark, none of them would have experienced Euro-American fur traders, missionaries, government agents, or schools during their early decades of life. The complete socialization of these Native youth in this exclusively Native environment would have

been carried by them throughout their lives and affected subsequent outcomes, such as filling out census forms in 1885.

Yet, we know that only 72 percent of the birth cohort of 1790–1815 were recorded in the 1885 census with a Native name and 45 percent were recorded with a Euro-American name. Obviously, some things changed between 1790–1815 and 1885. During the 70 or more years between their births and 1885, many of these individuals had interactions with Euro-Americans such as fur traders, missionaries, churches, government agents, and schools that affected their subsequent beliefs, values, and the names they had and used. Many of them would have been assigned Euro-American names by fur traders, when they were baptized into Christian churches, in Euro-American schools, by government officials, and/or by a Euro-American they married. The combination of these very diverse experiences with their very strong childhood socialization resulted in 28 percent not having a Native name recorded on the 1885 census, despite the fact that 100 percent were given a Native name as a child. And, in some way 45 percent had obtained a Euro-American name that was recorded on the same census, indicating the utility of having a Euro-American name in dealing with Euro-Americans—names that had been given to them or they chose to use for convenience, baptism, or other reasons.

As we saw earlier, the later birth cohorts had substantially lower percentages with Native names recorded on the census and substantially higher percentages recorded with Euro-American names than did the 1790–1815 birth cohorts. The decrease in recording Native names across birth cohorts was also monotonic through the latest cohort, and the increase in recording Euro-American names was monotonic through the 1866–1875 birth cohort. This suggests that the later birth cohorts must have experienced increasingly very different environments in childhood and young adulthood than did the earliest cohort.

The historical material presented earlier suggests that over each succeeding birth cohort Native children were increasingly likely to have Euro-American parents, grandparents, aunts, and uncles, changing dramatically their socialization experiences. Later cohorts of children also had many more childhood interactions with Euro-American fur traders, missionaries, government officials, and schools, with their additional influences on childhood and socialization. Increasing numbers were likely assigned Euro-American names as children by their parents, by fur traders, when they were baptized into Christian churches, or when they attended Euro-American schools. It is likely that the combination of these varying childhood environments and experiences socialized Native children about the use of Euro-American names, taught them that whites preferred Euro-American names over Native names, and trained them to ignore Native names, if they had them, when dealing with Euro-Americans. With such changes in childhood socialization, by the time of the birth cohort of 1866–1875, only about one-quarter were recorded in the 1885 census with a Native name and nearly 80 percent with a Euro-American name—an enormous difference from the earliest cohort.

As noted earlier in our discussion of Figure 2, this pattern of increasingly higher incidence of Euro-American names across birth cohorts was reversed with a very substantial dip in Euro-American names used for the 1876–1885 birth cohort. We believe that this substantial dip for the 1876–1885 cohort cannot be explained by changes in childhood socialization because any such changes in childhood socialization would have to explain a drop in both Native and Euro-American names—something that seems unlikely. In addition, the people in this cohort were still children in 1885, all less than ten years of age.

We believe, in fact that the decline in Euro-American names for this cohort is due to their young age—a life course explanation rather than a birth cohort explanation. We

mentioned earlier that a large number of people under age ten were recorded in the census with a Relationship name, such as Baby, Baby Girl, and Girl Baby (Table 2, Row 2), which is less a name and more an identifying characteristic. Our expectation is that many people receiving these names were young enough that they had not received a Euro-American name but may have received one later. We cannot evaluate this expectation empirically with the 1885 census, but subsequent research with later censuses from the Colville Agency could cast light on the validity of this interpretation.

Before leaving the relationship of birth cohort with names used on the 1885 Colville census, we remind ourselves that birth cohort was calculated by subtracting the age reported in the census from 1885. As a result, birth cohort and age are perfectly correlated, raising the possibility that the correlation of birth cohort with name use reported in Figure 2 is actually due to age effects rather than birth cohort effects. That is, it is possible that the data in Figure 2 could be explained by a theory suggesting that few Natives on the Plateau began life with Native names or were very reluctant to use them in a census interaction, but as they matured to older ages, they increasingly received Native names or used them more frequently in interactions with Euro-Americans. Or, if the decision making about names on a BIA census rested with the census enumerator, the relationship of names used with age could be explained by the enumerator choosing to give Native names more frequently to older people. We cannot reject these age explanations, but believe that the birth cohort explanation is more plausible. Additional data from more census years and birth cohorts may provide additional information to resolve this issue, but untangling the interrelated effects of birth cohort, age, and the year of the data collection is very difficult.

The contrasts in naming patterns observed among the six groups enumerated by the Colville Agency in 1885 are even larger than the very large differences documented for the birth cohort

groups, demanding some understanding of the circumstances each group experienced with Euro-American people and institutions prior to the 1885 census. Euro-American missionaries, fur trappers, schools, government agents, and settlers were all part of the Native experience on the Plateau, but the interactions of Natives with these groups were not uniform. There were also marked differences across groups with the treaty process and military engagement. In addition, the groups enumerated on the 1885 BIA census did not all arrive at the three Colville Agency reservations at the same time. Some had been living there for generations while others moved or were placed there at different times and in different ways. These differences in group experiences with Euro-Americans may help to explain the very large group differences found in the names used. Although a full exposition of the important differences among the groups that explain the differences in naming patterns on the 1885 census is beyond the scope of this paper, we can point to some possible explanatory factors for the two groups at the opposite extremes of the Native and Euro-American naming spectrum, the Deep Creek Colony and the Chief Joseph Band of Nez Perce.

We begin with the Chief Joseph Band and repeat the observation that 98 percent of the Chief Joseph Band provided Native names and only 17 percent provided Traditional Euro-American names—a pattern very likely related to their history with Euro-Americans. As we noted earlier, some Nez Perce, including Chief Joseph's father, had welcomed the Presbyterian missionaries to the Plateau in 1836 and had become Christian converts, only to be disillusioned by what they viewed as the "thief treaty" of 1863. Many Nez Perce had emphasized their Native religion, becoming so-called Dreamers in opposition to Euro-American ways, wanted to follow their own religious and cultural traditions, and hoped to be left alone by the Euro-Americans. This opposition to Euro-American ways plus a desire to keep their land led to a calamitous war, capture in Montana, and a difficult exile in

Indian Territory (Axtell and Aragon 1997:13). Upon their return to the Columbia Plateau in 1885, they chose to retain their Native religion and go to the Colville Reservation rather than choosing Christianity and going to the Lapwai Reservation (McWhorter 2020:290).

As a result, the 1885 census taker at Colville would have very likely found Joseph's Band of Nez Perce with very little reason to have faith in Christianity and its way of life and with very little motivation to forsake their Native names—and with almost no exceptions they did not. Instead, the 1855 enumerator apparently found people who were almost universally committed to their historic religion, their historic way of life, and their historic names—and the enumerator wrote those names down. This happened, despite the fact that the government had spent considerable effort to eliminate the use of their Native names and to assign them Euro-American names. As the missionary Deffenbaugh stated, they remained "unsubdued" (Deffenbaugh 1885:73). There, of course, could be other interpretations, but this one seems especially plausible. Additional research with subsequent BIA Colville censuses could determine if the strong positions of the Chief Joseph Band moderated in subsequent years, as time provided some separation from the horrors of the 1877 war and the exile to Indian Territory.

Our theory also suggests that BIA censuses among the Nez Perce on the Lapwai Reservation would show very different naming patterns than for the Nez Perce on the Colville Reservation—with many more Euro-American names and many fewer Native names at Lapwai. This is because of the clear religious and historical divides between the Nez Perce in the two areas, with the Christians on the Lapwai Reservation contrasting sharply with the so-called Dreamers in Colville. We already know, as mentioned earlier, that the students of the McBeth Presbyterian seminary on the Lapwai Reservation had such names as James Hines, Robert Williams, and Archie Lawyer, and it is likely that many other Nez Perce on the Lapwai Reservation had similar names.

The history of the Deep Creek Colony of Spokane paralleled that of Chief Joseph's Band in multiple ways, but departed from it in other important ways. As we have discussed, more than 50 years earlier in 1829 many Spokane had welcomed Spokane Garry home from the Red River School as an Anglican teacher and influential leader, welcomed the Presbyterian missionaries at Tshimakain in 1838, and had their own battle with the U.S. army in 1858. The Deep Creek Colony members witnessed what happened to the anti-treaty Nez Perce in 1877 and moved in 1878 to establish their Colony with Euro-American land-use patterns, private ownership, Presbyterian missionaries, and a Presbyterian church. They also exercised the agency they had to adopt, at least publicly, other attributes of Euro-American society and culture such as clothing and hair styles, being seen as a model community of Natives adopting Euro-American ways (Mann 2007:172). We also know that the Chief Joseph Band had arrived in Colville just before the census in 1885, with their own accounts and example that the Deep Creek people desired to avoid.

Thus, when the 1885 census taker arrived to enumerate the people of the Deep Creek Colony, he likely found them with a very different mindset than what he found among the members of the Joseph Band of Nez Perce. He found a group with enormous motivations to survive as a people on their own land, with that survival being under immediate threat. He also found a group that had adopted many Euro-American beliefs, values, and ways of life, probably out of some combination of deep belief and the desire to keep their lands. We, of course, cannot know what combination of factors affected them when the census form was being completed, but we do know that the census enumerator wrote down Traditional Euro-American names for each of them, a pattern that fits with their earlier adoption of several Euro-American ways.

History, of course, did not stop with the 1885 census, and just three years later in 1888,

the Deep Creek Colony lost its effort to retain its land and was removed to the Spokane reservation (Mann 2007:179). That leads us to expect that an investigation of a subsequent BIA census on the Spokane reservation would find some former Colony individuals listed with Native names and some without Euro-American names.

We believe that the research questions just outlined could be addressed further using other currently available BIA census data. In addition, and of great interest for the Colville Agency groups, would be the censuses conducted under the direction of William Park Winans in 1870 for several groups residing on what would become the Colville, Coeur d'Alene, and Spokane reservations.¹¹ This would permit examination of names recorded fifteen years earlier than the 1885 census—and when there was fifteen years less interaction with Euro-Americans. There were also additional censuses conducted concerning the Nez Perce in exile in Indian Territory (Pearson 2008:xiii–xiv); those censuses could provide insights concerning similarities and differences in reporting names in multiple government censuses under different circumstances.

It would also be possible to expand the results of our article by comparing our BIA census results for Colville with BIA censuses existing for other places, both within and beyond the Columbia Plateau. An expansion to Canadian censuses would also permit making comparisons across geopolitical boundaries, permitting insights about possible effects of differences in Euro-American government policies. We also noted earlier that BIA censuses were collected quite regularly for many reservations from 1885 through 1940, permitting tracking of time trends not only across birth cohorts as we did in this paper, but across both time periods and birth cohorts. Further time depth and additional geographical and ethnic scope could also be achieved by using the names recorded in decennial censuses of American Indians from 1900 through the present.

¹¹ These manuscript censuses are housed at Manuscripts, Archives & Special Collections of Washington State University.

We also note that censuses represent only one type of Native interactions with Euro-Americans. There are numerous other types of multi-cultural interactions, such as with fur traders, religious organizations, and annuity payments. There are likely lists of names of Native people recorded in these interactions, which could be analyzed in ways similar to our analyses—and compared with our analyses. These other records also provide non-government sources that could be used to enrich understanding of the census data.

It is also important to remind ourselves that our article and the research projects suggested above are limited to examining name use of Native Americans as they interacted in the past with Euro-Americans. We expect that name use in interactions among Natives of the same group would be very different from what we have documented. Research of name use in such environments would provide further useful insights.

We also note that future research could broaden the study of name use in other ways. For example, we studied in-depth only the types of Euro-American names used and did not investigate the nature of the Native names reported. It would also be useful to examine whether the common Native names changed over time.

We close with a comment about the use of names among Native Americans in twenty-first century America. Although there have been concerted and lengthy efforts to eradicate Native languages, cultures, and names from the Native population, we know that they have survived through history to the present. In addition, there have also been substantial efforts to revitalize Indian language, culture, and name use. These matters could also be studied in twenty-first century America through various means, including the study of names provided in membership lists and the decennial censuses, keeping in mind, of course, that the absence of particular kinds of names in these documents does not necessarily mean the absence of such names in the lives of the individuals involved.

NAMES USED AMONG NATIVE AMERICANS AT THE COLVILLE INDIAN AGENCY

APPENDIX A. FULL LIST OF THE ENTRIES MADE IN THE ENGLISH NAME COLUMN.

Abel	Alexima	Ann	Baby	Boy
Abraham	Alexis	Ann Mary	Baby Girl	Bridget
Adelaine	Alice	Anna Maria	Bantiote	Caleh
Adelame	Alice Sarah Belle	Anne Mary	Baptiste	Camile
Adele	Allie	Annie	Baptiste Kalone	Camille
Adolph	Alphonse	Anso	Barnaby	Canita
Adrian	Amelia	Anthony	Barnard	Captain Jack
Aeneas	Amos	Antoine	Basil	Caspar
Aeneous Basil	Ananstalia	Antone	Beneventena	Catharine
Agate	Anastasia	Antoneo	Benjamin	Catherine
Agatha	Andre	Antonia	Benoi	Cecelia
Agatha Mary	Andre Joseph	Antonie	Benone	Cecil
Ahilomene	Andrew	Antuinette	Benoni	Cecile
Albert Big Star	Andrew Seltice	Archie	Bermartine	Celeste
Albert Garry	Andy Waters	Archy Leve	Bernadette	Celeste Mary
Albert Waters	Aneipa	Argotte	Bernard	Celestine
Alec	Anepa	Arpelle	Bersuaantine	Celia Williams
Alex	Angeline	Athol	Betsy	Chapman
Alexander	Angelique	Augelegae	Billy	Charles
Alexi	Anice	Augustus	Bob	Charles Benjamin

APPENDIX A. (cont.)

Charles Louis	Cypreau	Fatchen	Girl Baby	Isadore
Charles Smith	Cyrus	Felicite	Good Dress	Jack
Charley	Daniel	Felicity	Greenwood	Jack Fly
Charlie	Daniel Jefferson	Felix	Grizzly Bear	Jack Hill
Charlie Mockton	Daughter	Fetie Wilson	Hannah	Jack Lawyer
Charlotte	David	Fidelity	Hannie	Jacob
Chief Joseph	David Williams	Fidelo	Harriet	Jacob Snow
Child	Donald	Filecianna	Hattie	James
Christian	Doug	Fort Trake Charley	Hawk Hawk	Jane
Christine	Eagle Blanket	Frances	Helie	Jeanette
Come Down	Edith Woodwart	Francois	Henry	Jeanette Leve
Constantia	Edward	Frank	Henry Curlew	Jennie
Constantine	Eliza	Gabrielle	Hersekiah	Jeremiah
Corbeth	Elizabeth	Garry Wilson	Homer	Jereminiece
Corlett	Ella	George	Hunter Blanket	Jerome
Corlette	Ellen	George Hober	Ignace	Jim
Cornelius	Emanuel	George Isaac	Imosa	Job
Cortel	Emily Wilson	George Mann	Ingenta	Joe
Coyote Chief	Eneas	George Speanjers	Isaac	Joe Edward
Crow Blanket	Enos	Girl	Isabel	Joe Louis

NAMES USED AMONG NATIVE AMERICANS AT THE COLVILLE INDIAN AGENCY

APPENDIX A. (cont.)

John	Julie	Louis	Marian	Mat
John Andrews	Juliette	Louis Andrew	Marie	Mathilde
John Hill	Justine	Louis Basil	Marie Madeleine	Mattee
John Williams	Katharine	Louis Lake	Marie Therese	Mattie
Johnson	Lame John	Louis Mark	Marline	Maurice
Jonathon	Leander	Louis Michel	Marshall	Mercy
Joseph	Leighton	Louis Pierre	Martine	Michel
Joseph Blackfoot	Leo	Louis Sepus	Mary	Michele
Joseph Picket	Leve	Louisa	Mary Agate	Moese
Joseph Pierre	Levi Fly	Louise	Mary Anastasia	Mollie
Joseph Semo	Lily	Lucille	Mary Ann	Moses
Joseph Wilson	Little Joseph	Lucy	Mary Cecile	Nancy
Josephine	Little Man Chief	Luke	Mary Felicity	Nancy Garry
Josephy	Lizzie	Lulu	Mary Louise	Narcisse
Joshua	Lombert	Madelaine	Mary Lucy	Natche
Julia	Lonquady	Madeline	Mary Madeline	Nicholas
Julia Ann	Looking Down	Marcelle	Mary Peone	Nicodemns
Julia Garry	Lorie	Marcellus	Mary Rosalie	No Name
Julia Mary	Lot	Margaret	Mary Susette	Noel
Julianna	Louie	Mari	Mary Teresa	Norbert

APPENDIX A. (cont.)

Norbert Old	Pierre Aeneas	Rosalie	Stanislaus	Tommy
Obed	Pierre Bartelmy	Rosalie Peone	Stephanie	Unknown
Old Joe	Pierre Basil	Rose Bush	Stephens	Urfe
Old Semo	Pierre Joseph	Sallie	Stokely	Ursula
Other Side	Pierre Louis	Sam The Lawyer	Susan	Ursula Mary
Ourre Paul	Pierre Paul	Samson Wilson	Susan Mary	Virginia
Parrish	Pointed Nose	Samuel	Susanna	Wife
Paschal	Polamy	Sarah	Susanne	William
Pat	Preacher	Sarah Belle	Susette	William Bull
Patrine	Presly	Sebastian	Sutonie	William Enos
Paul	Rebekah	Semo	Theodore	William Suni
Paul Garry	Red Bones	Slanislaus	Theresa	Wilson
Paul Louis	Red Bull	Snow	Therese	Wolf Head
Pauline	Red Cloud	Snow On Her Dress	Thomas	Woman Doctor
Peter	Red Crow	Solo	Thomas Garry	Yellow Bull
Philemon	Red Curlew	Solomon	Thomas Wilson	Yellow Head
Philip	Regis	Son	Thompson	Young Up
Phillip	Robert Johnson	Sophia	Timothy	-
Phoebe Ann	Rope	Sophie	Titus Garry	-
Pierre	Rosalia	Spokan	Tom	-

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